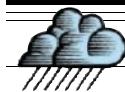


The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

RE V1 V2 V3 V4



Morning shower 80/51 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny 67/45 **B6**

Democracy Dies in Darkness

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2024 • \$3

Pyongyang tests new ballistic missile

U.S. condemns launch as N. Korean troops appear set to join Ukraine war

BY MICHAEL BIRNBAUM AND MICHELLE YE HEE LEE

North Korean troops are likely to join combat operations against Ukrainian forces inside Russia in the “coming days” after about 8,000 of them have been deployed to the occupied Kursk region, Secretary of State Antony Blinken said Thursday, hours after Pyongyang launched a powerful new ballistic missile in a double display of bellicosity.

The sizable, rapid deployment of the North Korean personnel marks a rare instance of Russia’s need for military help on its own soil, as Ukraine has successfully held the border territory since its surprise incursion in August. The Biden administration believes Russia has trained the North Koreans to operate artillery and drones and perform basic infantry operations such as trench clearing, signs they are about to join the fighting, Blinken said.

To date, about 10,000 North Korean troops have been deployed to Russia, U.S. and South Korean officials have said.

Speaking in Washington alongside their South Korean counterparts, Blinken and Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin said the U.S. government had appealed to China, which has deep economic ties with Moscow and Pyongyang, and urged its leaders to intervene. Beijing, Austin said, “should be asking Russia some hard questions at this point about whether it intends to broaden this conflict.”

Officials said that what appeared to be an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) launched by North Korea earlier in the day

SEE **MISSILE** ON A13

In Vegas, Democratic union workers go all-in



MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Culinary union members Claudia Avalos, right, and Heather Lind canvass door to door in Las Vegas this week ahead of the election. Their union is part of the Democratic coalition that has been key to a 12-year presidential winning streak in Nevada. But that coalition could be fracturing. **Story, C1**

State Dept. faces possible gutting in a Trump term

BY KAREN DEYOUNG AND MICHAEL BIRNBAUM

In a radio interview early this month, Donald Trump was asked three times about relations with Chinese leader Xi Jinping. The first time brought a Trumpian riff on how there had been “no wars” during his administration. The second time, Trump compared an “extremely intelligent” Xi to the “not intelligent people that are running our country.”

Host Hugh Hewitt tried a third time, asking the Republican

Two groups’ blueprints seek to dismantle U.S. foreign policy apparatus

presidential nominee how he thought his opponent, Kamala Harris, would deal with Xi. Launching a rant on “vicious fascists and Marxists” in the current U.S. administration and the “enemy from within,” Trump quickly switched to “crazy as a

bedbug” Nancy Pelosi.

Getting Trump to focus on his foreign policy plans for a potential second term has proved elusive. Beyond general declarations that he would quickly resolve conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East, and be tough on trade and immigration, he has provided few and often contradictory answers. The best policy, he has indicated, will emerge from his own instincts, toughness and dealmaking prowess.

But there has been no shortage of proposals from Trump sup-

porters in Congress and in conservative think tanks, chief among them the 900-page Project 2025, a compendium of recommendations on both domestic and foreign policies by the Heritage Foundation, and a 340-page transition book on security policy published in May by the America First Policy Institute, launched in 2021 by a group of senior Trump administration veterans.

SEE **POLICY** ON A10

Canada: U.S. neighbor is trying to avert potential Trump policies. **A11**

School for enslaved children finally gets a place in history

The Bray School will open to the public next year in Williamsburg

BY SUSAN SVRLUGA

WILLIAMSBURG, VA. — Tonia Cansler Merideth stepped inside the 18th-century building and paused, as if listening. The wide floorboards had been worn down over the centuries, the newel at the base of the stairway smoothed by hundreds of hands. Propped along a wall next to a brick fireplace was a copy of a roster from the 1760s listing, in flowing script, the names of the children who attended the school that year. Three of the children named were free. Twenty-seven were enslaved.

“I’m just wishing I could hear their voices,” Merideth said, thinking about what it must have been like back then, with so many young students in a classroom space of just 17 by 14 feet.

The Williamsburg Bray School is expected to be dedicated as a part of Colonial Williamsburg on Friday, 250 years after the school closed on the tumultuous brink of the American Revolution. The building, overlooked for many years in a town fixated on history, is believed to be the country’s oldest surviving school cre-

ated for Black children. The school is expected to open to the public in the spring when its restoration is complete.

It’s a powerful visual symbol revealed at a time when politicians, parents and schools are debating what history needs to be told and remembered, with some states enacting laws and policies that change and limit what schools teach about American history, including slavery.

The dedication ceremony — to be held just days before a divisive presidential election — highlights the continuing tensions over the loftiest and most shameful aspects of our nation’s past.

Unveiling this school is a step toward acknowledging what happened within its walls and giving it a place in history, according to people studying it. If people can see it, they can learn about its complicated legacy.

SEE **SCHOOL** ON A24



JASON B. COPES/ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION

Pencil fragments suggest Black children at Bray School may have been taught to write.



Guns. Knives. Hatchets. Bats. Bricks. Spears.

America’s anger is increasingly playing out on its roadways

Traffic Officer Anthony Williams spends his days on the road in San Antonio stopping, ticketing and documenting infractions. He sees his job as the 30-second transaction on the road, not what comes before or after. Every day, he fills his notebook with tallies of each traffic violation.

BY RUBY CRAMER

SAN ANTONIO — They arrive from the highways of San Antonio, where it is 91 degrees outside, and there is construction on the roads, and cell-phones are ringing, talk radio is blaring, people are tailgating, no one will let anyone into their lane, horns start honking, middle fingers go up, car doors fly open, and another day of road rage is underway in an increasingly angry country.

Now, in a small classroom on the edge of the city, Dean DeSoto, 70, looks over a roster for his class on aggressive driving.

“Good morning,” he says, as 19 people walk into the room looking the way they usually do at the start of class. Tired, annoyed, blank. Most of

them don’t want to be here, and DeSoto knows this. They are here because they have been ticketed, fined and sent here by a judge to learn how to manage their anger and anxiety on the road. They take their seats, and he begins to read aloud from a list of their citations, most of which look like speeding violations.

“90 in a 65 ... 94 in a 65 ... 102 in a 65 ... 105 in a 65 ... 112 in a 60.”

DeSoto, who runs a traffic safety nonprofit that partners with San Antonio’s city and county courts, has been teaching his aggressive driving class for 26 years, and in that time, he has come to believe several things. One is that what goes on in the country will play out on its roadways. Another is that anger on the roads is

SEE **ROAD RAGE** ON A16



PHOTOS BY ELI DURST FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

IN THE NEWS

Michigan still a toss-up A Post poll finds that voters in the battleground state are split 47 percent for Donald Trump and 45 percent for Kamala Harris. **A7**

A lost war game The Post obtained a 2002 report warning of military vulnerabilities that were exploited in Iraq and Afghanistan. **A2**

THE NATION

A House report urges reconsideration of aid for universities that failed to protect Jews. **A3**
Gun death rates in some U.S. states are comparable to conflict zones, a study found. **A3**

THE WORLD

Thousands who fled the Lebanese city of Baalbek watch its bombardment from afar. **A13**
Britain settled a groundbreaking legal case over a girl’s death from air pollution. **A15**

THE ECONOMY

New lawsuit details alleged that Apple told TikTok it was unfit for young teens and should raise its recommended age. **A14**
Starbucks announced it will end an upcharge to milk alternatives on Nov. 7 as it tries to boost declining revenue. **A14**

THE REGION

A former CIA employee was acquitted in an assault case that led the agency to examine its approach to sexual assault and harassment. **B1**
A Virginia assistant principal was charged with failure to report claims of assaults on students. **B1**

STYLE

Whether dressed as a garbage man or McDonald’s worker, Donald Trump’s costumes show how his cartoonish impulses function. **C1**

WEEKEND

Food critic Tom Sietsema shares his Top 8 Washington destinations for Indian cuisine.

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CLARIFICATION

• An Oct. 30 A-section article about the number of readers who have canceled their Washington Post subscriptions said that presidential endorsements are made by The Post's opinions staff. Such endorsements are made by The Post's Editorial Board, whose members are part of the opinions staff.

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How the U.S. military lost a \$250 million war game in minutes

Revealing Records

NATE JONES

launching missiles from commercial ships and radio-silent aircraft that quickly overwhelmed its missile defense systems. Nineteen U.S. ships, including the aircraft carrier, were destroyed and sunk within 10 minutes.

Fortunately for U.S. forces, this scenario was only a simulation in a massive, \$250 million war game named Millennial Challenge 2002. After the unexpected and humbling “loss” in July 2002, military officials at Joint Forces Command in Norfolk paused the war game, “refloated” the ships and restarted the exercise. They also imposed limits on enemy tactics. After the restart, the U.S. forces defeated their adversaries in a more conventionally fought simulation.

An after-action report of the exercise — which has remained secret for over 20 years — reveals that the surprise defeat triggered internal warnings that the U.S. military was vulnerable to low-tech warfare, foreshadowing the very challenges the United States would face in the 2003 invasion of Iraq and other conflicts since then. The Post recently obtained the report in response to a Mandatory Declassification Review request (MDR).

The after-action report was written by retired Marine Lt. Gen. Paul Van Riper, who commanded the enemy forces during the war game.

“We looked for their weakness and put our strength against it,” Van Riper told The Post.

I first learned of this classified document by reading a 2002 Army Times article in which Van Riper criticized Millennium Challenge 2002 as “rigged” and mentioned “a 20-page report” that he had submitted to his superiors.

With this information, I filed the declassification request to the Office of the Secretary of Defense in 2013. At the time, I was working for the National Security Archive, a nonprofit based at George Washington University that fights to make government records of historical significance public.

Eleven years later, I got my answer — an email explaining that the record I had requested had been declassified in part. The released report demonstrates why it is important to push back against government secrecy: Unearthed records may reveal to the public critical information omitted from official government narratives.

Van Riper's write-up contradicts portions of an official 752-page final report on Millennium Challenge 2002 released by the military more than a decade ago that called the war game a “major milestone” and described the loss of an entire carrier group as only

As a U.S. Navy carrier battle group entered the Persian Gulf, it came under surprise attack by adversaries



DAMIAN DOVARGANES/AP



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

TOP: U.S. Marines run for cover during an exercise in Victorville, California, in 2002. Live-action maneuvers were part of the Millennium Challenge 2002 war game. ABOVE: Retired Marine Lt. Gen. Paul Van Riper during a hearing on Capitol Hill in 2007.

“moderately unsuccessful.”

It also reveals the restrictions the U.S. military eventually imposed on the enemy and Van Riper's conclusion that by limiting his tactics, the U.S. military ensured victory and de-emphasized the critical vulnerabilities he had identified.

Mandatory Declassification Review requests are similar to, but distinct from, Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. Unlike FOIA, which was a law passed by Congress, the Mandatory Declassification Review provision is governed by an executive order. The requirements for submitting a MDR request are defined by President Barack Obama's Executive Order 13526.

Because MDR requests are frequently reviewed by government declassification experts who hold high-level security clearances, requesters usually have a better shot at winning the release of classified records than with FOIA requests, which are often reviewed by officials lacking such expertise.

But like FOIA requests, MDR delays can be frustrating. This request was reviewed for release by five entities: Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Central Command, and the U.S. Army. And the released record is moderately redacted, which — of course — I have appealed.

The Defense Department press office did not respond to multiple Washington Post queries as to why it took more than 11 years to process the request.

Millennium Challenge 2002

was touted at the time by the Defense Department as “the largest-ever joint military experiment conducted by the United States.” It took two years to develop, involved more than 13,500 participants and unfolded over three weeks in July and August 2002.

Millennium Challenge 2002 resembled a much more complicated version of recreational, countertop war games: Participants simulated the conflict at 17 sites as wargamers conducted maneuvers against each other on a military computer network. Adjudicators used computer models to determine the outcome of their attacks and other operations.

The simulated conflict also was combined with live training of troops and equipment at nine locations in the United States. Joint Forces Command (JFCOM) Commander Gen. Buck Kernan, who oversaw the war game, in public remarks at the time described the opposing forces as “very very, determined ... this is free play. [Van Riper] has the opportunity to win here.”

In many ways, Millennium Challenge 2002 was a rehearsal for the 2003 Iraq War. After the game was conducted, then-Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld sent a note to Kernan asking him to write a report explaining “what you think you learned from Millennium Challenge that we ought to apply to Iraq.”

Kernan did not respond to requests for comment. But the official report released in 2012 by Joint Forces Command about

Millennium Challenge 2002 said that the exercise “provided an analogous complex situation” to the Iraq War.

In the exercise, Van Riper played the “Major General” of a country resembling Iraq or Iran that “possessed natural resources critical to the world community.”

His report notes that he used a strategy of ambiguity, asymmetry and denial of territory to have his forces, known as “Red,” defeat the superior U.S. military. He wrote that because the U.S. forces, designated “Blue,” appeared determined to go to war, he “saw no option except to strike Blue first.”

To plan his attack, Van Riper wrote that he “employed a command and control methodology specifically designed to thwart” American technological advantages, including the ability to intercept electronic and phone communications. He relied on couriers to relay sensitive messages and communicated to aircraft with lanterns to avoid radio chatter.

After his surprise attack simulated the destruction of the carrier group, the atmosphere at Norfolk command, where Van Riper led his team, was “shock,” he told The Post in an interview. “It was just quiet. It never happened in an exercise before. ... I don't think [Joint Forces Command] knew what to do.”

Van Riper wanted to continue to attack U.S. forces, pressing forward with his asymmetric advantage, his report notes.

Instead, a war game adjudicator determined Van Riper's successful attack “wouldn't have happened” in real warfare and ruled that all but four of the virtual U.S. ships would be “refloated” and the war game would continue, according to his report.

In an interview, Micah Zenko, an expert on war games and author of the book “Red Team: How to Succeed By Thinking Like the Enemy,” said that Van Riper may not have taken into account the full picture in his desire to keep playing. He said that U.S. Joint Forces Command was charged with “scoping, designing, and running, an extremely complex and elaborate war game ... if ‘refloating’ the Blue's maritime forces is required to do that, they will do so.”

Zenko noted that the war game also involved real activity. Of the forces participating, 20 percent

were practicing live fire exercises on U.S. bases, including Nellis Air Force Base, Nev., and Fort Irwin, Calif. If the U.S. carrier group was not refloated, these live exercises could not have been realistically conducted.

Still, Zenko praised Van Riper's report for being “devastating in the specific critiques he witnessed.”

Van Riper, in his report, noted that the ultimate significance of the elimination of realistic war gaming in Millennium Challenge 2002 was that it created an exercise for which the “result was preordained.” As such, he believed the exercise was not a useful test of the U.S. military's ability to invade a hostile nation.

After the U.S. carrier group was “refloated,” other restrictions were imposed on Van Riper, he noted in his report. His forces could not initiate combat, but U.S. forces could. Van Riper's forces were also forbidden from using chemical weapons against the United States, which he considered his country's “most significant” asymmetric military strength.

Having lost the independence he believed was integral to the war game, Van Riper stepped down as commander of opposition forces but continued to monitor the war game as an adviser, he told The Post.

At the conclusion of the war game, he wrote that the results of Millennium Challenge 2002 “need to be considered in light of the fact that the [United States] commander did not operate against a ‘thinking and adaptive’ enemy who ‘could win’” after the American fleet was refloated. “Not having a ‘thinking and adaptive’ enemy operating against [United States forces] will have a very significant impact on the assessment” of U.S. warfighting concepts, he wrote.

Van Riper believes that the public should “absolutely” have been able to read this report decades ago. He says that with the report's current redactions, “they could have declassified it the next day,” in 2002.

“The real sad thing,” he said, “is some of the things that we learned were never shared.”

Craig Whitlock, Dan Lamothe and Aaron Schaffer contributed to this report.

Do you have a question, comment or FOIA idea? Email me at RevealingRecords@washpost.com.

DIGEST

PENNSYLVANIA

Musk giveaway case is moved to U.S. court

An attempt by Philadelphia's district attorney to block Elon Musk and his pro-Trump super PAC from continuing a \$1 million daily giveaway to registered swing-state voters hit a speed bump Thursday after the billionaire's lawyers filed a motion to move it to federal court.

A hearing on the district attorney's request Thursday morning in state court ended without a ruling.

In filings to a federal judge, lawyers for the district attorney and Musk argued over whether to send the case back to state court, as the DA's office asked in a Thursday afternoon filing. The federal judge has given Musk and America PAC until 10 a.m. Friday to respond.

Lawyers for Philadelphia District Attorney Larry Krasner had signed an order Wednesday compelling Musk to appear at

City Hall on Thursday for the state court hearing. But the billionaire did not attend.

The case now moves to federal court. It was not immediately clear when the next hearing would be held.

Krasner filed the lawsuit against Musk's America PAC last week, alleging a \$1 million daily giveaway to registered swing-state voters launched in October is “indisputably an unlawful lottery” under Pennsylvania consumer protection laws.

Musk, who has donated at least \$118 million to the America PAC since forming it this spring, was named as a defendant along with the group's treasurer.

At issue is a \$1 million prize awarded by the PAC each day to registered swing-state voters who sign a petition in support of free speech and the right to bear arms. Krasner's lawsuit alleges that Musk and America PAC are targeting Pennsylvania to influence voters. At least 11 people have been awarded a \$1 million check over the past few weeks, according to America

PAC's website, with four winners in Pennsylvania.

The Justice Department last week warned Musk's group that the contest could be illegal. Federal law prohibits groups and individuals from bribing people to register to vote.

America PAC also offers to pay out \$47 to anyone who refers a registered voter to sign its petition, according to the group's website. In a post Tuesday on X, the PAC said it had sent out more than 87,000 of the checks.

— Will Oremus and Trisha Thadani

GEORGIA

Rapper pleads guilty in gang case in Atlanta

The long, drama-ridden criminal racketeering and gang conspiracy trial of rapper Young Thug that began nearly two years ago ended on an abrupt note Thursday as the Grammy Award-winning hip-hop star reached a surprise plea deal in the case amid threats of a mistrial that

could have started proceedings all over again.

The rapper, whose real name is Jeffery Lamar Williams, pleaded no contest to two counts: conspiracy to violate Georgia's Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act and participation in criminal street gang activity. He pleaded guilty to six other counts related to drug possession and firearm violations.

He faced 120 years in prison. Prosecutors on Thursday sought a sentence of 45 years, with 25 served in custody and 20 years' probation. But Fulton County Superior Court Judge Paige Reese Whitaker sentenced Young Thug to 40 years, with five years in prison. Whitaker also commuted the sentence to time served and 15 years' probation — allowing him to be released from custody.


The rapper and several alleged associates stand accused of being members of a murderous Atlanta street gang known as Young Slime Life, or YSL.

— Holly Bailey

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POLITICS & THE NATION

Antisemitism probe urges federal aid review for colleges

BY SUSAN SVRLUGA AND DANIELLE DOUGLAS-GABRIEL

A congressional investigation into campus antisemitism blamed university officials for failing to stop or adequately discipline students engaging in disruptive protests over the Israel-Gaza war, and called for reconsideration of federal support for institutions that have failed to protect Jewish students, faculty and staff.

The 325-page report released Thursday found a widespread lack of accountability for “antisemitic harassment, assault, trespass, and destruction of school property” from some university leaders. It charged school officials with making “astounding concessions” to protesters in tent encampments, deliberately withholding support for Jewish students, failing to enforce rules and discipline those who broke them — and for treating the congressional inquiry with impatience or outright hostility.

The report, led by congressional Republicans, was the culmination of a nearly year-long investigation into multiple schools, including Harvard and Columbia universities, by the House Education Committee, an inquiry prompted by heated protests over the Israel-Gaza war on campuses across the country. It arrived days before an election that could decide which administration would enforce possible repercussions for the schools, such as withholding federal funding.

The campus demonstrations gave rise to complaints at some schools that protesters’ calls for intifada, chants decrying Zionists and other actions left some Jewish students frightened, isolated and uncomfortable. Some protesters and others have countered that administrators have been repress-

ing freedom of speech and unfairly cracking down on peaceful demonstrations.

The investigation brought in more than 400,000 pages of documents, and subpoenaed officials at two Ivy League universities — a legal move the committee said was necessary after schools were not sufficiently responsive, and which some experts called an unprecedented intrusion into the private schools’ autonomy.

During months of high-profile hearings and numerous requests for documents, some praised the committee for holding school officials to account and protecting Jewish communities, while others criticized lawmakers for what they saw as a partisan witch hunt aiming to score political points.

The resulting report draws on internal emails, texts, chats and edits to documents that show administrators feeling vulnerable to criticism on multiple fronts. (“Please do not forward. I think this isn’t going to work,” one university president reportedly wrote.) It includes disciplinary notices sent to protesters, an internal analysis of why the discipline process was broken at one school, and debate over how to handle public statements about the conflict and divisive slogans such as “from the river to the sea.”

It also includes details about negotiations and discussions about protester demands at Columbia and elsewhere.

A Columbia spokesperson said in a statement Thursday that the university “strongly condemns antisemitism and all forms of discrimination” and remains “resolute that calls for violence or harm have no place at our University.”

The university has established an office of institutional equity to address reports of discrimination



ERIN O’CONNOR/THE WASHINGTON POST

Pro-Palestinian activists in May at UCLA, one of the schools whose leaders this year appeared before Congress about antisemitism.

and harassment, appointed a new rules administrator and strengthened the capabilities of its public safety office since interim president Katrina A. Armstrong took the helm in August.

The committee’s findings “indicate the need for a fundamental reassessment of federal support for postsecondary institutions that have failed to meet their obligations to protect Jewish students, faculty, and staff, and to maintain a safe and uninterrupted learning environment for all students,” the report says.

“For over a year, the American people have watched antisemitic mobs rule over so-called elite universities, but what was happening behind the scenes is arguably worse,” Rep. Virginia Foxx (R-North Carolina), the panel’s chairwoman, said Thursday.

The Education Department oversees federal funding that col-

leges receive and enforces Title VI, a provision of federal civil rights law that requires colleges to prevent and alleviate hostile environments based on race, color or national origin. The report criticizes the department for not doing enough to hold institutions accountable for their handling of antisemitism allegations.

The department did not respond to requests for comment.

The department’s Office of Civil Rights has launched 93 investigations into antisemitism and 44 into anti-Muslim discrimination on college campuses since Oct. 7, 2023, according to September data from the department. It has struck recent agreements with several universities, including Brown and Drexel universities.

While the Education Department plays a tremendous role in enforcement, Congress could push amendments to existing

laws to force changes in the way the agency conducts its oversight and enforcement, said Peter Lake, the director of the Center for Excellence in Higher Education Law and Policy at Stetson University and an alumnus of Harvard College and Harvard’s law school.

The committee, whose report lobbed specific criticisms at 11 schools, claimed that at both Harvard and Columbia, faculty intervened on many occasions to prevent “meaningful” discipline from being enacted against students.

“Harvard is steadfast in our efforts to create a safe, inclusive environment where students can pursue their academic and personal interests free from harassment and discrimination,” Harvard spokesperson Jason Newton said Thursday.

The panel summoned university leaders to testify about the protests last December, and the

investigation was launched after the hearing, at which presidents of three of the most prestigious schools in the country declined to unequivocally say that calls for genocide of Jews would violate their codes of campus conduct.

Their cautious responses generated outrage from some and touched off an ongoing national debate over the boundaries of free speech and campus safety.

The presidents of the University of Pennsylvania and Harvard resigned after the hearing.

During an April hearing with Columbia leaders, protesters erected tents on campus. After police were called in to clear the area, similar encampments popped up at other schools — and police crackdowns followed, further inflaming tensions as the school year drew to a close. Columbia’s president, Minouche Shafik, resigned in August.

Gun death rates in some U.S. states comparable to conflict zones, study finds

BY RACHEL PANNETT

The rate of firearms deaths in several U.S. states is similar to their frequency in places around the world that are battling civil unrest or bloody gang wars, a new report shows.

The report, published Wednesday by the Commonwealth Fund, an independent research group, found that the overall rate of firearms deaths in Mississippi was nearly twice that of Haiti, an impoverished Caribbean nation where violent gangs control large swaths of the country and whose president was assassinated by gunmen in 2021.

Mississippi, Louisiana and Al-

abama also had higher firearms death rates than Mexico, where rival drug cartels are engaged in bloody conflict. Montana’s death rate from guns was higher than in Colombia, where drug trafficking is rife.

Wyoming, Arizona and Oklahoma all ranked above Brazil. Suburban New Jersey had a higher gun death rate than Nicaragua, Mali and Djibouti.

In June, U.S. Surgeon General Vivek H. Murthy declared gun violence a public health crisis — putting it on a par with a 1960s warning on the lethal consequences of cigarette smoking.

The latest report illustrates “just how bad gun violence has

gotten in the U.S. and how it’s something we should be talking about far more than we do,” said Evan Gumas, a research associate at the Commonwealth Fund and a co-author of the report.

“The fact that the U.S. ranks among countries that are involved in some form of conflict (whether that be civil war, general unrest, drug/arms trafficking etc.) is really startling, and even more so when we look at where U.S. states compare on the global scale,” he said in an email to The Washington Post. “I do think many Americans would be surprised by how similar our rates are to those in the world’s conflict zones.”

The report was based on data from the 2021 Global Burden of Disease study, which provides an in-depth look at mortality and disability across countries, and the latest 2022 mortality data from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Researchers defined firearm mortality in the study as an aggregate of physical violence by firearm, self-harm by firearm and unintentional firearm injuries.

So far this year, there have been 24 mass killings with guns in the United States, according to a tracker published by The Washington Post, which defines a “mass killing” as an event in which four or more people died,

not including the perpetrators.

Globally, the United States ranks in the 93rd percentile for overall firearm mortality, the 92nd percentile for firearm mortality among children and teenagers, and the 96th percentile for firearm mortality among women, the report found.

U.S. states have a higher firearm mortality rate than most other countries in the world. Rates of self-harm are also much higher. Black, American Indian and Alaska Native people experience the highest rates of any racial or ethnic group.

Previous studies have compared firearm mortality in the United States with other high-income countries and showed

consistently higher U.S. death rates.

The aim of the latest report, Gumas said, was to highlight how the United States compares to countries that aren’t in its usual wealthy cohort — such as Belize, which is plagued by bouts of civil unrest and has one of the highest per capita homicide rates in the world.

“I think Americans recognize that we of course don’t compare to a lot of the high-income countries we typically compare ourselves to,” Gumas said. “But I don’t think they would expect us to compare to many of the countries that we do compare to like the Dominican Republic, Belize, or Haiti.”



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ELECTION 2024

Trump tests Congress’s bid to fix presidential transitions

BY LISA REI
AND AMY GARDNER

After Donald Trump refused to concede the 2020 election, Congress moved to fend off a repeat of the 20 days of chaos that had obstructed the executive branch handover to Joe Biden.

But the first test of one little-known change to the presidential transition process is now causing anxiety among government officials as Trump is potentially poised to return to power.

If there's no apparent winner within five days of the election, every federal agency will be required on Nov. 11 to open its doors to both Trump's and Vice President Kamala Harris's campaigns so they can simultaneously begin the sprint to install a new administration. Each department is already working to find office space, ideally on separate floors, for the two campaigns and preparing two sets of career staffers to brief each team.

Even if the former president again contests the election results over baseless claims of voting fraud, his campaign staff could still have access to key operations of government, including sensitive information, while courts and lawmakers battle over the final results.

Concerns about the change lawmakers approved in 2022 have only been exacerbated by the Republican nominee's decision thus far to sit out the official federal transition process in the run-up to Election Day.

Trump's team is working out of a Manhattan office and inside the Willard Hotel in Washington, vetting candidates for some of the roughly 4,000 political jobs he'll need to quickly fill if he wins — including by evaluating whether the nominees will be sufficiently loyal to the president, according to campaign officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private discussions.

But Trump himself has so far yet to sign an ethics pledge and agreements on transition fundraising disclosures and limits — both of which are requirements for any candidate to be able to gain access to agencies, secure computer equipment, government email systems and about \$7 million in funding, and to participate in the formal process run by the General Services Administration. Trump would be the first presidential candidate to decline to participate in the formal federal process.

His campaign is expected to eventually sign the documents, according to a senior Biden administration official involved in transition planning, who was not authorized to speak publicly about the election and spoke on the condition of anonymity.

Even if that happens, his team would have a late start on applying for security clearances to receive briefings on classified and sensitive material.

Meanwhile, many career employees across the government who would be tasked with helping Trump's campaign with a handover of power from the Biden administration could soon lose their jobs if he revives a plan to fire civil servants his administration deems resistant to his policies. Trump and his allies have railed against government workers throughout the campaign, promising to pick up where his first administration left off in eradicating the “deep state” of bureaucrats



At the Willard Hotel in D.C., Donald Trump's team is vetting candidates for political jobs he'd need to quickly fill if he wins the election.

they accuse of undermining his policies.

Less than a week out from the election, with polls showing the race deadlocked, officials and outside experts worry that the federal government is on the edge of significant confusion and turmoil yet again — exactly the scenario Congress had hoped to avoid after 2020.

“We are in uncharted territory right now, and it has the potential to be complicated for everyone involved,” said Valerie Smith Boyd, director of the Center for Presidential Transition, a resource for presidential candidates within the nonpartisan Partnership for Public Service.

Trump transition co-chairs Howard Lutnick and Linda McMahon said in a statement that transition lawyers “continue to constructively engage with the Biden-Harris administration lawyers regarding all agreements contemplated by the Presidential Transition Act.” They noted that transition staff have signed a “robust” ethics pledge; that pledge is looser than the federal one, transition experts said, and does not meet the requirements of the law.

The former president has avoided the official handover process because he distrusts the government and is superstitious about formalizing any steps toward a transition before winning the election, according to campaign officials.

Harris, the Democratic nominee, has signed the federal ethics pledge and other official transition agreements — a sign that her approach to bringing in a new administration would be more by the book. But she faces her own challenges to taking control of the bureaucracy of 2.2 million executive branch employees. After Harris abruptly became the Democratic nominee this summer when President Joe Biden dropped out,

her transition team has faced a markedly condensed time frame to vet candidates. A Harris transition spokesman said in an email that the campaign is the “top priority right now. . . . The transition is focused on setting up the infrastructure necessary to be ready for the post-election period.”

For decades, the nonpartisan handoffs between an outgoing administration and a government-in-waiting have been mostly drama-free, and based on rules outlined in the Presidential Transition Act of 1963. Winning candidates’ first task is to learn about current agency missions, policies and ongoing projects and to begin filling political roles in the executive branch, from Cabinet secretaries to press assistants. Career leaders and appointees from the outgoing administration hand off guidance to help the new team kick off its government, provide briefings on major issues and make themselves available to answer questions. The flow of resources has long been crucial to an orderly transition.

“If you think about it for a minute, this is an awesome process, right?” said Rep. Gerry Connolly (D), whose Northern Virginia district includes thousands of federal employees. “You’re talking about the most sophisticated, arguably most important government in the world literally handing over the keys to the office and everything therein to an opposing team in a peaceful manner ... even though you know that’s going to usher in lots of changes in policy and regulations and even law.”

But that usually smooth process failed in 2020, when then-GSA Administrator Emily Murphy, a Trump appointee, for close to three weeks refused to “ascertain” Biden’s victory — a formal declaration that the transition process can begin — as Trump baselessly

claimed that fraud had marred Biden’s win. Murphy later bowed to bipartisan pressure.

In the aftermath of the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection, lawmakers in both parties came together to pass the Electoral Count Reform and Presidential Transition Improvement Act. The law added procedures for counting electoral votes following a presidential election — and tried to ensure that an incoming president is not thwarted from planning and staffing a new administration during the fast-moving weeks between Election Day and the inauguration in January.

It also eliminated the GSA’s role in ascertaining the winning candidate’s victory: The agency now must launch transition operations within five days of Election Day — for both campaigns if neither candidate has conceded.

Federal agencies have until Friday to formalize plans to welcome the Trump and Harris transition teams, which in large departments traditionally have numbered about a dozen people.

Briefing materials will be more concise than ever to encourage incoming teams to read them, according to several officials. The new law’s top priority is equity: The campaigns must receive the same materials, be briefed in equal depth and have access to the same-size space.

“They don’t want to be in a situation where one campaign says their needs aren’t being met,” the senior Biden administration official said of government leaders.

Right now, though, the equal access required by the new law won’t be possible, since Trump hasn’t signed the required pledges.

By not submitting to a formal government ethics plan, Trump would skirt rules that for decades

have banned possible conflicts of interest for political appointees. And by skipping the fundraising restrictions, he would have no limits on private contributions to his transition.

Spokespeople for the Labor Department and the Department of Health and Human Services said those agencies are preparing to receive both campaign staffs. Other agencies would not speak publicly about their transition preparations and referred questions to the White House budget office, which also declined to publicly discuss planning.

Some career leaders worry that prolonged uncertainty over the election could take time away from pressing issues. Officials at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention privately are concerned they will lack time to address infectious-disease threats, including an H5N1 bird flu outbreak in dairy cows. “We could have an entire month where we have to talk to two transition teams and brief them” on a range of public health outbreaks, leaving less time for the CDC to address the actual threats, one agency official said.

Trump and his allies have pledged to continue a dramatic overhaul of federal hiring rules called Schedule F, which Trump started through an executive order but ran out of time to implement at the end of his first administration. Schedule F would have allowed his appointees to fire tens of thousands of federal workers and replace them with loyalists.

By briefing his campaign on ongoing projects during a possible transition, some career officials worry that they would associate themselves with policies Trump could scrap in a second term — along with their jobs.

“From a work perspective, those focused on transition are

doing what they need to do, and they are nonpartisan professionals,” said Gail Lovelace, a retired personnel chief at the GSA who also led transition preparations from 2007 to 2009. “In their personal lives, a lot of people working in government are worried about what could happen with Schedule F.”

Late last week, the Biden administration reissued final details of a new rule designed to make it harder for Trump to reinstate Schedule F in a second term. If he’s reelected, Trump is likely to eliminate the rule.

Trump’s transition, led by Cantor Fitzgerald chief executive and donor Howard Lutnick and Linda McMahon, a former professional wrestling executive who headed the Small Business Administration under Trump, is operating out of Lutnick’s New York offices and the Willard Hotel, which four years ago served as a command center where some of Trump’s loyal lieutenants plotted to overturn the 2020 election.

To vet candidates, Trump’s team is relying on insiders who served in his first term and are closely affiliated with the America First Policy Institute, a conservative think tank where McMahon serves as chair of the board, according to campaign aides. The group has worked since soon after Trump left office to assemble policy plans and potential executive orders and legislation for a second term. It is unclear to what extent America First has a personnel database that is different from the one put together by the Heritage Foundation as part of its Project 2025, a blueprint from which Trump distanced himself as Democrats targeted many of its proposals as extreme.

By not participating in the formal transition process, Trump could delay the start of a second administration and potentially put the country at risk, experts say, by cutting his team off from security briefings and other matters. “There are a lot of things about a presidential transition that require government interaction, and they exist so things like getting your people cleared are not left to the last minute,” said Max Stier, president and chief executive of the Partnership for Public Service.

Harris’s transition is led by Yo-hannes Abraham, former ambassador to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, who led the Biden transition in 2020. Thanks to her late start, Harris is likely to ask some Biden appointees to continue in their roles, experts said. Harris would be the first sitting vice president to win the White House since 1989, when Republican George H.W. Bush succeeded Ronald Reagan.

If the GOP regains control of the Senate in the election, Harris could also face challenges in getting her Cabinet and other top staff confirmed. Her transition advisers have begun reviewing which existing Cabinet secretaries and other Senate-confirmed officials could stay in their positions for at least the outset of her presidency, said one person familiar with the matter, speaking on the condition of anonymity to describe private deliberations.

Josh Dawsey, Jeff Stein, Tyler Pager, Lena H. Sun, Isaac Arnsdorf, Dan Diamond and Maxine Josephow contributed to this report.

strength with the Hispanic electorate. A CNN poll released this week found that Harris and Trump were running near-even in both states, with Harris’s standing improving among women, Latino voters and younger voters.

The poll found that among likely voters in Arizona, 56 percent of Hispanic voters support Harris, compared to 38 percent who favor Trump. Among likely voters in Nevada, 48 percent of Hispanic voters support Harris, vs. 47 percent who support Trump.

Biden, by comparison, won Latinos in Arizona by 24 points and in Nevada by 26 points, according to 2020 exit polls.

Maná and Lopez’s joint appearance with Harris in Las Vegas was meant to appeal to the Nevada’s large Hispanic population, which makes up about 20 percent of the electorate in the state, and encourage Latino voters to cast their ballots on Friday, the last day of early-in person voting. Hispanic early-vote turnout in the Silver State is not where Democrats would like, even as the massive get-out-the-vote operation of the Hispanic-majority Culinary Workers Union is out in force.

Celebrity surrogates add star power to Harris rallies in Arizona and Nevada

BY JACQUELINE ALEMANY,
LEIGH ANN CALDWELL,
MATT VISER
AND HANNAH KNOWLES

PHOENIX — Vice President Kamala Harris, with five days left in the presidential race, ramped up her campaign’s heavy reliance on star power Thursday, as more celebrities took the stage alongside Harris at rallies in the fiercely contested battleground states of Arizona and Nevada.

The vice president appeared in Phoenix with Los Tigres del Norte, a Mexican norteño band famous for anthems portraying the plight of undocumented immigrants. Later Thursday, she was scheduled to stop in Reno, Nevada, before appearing in Las Vegas alongside the Mexican band Maná and pop icon Jennifer Lopez.

Harris’s campaign has stacked her schedule with celebrity surrogates who have huge social media followings, seeking to build up enthusiasm and turnout as early in-person voting comes to an end in several states, including Nevada and Arizona on Friday. Wednesday night in Madison, Wisconsin, more than 13,000 people

turned out for Harris’s rally-concert that featured performances by Mumford & Sons, Gracie Abrams and the National.

While the Harris campaign’s strategy of deploying stars has been notable in recent days, it was clear from Harris’s rallies after President Joe Biden dropped out of the race in late July that her campaign events would be nothing like his. Biden’s events were relatively traditional; Harris’s appearances, in contrast, featured energetic dancing, onstage twerking and a reworked playlist.

Megan Thee Stallion performed and rapper Quavo spoke at one of Harris’s early rallies in Atlanta. Since then, there have been performances from musical legends Willie Nelson and Bruce Springsteen, John Legend and Stevie Wonder. Film director Spike Lee has spoken, and so has pop superstar Beyoncé.

The performers have ranged from marquee names to lesser-known figures. Sometimes the selections appear designed to appeal to particular groups, whether younger women, older men or Black or Latino voters. During Harris’s upcoming rally Friday

night in Milwaukee, performers will include GloRilla, Flo Milli, MC Lyte, the Isley Brothers, and DJ Gemini Gilly. Rapper and songwriter Cardi B will deliver remarks.

While there can be risks to appearing too cozy with celebrities, particularly in an era of political populism, Harris has avoided the kind of public backlash that has greeted other campaigns that allied themselves with celebrity power. During the 2008 campaign, Republican nominee John McCain cast Barack Obama as a celebrity, not a leader, running an ad juxtaposing images of him with Britney Spears and Paris Hilton.

The Harris campaign says the singing and dancing that feature prominently in her rallies are designed to reflect a tone of optimism and inclusiveness.

“So much of what the vice president believes is that it should be fun and joyful and hopeful and optimistic to come together and to be part of this election,” said a senior Harris campaign official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal dynamics. “And so that’s kind of the environment that she created. She’s

out there, and we obviously have DJs and videos and songs and celebrities, and all that kind of fits into that and really a sense that everyone has a home with us.”

The concert-like rallies are a contrast with Harris’s sometimes-dark message about the threat of Trump.

“You can do both things,” said Jim Messina, campaign manager of President Barack Obama’s 2012 campaign. “Our TV ads continue to have a positive economic message, and she, on the stump, has that joy. And I think that’s a really important piece.”

Campaign officials have also come to view boldface names with significant reach on social media platforms as the most efficient way to reach key electoral constituencies, including female voters and young people, in the final days of a highly compressed campaign.

In Phoenix, members of Los Tigres del Norte, speaking in English and Spanish, reminded the audience that they had limited time left to cast their early vote, and urged them to make sure that their friends, family members, and colleagues were all voting.

Harris, who took the stage after Arizona’s Democratic Senate candidate Ruben Gallego, similarly advised the crowd of voting deadlines and urged people to “turn the page on a decade of Donald Trump trying to keep us divided and afraid of each other.”

Harris quickly ticked through her laundry list of plans to bring down the costs of living and health care, and restore reproductive rights. She briefly paused her stump to address a handful of disruptive attendees protesting the war in Gaza — “We all want this war to end and get the hostages out,” she said — before pivoting to Trump’s “closing argument to America,” which she described as “full of hate and division.”

“He insults Latinos, scapegoats immigrants — and it’s not just what he says, it’s what he will do if elected,” said Harris. “You can be sure [Trump] will bring back family separation policies, only on a much greater scale than last time.”

Harris in recent weeks has sought to shore up support from Latino voters in states like Arizona and Nevada, where they make up a significant share of the electorate, as she lags behind Biden’s 2020

ELECTION 2024

As Trump takes vague, shifting stances, many supporters fill in the blanks

BY JUSTINE MCDANIEL

READING, PA. — Donald Trump’s stances on the economy and guns were on Natalie Lebron’s mind as she waited in line at his rally, eager to hear about the topics that had energized her support. She also hoped he would clarify one thing to voters: “that he is not against their abortions.”

“If I’m not mistaken,” the 34-year-old added after a pause, catching herself. “Is he?”

In fact, Trump opposes a federal right to abortion. But he has shifted repeatedly on the issue, including saying he would veto a federal abortion ban. He called himself “pro-choice” decades ago, before switching to an antiabortion posture. He has referred to himself as “the most pro-life president in history” and claimed credit for undoing *Roe v. Wade*, which had established a constitutional right to abortion. Trump now says states should decide abortion laws and has sent mixed signals on a strict ban in his home state of Florida, eventually voicing support for it.

The conflicting positions have muddled the waters for voters such as Lebron, who believed Trump had been subject to unfair Democratic attacks on his abortion record but attributed her own support for him to other matters, including crime and the economy.

“What I like about him is I feel like he holds his ground,” she said. “I feel like we need someone strong like that.”

For years, Trump has embraced muddled positions, changed his views and promoted broad-brush slogans on a slew of topics. As he concludes his third straight run for president in a close race against Vice President Kamala Harris, many supporters have drawn their own interpretations of where he stands and what he would do for the country, interviews show. Some read between Trump’s lines about how he would govern, while others disregard parts of his past or present platform.

It is not unusual for voters to focus on some issues and ignore

others when choosing a candidate to support. But Trump stands out for showing little interest in hewing to traditional ideological boundaries or standards for consistency or accuracy, leaving ample room for supporters to see in him what they want, strategists in both parties said.

Those tendencies have helped him build support among voters outside his hardest-core fan base, including people who are most concerned with a single issue, such as the economy, and are comfortable ignoring other topics or behavior. It has also made him vulnerable to criticism that he has no core principles — and made it more difficult to discern what he would actually do if elected.

“If you say everything, then people get to pick and choose which parts they believe you mean,” said Terry Sullivan, a Republican strategist.

The Trump campaign referred The Washington Post to Republican National Committee spokesperson Anna Kelly, who said Trump has amassed support “because voters remember that they were better off under his leadership” and accused Harris, his opponent, of using “walk-backs and word salads to obfuscate her true beliefs.”

With less than a week left until Election Day, the question of what Trump would do in a second term as president is a central focus in the race. His opponents have also gone after areas in which Trump has been clearer or more consistent, including his repeated false claims that the 2020 election was stolen and his glorification of those charged with crimes related to the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol.

At the same time, Trump’s vague framing of proposals has been on display throughout the campaign. He asserted it would be “very, very simple” to close the U.S.-Mexico border under the “extreme power” he said he would have as president. He has “concepts of a plan” on health care, he said at a September debate with Harris. His signature slogan is the open-ended “Make America Great Again.”



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters of Donald Trump cheer at a campaign rally Oct. 9 in Reading, Pennsylvania.

“If you say everything, then people get to pick and choose which parts they believe you mean.”

Terry Sullivan,
a Republican strategist

In October in Nevada, attendees at two Trump events in Reno and Las Vegas presented different views of what, exactly, his vow to “seal the border and stop the migrant invasion” would mean. A Hispanic woman said she was primarily worried about Muslim immigrants. A Black man said people from the Caribbean should be allowed to enter but not Latinos. An Asian American woman said those who entered legally, like her family, are entitled to be here, but supported closing the border to anyone else.

“I don’t think anybody doesn’t want immigrants. It’s just they need to come over the right way,” said a fourth voter in Reno, 49-year-old Stacey Dinan, who said she wasn’t opposed to immigration if people “come over legally and work hard.”

All of them said they planned to vote for Trump, with each finding something they liked in Trump’s border pledge. None talked about exactly how Trump will carry out his policy goals, which include using U.S. troops at

the border and carrying out mass deportations — moves that would probably face major legal and logistic hurdles.

Similarly, voters have offered varying takes on Trump’s plan to impose tariffs at very high rates on American trade partners — a proposal economists say would probably raise prices and harm the stock market. At a recent rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, supporters cheered at the mention of tariffs, but several acknowledged later they weren’t sure what tariffs were or how they would want Trump to implement them.

Others disregard the former president’s exact rhetoric. Trump’s comments may not reflect his position once in office, former Illinois Republican National Committee member Richard Porter said after an Oct. 15 gathering of the Economic Club of Chicago during which Trump suggested he might impose “a 100, 200, 2,000 percent tariff.”

“Every time he’s talking to you, he’s negotiating,” Porter said.

“That’s the most obvious thing in the world about Trump.”

On some issues, such as coronavirus vaccines (as president, he accelerated their development, but as a candidate he backed away from the accomplishment), a TikTok ban (he tried to ban the app as president but this year lobbied against a ban) or state and local tax deductions (he signed into law a bill that capped them but in September reversed himself), his shifting stances give voters on both sides a way to justify their support for him.

The dynamic is one of the biggest challenges in countering Trump, Republican strategists said, suggesting many Trump supporters put more stock in their perception that he is authentic and strong than in whether he has detailed policy blueprints.

Democratic strategists said it is a familiar tactic that they believe can be countered by using Trump’s words against him.

“I love what the vice president has done at her rallies when she shows the clips of him speaking, where she is showing those flip-flops,” said A’shanti Gholar, a Democratic strategist and president of the organization Emerge, which recruits and trains Democratic women to run for office. “What she is really saying is he only really cares about himself, and those shifting policy stances are a reflection of that.”

Still, Gholar acknowledged, it can be difficult for Democrats to combat Trump’s style. “His policy talk, at the end of the day, it is so very rambling and disoriented, it leaves voters to hear what they want to hear,” Gholar said.

Adelina Perez, a Nevada teacher who believes Trump is the candidate more likely to lower gas prices and prevent terrorist attacks, is among voters who say they set aside some of what Trump says but trust in the spirit of his plans.

“He can say whatever he wants,” said Perez, 54. “That doesn’t bother me.”

Meryl Kornfield and Hannah Knowles contributed to this report.



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ELECTION 2024

RFK Jr. poised for major food, health role if Trump wins

Anti-vaccine activist may be tapped to serve as a White House czar

This article is by Dan Diamond, Lauren Weber, Josh Dawsey, Michael Scherer and Rachel Roubein

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is poised to have significant control over health and food safety in a potential Trump administration, with discussions about some Cabinet and agency officials reporting to him, according to four people familiar with the planning process who spoke on the condition of anonymity to detail private conversations.

Kennedy has been privately meeting with Trump transition officials to help draw up an agenda for a new administration, which could involve the longtime anti-vaccine activist taking a role as a White House czar rather than attempting to win Senate confirmation to lead an agency, the people said. Kennedy and his advisers have also been drafting 30-, 60- and 90-day plans for what they would like to accomplish after Donald Trump is inaugurated, according to one person familiar with the planning process.

“The president has asked me to clean up corruption and conflicts at the agencies and to end the chronic disease epidemic,” Kennedy said in an interview Wednesday. “He wants measurable results in two years and to return those agencies to their long traditions of gold-standard evidence-based science and medicine.”

Trump advisers say that nothing will be firmly decided until after the election, in which polls show Trump is in a tight race against Vice President Kamala Harris. They warn, too, that Trump can be mercurial.

But Kennedy’s rising influence was reflected Wednesday night when Howard Lutnick, co-chair of the Trump transition team, made a startling admission during an appearance on CNN: He had come to doubt the power of vaccines,



Robert F. Kennedy Jr. appears at a Trump rally Sunday at Madison Square Garden in New York.

after a 2½-hour conversation with Kennedy.

“Why do you think vaccines are safe? ... They’re not proven,” Lutnick said, repeating Kennedy’s debunked claims about vaccines’ link to autism and insufficient data on their harms. He added that Kennedy wants to study the data himself and make recommendations.

“I think it’ll be pretty cool to give him the data. Let’s see what he comes up with,” Lutnick said.

Lutnick’s remarks were immediately panned by public health experts, who said they threatened to undercut confidence in lifesaving vaccines.

The prospect of Kennedy holding any senior government role has increasingly alarmed public health leaders and federal workers who say that he should not be allowed anywhere near the nation’s public health infrastructure. As an anti-vaccine activist, Kennedy spent years lobbying lawmakers across the country and the world to reduce their use of vaccines — including leaders of Samoa in 2019, as the country reeled from a measles outbreak that left

dozens of children dead.

Jerome M. Adams, who under Trump served as U.S. surgeon general — the nation’s top doctor — also warned his former boss against appointing Kennedy to a senior role, saying he could undermine vaccine confidence and help spark a resurgence of vaccine-preventable disease.

“Bottom line: It’s hard to implement your other political priorities if you’re busy dealing with a measles or polio outbreak,” Adams told The Post.

Kennedy’s representatives have previously denied to The Post that he is anti-vaccine. Kennedy, in previous comments, denied playing any role in Samoa’s measles outbreak.

The Trump campaign did not comment on Kennedy’s potential responsibilities in a future administration, including whether he would hold any role overseeing vaccines and whether he would take a job that would need to be confirmed by the Senate.

“The only thing President Trump and his campaign team are focused on is winning on Nov. 5,” Jason Miller, a campaign senior

adviser, told The Post. “Everything after that is after that, and President Trump has made clear that Bobby Kennedy will play an important role.”

Kennedy has been working to identify possible personnel for a future Trump administration, a list that Trump advisers say includes Casey and Calley Means, siblings and health-care entrepreneurs who have become close advisers to Kennedy; Marty Makary, a Johns Hopkins University physician who advised the Trump White House on health-care price transparency; and former Trump health officials such as former Centers for Disease Control and Prevention director Robert Redfield and former Department of Health and Human Services spokesman Michael Caputo.

The Means siblings, Makary, Redfield and Caputo have been working with Kennedy to roll out his “Make America Healthy Again” (MAHA) platform, an initiative to tackle chronic disease and childhood illnesses — and a deliberate riff on Trump’s “Make America Great Again” (MAGA) slogan. None of them responded to questions about their potential roles in a future Trump administration, with several declining to comment.

Both Trump and Kennedy have publicly said that he has been promised an expansive role should Trump win back the White House. People close to Trump said the discussions have centered on food safety and vaccines. Those people and other Trump advisers spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private conversations.

“I’m gonna let him go wild on health. I’m gonna let him go wild on the food. I’m gonna let him go wild on medicines,” Trump told supporters in New York City on Sunday.

Kennedy told his own supporters in a Zoom call Monday that Trump has promised him “control of the public health agencies,” singling out the Department of Health and Human Services and its subagencies, and also naming the Department of Agriculture. The agencies are collectively responsible for implementing food and public health regulations; approving vaccines, medications and health-care devices; enforcing safety measures in food-processing facilities; steering billions of dollars in federal research initiatives; and overseeing Medicare, Medicaid and the Affordable Care Act, among many other responsibilities.

“Nobody would hire him in a health job in the real world,” said Georges C. Benjamin, executive director of the American Public Health Association, who added that Kennedy has “no credibility” after years of questioning the safety of vaccines.

From anti-vaccine advocate to key Trump ally

Trump advisers and campaign surrogates have downplayed the possibility of Kennedy being involved with vaccine oversight, worried about provoking a backlash from large majorities of voters who trust vaccines to provide necessary protection against potentially lethal diseases. About 90 percent of Americans say that the benefits of childhood vaccines for measles, mumps and rubella outweigh the risks, according to a Pew Research poll released in May 2023.

But recent polls also show rising distrust in vaccine safety, and Trump and Kennedy have found common ground in discussing their shared concerns about vaccines. The former president — who oversaw the nation’s largest-ever vaccine push by championing the rapid development of corona-

virus vaccines — also has falsely linked childhood vaccinations to autism and has threatened to withhold money from schools with vaccine mandates.

Kennedy has made clear to Trump advisers that he is passionate about addressing vaccine issues as they discuss jobs in a potential administration, according to two people familiar with those conversations.

The rapid ascent of Kennedy in Trump’s orbit — from third-party presidential rival to key figure in Trump’s second-term plans — also reflects Trump’s own amorphous, often transactional approach to developing policy. The former Democrat has never held a senior government role, has warned against the safety of the coronavirus vaccines developed under the Trump administration and previously predicted that Trump’s “despicable” moves to loosen environmental safety restrictions as president would harm Americans’ health.

Yet both men have identified an opportunity in the other: Trump wants Kennedy’s coalition of independent supporters, which could make a difference in what is expected to be a narrow race for the presidency, while Kennedy sees a path to accomplishing his long-held goal of reshaping federal food and health regulations.

The alliance came after a hurried courtship that began on July 13 — with a phone conversation arranged hours after Trump was shot while speaking at a rally in Pennsylvania — and continued with a private meeting two days later, with Kennedy sneaking into Trump’s hotel as the Republican National Convention got underway in Milwaukee.

Trump wanted Kennedy to abandon his third-party bid for the presidency, which had siphoned some of Trump’s voters. In exchange, Kennedy wanted the guarantee of a specific job in a potential Trump administration and a speaking slot at that week’s convention — a deal Trump did not make.

But as Kennedy’s campaign continued to fade, he agreed to endorse Trump on Aug. 23 and campaign for him.

The rapid realignment of the two men has reshaped the priorities and personnel of a potential Trump administration. Sid Miller, the Texas agriculture commissioner, told The Post that he had submitted more than a dozen names to the Trump transition team — drawing from the narrow universe of people supportive of both Trump and Kennedy’s MAHA agenda.

“They have to be 110 percent loyal to Donald Trump, and they have to buy into Making America Healthy Again,” said Miller, who has said he is being considered for agriculture secretary under Trump.

Kennedy has not ruled out taking a job as Cabinet secretary or as a top agency official, which would give him more direct control of policies and day-to-day operations, according to people familiar with the planning process.

But some Trump advisers have predicted that Kennedy would not want to undergo a Senate confirmation fight to lead an agency, pointing to his acknowledgment of personal “skeletons” and news reports of Kennedy’s extramarital affairs and other entanglements — that tend to be unearthed in grueling battles to win senior government roles.

“He’s not getting a job for HHS,” Lutnick said Wednesday night on CNN.

Instead, advisers envision Kennedy probably would hold a role reporting directly to Trump, overseeing a cross-government collection of agencies and initiatives.

Some Trump advisers speculate that Kennedy could be tapped to lead a panel examining the safety of vaccines — a priority he first urged Trump to pursue before he was sworn in as president. Trump was subsequently talked out of it by philanthropist Bill Gates and health-care experts.

Trump advisers have also privately said Kennedy’s future vaccine oversight efforts could focus on newer vaccines, such as those developed to fight the coronavirus, rather than more established vaccines to prevent polio and measles, mumps and rubella. (Kennedy has publicly raised doubts about those childhood vaccines, too.)

Kennedy also has vowed to clean house at federal agencies, warning Food and Drug Administration officials on social media last week to “preserve your records” and “pack your bags.”

Some Trump allies and advisers are skeptical that Kennedy will receive the expansive portfolio he has been promised, noting that Trump made a flurry of campaign

pledges in 2016 that ultimately did not pan out when he became president.

One former health official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to protect their relationship with the former president, warned that nothing is settled until Trump clarifies Kennedy’s role — and that Trump typically grows weary of subordinates who seek the spotlight.

“The fact that Kennedy’s out there talking before Trump’s opined on it is premature,” the official said. “Playing it out in the press? The president hates that.”

A new health agenda

Trump campaign officials told The Post they have been thrilled with Kennedy’s appearances at their fundraisers and events since he endorsed Trump, contending that he has drawn voters who did not plan to vote for Trump or may not have planned to vote at all. Kennedy had “wildly exceeded all expectations” and is viewed as the campaign’s top surrogate, one key Trump adviser said.

Much of Kennedy’s work on behalf of Trump has centered on their Make America Healthy Again initiative, which has focused on ideas such as removing chemicals from food production, eliminating conflicts of interest in medical research, combating the causes of chronic illness and other priorities that have bipartisan appeal but have been frequently overlooked by politicians.

Republicans have said the Kennedy-led agenda is providing a necessary corrective after years of national debates over health insurance coverage and not on the root causes of disease. “It is refreshing that someone is talking about how to improve health care that doesn’t involve just shoveling more money to the medical-industrial complex,” said Theo Merkel, a former Trump White House health official.

But some public health experts who insist they agree with the message say they can’t bring themselves to support the messengers, noting Kennedy’s and Trump’s past criticism of vaccines and Trump’s efforts to repeal the Affordable Care Act.

And inside the federal government, staffers are increasingly alarmed by Kennedy’s rhetoric, such as a social media post last week criticizing the FDA’s “aggressive suppression” of an array of medicines and substances, many of which the agency has either warned against or refused to approve.

Some Republicans have pushed the Trump transition team to consider more traditional options to lead federal health agencies, saying that Trump’s agenda was sometimes stymied as president because he relied on allies with little or no prior government experience.

Trump advisers have discussed a list of potential HHS secretaries that includes Bobby Jindal, the former governor of Louisiana and a former Bush health official; former Trump health officials Eric Hargan and Seema Verma; and former housing and urban development secretary Ben Carson, among other names, according to people who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a confidential process.

Hargan said he “would be honored” if he is considered for a role under Trump. The others did not comment or directed questions to the Trump campaign, which said it would not comment on potential personnel.

While Kennedy lacks government experience, he has been frequently accompanied by two people who held high-level health jobs under Trump: Redfield and Caputo, who played significant roles in the response to the coronavirus. Both men ended those government stints amid controversies: Redfield, who ran the CDC, faced complaints from former agency leaders who accused him of bowing to political pressure and allowing the White House to shape elements of CDC guidance as the virus raged. Redfield did not respond to requests for comment.

Caputo, who served as the top spokesman at the federal health department, took medical leave for cancer treatment in September 2020, three days after urging Trump’s supporters to prepare for an armed insurrection. “When Joe Biden loses, they will try to steal it,” Caputo said at the time. “He will refuse to concede. ... And when Donald Trump refuses to stand down at the inauguration, the shooting will begin.”

Caputo also accused scientists in his own agency of “sedition” for allegedly working to undermine Trump ahead of that year’s election. He declined to comment for this story.

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SPOTLIGHT:
ERNEST COLE: LOST AND FOUND
Dir. Raoul Peck
Sat, Nov. 9 | 6:30 PM

CENTERPIECE:
DUST TO DUST
Dir. Kosai Sekine
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ELECTION 2024

Post poll finds Michigan a toss-up

Registered voters are split 47% for Trump and 45% for Harris

BY SCOTT CLEMENT, EMILY GUSKIN AND DAN BALZ

Battleground Michigan remains a toss-up in the election's final week, with voters almost evenly divided between supporting Vice President Kamala Harris and former president Donald Trump, according to a Washington Post poll that finds clear strengths and weaknesses for each candidate.

The Post poll finds registered voters split 47 percent for Trump and 45 percent for Harris. Likely voters tilt the other way, with 47 percent supporting Harris and 46 percent backing Trump. Both margins are within the poll's margin of error of 3.7 percentage points, indicating either candidate could hold a lead. Harris's slightly better standing with likely voters owes to the fact that more of her supporters have participated in recent elections.

In the Senate race for the seat of retiring Democratic Sen. Debbie Stabenow, registered voters are split, with 46 percent supporting Democrat Elissa Slotkin versus 45 percent supporting Republican Mike Rogers. Among likely voters, 48 percent back Slotkin and 45 percent back Rogers.

When asked their preference for which party should control the Senate, which is now held by the Democrats, 48 percent of likely Michigan voters say they want Republicans in charge, while 47 percent say they prefer Democrats.

The close contests are unsurprising in a swing state that favored President Joe Biden by 2.8 percentage points in 2020 and Trump by 0.2 points in 2016. Harris's clearest path to victory this year is by winning the three so-called "blue wall" states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. Those three states, along with a single electoral vote from a Nebraska congressional district and other states where she is clearly favored, would put Harris at 270 electoral votes, the exact number needed to claim the White House.

If Trump were to lose Wisconsin and Pennsylvania but win Michigan's 15 electoral votes along with other states he is expected to win, Harris would then need to win Georgia or North Carolina, each with 16 electoral votes, or, failing that, carry both Arizona and Nevada, which combined account for 17 electoral votes.

Trump has clear advantages in the Wolverine State: Nearly 6 in 10 registered voters rate the national economy negatively, despite declining inflation and steady economic growth, and 76 percent of likely voters in this group support him for president, according to the poll.

More than half the electorate (57 percent) say the economy is an extremely important issue, the highest of any polled. Trump also holds a seven-point edge over Harris when voters were asked which candidate would better handle the economy. On the specific question of which candidate would do more to help middle-class workers — often a topic on which Democrats have a polling advantage — voters are split about evenly.

Nearly half of Michigan voters say immigration is extremely important to their vote (47 percent), and among Republicans, this rises to 71 percent. Overall, immigration as an issue ranks second behind only the economy. Voters say they think Trump would do a better job handling immigration than Harris, by 51 percent to 38 percent.

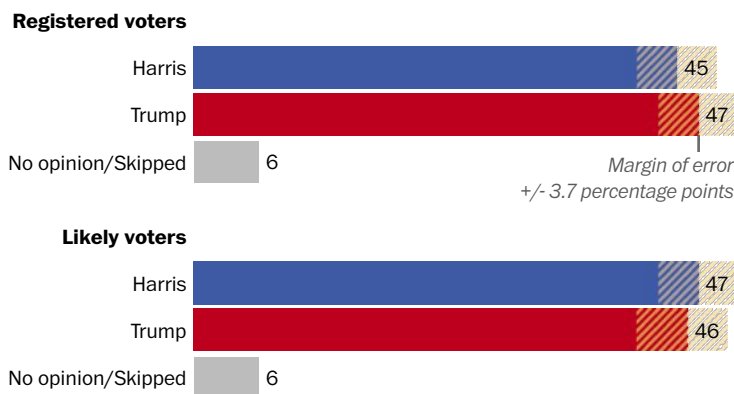
They are divided, however, over one of Trump's most controversial proposals, which is to deport most undocumented immigrants. The poll finds that 48 percent say they favor offering undocumented immigrants a chance to apply for legal status, while 46 percent favor Trump's proposal for deportation.

Abortion is Harris's strongest issue; 64 percent of Michigan voters say abortion should be legal in all or most cases and 68 percent of this group supports her for president. Voters prefer Harris to handle abortion issues by a 13-point margin over Trump — her largest margin across any issue in the poll. She also holds a six-point edge over Trump on handling health care, her second-best issue.

About 4 in 10 voters say abor-

Tight race among registered voters and likely voters in Michigan

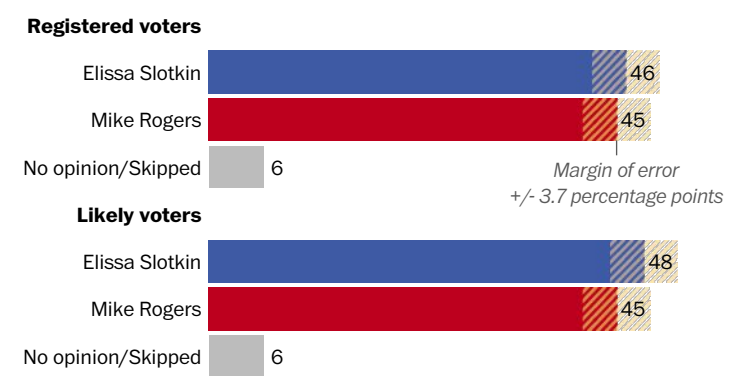
Q: If the presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Kamala Harris and Tim Walz, the Democrats, and Donald Trump and JD Vance, the Republicans, for whom would you vote? Who would you lean toward?



Note: Includes those who already voted. Other candidates and those who said "would not vote" not shown. Yellow bars indicate error margin.
Source: Oct. 24-28, 2024, Washington Post poll of 1,003 registered and likely voters in

Michigan Senate race is also close

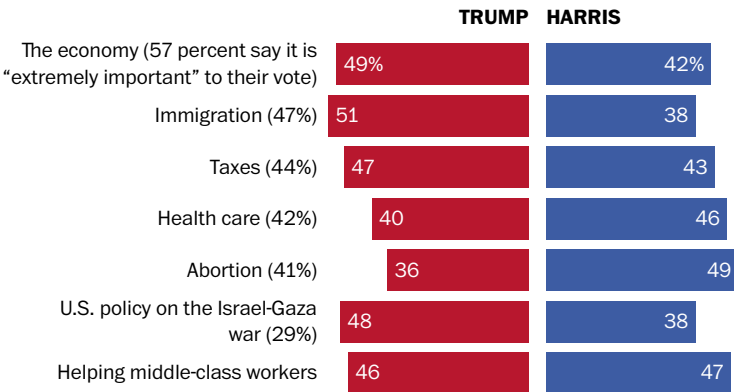
Q: If the 2024 election for the U.S. Senate were being held today and the candidates were Elissa Slotkin, the Democrat, and Mike Rogers, the Republican, for whom would you vote?



Note: Includes those who already voted. Other candidates and those who said "would not vote" not shown. Yellow bars indicate error margin.
Source: Oct. 24-28, 2024, Washington Post poll of 1,003 registered and likely voters in Michigan with an error margin of +/- 3.7 percentage points.

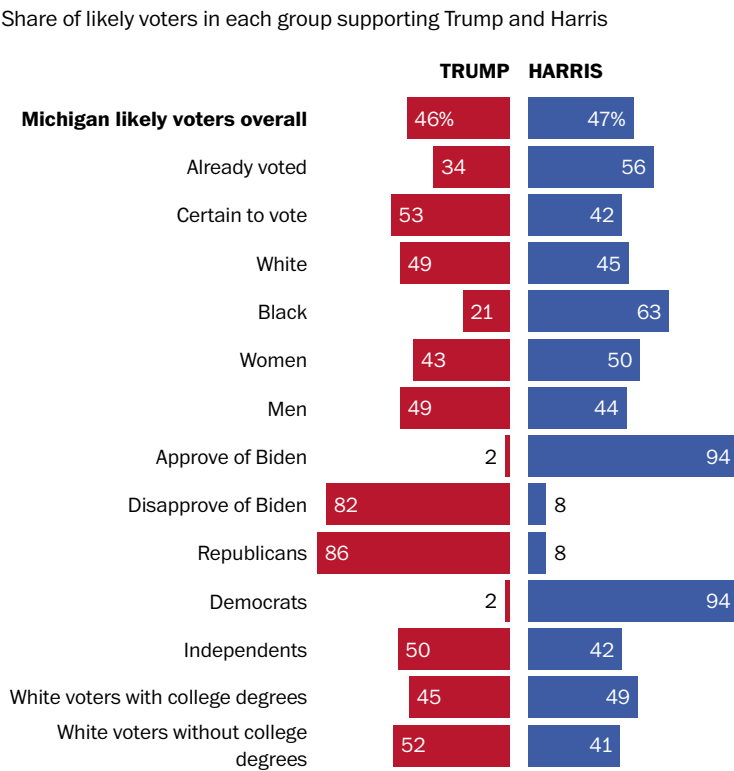
Trump has lead on handling economy and immigration; Harris on abortion and health care

Q: How important will each of these issues be in your choice of which candidate to support? Which candidate do you think would do a better job handling each of the following, Harris, Trump or neither?



Note: Other responses not shown.
Source: Oct. 24-28, 2024, Washington Post poll of 1,003 registered voters in Michigan with an error margin of +/- 3.7 percentage points.

Presidential support among key voting groups in Michigan



Note: Other responses not shown.
Source: Oct. 24-28, 2024, Washington Post poll of 1,003 likely voters in Michigan with an error margin of +/- 3.7 percentage points. Error margins are larger among subgroups.

tion is extremely important in their vote — behind the economy and immigration — but Democrats rate it as their top issue, with more than 6 in 10 saying it is extremely important in their vote. Nearly half of women say the same.

By a 10-point margin, Michigan voters say Trump would better handle U.S. policy on the Israel-Gaza war, although the war ranks lowest on a list of issues voters say are extremely important. Twice as many Trump supporters say the issue is extremely important in their voting decision as Harris supporters —

40 percent to 20 percent. There has been considerable media focus on the state's Arab American population and whether Harris could lose support because of the Biden administration's support of Israel paired with deep concerns about the suffering of Palestinian civilians from Israel's war against Hamas. Arab Americans make up 2 percent of Michigan likely voters, according to the poll. That sample size is too small to report results among Arab Americans alone. Harris's support base includes voters who, based on past voting

history, appear more certain to cast ballots. While overwhelming majorities of Trump and Harris voters say they are absolutely certain to vote or have already cast a ballot, the poll finds Harris supporters are more likely to have voted in the 2020 general election than Trump backers (70 percent vs. 61 percent). Harris voters are 15 points more likely than Trump voters to have turned out in the 2022 general election in Michigan, when Democratic Gov. Gretchen Whitmer easily won reelection and voters approved a ballot initiative protecting abortion rights.

Harris voters have gotten a head start in casting their ballots in Michigan this year, according to the poll. More than one-third of likely voters say they have already voted, among whom 56 percent voted for Harris, while 34 percent supported Trump. Trump leads by 53 percent to 42 percent among voters who say they are certain to vote but have not yet cast a ballot.

The poll also shows warning signs for each candidate.

Black Michiganders who are likely voters favor Harris by 63 percent to 21 percent, far lower than Biden's 92 percent support in 2020 according to network exit polls. Some 13 percent of Black likely voters say they are undecided in the Post poll, compared with 5 percent of White voters who say the same.

Trump appears to have made inroads among union members, who split their support 48 percent for Harris and 46 percent for Trump. But Harris holds a 19-point advantage among voters in union households who are not members themselves. In 2020, Biden won both groups by double digits in the state, according to the AP VoteCast election survey.

Biden's unpopularity is a clear hurdle for Harris, with 41 percent of voters in the state approving of the president's performance and 56 percent disapproving. Among those who disapprove, 82 percent support Trump while 8 percent back Harris. The vice president is supported by 94 percent of those who approve of Biden's job performance.

One challenge for Trump is consolidating self-identified Republicans. Currently, 94 percent of Michigan Democrats support Harris while 86 percent of Republicans back their party's nominee. Among independents, Trump is at 50 percent support compared with 42 percent for Harris.

Trump is also suffering from some potential falloff in support from White voters without college degrees, who make up half of the Michigan electorate. The poll finds him leading by 11 points with this group compared with his 21-point advantage in 2020 exit polls.

White college graduates are almost evenly divided according to the poll, with 49 percent of likely voters backing Harris and 45 percent supporting Trump. In 2020 Biden won his group by seven points, according to exit polls.

Michigan has been roiled with controversy over the 2020 election, with election deniers often prominent among local Republican Party enclaves. Acceptance of the 2020 election is a core dividing line among voters, with 55 percent of Michigan voters saying Biden won that election "fair and square," while 33 percent echo Trump's untrue claims that Biden won because of voter fraud. Another 12 percent report no opinion. About 8 in 10 voters who say Biden won fairly support Harris, while 96 percent of those who claim fraud support Trump. Among those who say they don't know, 81 percent support Trump.

Asked about this year's election, 70 percent of voters say they are confident voters in Michigan will be counted accurately, including more than 9 in 10 Democrats and nearly 7 in 10 independents. A narrower 52 percent majority of Republicans are confident the state will count votes accurately.

The Washington Post poll was conducted Oct. 24-28 among a random sample of 1,004 registered voters in Michigan drawn from a statewide voter database. Live caller interviews reached respondents on cellphones (63 percent) and landlines (11 percent); 26 percent of respondents were reached via text message and invited to take the survey online. The overall margin of error is plus or minus 3.7 percentage points for both registered and likely voters; all registered voters were assigned a probability of voting to produce likely voter results.

Democrats step up their pitch to Native voters

BY PATRICK SVITEK AND DYLAN WELLS

Democrats are making a final push to gain the support of Native American voters in a close presidential race, part of a broader push to court a voting bloc that has long felt overlooked.

"We're here because we're not taking any vote for granted, and we're here to show the respect to the Navajo Nation and earn your vote," the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Tim Walz, said during a visit Saturday to the sprawling reservation centered in northeast Arizona.

It was the first trip by a candidate on either presidential ticket this cycle to one of the most populous tribal nations — and one of two events Walz headlined in as many days targeting Native voters.

Standing in front of Window Rock — the namesake sandstone formation of the Navajo Nation capital — Walz, wearing a beaded turquoise necklace, promised Vice President Kamala Harris would show more respect for tribal communities in the White House than former president Donald Trump.

In recent weeks, Democrats have spent money on ads, staff and other efforts across battleground states to mobilize Native Americans as a potential difference-maker in a tight race.

Much of the outreach has been focused on Arizona, which has the largest Native population of any battleground state. President Joe Biden's razor-thin margin of victory there in 2020 — 10,457 votes — highlighted how decisive this vote can be.

"The difference between Kamala Harris and Gov. Walz winning in the state of Arizona, or Donald Trump and that other guy, the difference could be here on the Navajo Nation," Arizona Sen. Mark Kelly said Saturday, addressing a reservation with a population of over 165,000 — the most populous in the country.

Republicans have also made efforts at outreach to tribal communities in Arizona, arguing, among other things, that Trump is the best candidate to create economic opportunity for them. About a fifth of Native Americans live below the poverty level, according to the American Community Survey.

"We can't be doomed again," Myron Lizer, a Republican and former vice president of the Navajo Nation said as he protested at the Walz event, according to the Navajo Times. "Our people have been voting Democrat for over five decades and nothing's changed."

Native Americans make up just over 1 percent of the U.S. population, according to 2020 census data. In Arizona, they are just under 5 percent of the population.

While Biden is no longer seeking reelection, his legacy looms large in the push for Native votes.

He tapped former New Mexico congresswoman Deb Haaland to serve as interior secretary, making her the first Native American Cabinet-level secretary. He moved to protect land around the Grand Canyon from further uranium mining, a priority of tribes in the region.

And on Friday, Biden went to the Gila River Indian Community near Phoenix to formally apologize for the U.S. policy that sent Native American children to boarding schools for 150 years, taking them from their families and stripping them of their culture.

"I know I speak for everyone when I say that we've never had a president — or vice president — who've done more for Indian country," Stephen Roe Lewis, governor of the Gila River Indian Community, said as he introduced Biden.

The outreach extends down the ballot in Arizona.

The state's Democratic nominee for Senate, Rep. Ruben Gallego, has set a goal of visiting all 22 federally recognized tribes in the state by Election Day. He checked off his 20th tribe earlier this month when he hiked to the bottom of the Grand Canyon to meet with the Havasupai.

In Arizona's 2nd Congressional District, Native voters are especially galvanized as the former president of the Navajo Nation, Jonathan Nez (D), runs against Rep. Eli Crane (R).

"As Native Americans, our voices have long been marginalized, but now is the time for us to reclaim our power and make our presence felt," Nez said Sunday in Window Rock, as attendees waved signs that used Native slang to encourage people to vote Democratic.

In reaching out to Native voters, both parties are up against decades of skepticism and disillusionment with politics.

"Both sides have some uphill work to do because I think Native

Americans ... don't really perceive that either party really has invested in building relationships with them," said Gabriel Sanchez, a political science professor at the University of New Mexico who studies Native American communities.

There are dozens of federally recognized tribes across the battleground states and many are in harder-to-reach areas. To visit Window Rock, Walz flew in and out of the municipal airport in Gallup, a small city in northwestern New Mexico.

"It's not like there's a huge city like Phoenix where you can go and meet Latinos and it's a very efficient outreach," said Stephen Nuño-Perez, a professor at Northern Arizona University who recently helped oversee polling on the Native vote in the state. "There's a lot of barriers not only within the community, but there's a lot of barriers within the institution to reach out to this community."

Native Americans have long faced unique hurdles to voting, whether it be limited access to polling places, language barriers or misconceptions about their rights.

Anne Egan-Waukau, who works for a nonpartisan Native outreach group called Wisconsin Conservation Voices, recalled how when she went to register to vote in the Milwaukee suburbs 20 years ago, she was asked where she was born. She replied the Menominee reservation, and she was told — wrongly — she was ineligible to cast a ballot.

"Don't ever let anyone tell you can't vote," she said she routinely tells Native Americans.

When it comes to the current presidential election, Sanchez said, "the Harris campaign has definitely had much more of a strategic and public-facing Native American outreach plan."

The Harris campaign has run television and radio ads targeted at the Navajo Nation. It expects to have 31 organizers focused on Native outreach in Arizona by Tuesday. It also has a dedicated staffer for outreach in another battleground state, Wisconsin, which has 11 federally recognized tribes.

The Democratic National Committee has also launched ads as part of what it says is its largest investment ever in Native outreach.

Republicans have staff that meet with voters in the Navajo Nation on a weekly basis, according to an RNC spokesperson. In Arizona, Lizer is an especially visible surrogate, starring in radio ads for the Arizona GOP.

A key surrogate for Democrats is Walz's lieutenant governor in Minnesota, Peggy Flanagan, who stands to become the first Indigenous woman to serve as governor if he leaves for Washington.

In both Arizona and Nevada, Walz promised to respect tribal sovereignty, promote tribal consultation and ensure tribal self-determination. He also offered pointed contrasts with Trump, noting, for example, his administration's dispute with Native American tribes over billions of dollars in relief from the coronavirus pandemic, which hit their communities particularly hard.

"Time and time again, Donald Trump had to do what was right for Indian country, and he chose the opposite," Walz said in Window Rock.

In Las Vegas, attendees booed and shook their heads when Walz recalled Trump hosting Navajo code talkers who visited the White House in front of a portrait of former president Andrew Jackson, who forced the Trail of Tears removal of thousands of Native Americans.

Republicans argue Trump has a strong track record on issues important to Native voters. Among the examples they cite are his creation of a task force on missing and murdered American Indians and Alaska Natives.

"Native Americans in Arizona and across our Nation need President Trump more than ever before and are eager for a return to his leadership in the White House," RNC spokesperson Halee Dobbins said in a statement.

Among the people who came to see Walz, there was appreciation for Biden's apology and the broader political outreach this election cycle — but also awareness that it is a work in progress.

Nellie Davis, 36, the founder of a traditional wellness studio in Reno and an enrolled member of the Walker River Paiute Tribe, said she has been working on tribal outreach to every reservation in Nevada.

"We have folks in the community who say that they haven't had any outreach in the last few years," she said at Walz's event in Las Vegas. "I think that the efforts that are being made are in the right direction."

ELECTION 2024

Sandy Hook survivors put their experience into their votes

BY KIM BELLWARE

It was barely two weeks into Ella Seaver's freshman year of college when her phone buzzed with an alert that made the 19-year-old's heart sink. A school shooting in Winder, Georgia, several people already dead.

In an instant, Seaver understood how the shooting survivors' future was about to shift: They might no longer walk into a classroom carefree and toss down their backpack at any seat they wish. Instead, every new room will be scanned for the nearest exit and the best place to hide. The innocuous sounds of life — a sharp clap of hands or a water bottle clattering to the floor — will make them jump.

"Every time I see a school shooting, my first and second thought is: 'Now there are more kids like me,'" Seaver told The Washington Post.

Seaver was 7 years old when she survived the 2012 massacre at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut, where a gunman wielding an AR-style rifle killed 20 children and six adults.

In the years since Sandy Hook, there have been a lot more kids like Seaver. More than 383,000 students have experienced gun violence at their schools since the 1999 shooting at Columbine High School, according to a Washington Post analysis.

For the majority of their lives, the Sandy Hook survivors have grown up with the frustrating reality that little around gun control has changed, even as the death toll from gun violence, particularly among children, rises apace.

Six survivors from Sandy Hook, now ages 18 and 19, spoke to The Washington Post about how the shooting still influences the trajectory of their lives as they enter adulthood and gear up to become leaders in the next generation of gun violence prevention efforts. First up: voting in their first-ever presidential election.

Vice President Kamala Harris and former president Donald Trump diverge sharply in their approach to gun control, a high-stakes dynamic for an election that will shape leadership around gun violence prevention for the next four years or more.

"There is one candidate who is clearly pro-gun control, and one candidate who is not," said survivor Matt Holden, now 18 and a freshman at George Washington University. "I can guarantee that somebody out there — somebody's child, brother or sister or mother or father — somebody is going to lose a loved one that they shouldn't have lost, all because the wrong person came into office."

Energized over casting their first presidential ballots, the students are supporting Harris in November; several of those who spoke to The Post met Harris earlier this year, before she became the Democratic nominee, to discuss their experiences. And while their political views are hardly monolithic, they agree that a goal of the next iteration of the gun-control movement should be to extricate what they define as a safety issue from the realm of partisan politics.

According to a Pew Research poll from July, 61 percent of Americans believe it's too easy to legally obtain a gun; the poll found that nearly the same share, 58 percent, want stricter gun laws.

"The country is so caught up in seeing guns as this political debate, when this isn't a political problem — it's a human problem," Seaver said. The issue has become so politically polarized that seeing eye to eye "doesn't even look like an option."

'Riled up' on Capitol Hill

No one expects overnight change from a single election, but the prospect of voting has given Grace Fischer a fresh sense of hope.

"It's so different because I feel like now that I'm 18, I'm involved," Fischer said. "Obviously, when I was 16, 17, I was doing, like, the most I could. But really being able to vote is just a different level of opportunity."

The students, who were 6- and 7-year-olds during the shooting, have spent most of their lives in what they call the protective bubble of Newtown. Their parents urged them to grasp what threads of normalcy they could from a childhood shredded by unspeakable violence. For years, they kept a low profile, outside a few interviews and charity events to honor their slain classmates.

In their final semesters of high school, the survivors joined the



SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST



HEATHER AINSWORTH



FAMILY PHOTO

TOP: Matt Holden, a freshman at George Washington University and a survivor of the 2012 Sandy Hook Elementary shooting, is supporting Vice President Kamala Harris in his first presidential election. LEFT: Grace Fischer, a student at Hamilton College is poised to vote in her first presidential election. "Young voters can make or break this election. I'm excited to see what this generation can do," she says. RIGHT: Sandy Hook classmates Lilly Wasilnak, left, and Ella Seaver at their high school graduation in June.

Junior Newtown Action Alliance, a student club focused on activism and education around gun violence prevention. Their experiences as survivors whose classmates and teachers were killed led to their first major interview in June, a sit-down with "Good Morning America" ahead of their high school graduation, set with 20 empty chairs.

That same week, several students went to Washington, where they met with members of Congress and were invited to the White House to meet with Harris, who oversees the first White House Office of Gun Violence Prevention.

While the students said ABC anchor George Stephanopoulos and Harris were eager to hear their stories and described the vice president as genuine, knowledgeable and comforting, some talks on Capitol Hill left them frustrated.

Fischer in particular recalls staff for Sen. Marco Rubio (R-Florida) being resistant to the students' message — "like they didn't want anything to do with it and were kind of sitting there, almost waiting for us to be done talking."

"That got me riled up," Fischer said. "It brought out a whole different character in me. It made me want to get on this issue because, how can people sit here and listen to our stories and not acknowledge anything from it?"

No lawmakers were outright rude, the students said, but some felt that Republicans regarded the survivors as little more than gun-grabbing activists. Regular people being allowed to have handguns and hunting rifles isn't the problem, they said; it's civilian possession of military-style weapons like the Bushmaster AR-style rifle used to kill their classmates.

The congressional meetings left Holden with the sense that lawmakers beholden to the money and influence of the gun lobby benefit by keeping the true toll of gun violence an arm's-length abstraction.

"These lawmakers do so much to alienate themselves from the actual violence, the actual loss. They take money from the NRA and vote down every law that could actually make a difference," Holden said. "It's easier to say 'thoughts and prayers' and then shut us out and move on."

At the White House, the survivors found Harris to be an open and engaged listener, asking them questions and discussing solutions — with a dash of

life advice.

"We told her our stories, and she listened to us — really listened," Holden said. "After that, she talked to us not as if we were kids. Some lawmakers talked to us like we were kids just [at the Capitol] for show."

His Sandy Hook classmate Henry Terifay, 18, has generally hung back from rallies and marches but continues to look for ways he can share his story to honor the memory of Chase Kowalski, his 7-year-old best friend who was killed at Sandy Hook and whose name he has tattooed on his shoulder. He joined the June cohort and left Washington impressed by Harris.

The Harris meeting "gave me more confidence than I'm used to when people just say, 'Oh, we're going to fix it,'" Terifay said. Harris "gave more than, 'I'll try, guys.'"

"If you at all care about gun control and keeping kids safe in school, it shouldn't even be a question of who would give us the better chance to fix this," Terifay added. "Trump had a full term of being president, and I didn't see anything happen. I didn't get any emails from him."

Life beyond the 'Newtown bubble'

Going off to college marked the first time the survivors are living outside Newtown and en-

tering the world of students whose hometowns are not synonymous with a school shooting that made even the president weep.

Holden's mother gave him a pillow emblazoned with "From Sandy Hook to George Washington," a piece of dorm room decor that caught stares by his second day on campus. Visitors to his room would see the pillow and gawk, Holden said. He asked if they had questions, already knowing what his answers would be: "Yes, I'm from Sandy Hook. Yes, I was there."

The students don't shy away from discussing their experiences at Sandy Hook, but first-time revelations can be awkward. When Terifay shared a People magazine issue featuring the Sandy Hook survivors for part of a class project, "the whole mood kind of changed," he said. "No one asked questions after that."

For all the external curiosity and awkwardness when classmates realize who they are, among themselves, the survivors are understanding in new ways how their experiences have made them different from their peers.

At the sound of screaming outside Holden's dorm room one day in early September, he jumped up and raced down five flights of stairs.

"I was like, 'God, why is this screaming going on? Is it a shoot-

ing outside?'" Holden recalled. "We're always going to be a little more alert, a little bit more jumpy, because it's always been at the forefront of our minds that if it happened once, it can happen again."

Outside, Holden saw the source of the shrieks coming from the park, where someone had set up an inflatable bounce house.

That same month, Fischer went through a mental checklist to steel herself to join friends at an outdoor concert to see Pitbull. She mapped in her head where she would run if there was a commotion. She had to tamp down anxieties that she was taking a risk by being in a large outdoor crowd, like the victims of the 2017 Route 91 Harvest festival shooting in Las Vegas.

"I'm 18, and I just went to my first concert ever in my life," Fischer said. "It was a big step for me."

The triggers and survivor's guilt have been a part of their lives for years now. But choosing a major in college has brought reminders of the ambitions they had before the shooting.

"Knowing 7-year-old Ella, she would have been a marine biologist, or maybe something in art," Seaver said. By the time she was 8, Seaver shifted to wanting to be a therapist, to help trauma survivors like herself.

Holden and his Sandy Hook classmate Emma Ehrens, 18, both wanted to be teachers. Holden is now interested in politics, Ehrens in legal affairs.

"I really, really wanted to be a teacher because of my second-grade teacher after Sandy Hook, who basically made sure that every one of her students was okay," said Ehrens, one of 11 children from Classroom 10 who survived after the gunman killed five of their classmates and two teachers.

The year after the shooting, Ehrens said her teacher Abbey Clements "let me cling to her" and despite dealing with her own trauma, answered Ehrens's questions: Where are my teachers? Where are my friends? Why did this happen?

But as Ehrens grew older, the march of school shootings seemed "never ending." She had wanted to teach first grade and envisioned her future students when she struggled to contemplate an impossible set of what-ifs.

"What happens if someone comes into my first-grade classroom? As a teacher, what do I do?

Do I protect them? Like my teacher tried to protect us?" Ehrens said.

The chilling prospect of having to risk her life to save her students eventually outweighed the pros of teaching. Letting go of that dream, Ehrens said, was painful. The day she told her mother she no longer wanted to be a teacher, Ehrens said, she cried.

A lifetime of activism

For all the ways the survivors' lives have been touched by the Sandy Hook shooting, they have a striking lack of self-pity over its long-lasting effects. They also understand the degree to which they remain associated with Sandy Hook as adults is a choice.

No one would blame them for sidestepping activism and diving head first into a new life on a college campus where no one knows their story. But the survivors who spoke to The Post feel a sense of duty to honor the memories of the victims. The bonds of love and friendship with their slain classmates have proved stronger than the pull of apathy and frustration.

Ehrens considers herself lucky to be in college, studying what she wishes, having fun with her friends. Meanwhile, her fallen classmates are frozen in time, "forever 6, 7, 8" years old, she said.

As time has worn on, Ehrens said one of the hardest parts of surviving has also been the forgetting. She doesn't remember a lot of what happened in Classroom 10, other than leaving — something she sees as her brain protecting her from the horror of the moment. But gone, too, are the sharper memories of her friends who died, like Avielle Richman, Jesse Lewis or James Mattioli. She keeps a framed photo of her and Avielle from childhood, but she now struggles to remember the sound of her friend's voice.

Most of all, the survivors are driven to be the generation that can curb American gun violence to spare other people from experiences like their own, something they said they would never wish on anyone.

Trying to move on without creating change would be impossible — like her best friend died in vain, said survivor Lilly Wasilnak, 18.

"Honestly, I'm doing it for the safety of my own kids, because there's no way I could raise children with a sound mind in this country, knowing that I could send them to school and never get them back," Wasilnak said.

The survivors are old enough that their worry about school shootings has transferred from them and their siblings to the children they might have in the future. But to make the country safer by the time they become parents, they acknowledge some strategies in the gun violence prevention movement must change.

Holden notes that despite the intense activism since major shootings in Newtown; Parkland, Florida; and Oxford, Michigan, there have been no new federal laws.

"There's been so little change that it's hard to deny that there is something we're just not doing right here," Holden said.

They have no illusions that marches and rallies alone will lead to new laws or redefine attitudes like those of Trump running-mate Sen. JD Vance (R-Ohio), who called school shootings a "fact of life" following the Apalachee High School killings in Georgia as he rejected stricter gun laws in favor of stronger school security.

The path to change will be hands-on, hard work. As for their role, the survivors know the power of their stories, having seen the way person-to-person appeals can change minds. They have accepted that lawmakers can more easily ignore petitions and protests than they can a human survivor with a story to share.

They also accept the reality that they may well be sharing their stories and revisiting their worst day ever, for the rest of their lives. And while dismissive lawmakers can stoke a fire of defiance, the survivors readily admit they are as motivated as they are desperate. In separate conversations, several used the same word to describe what they would do with a captive policymaker: Beg.

"There's a large part of me that, at this point, I would get down on my knees and beg," Seaver said. "We're so desperate. Plain and simple: I'm begging for my life."



LISA TERIFAY

Henry Terifay got a tattoo that honors his best friend, 7-year-old Chase Kowalski, killed in the shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary.

ELECTION 2024

What we know about Trump, Harris and judicial picks

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

Legal activist Leonard Leo was an architect of what is arguably Donald Trump's most significant legacy as president: remaking the federal judiciary and installing a conservative supermajority on the Supreme Court that delivered long-sought victories for the right on abortion, guns and federal regulation.

But the leader of the Federalist Society — who had a falling out with Trump, *The Washington Post* reported in February — has not been tapped to reprise that role this election cycle.

Instead, Trump is seeking guidance from a set of more controversial lawyers, according to a person familiar with the former president's thinking on legal issues who spoke on the condition of anonymity to be candid.

Mike Davis, a former Senate aide and clerk to Justice Neil M. Gorsuch whom Trump has touted as a potential member of his next administration, is said to be among those advising Trump on potential judicial nominees. Davis said in an interview that he looked forward to working with Trump on his judicial picks in his second term, just as he did in Trump's first term, when he helped Gorsuch win confirmation to the Supreme Court.

Davis has grabbed attention for inflammatory comments, including that he wants to put migrant children in cages and would enact a "reign of terror" if he were appointed Trump's attorney general.

The person familiar with Trump's legal thinking said Mark Paoletta, an administration attorney who signed off on a delay of aid to Ukraine that led to Trump's first impeachment, is also expected to advise Trump on legal issues. Paoletta did not respond to a request for comment.

A third adviser is expected to be Jeffrey Clark, the former Justice Department attorney charged in Georgia with participating in an effort to overturn the results of the 2020 election, this person said. Clark, who has pleaded not guilty, did not respond to a request for an interview.

"President Trump appointed three fantastic Supreme Court Justices in his first term and greatly respects the institution," Karoline Leavitt, a Trump campaign spokeswoman, said in a statement. She did not respond to other questions.

In September 2023, Trump promised a crowd at a religious gathering that he would appoint "rock solid" conservatives to the Supreme Court in the mold of Justices Antonin Scalia, Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Clarence Thomas if he



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

The Senate Judiciary Committee begins the March 2017 confirmation hearing on Neil M. Gorsuch's nomination to the Supreme Court.

wins a second term. He has also repeatedly promised during his campaign to release a list of Supreme Courts picks — something he also did during his 2016 and 2020 campaigns. But no list has materialized.

Trump's Democratic opponent, Vice President Kamala Harris, has said little about her plans for judicial appointments. Her campaign declined to comment for this article.

Harris, a former prosecutor, California attorney general and U.S. senator, gained attention for sharply questioning Trump's Supreme Court nominees during Senate hearings while she served on the Judiciary Committee.

Some clues about her judicial philosophy come from the Biden administration, which has chosen judges who are significantly more diverse than those chosen by any previous president, said Paul M. Collins Jr., professor of legal studies and political science at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Biden appointed the first Black woman to the Supreme Court, Ketanji Brown Jackson, and more than 60 percent of his nominees to the federal bench have been minorities. Harris has touted the diversity of the administration's picks and reportedly pushed

Biden to select Jackson.

Collins said he expects Harris to follow the template of other recent Democratic presidents in not veering too far to the left on judicial nominations.

"She'd be looking for nominees that reflect the diversity of America and also have a sort of moderate, liberal ideology," Collins said. "Folks who would respect civil rights and liberties and protect precedents set by the Warren court in particular in areas like criminal rights, privacy. Reproductive freedom is going to continue to be a very large issue."

Ty Cobb, who was part of Trump's White House legal team, said whoever wins the election will be forced to pick centrists for the bench because of the challenge of getting nominees confirmed by what is likely to be a narrowly divided Senate.

The electoral map and current polls show Republicans have a greater likelihood of winning control of the upper chamber, which is now controlled by Democrats.

Sen. John Cornyn (Texas), who could become majority leader of a Republican-controlled Senate, has said he wouldn't schedule a vote on a Harris Supreme Court nominee who was too liberal.

At the same time, such moderate Republicans as Lisa Murkow-

ski (Alaska) and Susan Collins (Maine) might balk at more extreme picks by Trump. "I don't think either [Trump or Harris] will depart greatly from the norms," Cobb said.

The next president will probably have less of a chance to put their mark on the federal judiciary than Trump or Biden did. Trump appointed 243 judges, while Biden has won approval for 213 to date. Taken together, that constitutes roughly half of the nation's nearly 900 federal judgeships, with just 45 federal judgeships vacant.

The numbers will fluctuate before the inauguration in January, but the next president could have the fewest openings to fill at the start of a presidential term since 1989, according to figures compiled by Russell Wheeler, a fellow at the Brookings Institution who tracks judicial appointments.

Any openings on the Supreme Court would depend in part on who wins the White House.

A Trump victory would allow one or both of the court's oldest justices, Clarence Thomas, 76, and Samuel A. Alito Jr., 74, to resign without jeopardizing the conservative supermajority.

But conservative justices would most likely try to stay on through a Democratic administration, which means Harris's most likely oppor-

tunity to appoint a justice would come if the court's oldest liberal, Sonia Sotomayor, 70, were to retire. Some Democrats have called for Sotomayor to relinquish her seat while Biden is still president because she has battled diabetes. They worry health complications could force her to step down at some future point when a Democrat is not in the White House.

None of the three justices have offered any indication they plan to retire, however, regardless of who becomes president. And two senior people in the conservative legal movement, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive issue, said it's unlikely that Thomas or Alito would step down even if Trump wins a second term.

Davis said he would advise Trump against releasing a list of prospective Supreme Court nominees because it would probably become "political fodder" for Democrats before Election Day. Others said there is little reason for Trump to do so.

"In 2016, he needed a list to persuade conservatives that he was okay," said Josh Blackman, a professor of law at South Texas College of Law Houston. "He just doesn't need that now. People believe him based on his record from the first term."

Davis said Trump views his ju-

dicial appointments as his most important legacy and wants to build on that. He said Trump wants picks who are "bolder and more fearless" than his first-term judicial nominees, who Davis described as sometimes reining in their rulings to avoid "blowback from left-wing media and groups."

Among the names Davis has praised publicly are 5th Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Kyle Duncan, who said the Supreme Court's 2015 ruling legalizing same-sex marriage "imperils civic peace," and U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon, who dismissed the classified documents criminal case against Trump in Florida.

Legal observers, including Collins and Blackman, said they would expect Trump to look to the conservative 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, which has consistently staked out positions to the right of the Supreme Court, as a source of potential high court nominees. In addition to Duncan, they pointed to Judges James Ho and Andy Oldham.

Other names floated by the conservative Judicial Action Group included Judge Gregory G. Katsas, a Trump appointee to the powerful D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals; Lawrence VanDyke from the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals; and Kristen Waggoner, president of Alliance Defending Freedom, a legal organization that focuses on religious freedom, antiabortion and anti-trans issues.

Legal groups and advocates who are closer to Democrats pointed to Solicitor General Elizabeth B. Prelogar, former associate attorney general Vanita Gupta and California Supreme Court Justice Leondra Kruger as possible high court picks. Some also said Harris seems likely to push for changes at the court long demanded by transparency advocates.

Harris has said she supports Biden's proposal to create an enforceable ethics code for the Supreme Court and 18-year term limits for justices. One of her top aides, Brian Fallon, founded Demand Justice, a progressive legal advocacy group that pushes for Supreme Court overhauls.

"There is a clear crisis of confidence facing the Supreme Court as its fairness has been called into question after numerous ethics scandals and decision after decision overturning long-standing precedent," Harris said in a statement after Biden unveiled his plan over the summer. "These popular reforms will help to restore confidence in the Court, strengthen our democracy, and ensure no one is above the law."

Beth Reinhard, Marianne Levine and Tyler Pager contributed to this report.

Harris's momentum in California could help Democrats' bid to retake House

BY MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

HANFORD, CALIF. — Democrats are increasingly confident that having Kamala Harris as their presidential nominee could bolster them in key California congressional races and help sweep Republicans out of the House.

To win back the majority, House Democrats need to flip only four GOP seats, making California's five most competitive races enough, in theory, to reclaim control. Democrats here believe the Harris-powered surge in energy, fundraising and volunteers will help clinch these races.

"People have more pep in their step for sure," said Rudy Salas, the Democrat challenging GOP Rep. David G. Valadao in California's agriculture-rich Central Valley. "I tell people, we just got to make sure that we use that energy to carry us through November 5."

Though Harris herself has not devoted much time to rallying Democrats back home, her momentum is a source of concern for Republicans in the Golden State and beyond.

House Republicans are particularly concerned about losing ground in suburban California districts, according to two people familiar with the situation who spoke on the condition of anonymity to speak candidly about these races.

House Republicans also worry that former president Donald Trump is not doing enough to cast Harris as an extension of President Joe Biden and convince voters that high prices, immigration and threats to public safety would continue under her watch.

"Numbers were looking really, really good for Republicans and then [Biden] dropped out, so I think that helps Harris," Valadao said, echoing a sentiment shared by several House Republican lawmakers and strategists. "And I feel



JENNA SCHOENEFFELD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Rep. David G. Valadao, center, tours an affordable housing complex in Earlimart, California, on Oct. 3. "I don't win without ticket-splitters," the Republican says of his reelection chances.

like Trump's team needs to do a better job of associating the two."

Of the five competitive districts, which stretch across the rural Central Valley down south to the suburbs of Los Angeles and Orange County, Biden won four by several percentage points in 2020, while Trump won Rep. Ken Calvert's Coachella Valley district by one point.

Republicans flipped the House in 2022 in part because voters in reliably blue states such as California, New York and Oregon felt confident that state legislatures would protect abortion access and sent Republicans to Washington with a mandate to focus on other issues.

Unlike Democrats, who are proudly running with Harris, Republicans here must try to separate themselves from their nomi-

nee and his far-right MAGA movement to convince Harris voters that they're worth reelecting.

"I don't win without ticket-splitters," said Valadao, who voted to impeach Trump for his role in the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection at the U.S. Capitol. "It's been the story of my life."

These California districts are not sure bets for Democrats and remain competitive. While Harris reinvigorated a depressed Democratic base when she became the party's nominee, statewide polls show her running behind Biden's 2020 numbers in some districts.

Speaker Mike Johnson (R-Louisiana) made two trips to California in October to campaign or fundraise for Republicans in the five toss-ups and other districts that lean competitive, while Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries

(D-New York) swung by three Southern California suburban districts.

Democrats see pickup opportunities in the suburbs, such as California's 27th, 41st and 45th districts, which are represented by GOP Reps. Mike Garcia, Calvert and Michelle Steel, respectively. Steel's Orange County district in particular began to heat up after Harris became the nominee, leading Republicans to move resources from other nearby races to shore up her bid.

While some of the voters in these districts left Los Angeles because of high cost-of-living and crime rates, many are socially liberal. That may be why abortion messaging appears to be resonating in these districts — and why some vulnerable Republicans have moderated their positions.

Even before Harris became the nominee, Republican strategists acknowledged that George Whitesides, Garcia's Democratic challenger, was mobilizing voters in a way that made the district more competitive.

At his Santa Clarita campaign office in October, Whitesides joked to over 100 volunteers that they must have already found the 333 new voters they need to beat Garcia's 2020 margin. The week-end before, his campaign knocked on 8,000 doors, it said.

Whitesides's challenge is stopping split-ticket voters who are loyal to Garcia. He often approaches them by touting his record bringing jobs to the district when he was CEO of Virgin Galactic.

"I just say that I'm my own person, and I'll vote however I think will benefit the district," he said. "Whether it's business or national security, I think I clearly won't be afraid to vote how we think we need to benefit the district."

In the campaign's final weeks, Garcia, a former U.S. Navy pilot, has been messaging on security — national, economic and local — while also trying to tie Whitesides to the far left.

"My district has 29 percent Republican registration, which means that, literally, 15 to 20 percent of the Democrats vote for me in order for me to win," he said in an interview. "We need to be able to make sure we're communicating my record to everyone."

A bit north, the climate is slightly more favorable to Republicans, and Valadao believes he will benefit from Trump turning out conservatives. In his district, rows of farms proudly display large Trump-Vance signs that read "Make Goods and Food Affordable Again." Several lower-income and rural counties here went for Trump, even though the

district went for Biden.

A recent poll from the University of California at Berkeley shows Harris slightly behind Biden's favorability in California around the same time four years ago, in part because she is underperforming with Latino voters. While Harris continues to lead Trump with Latinos, 54 percent to 35 percent, that is 20 percentage points lower than the support Biden received in 2020, according to exit polls.

That gap could make a difference in Valadao's and GOP Rep. John Duarte's districts, where Latinos make up over 70 percent of the population. Both Republican incumbents are able to attack their Democratic opponents for their record in the state legislature, which locals blame for raising the gas tax and high housing costs.

Democrats believe Valadao could be the toughest to unseat. He campaigns on his success getting funding for agricultural projects and his strong ties to the district, where he is often seen on his family's dairy farm.

It is possible that none of that will matter if Democrats can successfully turn out their voters. Valadao benefits from low voter turnout in a district that has twice as many registered Democrats as Republicans.

Strong Democratic turnout could wipe out vulnerable Republicans — like it did Valadao during the 2018 anti-Trump "blue wave" midterms. He won back his seat in 2020 even though Biden won his district.

"It's all about turnout," said Salas, Valadao's opponent. "If we could get north of 60 percent, which isn't unheard of for presidential election turnout, I think things look a lot better for us."

Leigh Ann Caldwell contributed to this report.

ELECTION 2024

Harris blasts Trump for insisting he'll ‘protect’ women

BY JUSTINE MCDANIEL

Vice President Kamala Harris chastised Donald Trump on Thursday after the former president said he would protect women whether they “like it or not,” calling the comments “very offensive” and reflective of an individual who doesn’t understand women.

Harris told reporters that the remarks revealed how Trump sees women and showed a disregard for their autonomy. Her criticism added to a backlash from critics who have seized on the comment, characterizing it as a demonstration of Trump’s long history of misogynistic statements and a reminder of the civil court case that found him liable for sexual abuse.

“It actually is, I think, very offensive to women in terms of not understanding their agency, their authority, their right and their ability to make decisions about their own lives, including their own bodies,” Harris told reporters in Madison, Wisconsin, before her departure for a campaign swing in western battleground states.

Harris reiterated those comments later in the day at a rally in Phoenix.

“There’s a saying that you’ve got to listen to people when they tell you who they are,” Harris said. “He does not believe women should have the agency and authority to make decisions about their own bodies. This is the same man who said women should be punished for their choices. He simply does not respect the freedom of women or the intelligence of women to know what is in their own best interest and make decisions accordingly.”

Trump has said during the campaign that he would “protect” women, a vague promise as he has struggled to appeal to female voters, especially those concerned about restrictions on abortion rights. Polls show a significant gender gap between Trump’s and Harris’s supporters in the first presidential election since the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*.

On Wednesday night in Wisconsin, Trump said that his advisers had told him to stop saying he would protect women because it sounded inappropriate.

“My people told me, about four weeks ago — I always say, ‘No, I want to protect the people. I want to protect the women of our country. I want to protect the women.’ ‘Sir, please don’t say that.’ ‘Why?’ They said, ‘We think it’s — we



PAUL RATJE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters listen during a rally for former president and GOP nominee Donald Trump on Thursday in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

think it’s very inappropriate for you to say so,” Trump said. “Why? I’m president. I want to protect the women of our country.” They said, they said, ‘Sir, I just think it’s inappropriate for you to say.’”

Trump continued: “I said, well, I’m going to do it whether the women like it or not.” He put an emphasis on the words “the women.”

Trump’s comments evoked, for many critics, the numerous sexual misconduct allegations against him and his history of misogynistic remarks. Harris swiftly tied the comment to Trump’s support for rolling back reproductive rights. Trump has boasted about appointing three Supreme Court justices who helped overturn *Roe* and has claimed that most Americans prefer that states decide the issue.

Throughout her campaign, Harris has made reproductive rights a centerpiece of her pitch to voters, hoping to win over moderates and independents who support abortion access. Last week, she addressed the top-

“This is just the latest ... by the former president of how he thinks about women and their agency.”

Vice President Kamala Harris, on Donald Trump’s remarks

ic at rallies with singer Beyoncé and former first lady Michelle Obama, laying out a closing argument that women would have more freedom and better reproductive health care under her administration than under Trump.

The former president’s comments Wednesday played into that message. “Donald Trump thinks he should get to make decisions about what you do with your body. Whether you like it or not,” Harris wrote on X.

“This is just the latest in a series of reveals by the former president of how he thinks about women and their agency,” she said Thursday, adding that Trump’s comments “verify, validate and reinforce the fact that he is not going to be fighting for

women’s reproductive rights.” “He does not prioritize the freedom of women and the intelligence of women to make decisions about their own lives and bodies,” she concluded.

Trump’s comments, which were shared widely on social media, came as his campaign was trying to push past broad criticism of sexist and racist remarks made by speakers at his rally Sunday at Madison Square Garden in New York.

One speaker, businessman Grant Cardone, repeated a metaphor that cast the vice president as a prostitute — a theme that has been found throughout the campaign on Trump supporters’ T-shirts, in a vulgar joke Trump promoted on social media about the vice president and a sex act,

and in his suggestion that Harris would be “like a play toy” for world leaders as president.

Trump campaign spokeswoman Karoline Leavitt said Thursday that Trump is “loved by millions of women” and will “make America strong, safe, and prosperous again for all women when he returns to the White House.”

“The media’s negative portrayal of President Trump and his treatment of women is entirely false,” Leavitt said in a statement.

Other critics denouncing Trump’s language Wednesday noted his history with women, including that he was found liable for sexually abusing and defaming the writer E. Jean Carroll. Last week, a former swimsuit model accused Trump of groping her in the 1990s, becoming the latest of several women on a list that includes at least 17 other women who have accused the former president of grabbing or kissing them without consent. His campaign said the former model’s claim was false, and he has said other accusers are lying.

Trump bragged in vulgar terms

about kissing, groping and trying to have sex with women during a 2005 conversation caught on a hot microphone, saying that “when you’re a star, they let you do it,” according to a video obtained by The Washington Post during the 2016 campaign.

“A credibly accused serial assaulter threatening to ‘protect’ women ‘whether the women like it or not’ sums up the stakes of this election in 30 seconds,” read an X post from the organization Vote Pro-Choice.

Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, Harris’s running mate, slammed Trump’s remarks as scary during a campaign stop in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He referred to Trump’s 2005 hot-mic conversation, which occurred on an “Access Hollywood” bus.

“He said ‘I’m going to do it whether the women like it or not.’ That’s how this guy has lived his life. That’s why he was on the ‘Access Hollywood’ tape, and that’s why he ended up in court,” Walz said.

“This feeling of women right now on this, every age and every party — here’s what’s going to happen on Tuesday: They are going to send a loud and clear message to Donald Trump on Nov. 5,” Walz added. “They’re going to send that message whether he likes it or not.”

In the “Access Hollywood” video, Trump says: “You know I’m automatically attracted to beautiful — I just start kissing them. It’s like a magnet. Just kiss. I don’t even wait. And when you’re a star, they let you do it. You can do anything.”

Some female supporters of the former president see the protector line as reassuring, while other women call it paternalistic. Trump used it in a late September rally in Pennsylvania, a few days after he told women on Truth Social that under his administration, “WOMEN WILL BE HAPPY, HEALTHY, CONFIDENT AND FREE! YOU WILL NO LONGER BE THINKING ABOUT ABORTION, BECAUSE IT IS NOW WHERE IT ALWAYS HAD TO BE, WITH THE STATES.”

He added, “I WILL PROTECT WOMEN AT A LEVEL NEVER SEEN BEFORE.”

Then, in Pennsylvania, he repeated his claim that women are poorer, less healthy and less safe than they were before Joe Biden took office and his pledge to “fix all of that.”

“Because I am your protector. I want to be your protector. As president, I have to be your protector,” he said.

Entire branches of State Dept. could be eradicated if proposals are acted upon

POLICY FROM A1

Vice President Harris’s campaign has seized on the former — which Trump has said he had nothing to do with, although many of its domestic proposals comport with his own policy pledges — as a dangerous MAGA blueprint. He has said little about AFPI, although he appeared at a July 2022 summit held by that organization and has held Mar-a-Lago fundraisers for the nonprofit.

The two organizations are not affiliated, and unlike Project 2025, those compiling the AFPI blueprint have largely strived to stay out of the campaign spotlight.

But both echo Trump’s insistence on the need to “drain the swamp” of national security officials who are not prepared to forcefully and enthusiastically implement whatever his priorities may be. In the “first Trump administration,” an essay written by Trump veterans Doug Hoelscher and Michael Rigas, the chair and vice-chair of AFPI’s Transition Project on personnel in the America First book notes, his “policies were aggressively resisted by an entrenched national security bureaucracy, sometimes called the ‘deep state.’”

“Tactics included delay, ignoring administration policies and decisions, engaging in lawfare by filing baseless complaints and protests to human resources and inspectors general offices, undermining the administration by leaking information to the president’s political opponents and the media ... all to stop the implementation of President Trump’s American First national security policies,” it says.

But while America First concentrates on departmental senior leadership and training on how to master the bureaucracy and tame it to Trump’s agenda across the national security space, Heritage called for a much more

extensive housecleaning, particularly in the State Department.

Most of Project 2025 was produced nearly two years ago, when the Ukraine war was relatively young and long before the Israel-Hamas conflict. Written by Kiron K. Skinner, a conservative academic now at Pepperdine University who served briefly in the Trump State Department, its chapter on the department states that “large swaths of the State Department’s workforce are left-wing and predisposed to disagree with a conservative President’s policy agenda and vision.”

Skinner, who did not respond to a request for an interview, called for the new president not to wait for the cumbersome Senate confirmation process, but to immediately appoint acting officials on Day 1. Under a Trump rewriting of federal personnel guidelines that allows the president to replace both political and career officials well down the bureaucratic ladder in jobs that do not require confirmation, it suggests firing officials down to at least the level of deputy assistant secretaries.

“No one in a leadership position on the morning of January 20 should hold that position at the end of the day,” Skinner recommended.

Some officials inside State fear that Trump would do away with entire branches of the department that focus on issues that are traditionally seen as softer — the bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, for example, or the bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, or PRM. Both have been in the forefront of internal criticism of U.S. weapons supply to Israel during the war with Hamas.

Neither sweeping out senior career officials nor shutting down bureaus would be likely to improve Trump’s ability to carry out his foreign policy, said Daniel Fried, who served senior leadership roles inside the State Depart-

ment for both Democratic and Republican administrations.

“It’s the kind of idea that people come up with when they just want to take a broom and sweep things clean with little heed for operational effectiveness,” said Fried, who is now a fellow at the Atlantic Council, a foreign policy think tank.

“It’s easy to imagine someone who is taking a deep bath in a very hard-right world would think that Human Rights is a bureau for political correctness and PRM is a bureau for open borders,” Fried said. That’s not what history shows, he said, noting the role of State’s human rights bureau in helping to bring down the Soviet Union.

Backers of the possible changes say that a cull would yield a diplomatic corps that is better aligned with Trump’s vision for foreign policy.

Skinner’s chapter of Project 2025 also calls for the president-elect’s transition team to conduct a pre-inauguration reassessment of “every aspect of State Department negotiations and funding commitments,” and for a new secretary of state, “upon inauguration” to “order an immediate freeze on all efforts to implement unratified treaties and international agreements, allocation of resources, foreign assistance disbursements, domestic and international contracts and payments, hiring and recruiting decisions, etc., pending a political appointee-driven review.”

Those proposals echo Trump’s distrust of international institutions and multilateral commitments, evinced in his first term withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal, the Paris climate accords and the World Health Organization during the covid-19 pandemic. President Joe Biden returned the United States to both Paris and the WHO and spent several fruitless years trying to renegotiate a new Iran nuclear agreement.

James Carafano, director of foreign policy studies at the Heritage Foundation, said in an interview that great power competition requires participation in many international organizations, as long as they are “held accountable” and serve U.S. interests. “The traditional conservative approach is to ignore them, don’t participate and withdraw,” he said.

Instead, the United States should be prepared to compete for power — primarily against China — in leadership and direction of organizations that can serve its interests, said Carafano, who emphasized in an interview that he has not participated in Project 2025 or Trump’s transition planning.

“I see a lot of similarities between [Ronald] Reagan’s second term and a Trump second term,” Carafano said. “All the vibes I get ... today are not about disengagement from international organizations, it’s about holding them accountable.”

Carafano advised looking at what Trump does rather than his bombastic speeches and social media pronouncements. “Trump’s never going to stop being Trump. ... I think most [other] governments are much more sophisticated about that now, and it’s really more in the punditry world that we haven’t been able to break the mold of just obsessing about the president’s tweeting.”

The Harris campaign’s frequent reference to Project 2025 as the principal boogeyman of a Trump Doctrine has made it a principal focus of fears about his plans to reshape the federal government. But the AFPI planning document was put together by individuals who appear primed to shape policy in a second Trump term.

AFPI’s chief executive, Brooke Rollins, served as a high-ranking official in Trump’s White House, and the organization’s board

chair is former Cabinet member Linda McMahon, who is also co-chair of Trump’s transition team. The principal authors of the transition book, retired Lt. Gen. Keith Kellogg and Fred Fleitz, both served as senior White House and National Security Council officials under Trump.

At AFPI and beyond, many of those believed to be in the top tier for consideration as senior national security officials in a new Trump administration have held back from detailing their visions for a reformed State Department. But some have outlined different ways for conducting diplomacy, visions for the thorniest global problems and specific policy recommendations.

One of Trump’s closest advisers, former acting director of national intelligence Richard Grenell, has been skeptical of the Biden administration’s approach toward Ukraine. Asked by a PBS reporter at the Republican National Convention in July whether he supported more aid to Ukraine, Grenell said, “I think we’ve given a lot, and I want to see a peace plan before we talk about more of a war plan.”

Grenell later was the only foreign policy-focused adviser to join Trump’s meeting with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy in New York in September. Trump has declined to say who he wants to win the Ukraine war, and he recently blamed Zelenskyy for the Russian invasion, saying he “never should have let that war start.”

Kellogg, who initially served as Vice President Mike Pence’s national security adviser before becoming chief of staff at Trump’s National Security Council, has indicated that the State Department would play a reduced role in Trump diplomacy.

Trump will “pick up the phone and he’ll talk to [a foreign leader] and he’ll say, ‘Look, I’m going to bring the full weight of the United

States on you: economically, politically, diplomatically, whatever you want to call it,” Kellogg said at a Nixon Foundation event last month. “We’re going to establish a relationship with personalities ... so you don’t go through your State Department and you don’t go through the Secretary of Defense and you don’t go through USAID or anybody else.”

Though he has been careful to say that he speaks for himself and not Trump, Kellogg has been a principal cheerleader for Trump’s transactional foreign policy in office, touting things like Trump’s decision to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to disputed Jerusalem and his “historic” handshake meetings with North Korea’s Kim Jong Un as far more effective at avoiding the current turmoil in the world than Biden’s “globalist” approach.

He declined an interview request for this article.

Trump’s first secretary of state, former oil executive Rex Tillerson, also swept into office promising major reforms of the department, which employs about 69,000 people around the world. Tillerson promised to bring a private-sector approach to the department and floated ideas such as outsourcing visa processing to the Department of Homeland Security and closing down some bureaus. He spent millions of dollars on high-priced consultants from Deloitte and other firms. But in the end, he changed little before he was fired after a little more than a year in office.

Fried, the retired longtime diplomat, said that he would be watching the reform efforts with interest, should Trump be elected.

“Incoming administrations often go in like this, with lots of attitude,” he said. “During changes of administration that are also a change in party, there is frequently a sense that everything must be wrong, that you’ve got to change everything.”

ELECTION 2024

Wary of Trump’s policies, Canada tries to stave them off

BY AMANDA COLETTA

OTTAWA — Canada survived Donald Trump’s first term — but it wasn’t easy.

He tore up the North American Free Trade Agreement, setting off a bruising renegotiation. He imposed tariffs on Canadian steel and aluminum, prompting retaliation. He hurled insults at Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, calling him “very dishonest and weak.” He injected friction into a relationship known for its closeness.

Canadian opinion of the United States, by far Canada’s largest trading partner, plunged.

Ties improved under President Joe Biden, and officials here say a Kamala Harris administration would offer more of the same, even as trade irritants have lingered.

The Democrats also “have certain protectionist tendencies,” Trudeau said on a podcast last week.

A Harris victory in next week’s tight presidential election would offer a U.S. leader with whom Canada has not struggled to find common ground. She lived in Canada for five years as a teen and graduated from high school in Montreal.

But the possible return of the intemperate former president to the White House, coupled with rising protectionism on both sides of the U.S. political aisle — which will remain a key issue regardless of who wins — has Ottawa dispatching top officials across the United States to stave off policies that could jeopardize Canadian interests.

Canada’s message: You might not think about us all that much, but you rely on us, and the tight integration of our economies means “America First” policies will harm us both.

The “Team Canada” charm offensive — a revival of a strategy that officials here credit with seeing the country through the renegotiation of NAFTA, now the U.S.-Mexico-Canada agreement, or USMCA — is widely viewed as necessary for securing the \$1 trillion in annual trade between the United States and Canada each year.

“Canada benefits enormously from a stable relationship with the United States,” Trudeau said when he announced the initiative in January, adding that while his country will work with whoever is elected, “obviously” Trump “represents a certain amount of unpredictability.”

But some have questioned whether being so public about the Team Canada effort is counterproductive — the move might play well with a domestic audience unfriendly to Trump but



OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump speaks with Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in June 2019. Trump’s “America First” agenda could harm Canada.

less well with Canada’s southern neighbor.

Louise Blais, a former Canadian consul general in Atlanta, said she supports the effort. But, she added, the subtext of Trudeau’s announcement “was that there was fear for what might happen this November, and I think that’s probably not helpful in the context of the bilateral relationship.”

Canada has long been cozy under the U.S. military’s security blanket. The United States accounts for 75 percent of Canadian exports, making trade barriers of any kind a worry.

Apprehensions abound in many countries closely aligned with the United States over what a second Trump presidency would mean, but the majority of no other country’s population lives within a short drive of the U.S. border. For many Canadians, it’s impossible to ignore the U.S. election — even if they wanted to.

The U.S. election “keeps a lot of people up at night,” said Canadian Sen. Peter M. Boehm, a former diplomat in the United States. One fear is what a contested election might portend, he added, calling the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol “shocking.”

Other concerns include illegal

border crossings, as Canada cuts immigration levels. Trump’s pledge to carry out mass deportations could push migrants to the northern border to avoid being rounded up, analysts contend. A rise in asylum seekers walking across the border into Canada during Trump’s first administration led the two neighbors to tighten the frontier — the world’s longest land border.

“Even if a small number try to cross,” said Gerald Butts, former principal secretary to Trudeau, “Canada would have a crisis on its hands.”

But Trump’s trade policy is the predominant concern here. He has repeatedly pledged tariffs, including “automatic” tariffs of 10 to 20 percent on all U.S. trading partners. The USMCA will also come up for review in 2026, providing an opportunity for him to put up more roadblocks to trade.

Canadian officials have been registering their objections to Trump’s advisers about his tariff plans and have said that they’d face pressure to retaliate.

Asked whether Canada would be granted an exemption, the Trump campaign did not respond directly but sent The Washington Post quotes from him and other Republicans supporting the use of tariffs.

If Canada is not granted a carve-out, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce estimates that a 10 percent tariff that sets off a global trade war could cost Canada \$45 billion per year. TD Bank projected that Canadian exports to the United States would flatline.

“If he does implement the 10 percent tariff ... and that includes Canada and Mexico, then we’re off to a rough start,” said Steve Verheul, Canada’s former chief trade negotiator, “and that would kind of set the tone for a fairly fractious [USMCA] review down the road.”

Trump’s 2016 election caught Ottawa by surprise and left officials to effectively start from zero as they figured out how to respond, said a senior Canadian government official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive issue.

Canadian officials made inroads with Trump’s inner circle. But they also focused on cultivating ties beyond Washington. Canadian politicians, business leaders and premiers met with U.S. counterparts to argue that Trump’s protectionism would harm U.S. interests — an argument that they hoped would get made back to him.

Canada pumped the brakes on the effort after Biden’s election,

the official said, adding that the current initiative has not reached the intensity of the previous one but would ramp up if Trump is reelected.

Team Canada 2.0 has met with several dozen governors, visited at least 22 states and held more than 300 meetings, Canadian officials said, including with stakeholders at the Republican and Democratic national conventions, regional economic forums and major unions.

“People have asked ... ‘Isn’t that what you always do?’” Kirsten Hillman, Canada’s ambassador to the United States, told The Post. “To a certain extent, yes, except that this is far more concentrated, methodical and systematic.”

Officials have focused their evangelization on states that don’t share a border with Canada and might not know how much they depend on it, handing out trophies called “Maple Leaf Awards” to leaders from districts that export at least \$250 million in goods to Canada each year.

They’ve been spreading the message that “we’re not just the nice neighbor of the north” but also “a real strategic partner in the world,” said François-Philippe Champagne, Canada’s industry minister.

Hillman recalled a meeting

this year with South Carolina Gov. Henry McMaster (R). Canada is the state’s second-largest export market, but “it’s not a state that borders Canada or maybe thinks about us that much,” she said.

At the meeting’s end, Hillman added, McMaster repeated several ways the state should work with Canada and assigned the task to an aide.

Still, it’s not clear how effective the charm offensive will be.

Trudeau called Trump in July after the assassination attempt against him in Butler, Pennsylvania. The call, the Canadian official said, was like one between old friends who could pick up where they left off. (Weeks later, Trump was spreading baseless conspiracies about Trudeau’s parentage.)

Ottawa knows well that Trump can lay waste to even the most painstaking efforts to avoid drama.

Officials here were toasting at the end of a Group of Seven meeting in Quebec in 2018. Then came tweets from Trump withdrawing support for a joint statement that he and the other member nations had supported just hours earlier and calling Trudeau two-faced.

“We were celebrating what we thought was the terrific end to what had been a serious few months,” Butts said, “and the director of communications at the time came over and handed me his phone, and I said, ‘Is this a joke?’”

That episode, said Butts, now vice chair at the Eurasia Group, is “a great example of the kind of thing that you can almost bet on with Trump that you likely won’t have to deal with” if Harris wins.

Analysts say Canada needs to gird itself for a more protectionist United States — no matter the election outcome. Harris was one of 10 senators to vote against the USMCA and has suggested she will use the review process to make changes.

“Whether it’s couched in the terms of Canadians are unfair traders, which is what we’ve heard from President Trump ... or we have to bring manufacturing back to Main Street, which is what we’ve heard from the Biden administration, those two messages can still have the same impact,” said Laura Dawson, executive director of the Canada-U.S. Future Borders Coalition.

Bruce Heyman, a U.S. ambassador to Canada from 2014 to 2017, said officials here should “expect a positive outcome and prepare for the worst.”

“Thinking that you got through Trump 1.0 and it’s going to be the same in 2.0 is not taking this seriously enough,” he said.

With little time left in race, Trump may regret blue-state stops, critics say

BY HANNAH KNOWLES AND MARIANNE LEVINE

ALBUQUERQUE — Donald Trump on Thursday falsely claimed that he had won New Mexico in previous elections, and he said in blunt terms that he decided to appear in this Democratic-leaning state to improve his standing with Latino voters.

“They all said, don’t come. I said, why? ‘You can’t win New Mexico.’ I said, look, your votes are rigged,” Trump said an afternoon rally here, acknowledging he was defying conventional wisdom. “We almost won it twice and let me tell you, I believe we won it twice if you want to know the truth. And if you can watch your vote counter, if we could bring God down from heaven, he could be the vote counter, we’d win California, we’d win a lot of states.”

Trump in fact lost New Mexico to President Joe Biden by nearly 11 percentage points in 2020, and four years earlier, he fell to Hillary Clinton in the state by about 8 points. Neither Democratic victory was tainted by fraud, as Trump suggested.

The Republican presidential nominee’s decision to visit states such as New Mexico, regarded as safely Democratic terrain, is part of an unorthodox strategy that has included travels to even bluer states such as California, New Jersey and New York. While Trump’s advisers and allies say they see advantages in these stops, including helping down-ballot Republicans and popping into geographically convenient places that might be more competitive than they seem, others see them as a risk they could come to regret.

“The most limited resource at this point is time,” Republican strategist Alex Conant said. “If he ends up losing Pennsylvania by



PAUL RATJE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

People wait in line to attend a rally for former president Donald Trump in Albuquerque on Thursday.

1,000 votes, he’ll regret having spent time in Virginia.”

During his speech Thursday, Trump said he came to New Mexico to win the Latino vote and spoke about Latino voters in broad generalities.

“Don’t make me waste a whole damn half a day here, okay? Look, I came here. We can be nice to each other, or we can talk turkey,” Trump said. “I’m here for one simple reason: I like you very much, and it’s good for my credentials with the Hispanic or Latino community. You know, on the East Coast, they like being called Hispanics, you know this? On the West Coast, they like being called Latinos.”

Trump proceeded to poll the crowd on whether they preferred being called “Latino” or “Hispanic.”

As Trump heard more cheers for “Hispanic,” he chided his advisers. “They said, ‘Sir, please use the term Latino when you’re in New Mexico,’ and I said ‘I’ve always heard Hispanic.’ ... I take a poll, and it’s 97 percent. I was right. A free poll. As I was saying, I love the Hispanics.”

The remarks came days after Trump held a rally over the weekend in Madison Square Garden, where comedian Tony Hinchcliffe described Puerto Rico as an “island of garbage,” drawing significant backlash.

Trump also reprised threatening language, insults and other themes from his previous speeches and public comments. He talked about the “enemy inside,” naming Rep. Adam Schiff (D-California) and calling people like him “total scum.” He challenged

Biden’s “garbage” comments — which the president used this week when discussing Trump’s supporters and the racist rhetoric at the weekend rally — and said his supporters are of “far higher quality” than Biden’s or Harris’s. He said the Affordable Care Act “sort of sucks” even as he insisted that he did not want to repeal it. He described Harris as “dumb as a rock.” And he reiterated misleading claims about migrant children.

Yet Trump’s rally in Albuquerque was a departure from visits to the seven close-fought battleground states where the outcomes are expected to determine the winner. On Saturday, he will campaign in Salem, Virginia.

He lost both New Mexico and Virginia by double-digit percentage margins four years ago, the

latest in a long line of GOP defeats. The last year a Republican candidate won both states was 2004, when Eminem and Shania Twain topped the Billboard charts, “Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban” and “Garden State” were box-office hits, and George W. Bush was on the ballot.

Trump and his allies are projecting confidence about his outlook nationally, even as public opinion polls show a close contest with Vice President Kamala Harris. A Virginia Republican strategist, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to be more candid, sized up Trump’s visit to Virginia as a way to flex confidence nationwide instead of an actual play for the state. If Trump were actually trying to win the state, he would campaign in a swingier area with more people, the strategist said.

The Republican has a long record of baselessly trying to discredit elections with his words and actions, and he has been using misinformation to lay the groundwork to claim a stolen election if he loses, which he did in 2020. He is already suggesting there is “cheating” in Pennsylvania, even as officials say the election is secure.

Trump’s trips to blue states have drawn large crowds and outside attention. The former president has made predictions about winning there even though there are no indications of major upsets in the offing.

At a rally on Long Island in September, Trump insisted: “We are going to win New York,” a state that hasn’t gone for a Republican in a presidential election since 1984.

A Trump adviser who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss strategy described Virginia as highly competitive and New Mexico, which is on the way to

events Trump is holding in Nevada and Arizona, as becoming more competitive.

But public opinion polls do not show that, and nonpartisan analysts do not see it that way. The Cook Political Report with Amy Walter has classified both states as “likely Democratic.” A recent Washington Post-Schar School poll found that Harris held a six-point edge over Trump among likely voters in Virginia.

The Democratic Party of Virginia dismissed Trump’s planned visit as an antic.

“Virginians see through his empty theatrics — they keep rejecting his chaos every time and our Democratic performance in early vote shows we will reject him strongly again,” Susan Swecker, chairwoman of the state’s Democratic Party, said in a statement. “We are crushing it in early voting with big turnout surges, backed by a real ground game.”

Some Republican strategists said they viewed Trump’s visits to California and New York as a way to capitalize on those states’ media markets and to help boost Republicans in key House races. But they said the trips to New Mexico and Virginia were perplexing. Neither campaign, nor their affiliated super PACs, has spent money on TV ads in either state, according to the tracking firm ADImpact.

The rest of Trump’s announced schedule for the final stretch is more focused on the battleground states, where both campaigns have concentrated most of their time and resources. In addition to Nevada, his campaign has so far announced that he will return to Wisconsin on Friday and hold two rallies in North Carolina on Saturday.

LeVine reported from Washington.

THE WORLD



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST

In a Spanish town, 62 deaths and mud everywhere

Paiporta didn’t get much rain, but deluge from west pushed town’s creek out of its banks. Said one resident: ‘It all happened very fast.’

BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHÁVEZ

PAIPORTA, SPAIN — Every street is covered with thick, sticky mud. This town was hit especially hard by the unprecedented flooding this week in eastern Spain. Of 159 reported fatalities, at least 62 occurred here, Mayor Maribel Albalat said Thursday.

Paiporta itself didn’t get much storm precipitation, which made it all the more startling when the creek that bisects the town overflowed its banks, with a force so strong that it brought down a bridge. The creek is fed by the Chiva watershed, an area to the west that received a year’s worth of rain in just hours.

“We had the water coming into our house from both sides and up through the ground, the drain,” said Paiporta resident Francisco Sans Antonio. “It broke the [bedroom] wall

down. We had to run up this ladder to get to the roof. Some of us were able to get to the neighbor’s house upstairs. It tossed the cars down the street like toys. It all happened very fast.”

On Thursday, residents tried to clear away the mud and debris with mops, brooms, a damaged painting — whatever they had on hand. Streets remained blocked by piles of cars. The power was out. The Spanish government has promised to rush aid to affected communities. But if officials intended to help with water or food distribution, they hadn’t yet arrived in Paiporta. That compounded the frustration that flood warnings had come too late.

Meanwhile, people throughout the Valencia region were still searching for missing relatives, friends and neighbors.



TOP: A woman walks over debris and mud left by the Paiporta flooding, triggered by unprecedented rainfall Wednesday in eastern Spain. MIDDLE: A man carefully opens his door a day after the inundation. ABOVE FROM LEFT: A boy tries to sweep up mud on a street in Paiporta. A woman sorts through personal items spattered with mud. A couple carrying bottles of water pass a car and other flood-tossed debris.

DIGEST

FINLAND Russian charged with war crimes in Ukraine

Prosecutors in Finland filed charges Thursday over alleged war crimes in 2014 by a combatant who fought against Ukrainian forces in a Russian-backed separatist region of Ukraine.

The National Prosecution Authority did not identify the suspect when announcing the five charges in a statement, but Finnish media outlets have identified him as Russian national Yan Petrovsky, who had been living in Finland under the alias Voislav Torden. The suspect

has denied involvement in the crimes.

Finnish media said Petrovsky was arrested in July 2023 at Helsinki airport as he was headed for Nice in southern France with his family. They said Petrovsky had managed to enter Finland despite an E.U.-wide entry ban, with the help of a new identity and his wife’s student status in the Nordic country.

Finland’s Supreme Court has ruled that Petrovsky cannot be extradited to Ukraine, where he faces an arrest warrant, because of the risk of inhumane prison conditions there. Prosecutors said the Nordic country has an obligation to try him.

— Associated Press

BRITAIN Ban on abortion clinic protests takes effect

A British ban on protesting outside abortion clinics went into effect Thursday, though it left a question mark over whether antiabortion demonstrators who pray silently will be breaking the law.

The law, which applies to England and Wales, bars protests within 164 yards of clinics. Scotland and Northern Ireland, which make their own health policies, recently enacted similar bans.

The new rules make it an offense to obstruct someone

using abortion services, “intentionally or recklessly” influence their decision, or cause “harassment, alarm or distress.”

— Associated Press

INDIA Troops moved from border with China

India and China have moved most of their front-line troops farther from their disputed border in a remote region in the northern Himalayas, India’s defense minister said, some 10 days after the two countries reached a new pact on military patrols that aims to end a four-year standoff that has strained

relations.

Ties between the two countries deteriorated in July 2020 after a military clash killed at least 20 Indian soldiers and four Chinese.

That turned into a long-running standoff in the rugged mountainous area, as each side stationed tens of thousands of military personnel backed by artillery, tanks and fighter jets in close confrontation positions.

— Associated Press

Eight justices on Mexico’s Supreme Court have said they will leave the court rather than stand for election as required by a controversial judicial overhaul passed in September. Supreme

Court President Norma Piña and seven others submitted letters Tuesday and Wednesday stating that they would leave their posts rather than compete in judicial elections scheduled for June.

An appeals court in Slovakia upheld a lower-court ruling that found former president Andrej Kiska guilty of tax fraud and gave him a suspended sentence. At the same time, the regional court in the eastern city of Presov lowered the original suspended sentence from two years to one and dismissed a fine of about \$16,300 handed to Kiska last year in the city of Poprad, and canceled a six-year ban on doing business.

— From news services

North Korea launches missile after U.S., South Korea condemn troop deployment

MISSILE FROM AI

flew even farther than one tested in December — which traveled far enough to strike anywhere in the mainland United States. With Blinken warning that Russia was likely to supply technology to Pyongyang in exchange for its combat assistance, Thursday's actions were a demonstration of one of the largest foreign policy challenges facing the next U.S. president: the increasing alignment among Russia, China, North Korea and Iran.

"We condemn it in the strongest terms," Blinken told reporters, adding that "all countries should be demanding that the DPRK cease these destabilizing actions." The missile launch, he noted, violated multiple U.N. Security Council resolutions. DPRK stands for Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the North's official name.

North Korean leader Kim Jong Un said his regime wanted to show the United States and South Korea that it would resist the "dangerous tightening of their nuclear alliance."

Japan's defense minister said the new long-range weapon reached an altitude of 4,350 miles — significantly higher than previous launches, including the solid-fueled Hwasong-18 tested by Pyongyang in December.

North Korea is working to perfect an ICBM that puts the United States within range and that could eventually carry and deliver nuclear warheads.

The missile launch comes as tensions rise between Washington and Pyongyang over Kim's growing military cooperation with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

In recent months, Washington, Seoul and Tokyo have been hold-

ing joint military exercises in the Pacific Ocean aimed at strengthening their cooperation in the face of Pyongyang's nuclear threats. North Korea has long viewed these drills as hostile acts and has used them to justify its weapons development and nuclear program.

Kim was present at the site of the launch, which came just hours after U.S. and South Korean defense officials condemned Pyongyang's deployment of troops to Russia and days before the U.S. presidential election.

In a rare same-day statement, Kim said the launch was an "appropriate military action" as North Korea's "rivals" — whom he did not name but by which he usually means the United States, South Korea and Japan — had "intentionally intensified the regional situation."

This highlighted "the importance of strengthening our nuclear forces," he said, according to a statement published by the North's official Korean Central News Agency.

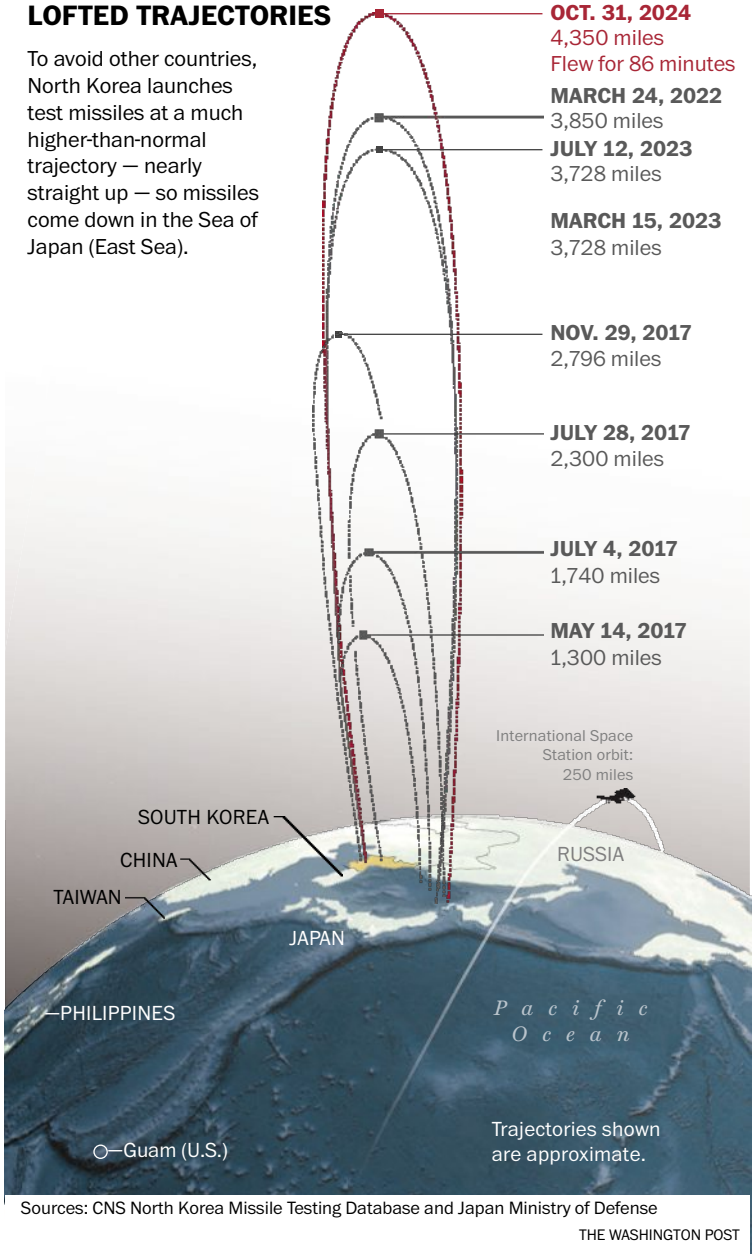
Blinken and Austin warned Thursday that their concern was not just the North Korean support for Russia — a step they portrayed as likely to have only modest consequences for ground operations — but what the Kremlin supplies Kim in return as Pyongyang tries to boost its missile program and otherwise expand its military capabilities.

Austin said the Kremlin's request for help from North Korea was a sign of increasing Russian frailty in its war against Ukraine, which has stretched more than 2½ years.

"By tin-cupping to North Korea for manpower," Austin said, Putin is "showing the world another clear sign of weakness."

LOFTED TRAJECTORIES

To avoid other countries, North Korea launches test missiles at a much higher-than-normal trajectory — nearly straight up — so missiles come down in the Sea of Japan (East Sea).



The two U.S. leaders met Thursday with South Korean Defense Minister Kim Yong-hyun and Foreign Minister Cho Tae-yul, part of an annual series of talks.

"We are in the most stern security environment since the Cold War," Kim Yong-hyun said Thursday.

U.S. and NATO officials called North Korea's deployment of troops to Russia a "very, very serious issue" that could have reverberations in Europe and the Pacific.

U.S. officials have said they hope to use the North Korea issue as a wedge between Russia and China, which also has provided significant support to the Kremlin's war effort in Ukraine but views North Korea's military activities with wariness.

"China has been reticent about making its position known, but I believe that it is finding it very uncomfortable the whole situation," Cho told reporters after the meetings with Blinken and Austin.

Asked whether the North's direct entry into the Ukraine conflict would compel South Korea to join other nations providing weapons to Kyiv, Cho said "relevant measures, corresponding measures, will be taken accordingly" once it's clear how deeply Moscow and Pyongyang intend to cooperate militarily.

"We need to see the level of involvement of the DPRK forces in Russia, and we also need to watch what kind of quid pro quo the DPRK will be receiving from Russia," he said. "We will have to watch that before making a decision as to the weapons support that we will be providing to Ukraine."

North Korea did not specify the name of the missile it tested

Thursday, but officials in Tokyo and Seoul said it appeared to be a new type of solid-fuel ICBM. Most countries with ICBM capability, including Russia, China and the United States, maintain a mix of solid- and liquid-propelled types.

Solid propellant, made by packing fuel and oxidizer together into a hard mixture, is dense, stable and can be preloaded onto a rocket. This feature enables solid-fuel missiles to be deployed more quickly than liquid propellants and avoid early detection.

Liquid propellant, used in North Korea's older ICBM systems, requires fuel and oxidizer to be loaded on-site ahead of a launch, meaning there are more steps for preparation.

Last week, Kim publicly visited an ICBM base for the first time and called for his country to improve its ability to deliver its long-range missiles "swiftly."

North Korea launched the missile at 7:10 a.m. local time eastward from a site near Pyongyang, the South Korean Joint Chiefs of Staff said. It flew for a record 86 minutes, according to Japanese Defense Minister Gen Nakatani.

As usual, North Korea aimed for height instead of distance with the launch to try to ensure the missile did not hit land. It traveled about 621 miles, splashing down west of Okushiri Island in the sea between the Korean Peninsula and northern Japan.

The launch was not completely unexpected. On Wednesday, South Korea's Defense Intelligence Agency had warned that the North was preparing for what could be an ICBM launch around the time of the Nov. 5 U.S. presidential election.

Lee reported from Tokyo. Julia Mio Inuma contributed to this report.

Thousands who fled Lebanon's Baalbek watch strikes rain down on the city

BY LOUISA LOVELUCK AND SUZAN HAIDAMOUS

DEIR AL-AHMAR, LEBANON — From a hilltop schoolyard in this northeastern town, some of the tens of thousands who had fled Baalbek watched the fireball from an Israeli strike fill the sky above their ancient city.

That moment on Wednesday was one of shock and disbelief, they said, coming just hours after the Israeli military had ordered the city's entire population of 80,000 — and those of its surrounding villages — to flee.

"We never thought that could happen here, not to us," said Zahra Younes, 31. She was sheltering Thursday with her five children in a public school building in Deir al-Ahmar, a majority-Christian town about 10 miles from Baalbek.

The family was exhausted, their nerves shredded. The night before, Younes's 7-year-old son, Amin, had been so scared by the bombing that he swallowed his tongue and required resuscitation. Her toddler, Adam, put his hand to his chest as the strikes boomed out and said: "My heart."

Baalbek, famed for its well-preserved Roman ruins, had largely been spared the barrage of attacks in Lebanon. In the south, Israeli troops are trying to uproot Hezbollah militants, using tanks, drones, bulldozers and fighter jets to push the group back from Israel's northern border.

But the strikes had drawn closer to Baalbek this week, killing 60 in the surrounding region Monday, two days before Israel's warning that civilians should fully evacuate as the military prepared to "act forcefully against Hezbollah interests in your city and villages."

On Thursday, thousands of the displaced were packed into schools and apartments and living on sidewalks in Deir al-Ahmar. Some shivered in the mountain cold because they had only the clothes on their backs; others were stiff and bruised from a night of fitful sleep on classroom floors.

George Berkachi, a 21-year-old physical education teacher from Deir al-Ahmar, leaned up against the bars on the schoolyard's gate, which framed the villages under assault miles below. "That one, that one, to that one," he said, drawing a line with his finger across the horizon. "They're all in the red zone. No one here can sleep anymore."

The Israeli military's intense focus on Baalbek, for a second day, came as six paramedics were killed Thursday in separate Israeli attacks in southern Lebanon, according to the Lebanese Health Ministry.

One Lebanese paramedic was killed and two injured in the town of Zefta. Another was killed and two others injured in Deir al-Zahrani, and four were killed in Dardghaya, the ministry said. The Israeli military did not respond to a request for comment on the attacks.

According to the Health Minis-



PHOTOS BY LORENZO TUGNOLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

try, 178 paramedics have been killed and 279 wounded over the past year. A Human Rights Watch report released Wednesday said Israeli forces have repeatedly attacked medical workers and health-care facilities in Lebanon. It said the attacks included apparent war crimes.

At least 2,867 people have been killed and 12,937 injured in Lebanon since the conflict began in October 2023, the Health Ministry says. But war has immersed the country in stages.

It began when Hezbollah fired rockets at northern Israel in solidarity with Hamas after the Oct. 7 attacks. The rockets were the opening salvo of a creeping but one, to that one," he said, drawing a line with his finger across the horizon. "They're all in the red zone. No one here can sleep anymore."

Then last month came a sudden escalation, as Israel launched an attack on Hezbollah's communications devices, dramatically expanded its aerial assault on Lebanon, assassinated most of Hezbollah's senior leadership, and sent troops into the south of the country for the first time since 2006.

On the road into Deir al-Ahmar, dusty cars sat in clusters, with elderly women and young children slumped in the front and back seats, surrounded by bags of clothes and food. "They're all strangers," said one resident, eyeing them warily. Aid workers de-



TOP: Women watch the bombing of Baalbek from a school in Deir al-Ahmar where they took shelter. ABOVE: Women gather food.

"We never thought that could happen here, not to us."

Zahra Younes, 31, displaced from the Baalbek area and taking shelter with her five children in Deir al-Ahmar

scribed chaos on the same road the night before: The displaced slept in their cars, or on sidewalks.

"People were crying — it was the first time the town had been this full," said Elias Saade, a volunteer with the Caritas aid group. His team of 13 volunteers finished work at 1 a.m., after making and handing out 500 sandwiches. They had supplies to provide the newcomers with only one meal a day, and many were otherwise going hungry.

In the distance, a dark plume of smoke from an airstrike stood out against the hazy gray clouds over the village of Bodin, nine miles northwest of Baalbek. One of the strikes visible from Deir al-Ahmar on Wednesday hit a fuel storehouse in another village, causing a ball of flames to blossom through the sky.

The Israeli army said it struck "military compounds" belonging to a Hezbollah logistics unit. "The unit is responsible for transferring weapons from Iran and its proxies to Hezbollah in Lebanon," the statement said, adding that the fuel was "supplied by Iran." It was not immediately possible to verify that claim.

Bilal Raad, head of the region's civil defense force, said that the Baalbek evacuation order had included his team's headquarters but that they were still working. The city was mostly empty, he said, although some residents had re-

turned after failing to find somewhere to stay. The regional governor, Bachir Khodr, urged people not to shelter within the city's Roman ruins after some residents fled there believing them safe.

UNESCO, the U.N. cultural and scientific organization, said Thursday that the first remote analysis of satellite imagery, as well as information from site managers, had not identified any visible damage to the Baalbek site. Still, the agency said it hoped to carry out more-precise inspections when the situation permitted.

Up in Deir al-Ahmar, there were people with families divided — some now homeless in the schoolyard, others still in Baalbek and its surrounding villages, refusing to leave. "I've been calling them since yesterday, but they won't evacuate," said 49-year-old Tahani Lakiss.

The Israeli military had issued a second evacuation order for Baalbek an hour earlier, and her anxiety was mounting, she said. In the schoolyard around Lakiss, children scampered about, trying to make fun without toys. Zahra Shalhoub, 2, asked her father, Mohammed, if he had any. He shook his head. Another young girl tied a piece of string to a pole and skipped around it.

Mohammed, 32, said his wife, Hamda Nassif, 24, was entering her final month of pregnancy with their second child. She had miscarried twice before, and now he feared for her again. The family had been displaced repeatedly, first from southern Lebanon and now from the Baalbek area, and he didn't know if they still had the funds to pay for a Caesarean section.

The civil defense force said late Tuesday that it had retrieved eight bodies from across the Baalbek-Hermel region, and had pulled 10 wounded from the rubble. Residents from Bodin said some of them were their friends — a couple with two children. "They had gone back to collect some belongings," said Reema Assef, a young woman who had fled the village the day before with her sisters.

They had slept that night on a thin mattress, without blankets. Photos on the women's phones revealed the beauty of their home village. There were images from before: fruit trees, a sunrise, exam revision notebooks with cups of dark coffee. And after: explosions, not far from the house.

The sisters' father, Khalil, had died four months earlier, and what space they had left for grief was now filled by worries for their own survival, they said.

When they left Bodin, they had left their father's grave behind. They said they heard a rumor that it was destroyed by an Israeli airstrike. Reema's sister Zeinab said her heart felt "black."

"It's not with anger — it's with sadness," she said.

Kareem Fahim in Istanbul and Mohamad El Chamaa in Beirut contributed to this report.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

BY CRISTIANO LIMA-STRONG

Apple privately warned TikTok that the platform featured more mature content than was suitable for children under 17 and urged the company to raise the age range it recommends for users, according to newly unearthed communications in a state lawsuit against the social network.

TikTok lists its platform as appropriate for children 12 and over on Apple's App Store, describing the prevalence of mature, profane and sexual content on its product as "infrequent" or "mild." Apple requires that companies provide the age rating to help inform users about the safety of various apps as they weigh which ones to download onto their devices.

In 2022, a team at Apple reviewing TikTok's rating found that the app features "frequent or intense mature or suggestive content" and pressed the platform to raise its recommended age to 17 and over, a recent complaint filed by the state of South Carolina alleges. Redacted portions of the complaint were inadvertently made public and reviewed by The Washington Post.

"We hope you will consider making the necessary changes to follow the App Store Review Guidelines and will resubmit" your rating, the Apple team told TikTok, according to internal documents obtained by South Carolina, references to which were meant to be redacted in the suit.

While some digital platforms like Reddit, Discord and X are listed on the Apple App Store as best suited for users 17 and up, TikTok and its most direct competitors like Instagram, YouTube and Snapchat all have an age rating of 12 and over.

In response, TikTok took what it internally called "aggressive strategies" to filter out harmful content, South Carolina alleges in the lawsuit, one of over a dozen complaints states filed against the company in early October. But the state contends that even so, TikTok is still misleading users by downplaying how prevalent material that could be dangerous for children is on its app, including vulgarity and nudity.

The talks between the two tech titans, which were not previously reported, add to a cascade of damaging, accidental disclosures stemming from TikTok's legal battles over child safety.

Earlier this month, NPR first reported that a redaction error in a similar lawsuit Kentucky filed against TikTok unwittingly exposed dozens of pages describing internal research and discussions purportedly showing the company was aware of its risks for



ISTOCK

According to a complaint filed by the state of South Carolina, an Apple team pressed TikTok to raise its recommended age to 17 and older.

New details emerge in TikTok lawsuit

Unearthed communications allege that Apple told the popular video app it was unfit for young teens

children.

A version of a separate complaint filed by South Carolina this month, which had been removed from the state's website but was discoverable through a digital archiving tool, includes distinct communications that shed light on how one industry peer views TikTok's child safety record.

The exchanges, which were meant to be redacted but inadvertently made public by the state, were discovered by the left-leaning advocacy group Accountable Tech and flagged exclusively to The Post. South Carolina is using the material to accuse TikTok of engaging in deceptive practices by misleading consumers about how safe its platform is for children. Several states have also made TikTok's age rating central to their complaints against the company, including Iowa and Montana.

TikTok spokesman Alex Hau-

rek said in a statement that it is "irresponsible for The Washington Post to publish information that was faultily redacted and then corrected by the South Carolina Attorney General's office." Haurek added that "many of these issues have already been addressed" and that TikTok "has always enforced strict policies against nudity, sexually explicit content, and solicitation."

Apple spokesman Peter Ajemian said the company does not comment on litigation related to other companies. Robert Kittle, a spokesman for South Carolina Attorney General Alan Wilson (R), declined to comment on pending litigation.

It's not immediately clear what specific material Apple was referring to in its contacts with TikTok. But portions of the complaint intended to be redacted detail numerous alleged incidents where TikTok staffers or outside

observers identified issues with the company's efforts to scrub potentially mature content, including profanity and material encouraging eating disorders.

One piece of evidence the state cited: 1 out of 50 pop-up alerts the app sent to minors in the U.S. and Great Britain during a one-month period contained profanity. TikTok, South Carolina alleges, concluded that "profanity is the biggest problem" when it comes to the push notifications the app sends its youngest users.

Accountable Tech campaign associate Zamaan Qureshi said the evidence "should worry every parent, young person, lawmaker and regulator in the United States." Without more legislative action on child online safety, he said, lawsuits like the one by South Carolina have become effectively "the only accountability measures left to learn what these companies know about their

products and know what kind of harm these products are causing young people."

TikTok is facing myriad legal threats in the U.S. The company is fighting a law in court that would force it to be sold or banned by Jan. 19 and a separate Justice Department lawsuit alleging it violated federal protections for children's data, in addition to the bevy of child safety complaints. The company says the divest-or-ban measure violates the constitutional rights of its more than 170 million American users and said the privacy allegations are either inaccurate or outdated.

After NPR reported on the redacted portions of the Kentucky complaint, TikTok characterized its claims as misleading and said the underlying evidence was cherry-picked by state officials. The company also chastised news outlets including The Post, which obtained a copy of the faulty

complaint, for publishing information under seal. Still, the disclosures triggered blowback from lawmakers who have accused the company of endangering young users by prioritizing its profits.

Lawmakers and regulators for years have expressed concern about children and some teens accessing major social media platforms, with some pushing for access to be shut off entirely for kids up to a certain age or urging that the apps carry tobacco-style labels warning of their potential risks. In 2022, a coalition of state attorneys general urged Apple and Google to raise TikTok's age rating.

The South Carolina complaint also says TikTok sought to curry favor with political leaders as scrutiny of its child safety practices has mounted, without linking that to any claims of criminal wrongdoing. TikTok has "targeted donations to organizations across South Carolina," such as parent-teacher associations, in a bid to "leverage goodwill in lobbying efforts," state officials allege in portions of the complaint meant to be redacted.

The company also strategically sponsored an event run by the foundation of Rep. James E. Clyburn (D-South Carolina), the former House majority whip, and a southern-themed gala in D.C. in an attempt to "normalize TikTok" among legislative staff, state officials allege. Clyburn, one of the most influential Democratic legislators on Capitol Hill, was part of the small minority of House members who voted against the proposal to force a sale or ban of TikTok.

TikTok's Haurek said the donation to Clyburn's foundation was "to a 501(c)(3) organization that provides need-based scholarships to students hoping to go to college," and that a range of organizations have contributed to both it and the southern-themed gala. Spokespeople for Clyburn did not offer comment.

Some of the tactics described in the South Carolina complaint mirror those alleged by the state of Kentucky, which said that TikTok discussed enlisting creators in the state to appeal to Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Kentucky), as NPR first reported.

The company keeps "lists not only of their local donations but also stories of creators and businesses who use TikTok in the various states to use for public messaging and lobbying," the South Carolina complaint contends.

Aaron Schaffer contributed to this report.

Starbucks will abandon upcharge for milk alternatives

Going into effect Nov. 7, change is part of strategy to boost declining sales

BY ANDREW JEONG

Starbucks will no longer charge customers extra for nondairy milk alternatives in their lattes, macchiatos and other beverages, the company said Wednesday, part of a strategy to boost slowing sales by streamlining its menu and re-creating a more inviting coffeehouse vibe at its stores.

The change takes effect at Starbucks-owned and -operated stores in the United States and Canada on Nov. 7, the company

said in a press release. Customers ordering drinks with nondairy substitutes can expect price reductions of more than 10 percent, it added.

Starbucks CEO Brian Niccol, who assumed the role in September with a mandate to reverse a trend of declining revenue, characterized the removal of the surcharge as one way to return Starbucks to its roots.

"I made a commitment that we'd get back to Starbucks, focusing on what has always set Starbucks apart — a welcoming coffeehouse where people gather and we serve the finest coffee handcrafted by our skilled baristas," Niccol said. "This is just one of many changes we'll make."

Substituting nondairy alternatives such as soy, oat, almond or coconut milk "is the second

most requested customization" from customers, behind only requests for an extra shot of espresso, Starbucks said.

Customers previously complained that the extra fee for nondairy substitutes discriminated against people with lactose intolerance or other dietary restrictions. In March, three California residents filed a \$5 million class-action lawsuit against Starbucks over "illegal price discrimination," saying they paid surcharges of up to 80 cents per drink.

Starbucks's announcement Wednesday coincided with the release of what Niccol said were "disappointing" earnings results. The coffee giant reported a net revenue of almost \$9.1 billion for the July-September period, down 3 percent compared with the same period last year. It

also reported a net revenue of more than \$36.1 billion over the past year, up 1 percent.

Niccol said his plans to change Starbucks's financial situation would start with baristas brewing and hand-delivering a customer's order within four minutes. To do that, Starbucks must address inadequate staffing during peak rush hours, he told investors during a conference call Wednesday. Niccol also said that he would bring back self-serve condiment bars by early next year to improve service speeds and that Starbucks would simplify its "overly complex menu."

The company will not raise prices in the next fiscal year, he added.

"We have to make it easier for our customers to get a cup of coffee," Niccol said.



LINDSAY DEDARIO/REUTERS

Starbucks reported a net revenue of nearly \$9.1 billion from July to September, down 3 percent compared with the same time last year.

DIGEST

STOCK MARKET

Wall Street dragged down by Big Tech

The downside of high expectations thumped Wall Street on Thursday, and Microsoft and Meta dragged U.S. stock indexes lower despite delivering strong profits for the summer.

The S&P 500 sank 1.9 percent to 5,705.45 for its worst day in eight weeks and fell further from its record set last month. The Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped 0.9 percent to 41,736.46, while the Nasdaq composite tumbled 2.8 percent to 18,095.15.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury fell to 4.27 percent from 4.30 percent late Wednesday — up sharply from the roughly 3.60 percent level it was at in the middle of last month.

Amazon and Apple helped

drag the market lower, with Amazon dropping 3.4 percent and Apple falling 2 percent before they released their profit reports after trading ended for the day. They're the latest companies in the highly influential group of stocks known as the "Magnificent Seven" to do so. The tumble for Big Tech on the last day of October wiped out the S&P 500's gain for the month.

— Associated Press

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Comcast considers spinning off networks

Comcast said it was considering spinning off its cable networks that include CNBC and MSNBC into a separate company, as the media industry grapples with a decline in traditional TV viewership due to cord-cutting by consumers

shifting to streaming.

The potential spin-off would exclude the NBC broadcast network and the Peacock streaming service. The company, however, is interested in seeking a partner for Peacock to help grow that business, Comcast president Mike Cavanagh said on Thursday.

Shares of Comcast were nearly 3 percent higher in early trading as the company also reported better-than-expected revenue for the third quarter on the back of box office hits and an Olympics-driven surge in ad sales.

— Reuters

UNEMPLOYMENT

Fewer Americans filed for benefits last week

Fewer Americans filed for unemployment benefits last week as layoffs remained at

healthy levels despite interest rates. The Labor Department reported that jobless-claim applications fell by 12,000 to 216,000 for the week of Oct. 26.

The four-week average of weekly claims, which quiets some of the week-to-week fluctuations, fell by 2,250 to 236,500.

Weekly applications for jobless benefits are considered a proxy for U.S. layoffs.

In response to weakening employment data and receding consumer prices, the Federal Reserve cut its interest rate in September by a half of a percentage point as the central bank shifted its focus from taming inflation toward supporting the job market.

The Fed is trying to pull off a "soft landing," whereby it brings down inflation without tipping the economy into a recession.

— Associated Press

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Alphabet's Google on Thursday announced a set of features that incorporated Gemini, its artificial intelligence chatbot, into its suite of mapping applications. Widely perceived to have relinquished an early lead on AI development to rivals like Microsoft-backed OpenAI, Google has attempted to catch up by incorporating research advances into existing apps and devices with large user bases. Google Maps is a prominent example. The product surpassed 2 billion monthly active users, CEO Sundar Pichai said Tuesday during quarterly earnings where he touted investments in AI as "paying off" for its top line. Thursday's announcement showcased a new category of search results that can better process open-ended search queries.

Los Angeles County has sued beverage makers PepsiCo and Coca-Cola, accusing them of polluting the most populous U.S. county with plastic bottles and misleading the public about the environmental impact and recyclability of their containers. The county in a lawsuit filed on Wednesday in Los Angeles Superior Court said the companies were contributing to plastic pollution with their single-use plastic bottles and were engaging in a campaign to deceive consumers into believing they were recyclable. According to the county's lawsuit, the companies did so despite knowing the plastic in their bottles cannot be recycled at a scale meaningful enough to offset the environmental harms of the containers, most of which end up at landfills or as litter.

— From news services

Ready to change banks? Biden administration wants to make that easier.

BY ANDREW ACKERMAN

It could soon get a lot easier to switch banks, thanks to new rules from the Biden administration intended to make lenders compete more for your business. Right now, it can be a pain to switch to another lender, potentially taking days or weeks. You might have to manually enter automatic debit payments and direct deposits or keep some money in the old account for a while in case you forgot an automatic payment. New rules from the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau could change this over the coming years. The aim is to give consumers more control over how and when their financial data is used, allowing them to quickly transfer it to another bank or lender — at no charge. The rules could also make it easier for consumers to access more-individualized services,

such as financial management tools that track your spending, or even new loans that are increasingly offered by financial technology companies that compete with traditional banks. **Why are new rules needed?** There's a joke in the finance industry that more people get divorced than switch the bank accounts they had on their wedding day, because switching banks can be so cumbersome. If you try switching banks, you could miss a bill that is set up for automatic payment. Sometimes you can even get charged for canceling your account, potentially dinging your credit. That's why the CFPB says it is stepping in with the new rules. That and the 2010 Dodd-Frank law, which allows the agency to give consumers more control over their financial data. “Too many Americans are stuck in financial products with

lousy rates and service,” said CFPB Director Rohit Chopra. Chopra has compared the existing system to the early days of cellphones, when it was difficult to switch carriers and keep your phone number. That changed when the Federal Communications Commission eventually required wireless-number portability between carriers. A bipartisan group of policy-makers hope the new rules will do similar things for banking. **What are the benefits of switching banks?** You might be able to borrow on better terms by allowing a bank to review data on your spending and recurring bills. The CFPB is hopeful this could help supplement and improve the accuracy of traditional credit histories. Over the longer term, it could reduce the banks’ reliance on

credit scores, Chopra says. You might also be able to make payments directly from your bank account rather than by using a debit or credit card. This method of payment, known as “pay by bank,” has gained some traction in Europe and countries such as India but isn't yet popular in the United States. Another benefit could be to move the industry away from a potentially risky practice in which you share your bank log-in information with a third party that scrapes massive amounts of your data without any encryption, leaving it vulnerable to being stolen or otherwise misused. Under the new rules, third parties can collect, use or retain only the data needed to deliver the product you requested. They cannot secretly use the data for their own unrelated business purposes — for example, targeted advertising.

Who doesn't like it? Big banks say the rules would force them to share sensitive customer information with third parties that are not supervised for cybersecurity or for information security, potentially putting customers at greater risk. They also say screen-scraping and other “unsafe practices” are allowed to persist. Hours after the rules’ release last week, the Bank Policy Institute, a big-bank lobbying group, filed a lawsuit in federal court in Kentucky, arguing that the CFPB would require no oversight of third parties using bank customer data. BPI said the new requirements increase the likelihood of fraud and scams by failing to address weak safeguarding practices, among other objections. “The CFPB delivered a rule that treats sensitive financial data with as little care as a consumer’s web-browsing his-

tory,” said Greg Baer, president and CEO of the Bank Policy Institute. **Will it last?** The new rules first have to survive the industry’s legal challenge — an open question given the skepticism courts have displayed toward the CFPB. But the long-term political prospects are relatively good, since even Republican policymakers who generally dislike the CFPB support the effort to inject heightened competition into banking, as a key step to giving consumers greater control over their financial lives. “This is progress for American innovation and consumers, but we can't stop here,” Rep. Patrick T. McHenry (R-North Carolina), said in a statement. He called for Congress to “build on the bipartisan consensus regarding financial data privacy.”

Economy remains a top concern for voters despite job growth, easing inflation

ECONOMY FROM A1

policies, but when it comes to the economy, that's where our views align,” said Li Fan, 41, a clinical researcher in Miami who voted for Barack Obama in 2008 and plans to vote for Trump next week. “Democrats want to use taxpayer dollars on all kinds of social services. But Trump says he will lower taxes, and that's the distinction for me.” While strong economies historically have favored incumbent political parties, a wave of populism — driven in part by discontent over surging prices — has punished incumbents in a number of nations, including Britain, South Africa and India. In the United States, the downbeat perception of the economy has defined this election cycle: A majority of voters say the economy is a top concern, with 52 percent saying it is an “extremely important” factor in how they will vote — the highest level since the throes of the Great Recession, Gallup polls show. Brennin Fleisher, a recent college graduate in Wilmington, North Carolina, says a 20 percent increase in her rent this summer has made it difficult to cover basics. She makes \$45,000 a year at her marketing job but said she and her boyfriend are considering moving to a cheaper part of the state. They're also putting off plans for graduate school and, like many of their friends, cutting back on new clothes and weekend trips to keep up with rising costs. Fleisher, 24, plans to vote for Harris, in part because she has been encouraged by the candidate's willingness to address housing affordability head-on. “She's bringing attention to the things my generation is struggling with,” Fleischer said. “It isn't just about abortion or the border — the things we hear about all the time — but about the costs we're facing every day, just to have a place to live.” Heading into the election, a barrage of fresh data this week reflected one of the best pre-election economies in decades. Gross domestic product rose at a healthy 2.8 percent annual rate in the most recent quarter. Businesses hired more workers than expected this month, with 233,000 new private-sector jobs, according to payroll processing firm ADP. Weekly claims for unemployment benefits last week hit a five-month low, according to a Thursday report. And Americans may be starting to notice. Consumer confidence, a measure of economic optimism, posted its largest monthly jump in more than three



NAM Y. HUH/AP

A shopper checks eggs at a grocery store in Chicago on Sept. 19. Over the past four years, grocery prices have risen by 22 percent.

years, according to Conference Board data out this week. But the strong economy, on its own, has proved a challenge for Democrats to sell, both for President Joe Biden and Harris. Earlier this year, the White House abandoned the catchall phrase “Bidenomics” that it had been using to sum up economic growth from the president's policies boosting infrastructure spending, green energy technology and the chips industry. Republicans and Trump liked to use the phrase as a catchy reminder about the weight of higher prices. Harris, though, has taken a different approach. Instead of touting the economy's strengths, she has focused on the challenges facing Americans, including high prices for food, housing and child care. “Our biggest challenge is to lower costs — costs that were rising even before the pandemic, and that are still too high,” Harris said in a speech in Washington this week. “I get it.” That tactic has worked — voters say they trust Harris over

Trump when it comes to costs for housing, child care, nursing homes and prescription medications, according to a recent poll by AARP. Trump, though, continues to hold the lead on “the economy in general.” “There is this long-standing assumption that Republicans have the advantage on the economy over Democrats,” said Margie Omero, a Democratic pollster at the firm GBAO. “But the specifics of Harris's economic message — specifically caregiving and tax fairness — are resonating, which has helped close the gap.” In Dallas, Emily Broadway is switching to Harris after a decade of conservative voting. The 28-year-old, who was president of her school's College Republicans organization and interned for a GOP senator, said she's felt a growing unease with the party since the Jan. 6, 2021, insurrection. This summer, she and her husband decided they would vote blue for the first time, in part because they hope to have children soon and worry about losing access to reproductive rights.

Plus, she said, the economy seems as though it's in solid shape. “I do feel like, as a whole, we're in a better place than we were four years ago,” she said. “I'm definitely seeing positives — some things are getting cheaper at the grocery store, and our lease renewal only went up by a couple of bucks.” Trump, though, has sought to play up inflation on the campaign trail by blaming Harris for rising costs. Instead, he said, he would cut taxes for workers and small businesses and double down on drilling for oil. He also plans to enact across-the-board tariffs on all imports — a move that he says will be absorbed by foreign countries but that economists say would make goods costlier for Americans and quickly reignite inflation. “If Kamala Harris gets four more years, our economy can never recover,” Trump said at a rally in New York City this week. “We will rapidly defeat inflation, and we will very simply make America affordable again.” But there are also signs that

the economic issues matters less than they used to in elections, particularly as the country becomes more polarized. Pollsters on both sides of the aisle say voters are quick to point to “the economy” as a catchall for voter grievances, including high costs, health care, immigration and tax policy. When it comes to actually casting a vote, it often comes down to many other factors — including party lines. “There's a lot more that goes into a vote than a single topic, even if everyone says that's what's important to them,” said Brent Buchanan, a Republican pollster and founder of the firm Cygnal. “Economic issues actually span a whole spectrum, including illegal immigration and sending money to foreign wars — not just ‘Groceries cost a lot.’” Emily Holder, a chef in Zionsville, Indiana, said gas prices and the economy are among her “top 10” concerns. But for now, she's much more focused on health care, women's rights and gun control, which she said take precedent over cheap gas and have

tipped the scales in Harris's favor. “Of course it makes a significant difference when I fill up my car, and it's \$30 instead of \$50,” the 36-year-old said. “But at the end of the day, there are other issues that are a much bigger deal for me.” For many others, though, the cost of living is still a deciding factor. Umar Saeed, an account manager in Sacramento, says an unexpected layoff and five months of unemployment earlier this year have clouded his views of the economy. He's making less money than he was a year ago, and he worries about keeping up with basic expenses. “Every dollar counts when you're trying to raise a family, and I don't feel Biden has done a terrific job in helping working families or that Kamala will be any better,” said Saeed, 42, who is voting for Green Party candidate Jill Stein after supporting Biden in 2020. “Gas is high, groceries are high, going out to eat is high. For common folks like us, there's been a real squeeze on everything.”

Britain settles groundbreaking legal case over girl's death from air pollution

BY WILLIAM BOOTH

LONDON — In a groundbreaking civil case, the British government settled out of court Thursday with the mother of a 9-year-old girl who was the first to have “air pollution” recorded as a cause on her death certificate. Environment Minister Emma Hardy met with the family and apologized on the behalf of the government, although she did not offer any new policy commitments. The girl, Ella, died in 2013. She lived with her family on a heavily trafficked roadway in Lewisham, a neighborhood in southeast London. She began suffering from asthma at age 6 and died of a severe asthma attack at age 9. During those three years, Ella went to the hospital more than

30 times for breathing problems. The lawyers who brought the case on behalf of the family pursued a novel strategy, arguing that Ella's death was a violation of British human rights law. Because it was settled out of court — for an undisclosed amount — no new legal precedent was established. But the case helped make the health impact of air pollution a national issue. “Ella's suffering and death were a tragedy,” Hardy told the family, according to a statement. To Ella's mother, Rosamund Adoo-Kissi-Debrah, the environment minister said: “Your words, both in this litigation and in your public campaigning, have made a considerable impact. You have spoken eloquently about Ella's life, her suffering and death, your experiences throughout the in-

quest and the course of the litigation, and your efforts campaigning for better air quality.” The government has pledged action on air pollution but has not detailed its plans. Britain is moving forward briskly in some sectors. It has mostly abandoned coal mining and burning, to be replaced by solar, wind and natural gas. The proportion of new cars that are electric has grown from 6.6 percent in 2020 to 16.8 percent this year. In a statement Thursday, the new Labour Party government of Prime Minister Keir Starmer said it was “committed to delivering a comprehensive and ambitious Clean Air Strategy including a series of interventions to reduce emissions so that everyone's exposure to air pollution is reduced.”

Adoo-Kissi-Debrah said she would continue to press for tighter air pollution legislation, specifically to slash levels of PM2.5 particulate matter — the very fine airborne particles that can be inhaled deeply into the lungs — by 2030, which would be a full decade earlier than Britain's current commitment. She also wants the government to launch public health campaigns to alert people to the dangers of air pollution, similar to warnings about smoking or alcohol. “It won't bring my daughter back,” she told The Washington Post, but the public needs more information about this “invisible killer.” She said actor and former California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has supported her campaign and the cost of

litigation. She said that medical staff treating her daughter hadn't linked her condition to air pollution and that they would probably make that connection today. About 1.1 million children in Britain suffer from asthma, and the country has the highest mortality rate from asthma in Europe, said Ruth Waters-Falk, a lawyer at the Hodge Jones & Allen firm who brought the civil claim against the government for the family. In the second of two inquests, coroner Philip Barlow concluded that Ella “died of asthma contributed to by exposure to excessive air pollution.” In his report, Barlow added that “there was no dispute at the inquest that atmospheric air pollution is the cause of many thousand premature deaths every

year in the U.K. Delay in reducing the levels of atmospheric air pollution is the cause of avoidable deaths.” George Thurston, an epidemiologist at the New York University School of Medicine, said that a death certificate listing “air pollution” is unique but that scientists recognize that pollution is a leading cause of death. “It's happening, but it's not recorded,” Thurston said. “I would hope that this new documentation would encourage governments to act more quickly to reduce air pollution.” In the years since Ella's death, vast swaths of London have been declared an “Ultra Low Emission Zone,” meaning that vehicles that do not meet tough emissions standards must to pay a \$16 daily charge to drive within the zone.



PHOTOS BY ELI DURST FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

There is no uniform definition of aggressive driving across law enforcement agencies and no national database to track it. In San Antonio, the police's traffic unit has put a special focus on aggressive driving.

Aggressive drivers try to understand their anger as incidents rise

ROAD RAGE FROM A1

getting worse. Across the country, the number of people injured or killed in road rage incidents involving a gun has doubled since 2018, according to data from the Gun Violence Archive, a nonprofit research group. There is no uniform definition of aggressive driving across law enforcement agencies and no national database to track it, but DeSoto has been keeping his own tally, including cases in Texas involving guns, knives, ice picks, 2-by-4s, tire tools, PVC pipe, plumbing pipe, bats, hammers, shovels, hatchets, ball bearings, marbles, frozen water bottles, bricks, stones and, in at least one instance, a spear.

On the road, the incidents can begin and end in as little as 30 seconds. But another thing DeSoto has come to believe is that more than just reckless behavior, the cases are a measure of the country's stress, trauma and polarization, and that made them part of a larger, longer story.

"So let's start," he says.

A young woman goes first. She says she was speeding to pick up a sick aunt.

A man next to her says he was speeding to pick up his daughter from school.

A man a few seats away goes next. "I was coming back from work," he says, and DeSoto, a certified intervention facilitator, gestures for him to keep talking, trying to draw him out. These are not the people with spears, pipes and knives, but this is a course about the different forms anger can take. "You're driving a vehicle that is 3 to 7,000 pounds," DeSoto will tell them. "You can hurt somebody."

"I was just trying to go home," the man says.

"Okay, that's a start."

Next person. A young woman. Speeding because — "okay, you're gonna hate me, but ..." she begins to say.

"No," DeSoto says.

"I'm sorry, but I like to go fast."

"You go, girl," another man says.

"Okay, so, how fast were you going?" DeSoto asks.

"I was going 103 in a 70."

"Ooh," one person says, and another starts clapping.

"In a construction zone, too," she says.

A few seats to her right, the next person to speak, a 41-year-old man whose first name is Almir, sits up in his chair and, instead of talking about speed-

ing, says to the rest of the class, "People are just overwhelmed."

He begins to list the reasons: inflation, job insecurity, constant TV, constant news. "It's, 'Hey, look at this.' 'Look at this.' 'Look at that.' 'Should we look at this?' 'Should I look at that?' People are just losing it," he says. He had read stories about gunfights between strangers in Texas, where, as of 2021, state law allows most adults to carry a handgun in public without a permit. He had seen people scream at the nurses and administrators at the hospital where he worked.

"And it's hot," a girl next to him says.

"Everything. Humans are just too overwhelmed with, just, everything," Almir says. "And in particular, in my case, I just wanted to avoid the guy ..."

The larger, longer story: If Almir had wanted to explain it fully to the rest of the class, he would have told them that what happened the day he was pulled over wasn't just about an angry and anxious world. It was part of a story that began decades ago, when he was growing up in the mid-1990s during the war in Sarajevo. His childhood memories were of grenades, emptied out buildings and a neighbor who was abusive, leaving him with trauma he couldn't talk about for years. Then there was bullying at school, skipped classes and nights he ran away from home, sleeping in abandoned houses. When his family resettled in the United States, he began to see that any situation could provoke him into a reaction. It wasn't until he was in his 30s and met his wife, a licensed professional counselor, that he started to realize why. She encouraged him to see a therapist. In the beginning, he talked until he overwhelmed himself with crying. "If you cry, you cry," his wife told him. "Let it out. It's an emotion."

None of which he says in class. What he does say is, "I also got a short fuse." He turns to the girl who likes to drive fast and says: "I understand what she's saying. She's gonna slow down as she grows older. When I was younger, you need something. You're understanding this world."

In his case, it took a long time to understand why he still doesn't like when someone touches him on the back, or why he hates harsh, sudden noises, or why he would start saying "patience, patience" to himself when he looked in his rearview mirror one day and saw a Mustang tailgating him. He was on his way

home with his 4-year-old daughter from her pediatrician appointment. It had already been a stressful day. Her school had kept calling, asking him to update her vaccinations. He had been laid off a few months earlier, and he didn't have health insurance, and now he was on Interstate 410 and the Mustang was inching closer. He saw the driver gesturing angrily. He wanted to change lanes, but no one would let him in, and his daughter was in the car seat behind him, asking questions, as he watched the Mustang coming closer.

"Patience," he told himself again, and when he saw a gap in the traffic, he stepped on the gas, hit 90 mph, shifted lanes, saw the flashing lights of a police car, and now he was here in this class.

"We are a very high-anxiety world right now," DeSoto tells

"Why do people become homicidal in a 30- to 45-second transaction? It's more than just the guns."

Dean DeSoto,
who has taught an aggressive driving class for 26 years

"Humans are just too overwhelmed with, just, everything."

Almir,
in the aggressive driving course

him. "Economic pressures. Social pressures."

"It's everything," Almir says again.

"It's everything," DeSoto says.

"Nine out of 10 times, I'm just trying to avoid. I see people having disputes over stupid stuff at gas stations. They start shooting at each other. That's notorious in Texas. Notorious."

"And again," DeSoto says, "the point is here: Why do people become homicidal in a 30- to 45-second transaction? It's more than just the guns."

"If you are into a mood or in a bad day and then — out of nowhere ..."

"Therein lies the answer: state of mind."

The class goes on. They watch a video about the brain's response to fear. They answer questions in their course book like, "How do

you try to relax?" Almir sits through a compilation of news clips on road rage that are filled with harsh noises: first of honking, then a driver firing a gun five times in Miami, then a driver throwing an ax, shattering a windshield in Washington state. A few seats away, a man scrolls on his cellphone. A woman puts her head in her hands. DeSoto looks around the room. "All right, so what is anger?" he asks, and Almir is the first to answer.

"It's an emotion," he says.

In another part of the city, Anthony Williams, a 40-year-old police officer, sees a sedan begin to accelerate in front of him. "Please don't do it," he says.

He glances at his radar. Eighty mph.

"Please don't take off. Please

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



From left, Colten Bonk, Yufang Jin and Dean DeSoto present during an aggressive driving course in San Antonio. DeSoto, who teaches the course, believes that what goes on in the country plays out in its roadways and that anger on the roads is getting worse.



People who take DeSoto's aggressive driver's course have been ticketed, fined and sent there by a judge to learn how to manage their anger and anxiety on the road.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

don't do that.”

Inside his unmarked Dodge Charger, Williams speeds up to get closer. He waits a moment longer, hoping the car will slow down. Eighty-five mph. He groans. “Yeah, they’re gonna get a ticket,” he says, and on come the blue-and-red lights of his car.

Williams opens the laptop mounted to his center console and types out the license plate number as the sedan exits the highway and comes to a stop on the side of the road. He checks his body camera and the camera on his dashboard and eyes the vehicle ahead before he opens his door.

“Alrighty, then. We’ll see how this interaction is.”

All day long, this is what Williams does. His job is the 30-second transaction on the road, not what comes before or after. “It’s a lot of road rage here,” he says at the beginning of another shift. “I’ve seen it just getting worse.” In San Antonio, the police department’s traffic unit has put a special focus on aggressive driving, even as some jurisdictions across the country have moved to limit low-level traffic stops since the start of the pandemic and the 2020 police killing of George Floyd. What this means for Williams is that each time he approaches a car, he tries to prepare himself to encounter any possible emotional state.

Now he returns from the sedan and steps back inside his car, relieved, which is how he feels when he avoids a confrontation. “How are you doing today?” is how he says he tries to begin every interaction, and sometimes, the response is, “Why the f--- did you pull me over? Why’d you pull me over, why’d you pull me over?”

“Let’s start over,” Williams says he will respond, trying to defuse the situation, and it goes on from there: “My name is Officer Williams. Okay? Here’s the reason why — just let me finish, please. This is the reason why I pulled you over, okay? I have nothing against you. I have a job to do. Okay? I caught you speeding. Ah, ah — let me finish. Let me finish. I have a job to do, okay?”

Williams thinks of his job as a series of interactions, and he believes that most of the time, people are just having a bad day. Sometimes, Williams is having a bad day, too, and when he does, he drives to a park and calls his wife or sits in the silence of his car. He knows what happens to officers who let the stress build. A few times, he’s screamed into his hands, “just to get it out,” he says.

Now he pulls up beside a car on an access road and rolls down his window.

“You need to slow down, man. All right?”

“Okay, yeah,” the man says. “Just slow it down, okay?”

He sees another car start to speed up. “Please don’t take off,” he says, but the man does, and

soon he is pulling the car over and writing a ticket.

He sees a woman texting as she moves down the highway. “Please get off it,” he says, watching her use her phone. He pulls closer. “Come on.” But she’s still texting, and he flips on his lights. Another ticket.

He sees a truck cut someone off near a highway exit, and he says: “Wow, wow, wow. Bro, bro. That was bad. That was bad.”

Williams accelerates and flips on his lights. Another ticket.

The next interaction comes in from his dispatcher — road rage on Interstate 410. He dials the number of the woman who called in the report and listens as she describes a driver following her from lane to lane, then giving her the middle finger, then coming close to hitting her. “I try to stay away from people like that,” the woman says. “I was like, ‘What the hell is she doing?’”

“That’s exactly what you do,” Williams tells her. “I’ve seen shootings. I’ve seen stabbings. You don’t want to be part of none of that, okay?”

He gives her his badge number, tells her he’ll look into it and says he hopes she has a better day.

On his computer, Williams begins to type a record of the incident and the phone call.

“Just a couple sentences, a little narrative,” he says, and then the interaction is over. He shuts his laptop, puts the car in drive and pulls out of the parking lot, headed back to the highway.

After a few days, 10 students return to DeSoto’s classroom, here again because a judge considered their citation serious enough for a second, more intensive session of the aggressive driving course. They sit in the circle of chairs and this time, halfway through the class, a 26-year-old man walks into the room and takes a seat in the corner.

“This is Colten Bonk,” DeSoto says, and he tells the class Bonk is here to talk about his own life with anger.

“Kind of a long story,” Bonk says.

Bonk was also speeding. In his case, it was through downtown Fredericksburg, Texas. A police officer had pulled him over, but instead of keeping the car in park, he put it in drive and stepped on the gas. He saw the cop car behind him, then more than one cop car. “I’ve seen the footage. It’s not good,” he says. He kept driving until he flipped his Dodge Ram 2500, was ejected from the driver’s seat, put his face through the windshield, hit his head on the concrete and broke hands, including his ribs, sternum and scapula. He was airlifted to a hospital. When he woke up, he didn’t know who he was or recognize his parents.

What he would eventually remember was how he’d gotten there. He was an alcoholic, and his anger had begun when he was 19 years old and a scholarship student at St. Louis University.

“You blame other people on the road for how they’re driving or whatever it is. But you play a part in everything, dude, trust me.”

Colten Bonk, who spoke to the class about his own life, anger and brush with death

“I’m sorry, but I like to go fast. ... I was going 103 in a 70.”

A young woman in the class

One night, a fight with his girlfriend became physical. “I had a couple of black eyes, and I threw her on the ground. It took me years to even talk about that, but that’s what I did,” he says. The next day, he was arrested by campus police officers, accused of domestic violence and, later, charged by the state. He left Missouri, lost his scholarship and “blamed everyone around me,” he says. “The anger progressed and progressed, man.” By 22, he got a DWI, went to rehab, got out, moved into a sober living house, relapsed, got a second DWI, moved back into sober living — and then came the night he was stopped in Fredericksburg and decided to take off.

“The last time I drank, when I was in Fredericksburg, I can’t tell you exactly what was going through my mind,” he says.

“The police officer had you,” DeSoto says now. “The car was in park. What did he tell you?”

“Don’t put in drive.”

“That hair-trigger kicked in. ... What triggered that?”

“I mean, probably a few things,” Bonk says.

“Fire away.”

“One was just fear and trauma,” he says. “I got to the point where I started being angry even when I wasn’t drunk. Somebody would look at me wrong in the room and I’m like, ‘The f--- is this guy’s problem, dude?’”

Now Bonk looks out across the classroom.

“I mean, we all get angry, right?” he says. “You blame other people. You blame other things. You blame other people on the road for how they’re driving or whatever it is. But you play a part in everything, dude, trust me.”

The people in class listen in silence, and when DeSoto tells them to take a 10-minute break, a few of them hang back and walk over to Bonk.

“Really appreciate hearing that. Takes a lot of courage,” one of them says.

“Of course, dude,” Bonk says.

“I wanna say thank you.”

“Appreciate you saying that, dude,” Bonk says.

Behind them, a woman named Hailey is the last to approach.

“Hey, um, Colten,” she says. “Is there any way I could talk to you at some point?”

“All right,” DeSoto says when the class is nearly finished, “What have you picked up? Or did it go in one ear and out the other?”

They go around the room as they’d done in the beginning.

“I’m just more conscious of my state of mind,” a man says.

“Maybe I shouldn’t be speeding around,” another says.

“Okay,” DeSoto says, turning his attention to the woman who a few minutes before had been

telling Bonk how she ended up going 92 mph on the interstate. “Hailey?”

She was 20 years old. She had been living on her own since she was 18, she explained one day outside of the classroom. She had been working at a restaurant and earned just enough money for rent, groceries and a white Camry, which she was driving the night she was pulled over with a load of freshly done laundry in the back seat. At the time, she was trying to cut down on marijuana, which she said she’d been using since she was a teenager, and that was part of one more story in this class. From the ages of 5 to 12, she said, she was abused by someone close to her family, and in the years afterward: therapy, mental health hospitalizations and a disciplinary program in school called In-School Suspension, or ISS, where she remembered sitting in a room and writing the same phrase over and over in a workbook — “I’m in ISS because ... I’m in ISS because ...”

And now this new program with a workbook, where she had been doing her best to answer the questions:

Why were you speeding?

“Trying to show off/pass in front of a sports car.”

What did you say to the police officer?

“That I saw him and started slowing down. It was a long day and I just wanted to get home after doing laundry. That I’m broke and didn’t have money for the tow/car insurance.”

What did the police officer say to you?

“That I was going way too fast in a 65 and that it was reckless driving and that they would have to tow my car because I didn’t have insurance.”

Did you sleep well the night before?

“I have a hard time falling and staying asleep.”

In her apartment in the weeks leading up to her citation, she found herself on social media more and more. One night it was scrolling past images of war in Gaza, feeling a “dark hole of hopelessness” at what she saw. Another night, it was videos of influencers sitting on the beach, traveling to places she had never been, “in a competition of who’s doing better, who has this, who has that, who’s making more money, who’s right, who’s wrong ...” until the night her life had brought her to DeSoto’s class, where he is now saying her name.

“Sorry,” she says to him, looking up. “What was the question?”

“What have you processed?”

“Um,” she says to DeSoto.

She talks about watching her speed and keeping distance from other drivers.

“Just overall trying to be more responsible,” she says.

“Very good,” DeSoto says, and Hailey returns to the workbook.

How do you define anger?

“Anger is a cover emotion ...”

What emotions trigger anger?

“Fear, sadness, emptiness.”

After a few minutes, people begin to pack up their things. DeSoto wishes them luck and hands them each a certificate that will allow them to expunge the citations from their records.

They take out their car keys and their phones, and one by one, they begin to leave the classroom, headed back to highways full of anger and anxiety, until only one person is left seated.

Hailey, still writing.



A car after a high-speed crash on Interstate 410 in San Antonio. Across the country, the number of people injured or killed in road rage incidents involving a gun has doubled since 2018, according to data from the Gun Violence Archive, a nonprofit research group.

OPINION

SERGIO PEÇANHA

There’s a lot to see when we set politics aside

This year, as another intense presidential campaign heads into the home stretch, I decided to try an experiment. I would go out and talk to strangers, doing the kind of voter-in-the-street interviews that are so familiar in election years — but with a twist: I’d ask the people I met about anything and everything — except politics. That’s how I ended up in Winchester, Virginia; Rome, Georgia; and New York City — three American towns with very different personalities and political leanings.



Part I: What three beautiful randos taught me about bouncing back

In Virginia’s last election, Winchester — population 28,000 — was fairly evenly split between Republicans and Democrats. The surrounding county has gone Republican for decades.

I talked to many people there. Everyone had something interesting to say. Let me introduce you to some of them:

One woman told me she was living with her ex-boyfriend’s ex-wife and their kids. And that she sleeps with a Winnie-the-Pooh teddy bear.

A teacher talked about a shy student who gained confidence through sports — and now had a girlfriend.

Another woman grew up in a hippie commune and worked on farms around the country after high school. (Far out!)

To most people, politics is important. But it’s not everything.

It’s not even the most important thing.

And — spoiler alert! — here is the result of my experiment: Talking to people without knowing their political views renewed a faith I had begun to question. Americans still have much more in common than it may seem sometimes.

So as Election Day approaches, with all the hard and unruly feelings we know it will bring, I want to introduce you to some of the beautiful randos I met in Winchester and around the country. Perhaps meeting them will restore some of your faith, too.

The election is dominating the national conversation, but there are plenty of other things to talk about. And as it turns out, when we put politics aside, what we are left with is life.

Oh, and I’m not going to tell you how they plan to vote. At least not yet.



Jason

In Winchester, I met a 38-year-old man named Jason Blosser. I spotted him in a bar that had live music and served chicken wings.

Jason was there with two friends. All three were White and had long beards. As I sized them up, I was confident I was about to say hi to a group of conservative people.

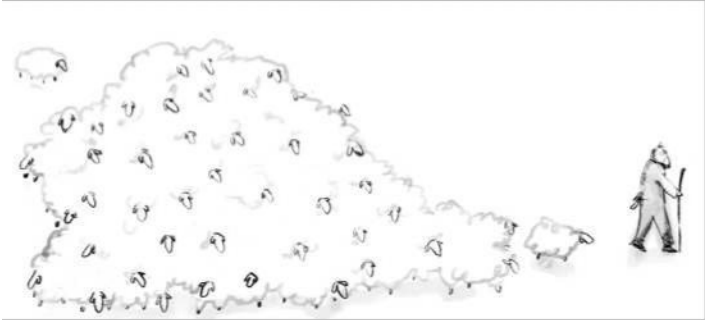
I sat near them, ordered a beer and waited — a Brazilian jaguar setting an ambush.

From my seat, I could hear their animated conversation: They were talking about other men. My attempt to stereotype conservatives had landed me near three bears having a few drinks. I approached them.



Jason later told me he was born and raised in a Pentecostal family in rural West Virginia. His early life revolved around the church.

When Jason was in his early 20s, he was studying to become a minister, and the pastor of his congregation died. Jason unexpectedly became his church’s lead pastor. He loved it.



A few months later, a member of his church stopped attending services. Jason called to check in, as good pastors do.

The woman told him she suspected he was having a relationship with one of the men from the church.

“If you don’t tell your parents,” she threatened, “I’m going to.”



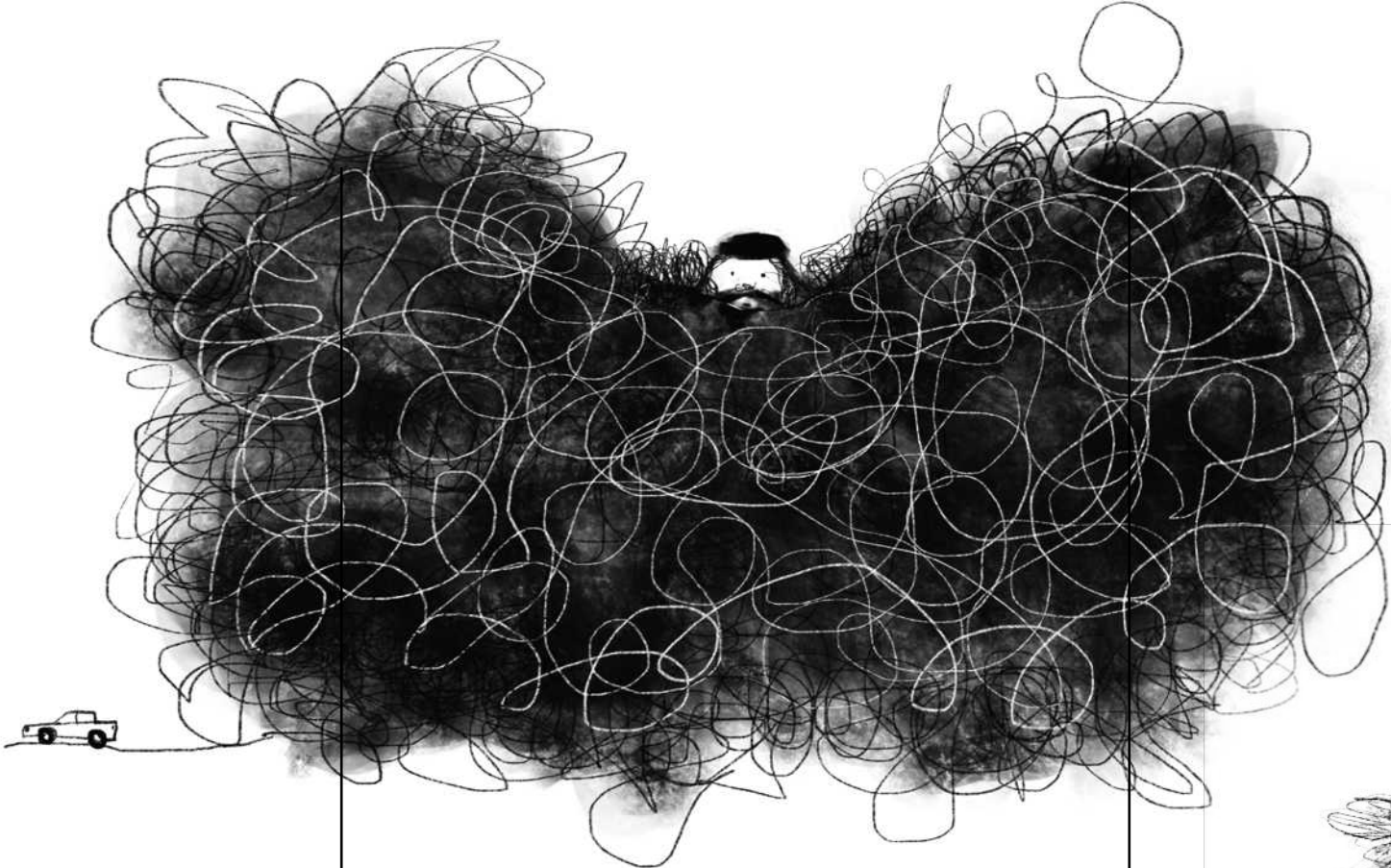
Jason called his parents and church leaders that same night. His family supported him, but the church leadership said he could only remain a pastor if he ended the relationship and lived in celibacy. Jason said he couldn’t do that. So they told him: “When you get relief from this demon, you can come back.”

Heartbroken, Jason left the church. Months later, he found a job in Winchester and moved there with his boyfriend.

Years later, they adopted a girl, Rebecca, who recently turned 5. The couple broke up, but they are still raising Rebecca together.

Jason remains upset about how his church treated him. His faith is shaken, but he said he still reads his Bible and, from time to time, the notes he took while preparing sermons.

“Maybe the reason all this happened is so that I could have Rebecca in my life,” he said.



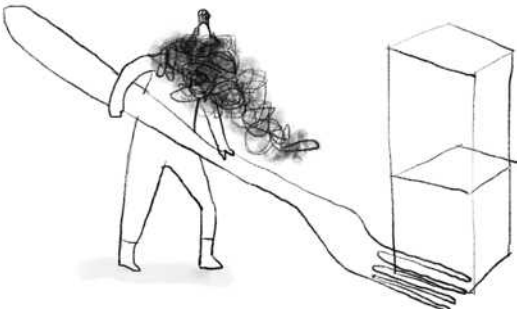
Tim

I was looking for parking in downtown Winchester when Tim Bower’s big beard and bright pink umbrella caught my attention.

I doubted he’d talk to me. I guess I tend to think White men with long beards aren’t friendly. I kept driving, and I parked a few blocks later.

It was drizzling, and I didn’t have an umbrella. To my surprise, Tim turned the corner and started walking in my direction. As he approached, he reached into his pocket and asked: “Would you like a poncho?”

I had been proved a fool again.



Tim told me he used to work as a forklift operator but had to go on disability after having emergency surgery. He has been trying to learn new skills and hopes to find an office job.

We talked about his family, religion, birds, squirrels and UFOs.

Tim said he has struggled with depression. He told me about a conversation he once had with his father about lighthouses.

His dad had told him lighthouses were a symbol of hope: When people are in trouble, lighthouses are a sign that there’s someone out there looking out for us.

Days after that conversation, Tim came across two little lighthouse statues in a box marked “free.” He took them to his father.

“Ever since we had that conversation, lighthouses have seemed to come to my life,” he said. When his dad died, Tim inherited the lighthouses that started it all.

He has dozens of lighthouse figures, lamps and prints that he has stumbled upon over the years.

“I think my dad knew it would help with my depression,” he said. “They give me hope. They’re a reminder that there’s light out there that can guide you somehow, somewhere.”



Melody

When I met Melody Soares, she had just gone through her first love — and her first breakup. She wrote a song about it.

Breakups hurt. Especially the first. I feel you, Melody.



Melody’s parents emigrated from India, and she is the youngest of five children. She was born on Long Island, but the family moved to Virginia for work when she was a toddler.

Melody grew up in a musical family. Her dad plays guitar, and everyone in her house sings or plays an instrument. Now Melody writes her own songs and hopes to sing professionally. She just started college.

Melody would love to pursue music, but she decided to study business. (She wants a fallback.) Meanwhile, she works at a Starbucks, hangs out with friends, and posts her songs on Instagram and TikTok.

I recently checked in with Melody again. It took a few months, but she’s moving on from the heartbreak. She had a new song to share with me:

It’s easy to like Melody. Her openness, her beautiful voice and her passion for music are endearing. At 20 years old, she has a life ahead her. But no matter our age, we all carry something of Melody inside us.



About half the country is bound for a heartbreak in November. No matter who wins, a lot of people will see disaster in the result. But this election is just one stage in the American story, sailing ever onward. We have known rough seas before, and we’re in this ship together.

Would it be fair to describe Melody, Jason and Tim as “voters”? Sure. But they are so much more than that. If nothing else, these stories of random people show that if we approach each other with interest, we open ourselves to the beautiful complexity of the people we share this country with.

Would any of that be different if you knew how they were going to vote?

OPINION



Part II: I’m a brown immigrant. I visited Marjorie Taylor Greene’s district. Ready?

I took a trip to Marjorie Taylor Greene’s district in Georgia, one of the most conservative areas in the country. I’m a brown man with a foreign accent. I thought: Why not? In a purple corner of Virginia, with politics out of the way, I found that everyone had a story to tell. But how would it go in a deep-red place?

That’s how I wound up in Rome, a town of about 38,000. Given Greene’s hard-line views, especially on immigration, I admit I was a little anxious. What were her constituents like?

Let me report back: The stereotype is true. Not the one about angry extremism; I didn’t find that. The one about small American towns being very friendly.

I arrived on a Sunday night. The restaurants were packed. People were strolling downtown, including families speaking Spanish and mixed-race couples. The area had many small businesses, from tattoo and vape shops to cute boutiques. The most “extreme” thing I saw was a 1970s Oldsmobile that

had been transformed into a donk, a car with metallic paint and massive, shiny wheels. The driver waved at me as he turned.

The extraordinary and the divine seemed to follow me around in Rome.

One woman told me about how the Holy Spirit had transformed her life in a college dorm. She served in the military, lived in Japan and is now an evangelist on TikTok. After we talked, she asked to pray for me.

Another woman said she had come from Tennessee to help friends with their teahouse, which serves exotic blends and elegant snacks such as turmeric balls. She and her friends were all full-time flight attendants. Their shop was a side gig.

A young man with a Harley-Davidson had trained to be a pilot after high school but didn’t like it. He found his passion in nature preservation and recently started a job as a wildland firefighter.

Where were all the stereotypes hiding?



Morris

Morris Collins was carrying a small cage when I met him. Ella, his cat, is 16 and facing early-stage kidney failure. They were headed to the vet.

Morris has lived around Rome (he grew up nearby) for 25 years. He’s been married to Jana for 44 years. They have two children in their late 30s. A businessman who’s been to Europe dozens of times, Morris wants to retire next year. Then he hopes to do a lot more camping and backpacking. Here’s why:

A decade ago, Morris and Jana went to Yellowstone National Park. On their first night, they set up camp, had dinner and went to bed.



Morris crashed, but Jana had a hard time falling asleep. She wasn’t in her element. Noises. God knew what could be out there.

Sometime later, Jana woke up Morris. “Did you hear that?” she said. “Are those coyotes?” “Shhh.”



Awoooooo ... ow-ow-ow awoooooo! A pack of hunting wolves — Morris was almost certain. “I heard them howling; I assumed they were coordinating a stalk,” he recalled. Morris was overtaken by primal feelings.

The hairs on his neck and arms stood up. The howls activated a fight-or-flight response in him.

“I could close my eyes, and I was a Stone Age hunter in a cave,” he recalled. “It’s a feeling that you are not the biggest predator on the planet.”

The pack seemed far away. The couple were safe. The wolves were safe, too — safe from prehistoric Morris. “We didn’t see a wolf the whole trip,” Morris said. “We only heard them that first night.”



But a decade later, Morris’s excitement was still palpable. He wishes more people would experience that type of feeling. “It’s something that, as a society — industrialized, with all the connectedness — sadly, we lost,” he said.

When Morris retires, the first place he wants to visit is Glacier National Park in Montana. “I am afraid there will not be any glaciers there to see in 25 years,” he said.

I checked in with him recently and asked about Ella. She is holding steady.



Here’s where I confess that I “profiled” Morris. But in the end, he didn’t quite fit my stereotype of a Marjorie Taylor Greene constituent. I decided to find another older White man.



Herschel

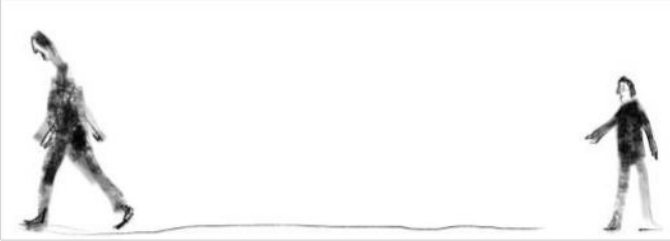
Herschel Williams seemed in every way a perfect subject: White, Pentecostal evangelical and a grandfather of three.

And, it turned out, gay.

Herschel asked to be identified by his middle name. Faith is important to him, and the people in his church don’t know that he’s gay. “I have gone to churches, [and] when they know I’m gay, I’ve been told not to come back,” he said.

Herschel had a difficult upbringing. He said that a neighbor molested him when he was 9, but he didn’t tell anyone. His teenage years were “hellacious,” he said. “One big depression.” His parents divorced when he was 13.

When Herschel was 19, his father objected to the way he talked to his stepmother at his sister’s wedding. The situation escalated. His father choked him, called him a disgrace and disowned him. “I think he felt that I must be a gay guy,” Herschel said.



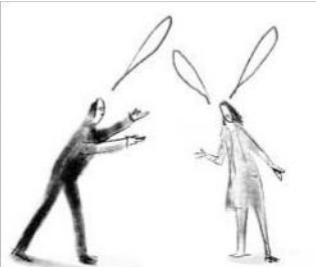
At 30, Herschel married Anna, a woman he met at church, and they had a daughter. But the marriage ended 21 years later, after his wife found him watching gay pornography.

That incident was the culmination of a journey that had begun years before, after Herschel had a breakdown at work. He worked at a call center, and one of his jobs was debt collection. “After eight and a half years of doing collections,” he said, “I just lost it.” Herschel went to see a psychologist after the incident, which he described as a panic attack.

It took him years to realize that his mood swings were related to his sexuality. Even then, he tried to suppress his feelings. It was only when Anna caught him looking at pornography that he faced who he is head-on.

“I had to confess that I had tendencies,” he said. She got angry, called him names. It was a rough period. They split up about a year later.

Herschel eventually made peace with his sexuality and moved to Atlanta for a while. “It’s tough being in this part of the country and having tendencies,” Herschel said. He experienced domestic abuse in his relationships. Now he lives with his beagle.



Five years after the divorce, Anna caught pneumonia while attending a funeral on a cold day. Two weeks later, she died. Herschel helped care for her. They remained friends to the end.

$$a = 0: c_1 x + c_2 = 0 \Rightarrow c_2 = -c_1 x$$
$$\Rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ c_1 \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \beta_1 x^2 + b x \\ \alpha_2 - \beta_2 x^2 \end{pmatrix} + c_2 \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ \beta_1 x + i \end{pmatrix} = 0 \Rightarrow c_2 = c_1 \frac{\bar{\alpha}_2 x^2 - \alpha_2}{\bar{\alpha}_1 x + i}$$
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so there is always a solution



Daniel

When I met Daniel Lucas, he was at a playground with his family. Daniel is a college math professor. One way to get a PhD in math involves coming up with a difficult problem and working on it until you solve it. Or until you don’t.

Daniel spent two years in a basement trying to answer a problem he had created for himself before he found his answer. “Learning brings me more joy than pretty much anything,” he said.

Born in Indiana, Daniel is 36 now. The family moved to Rome three years ago for his teaching job. Like many millennials, Daniel is into homesteading. He’s been preparing the soil of his half-acre plot to start a garden. He likes to bake and cook. Last year, when eggs got expensive, Daniel started raising chickens. Now he sells his surplus eggs. He recently took up bowhunting and killed a deer on the first day of the season. A friend taught him how to process the meat.

Rural conservatives are often deemed unsophisticated by people in coastal cities. Those people definitely haven’t met Daniel. It’s not because he’s got a PhD — he’s just a curious guy.



Daniel is also into philosophy — especially Neoplatonism, which sees the physical world and the divine as connected. He has an intricate drawing representing the Garden of Eden after the Fall that he likes to meditate on. “It’s an intuitive thing,” he said. It helps him deepen his sense of the Bible. “I spend a lot of time trying to understand our place in this world and our proper way in it.”

But Daniel also says religion should be questioned, just like science. “In science, a theory is good if it accounts for what we know and allows it to be tested.”

I asked if it bothered him that some people in big cities look down on small-town conservatives. He said he doesn’t take it personally. “Frankly, the majority of people on the coasts,” he started, then paused.

“I don’t want to do the same thing that they do to us.”

Daniel thinks city life, with its rush and distraction, leaves little room for reflection. “To look at someone whose life has a slower pace and assume that they don’t really think is the opposite of what’s true,” he said.

“If you spend time with these people in the ‘flyover country,’ as they would call it, you will find a lot more deep thinking than you might think.”

SEE PART III ON A20



OPINION



Part III: What I learned from a deer hunter and other ‘radicals’ in AOC’s district

Anyone who's ever been to New York City knows that a sidewalk there can be like a highway. If you get in someone's way, there's a good chance you'll get run over.

That's what happened to me. I tried to talk to strangers passing by. I got turned into roadkill.

My previous trips were enlightening and gave me some hope. So it felt fitting to explore the rest of the spectrum. That's how I ended up in Astoria, a neighborhood in Queens, in the congressional district of Democratic "Squad" superstar Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez.

You might already know that Queens is one of the most diverse places on the planet — most people living there don't speak English at home — and that it has amazing food. But talking to strangers there turned out to be tough.

I lived in New York for 11 years. New Yorkers are famously rushed, some even say rude, though that's not quite fair. My take is that ordinary pressures of life in a big, crowded, assault-on-the-senses city don't leave much room for pleasantries.

To navigate their days, New Yorkers employ tactics that could

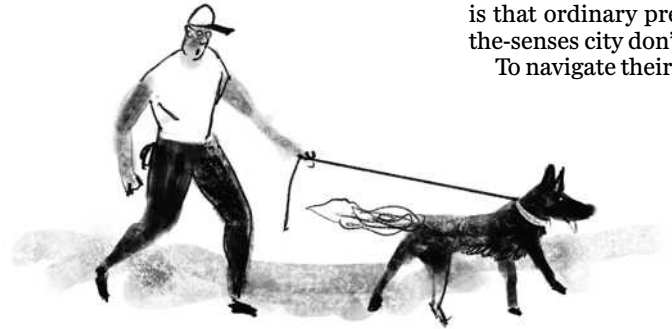
seem unfriendly in other places — such as yelling, avoiding eye contact and running over people. But it's possible to be friendly while doing all this!

After a few near-death experiences, I managed to get some people at a park to stop long enough to share their contact information.

A young woman seemed like a good candidate: She had come from the San Francisco Bay Area, was raised Catholic and was an actress, working as a pet-sitter on the side. She reluctantly shared her email. That's the last I heard from her.

A couple of immigrants with a baby seemed promising. The husband told me that people born in the United States often don't see the opportunities right in front of them. "Everything in life is a phase," his wife added. "At first it hurts, but then it goes away." Never heard from them again. I was in the hurting phase.

A man sitting pensively on a bench told me he'd divorced a year ago and was estranged from his teenage daughter. She hadn't called on Father's Day, and he was heartbroken. He had done his best to be a good dad, he said, and this was the payoff. He wouldn't give me his number, but I wanted to give him a hug.



Nick

I intercepted Nick Arpino walking his dog. When I told him I was a journalist, he said: "Oh, don't even get me started." Nick had a lot to say.

Nick is a hunter and a unionized worker. He carries a copy of the Constitution in his car and thinks the response to the covid-19 pandemic was overblown. His father, an Italian immigrant, was a forklift operator. His mother, born in Brooklyn, worked at a school. Nick is 53 and has lived in Queens most of his life.

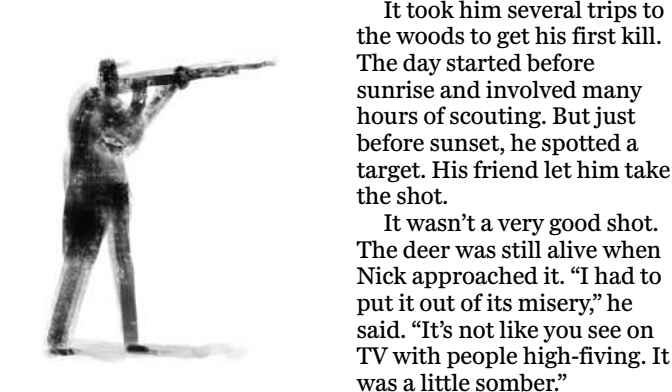
In high school, he was shy and artistic. He got into art school, but his father died in his first year. Nick was 18. He dropped out, got a job at UPS and has worked there ever since.



"UPS is a good place to work, but it's very physically demanding," he said. Nick has been hurt on the job a few times and has experienced wear and tear to his shoulders and knees from going up and down stairs, carrying boxes. "I got no complaints, that's what the universe threw at me."



About 12 years ago, Nick took up hunting — a friend from work taught him the basics. Nick is into cooking and loves meat. For him, hunting is a way to show respect for animals. "If you're going to eat meat," he said, "you should see what it takes to get meat on your table." When he takes something from the forest, he leaves a piece of tobacco behind. It's a shamanic ritual that he learned from his wife, and it's his way of saying thank you.



It took him several trips to the woods to get his first kill. The day started before sunrise and involved many hours of scouting. But just before sunset, he spotted a target. His friend let him take the shot.

It wasn't a very good shot. The deer was still alive when Nick approached it. "I had to put it out of its misery," he said. "It's not like you see on TV with people high-fiving. It was a little somber."

When it was time to gut the animal, Nick worried he might be sick. But his friend guided him through the process. "It's a deer. When you dispatch it, it becomes meat," he said. "I was very thankful. I filled my freezer with good, healthy meat. You feel great about it — we're part of nature."

The next day, Nick returned to the site and everything was gone — other animals had eaten what was left. He shared half the meat with his friend, had venison all winter and made jewelry for his wife from the antlers. "Nothing went to waste," he said.

Nick was lucky that day. It took him nine years to get his second kill.



Tarlochan

Tarlochan Singh was sitting quietly on a bench when we met. He often goes to Astoria Park to meditate. The sounds of the East River and birds chirping help him feel at ease.

Tarlochan grew up in Jackson Heights, a neighborhood with a large South Asian community a few miles from where we met. At 35, he lives with his parents, both Indian immigrants — a common arrangement in traditional Indian families. His mom is a homemaker, and his dad cooks at a diner. They speak Punjabi at home.

Tarlochan didn't have many friends in school. "I was just more of a listener," he said. He would like to have a dog, but his parents won't let him. Though he has had a few crushes, he has never had a girlfriend, worried about how his parents would react. "It's a cultural thing, and they're old-school," he explained.

The family went to India once and stayed with relatives. "Stuff was made out of clay, dirt maybe," he recalled. Aside from the bedrooms, the main living area was outside. "Most of it was, like, no roof."

He was around 12 and loved that he could be outside. He was impressed by stick-shift cars and wild dogs running around.

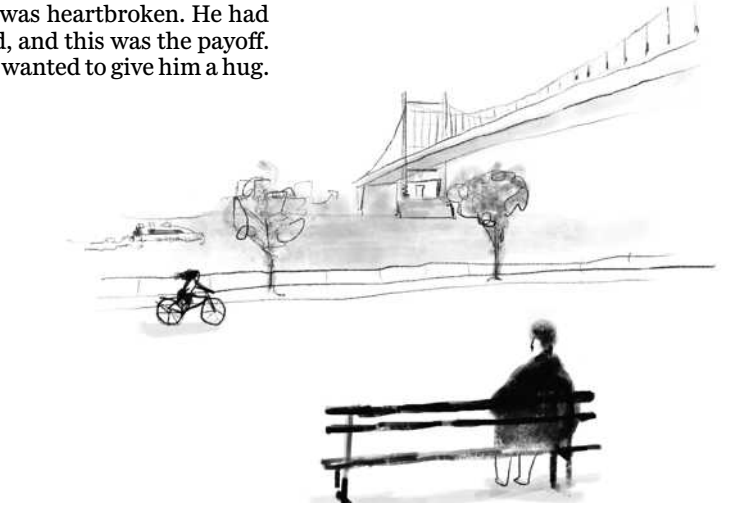
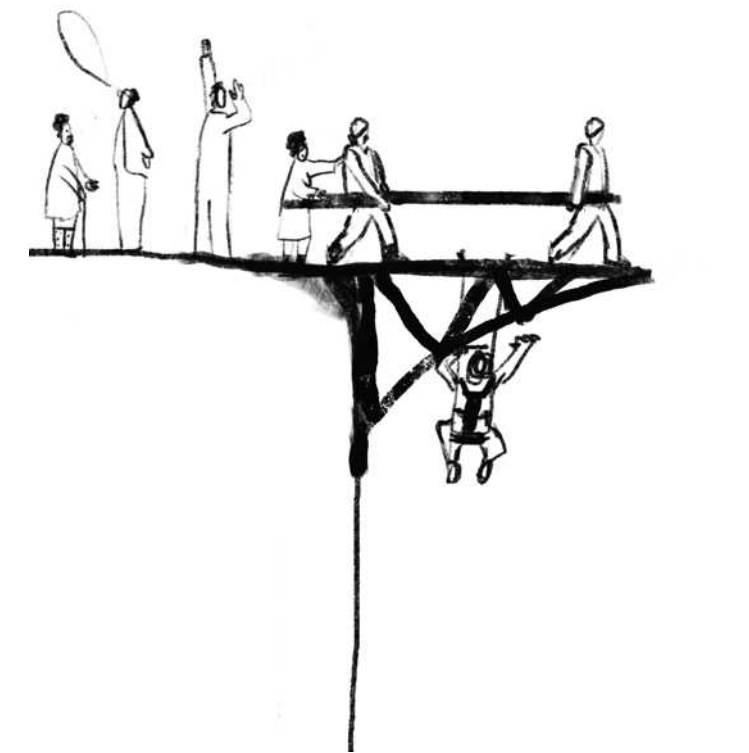
Back in New York, Tarlochan studied public administration in college but found it boring. He worked for the Transportation Security Administration for five years but disliked the sour mood on busy days. "I feel people's energy," he said.

He quit, spent a few years delivering cars, and left that job as well. He has been unemployed for a little over a year now. Living with his parents has allowed him to stretch his savings while he figures out his next move. "I don't know myself," he said.



His parents recently brought up the word "marriage," but Tarlochan thinks they were joking. "I don't think they want me to rush out the house," he said. (In fact, if he got married, they would probably expect his wife to move in with them.)

During a recent meditation session, he got the idea to work with animals. Last month, he began volunteering at an animal shelter. He is happy he gets to pet the dogs.



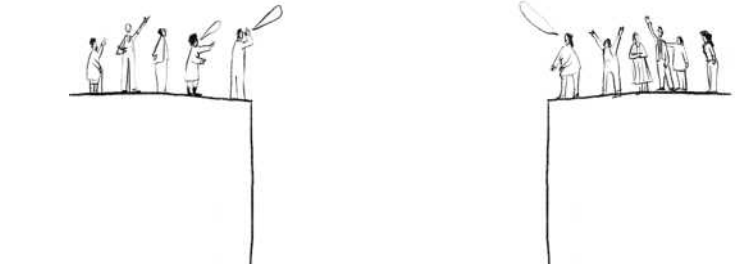
Tarlochan and Nick are native New Yorkers who, in some ways, don't fit the city's frenetic stereotype. Tarlochan's way of life makes sense only in the context of his culture. The same is true for Nick, in a different way. In my many years in this city, he's the first hunter I've met. At the same time, New York is such a diverse place that both fit in. The same is true for America.

During this series, I asked you to put politics aside, for a moment, and consider the stories of a few random strangers. The experience sent me soul-searching, a bit like Tarlochan.



I could see some of my own biases: In small towns, I worried that a brown immigrant like me might not be well received, but people were friendly. In New York, people often ignored me, but I didn't care. Reality was often different from my expectations. It seems silly now.

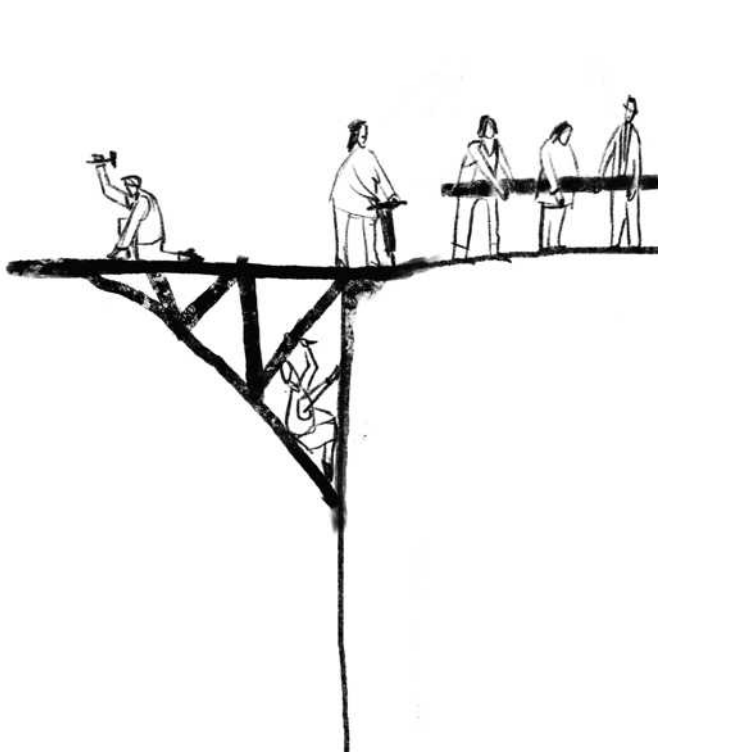
Everyone's story surprised me in some way, and I enjoyed every conversation. But make no mistake: People's political views do have consequences. Some of the ideas floating around out there terrify me.



Still, a healthy democracy depends on finding common ground with those we disagree with. There really is no alternative, at least not one I want to be part of.

So I keep trying. Recognizing that we all have a story to tell is a good place to start.

Sergio Peçanha is a visual columnist for Post Opinions.



FRIDAY OPINION

RUTH MARCUS

A bad omen? Justices declare Va. voter purge is okay by them.

The Supreme Court, over the dissent of its three liberal justices, issued an unsigned order on Wednesday allowing Virginia to purge about 1,600 people from its voter rolls because the state has indications they are noncitizens. This is a misreading of the underlying law, a departure from the court's usual standards in deciding when to intervene — and a chilling signal about what the conservative justices might do in the event of other election disputes that reach the high court.

To be clear: Only American citizens should be allowed to cast a ballot in federal elections. Noncitizens should be prevented from voting and criminally prosecuted if they do. At the same time, ensuring those eligible to vote are able to do so is a competing imperative in administering elections. Those entitled to vote should not have that fundamental right arbitrarily denied.

As it happens, Congress enacted a law, the 1993 National Voter Registration Act, to address this very tension. It provides that “any program the purpose of which is to systematically remove the names of ineligible voters” must be completed “not later than 90 days” before the election. The law strikes a sensible trade-off, giving eligible voters who are stricken from the rolls the opportunity to fix mistakes in time to exercise their franchise.

That didn't stop Virginia's Republican governor, Glenn Youngkin. He waited until August — within the 90-day “quiet period” — to order the removal of registered voters whose applications for driver's licenses suggested they might not be citizens. The Biden administration and private voting rights organizations sued to stop him; they won (before Democratic-appointed judges) in the district and appeals courts. Youngkin then asked the Supreme Court to intervene and keep the state's voter purge in place.

Virginia's argument boiled down to a contention that the law doesn't mean what it actually says — that it doesn't cover purges of noncitizens from voter rolls because they “were never eligible to vote in the first place.” Therefore, Virginia says, they aren't “ineligible voters” under the terms of the law.

If the conservative majority was willing to step in here, where intervention was so unnecessary, where else might it interfere in this election?

But as the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit said in rejecting this argument: “[It] violates basic principles of statutory construction by focusing on a differently worded statutory provision that is not at issue here and proposing a strained reading of the Quiet Period Provision. ... That is not how courts interpret statutes.”

The purge was conducted with minimal protections to ensure accuracy. For example, as Solicitor General Elizabeth B. Prelogar told the high court, Virginia flagged “any DMV customer who had checked a box indicating that they are a noncitizen — even if the customer also affirmed that they were a citizen during the same transaction or during previous transactions, and even if the DMV's records include documentation confirming citizenship.” Once the flagged names were sent to state and local election officials, they didn't make additional efforts to confirm whether the voter was a citizen.

And that, not surprisingly, resulted in what appear to be clear errors. The elections director in Prince William County said Youngkin's order required him to toss out the registration of 43 voters even though they had certified their citizenship as many as five times. Two voters had their registration canceled even though their applications contained “NEW CITIZEN” stamps. One voter was removed from the rolls despite having been born in Virginia. Another natural-born citizen who recently renewed her driver's license found her registration had been canceled when she turned up to vote early.

As a practical matter, this could be worse. Virginia allows same-day voter registration, so someone who discovers they've been wrongly excluded can reregister. In addition, the federal voter law at issue here also provides for casting provisional ballots.

But it's also true that this hassle is not just illegal — it's unnecessary for Virginia to prevent noncitizens from voting, even within the quiet period. Nothing in the law prevents the states from looking into the case of voters it suspects to be noncitizens and making individualized determinations to remove them. The law just prevents the kind of systematic 11th-hour dragnet that Virginia engaged in here.

The high court's action — stepping in despite the contrary findings of two lower courts — is particularly concerning because it departs so significantly from the court's announced standards about when to engage in such emergency intervention: a “reasonable probability” that the court would agree to hear the case on a non-emergency basis, a “fair prospect” that Virginia would win in that circumstance, and that the balance of “equities” tips in Virginia's favor because it would suffer irreparable harm if it were prevented from instituting the purge.

The court, as is customary in these emergency cases, didn't explain itself, nor did the three justices who disagreed: Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan and Ketanji Brown Jackson.

Even more worrisome is what this augurs in election cases down the road. “It is a concerning signal that the Supreme Court continues to think it should be the arbiter of all the rules of the road in election cases and continues to be hostile to federal voting protections,” said Danielle Lang of the Campaign Legal Center, which represented the private plaintiffs in the case.

If the justices were willing to step in here, where intervention was so unnecessary, so unwise and so out of the ordinary, where else will they interfere in this election? Tuesday's order is a troubling omen in troubling times.



JOHN W. TOMAC FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

SHADI HAMID

Education and religion have redrawn America's political map

The affluent D.C. suburb of Fairfax County, Virginia, once leaned Republican. In 2000, George W. Bush won the county by 1.4 points, or 5,860 votes. But by 2020, Democrat Joe Biden claimed it by a staggering 42-point margin.

Such a dramatic swing in one of the nation's wealthiest counties points to a deeper reconfiguration of American political identity — one in which education, not income brackets, increasingly determines party loyalty. As the proportion of college-educated residents in Fairfax County surged — reaching more than 60 percent by 2020 — so did the Democratic vote share.

The declining salience of class represents perhaps the most consequential political shift of the past century in the United States, altering the very nature of the partisan divide in the process. From the end of World War II until 2012, Whites among the top 5 percent of income earners were the most likely to vote Republican. Not only is this no longer the case, but the pattern has reversed almost entirely. Now, the top 5 percent are the *least* likely to vote Republican. Meanwhile, Democrats are losing working-class White voters by a 2-to-1 margin.

In short, a growing number of Americans are voting against their traditional class interests. What exactly happened? The number of Americans with bachelor's degrees increased from about 6 percent in 1950 to about 38 percent today. Higher education is strongly associated with liberal attitudes on cultural issues. For instance, 69 percent of college graduates oppose overturning *Roe v. Wade*, compared with only 47 percent of those without a degree.

In another survey, 45 percent of college degree holders — compared with 29 percent of those without — say it is extremely or very important to identify someone by their new gender pronouns. Even among Democrats, the divides can be stark: Forty-four percent of those without a bachelor's degree believe America is “the greatest country in the world.” Only 25 percent of Democrats with a degree say the same.

As the Democratic Party has become dominated by the upwardly mobile and the highly educated —

and shaped by their sensibilities — the more socially progressive it has become and the more it has defined itself around cultural rather than class concerns. This, in effect, widens the values gap between the parties, with one party progressing and the other largely staying put.

There is continued debate as to whether — and how — education might spur such shifts. One innovative study examined sibling pairs in which only one attended university, finding that a college degree significantly liberalized attitudes on questions of individual choice, tolerance and gender equality. Rather than direct “indoctrination” by professors, as some Republicans claim, the mechanism appears more subtle, with “social interactions in the classroom, extracurricular activities, and residential life” conditioning students toward live-and-let-live sensibilities.

This educational polarization has coincided with a second profound shift in the liberal political imagination. Social liberalism among Democrats has made them more skeptical of the role of religion — specifically Christianity — in public life. This, too, is relatively new, much of it occurring over the past two decades.

In his landmark 2004 Democratic convention speech, a largely unknown Barack Obama reminded Americans that “we worship an awesome God in the blue states.” In other words, religious divides were not partisan. And he was right: They weren't, at least not yet. From 1937 through 2000, church membership in America hovered between 70 and 75 percent. Then something happened. Over the next 20 years, that number dropped below 50 percent for the first time. Today, so-called nones — atheists, agnostics and the religiously unaffiliated — make up nearly 30 percent of the U.S. population.

If there was a secular dream, it was that as religion retreated, American politics would become more rational and reasonable. Citizens would spend their time improving people's lives instead of fighting about whose religion was better. That didn't happen. Instead, polarization intensified. Part of the reason is that secularization has not been equally distributed,

mapping instead onto preexisting divisions around education and geography, as well as party affiliation.

A distinct group of American “secularists” who are openly distrustful of any religion — more than 10 percent of the population and growing — is a dominant force within the Democratic Party. These educational and religious transformations mean that the two large cultural groupings of Americans — conservatives and liberals, Republicans and Democrats — increasingly orient their lives in different ways. Difference is not necessarily a problem to be solved. America has always drawn strength from its messy diversity. But it becomes a problem when competing groups lose their ability — or willingness — to speak and act in ways that are intelligible to the other.

Today's Republican Party, dominated by culture warriors such as Donald Trump and JD Vance, is unlikely to tamp down the tension. Trump's much-anticipated address at the GOP convention feinted at unity but ended as darkly divisive as ever.

It will be up to Democrats to not just strike a different tone but also show Americans on either side of the forever culture war that they really mean it. Some of what they can do is obvious enough — such as prioritizing apprenticeship programs and vocational training rather than college debt relief, which disproportionately benefits the wealthy. They can renew outreach to devout Christians, promote pro-family financial incentives to counter a dangerously declining birthrate and champion religious liberty — even if that means defending the right of religious conservatives to live according to their own values on abortion and gender identity.

Reasonable people can disagree, of course, on the policy specifics, but the broader challenge remains. The Democratic Party cannot be — and cannot be seen as being — a party for and by highly educated, secular Americans. Undoing these perceptions will take time, because they are at least partly grounded in reality. Luckily, though, reality can change. And it should. The alternative — running on good vibes and banking on the unpopularity of Trump and the GOP — is a recipe for a culture war that never ends.

Trump's immigration policies made America less safe

BY DAVID J. BIER

Listen to just about any of former president Donald Trump's rallies, and you'll hear claims that President Joe Biden's border policies have made the country less safe. At a recent town hall, Trump said Biden is releasing murderers, “drug dealers, drug addicts, everybody” into the country.

But new data reveal that Trump was the one whose immigration policies damaged the country's security. In fact, he released more convicted criminals into the United States than his successor.

This is not to lend credence to Trump's efforts to demonize immigrants as dangerous or violent. Data from the Census Bureau show that immigrants — both legal and illegal — have incarceration rates that are about half that of U.S. citizens or less. (Thus, deporting everyone living here illegally would increase crime rates.)

But when it comes to the small percentage of noncitizens who do commit crimes, Trump did not prioritize removing them during his term in office. In fact, he explicitly deprioritized them.

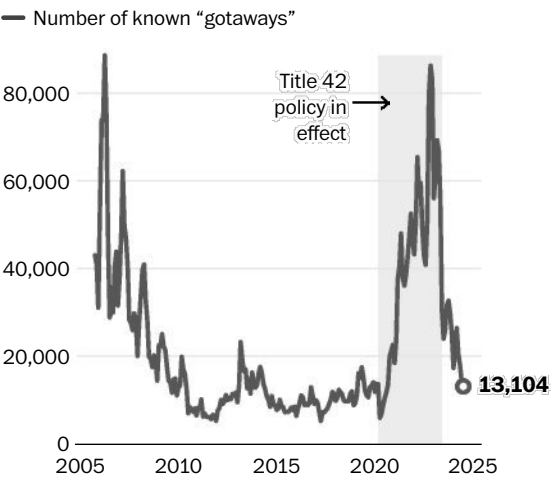
In his first week in office, Trump signed an executive order rescinding Obama-era orders that directed the Department of Homeland Security to focus its resources on detaining and removing noncitizens who committed serious crimes. Trump said he would not “exempt classes or categories of removable aliens.” His goal, he said, was enforcement “against all removable aliens.”

What did that mean in practice? Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents were no longer required to focus on felons. They could arrest anyone caught here illegally, and they did — from pizza delivery drivers to domestic violence victims to spouses of U.S. citizens with no criminal records.

New government data obtained by the Cato Institute highlight what happened next: Immigrants with serious criminal records were frequently released into the country instead of being detained for deportation. This included individuals who were transferred to the custody of ICE after serving their sentences and those who were previously deported and encountered ICE after crossing into the country again.

From January 2017 to February 2020, the Trump administration released more than 58,000 convicted criminals into the United States, including more than

Evasions of Border Patrol spiked during Trump's Title 42 policy



Source: Cato Institute analysis of U.S. Customs and Border Protection data

8,600 violent criminals and 306 murderers. Contrast that with the Biden administration, which reinstated enforcement priorities: Overall, the average month under Trump saw twice as many releases as under Biden.

Admittedly, it is always difficult to carry out deportations to certain countries, and given that immigration enforcement has limited resources, some of these releases might be inevitable. Nevertheless, how the Trump administration prioritized its enforcement targets speaks volumes.

In fact, it booked far more noncriminals into ICE custody than the criminals it was releasing — effectively replacing the criminals in its detention facilities with people with no criminal charges or convictions. For instance, in May 2018, ICE released more than 3,000 individuals with criminal convictions or charges pending while booking more than 19,000 without any record.

Recall that in May 2018, the Trump administration was in the process of a massive family separation operation, taking children away from migrant parents who were detained by Border Patrol. The Justice Department's inspector general reported that for the

assistant U.S. attorney in the Southern District of Texas, the policy “had a considerable effect on his office's resources and affected their ability to prosecute other substantive crimes.” The inspector general also concluded that sex offenders weren't being prosecuted because resources were going to family separation.

Then, when the pandemic hit, the Trump White House forced the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to issue an order under Title 42 of the U.S. health code that mandated the immediate expulsion of illegal crossers, in an attempt to block people from seeking asylum. But that order also eliminated any criminal penalties for crossing, meaning that any deported criminals who tried reentering and were caught weren't detained or sent to prison; they were merely returned to Mexico within hours to try again and again.

The result: Arrests of convicted criminals trying to enter the United States illegally jumped threefold. Many were able to evade Border Patrol, and some went on to commit violent acts in the United States.

When Biden tried to rescind Title 42, Republican states persuaded the courts to keep it in place for an additional year, during which evasions continued at a high rate. After it was canceled, evasions of Border Patrol fell 70 percent. Canceling Title 42 was perhaps the single most consequential immigration policy of Biden's presidency, delivering far more security than anything Trump did in four years.

The media has simply accepted that Trump immigration policies were good for security. Fox News's Bret Baier pressed Kamala Harris to apologize to individuals tragically victimized by a few noncitizens released in the past four years. Why hasn't the same been asked of Trump when those tragedies occurred during his term? Why has no one asked him to justify ICE's using 68 percent of its detention space in 2019 to hold immigrants without criminal convictions?

Think about these questions next time Trump calls for “mass deportation.” We already know what that means: Once again, the government would no longer prioritize targeting offenders. Once again, it would try to clear out a population that is less likely to commit serious crimes. And once again, Americans would be less safe.

The writer is the director of immigration studies at the Cato Institute.

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

To defeat the populists, learn from them

THERE ARE many lessons to be learned from the rise of Donald Trump and his possible election to a second term on Tuesday. Among them: The United States is not immune to or walled off from the political trends and tides that affect other countries, especially other democracies. There is a global populist wave — or two waves: one emanating from the left, the other emanating, as the Trump campaign does, from the right. Traditional parties and politicians have not yet found an effective way to counter this trend, and their failure to do so is at the heart of the risk facing democracy.

In multiple ways, populism corrodes democracies from within. It coarsens political discourse, stokes societal divisions by casting policy issues in existential “us vs. them” terms, and fuels widespread distrust of institutions and expertise. The scapegoating of immigrants and racial or ethnic minorities is often part of the package. So, too, is the exploitation of economic anxiety and inequality, by which “ordinary people” are cast as victims of all-powerful, unseen vested interests, often described as “the elite.”

Populists personalize politics via custom-made political parties or, in the case of Mr. Trump and the Republican Party, converting established ones into vehicles for their advancement. Their few core beliefs can be quickly adapted depending on the circumstances. Their rhetoric is often tinged with intima-

tions of violence. In power, the populists often display authoritarian tendencies. Anyone who criticizes them becomes an enemy, including the media, courts and legislatures. They also eschew political norms, avoid accountability and show impatience with traditional checks and balances.

To repeat: All of these characteristics define Mr. Trump, but none is unique to him or unprecedented in the recent past. In many ways, the career of former Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi, a billionaire showman, provides a close historical parallel. He created the Forza Italia party in 1994 out of the remnants of the disjointed conservative opposition and rode it to dominate Italian politics for a generation. Berlusconi railed against “stupid bickering and politicians without real jobs” while presenting himself as a hyper-successful businessman. He was given to crass public outbursts, such as comparing a German lawmaker to a Nazi concentration camp guard. He surrounded himself with scantily clad women, bragged about his sexual prowess and became infamous for his so-called bunga bunga parties. But as much as Italy’s political and media establishment cringed at Berlusconi’s antics, he had a lock on a segment of the electorate. His supporters admired his plain speaking and his willingness to challenge the status quo.

Thailand’s former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra, another billionaire, was elected in 2001 with a new political party he formed called Thai Rak

Thai (or “Thais Love Thais”). Mr. Thaksin’s ostensible concern for the poor, including support for low-cost health care and a village-level microcredit scheme, won him wide popularity. He also launched a brutal war on drugs, with extrajudicial killings that left more than 2,000 people dead. Mr. Thaksin’s popularity and authoritarianism threatened Thailand’s con-

We must recognize the real economic and cultural uncertainty that underpins populists’ support and respect the populist voter base without excusing its worst tendencies.

servative establishment, particularly the military. He was overthrown in a coup in 2006 and continued to exercise influence from exile overseas. His daughter is Thailand’s current prime minister, and he remains a power behind the scenes.

Another Asian populist, former Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte, gained a following with his crass speaking style and a tough-on-crime reputation

cultivated during his stint as mayor of a southern city. He also carried out a brutal, Thaksin-style war on drugs that left at least 12,000 Filipinos dead, according to human rights groups. Mr. Duterte issued veiled threats against critics and harassed independent media. He left office with an approval rating of nearly 90 percent. His daughter Sara is now vice president.

And yet populists do not always destroy the democratic institutions that facilitate their rise. Indeed, they can be outlasted and then defeated at the ballot box. Voters ousted incumbent populists in Poland and the Czech Republic last year and in Greece in 2019. Mainstream democratic parties need to recognize the real economic and cultural uncertainty that underpins populists’ support, respect the populist voter base without excusing its worst tendencies — and tackle head-on sensitive issues such as immigration, crime and drug addiction. They need to show that government and institutions can solve problems.

Mainstream politicians might also adapt populist tactics that have proved successful. Perhaps most important, they have to try speaking in ways that ordinary people understand, without talking down to them, without oversimplification, without harsh or divisive rhetoric. It’s not an easy balance to strike, but it is worth the effort in defense of democracy. At their worst, populists traffic in division, fear and hate. Their opponents need an equally compelling message based on optimism, unity and, yes, joy.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Five readers make their closing arguments for the 2024 election

The buzzword the talking heads and pundits have now adopted to describe Donald Trump is “fascist.” What we must not forget is that he is a criminal, convicted of 34 felony counts by a jury of his peers in New York. While he awaits sentencing for those crimes, he is under indictment in two other legal cases on charges stemming from his conduct after the 2020 election.

With this history, it is unlikely that Mr. Trump would be hired for any of the millions of federal, state and local government jobs that are not elected positions. He might have better luck in the private sector, but the difficulty convicted individuals have getting employment after serving their terms makes that unlikely. Regardless of whether that is broadly fair, can the American public really want to put a criminal into the most important job in the world?

Margaret Crenshaw, Washington

What should LDS voters do?

Latter-day Saints could be one of several crucial voting blocs deciding this presidential election. We stand out from other voters for, among other things, our centralized leadership, whom we hold up as prophets, seers and revelators. These leaders gave us specific guidance on voting in a letter released in June 2023, which they reemphasized in October. I see their advice as different from similar previous letters in urgency and detail.

This year’s two major candidates are a man of worse-than-questionable character from a party traditionally favored by members of the Church of Jesus Christ and a demonstratively compassionate woman from a party traditionally averse to church members. For Latter-day Saints struggling with this decision, I believe guidance from the First Presidency — the three senior-most members of the church — makes the choice clear.

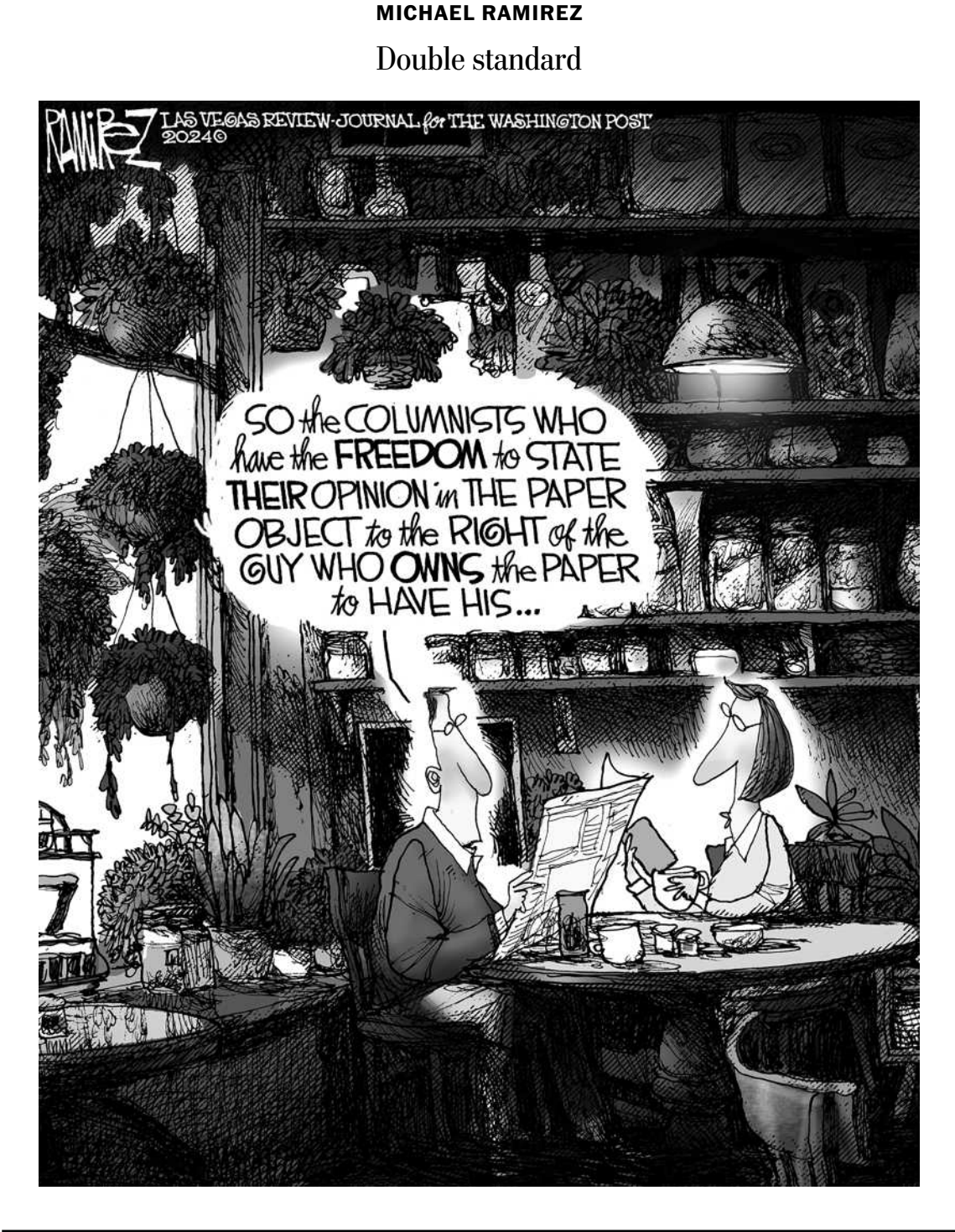
Among the character traits Latter-day Saint leaders urged us to seek in candidates are “integrity, compassion, and service to others,” in addition to the Lord’s call to seek leaders who are honest, good and wise. I believe that these standards immediately disqualify Donald Trump. His habitual lying shows a lack of integrity. He refuses to demonstrate compassion toward immigrants, women, his political enemies, his own vice president or even the mob he unleashed on Jan. 6, 2021. Nor is Mr. Trump known for service to others.

Kamala Harris, by contrast, appears to value these qualities and strives to embody them. According to PolitiFact, the majority of her statements have turned out to be true when fact-checked. Her memoir describes the ways in which her compassion for the travails of others motivated many of her professional and personal decisions. Ms. Harris’s life has been dedicated to public service. By the First Presidency’s character metrics, she would be a strong candidate.

And Latter-day Saint voters do not need to choose character over policy. On policies ranging from the 2022 Respect for Marriage Act to the separation of immigrant families, Ms. Harris’s stances often align with those that have compelled the First Presidency to speak out.

Church leaders have issued strong warnings about this election, saying “voting based on ‘tradition’ without careful study ... is a threat to democracy.” They encourage us to vote for ethical candidates “regardless of party affiliation,” emphasizing that “principles compatible with the gospel may be found in various political parties.” Ms. Harris makes voting for candidates instead of parties easier by emphasizing bipartisan consensus, uniting several high-ranking Republican supporters and promising to name a Republican to her Cabinet if elected.

I’m grateful for the timely guidance I receive from leaders I believe are prophets and apostles of



MICHAEL RAMIREZ

Double standard

Jesus Christ. On Nov. 5, I intend to follow their guidance and “vote for those who have demonstrated integrity, compassion, and service to others, regardless of party affiliation.” I invite my fellow Latter-day Saints to do the same.

Ted Gray-Barnes Jr., Salt Lake City

Whom Mr. Trump hurts

It’s worth reflecting on who is going to be hurt worse by Donald Trump’s lie that there is a \$750 cap on assistance for victims of Hurricane Helene, and that emergency disaster funding is being given to people in the country illegally rather than to the victims of the hurricane.

It seems likely that citizens who are eligible for aid that is very much available to them will not seek help because they don’t believe there is funding for it. Supporters of Mr. Trump and Republicans in Congress could suffer severe consequences as a result. Republican governors’ efforts to debunk these lies demonstrate this truth.

Mr. Trump, vice-presidential nominee Sen. JD Vance (Ohio) and Republican members of Congress who do not speak out are willing to have their supporters suffer the consequences of these lies in pursuit of electoral victories. If they are willing to harm some of their own supporters to win 2024 elections, what harm will they be willing to cause to gain or retain power in the future?

Teresa Coufal, Vienna

Let Mr. Trump finish the job

The stakes of this election are monumental. The victory has to go to Donald Trump. His presidency delivered significant accomplishments for ordinary Americans. Yet this election transcends economics. It’s about reclaiming America’s greatness from the coastal elites who mocked the average working family while ransacking the country for their own enrichment.

Trump’s rallying cry of “Make America Great Again” resonated with millions. His unique blend of fame, boldness, unabashed patriotism — and even flaws — allowed him to forge a connection with those who felt abandoned by the political establishment. His victory was not merely a win at the polls; it was a personal vindication for millions of Americans who believed their voices had been silenced for too long.

However, that victory set him directly within the crosshairs of relentless opposition. This fight is not solely about Mr. Trump. It’s about a system that feels increasingly threatened by anyone who dares to challenge the status quo or stand in the way of a haughty and entitled elite.

Millions of Americans see the elites in Washington as a cartel, willing to undermine the republic to maintain their grip on power. Can an elite cabal use its influence to dismantle its opposition and escape accountability? Can it ruin an ex-president and, by extension, the nation itself without facing consequences?

Mr. Trump’s journey, which began with a middle finger to the federal bureaucracy, demands a resolution. He has become the embodiment of the fight for ordinary Americans, and this final chapter must conclude with his victory. With Kamala Harris now at the helm for the Democrats, the choice is stark. Mr. Trump is not merely a candidate; he symbolizes a resistance against a corrupt political order. We are not just voting for a president, but for the resolution of a conflict that has gripped America for eight long years.

Jordan Post-Manning, Arvada, Colorado

Only Jan. 6 matters

As a former history teacher, it is concerning to me how quick we are to forget our history in the United States. That amnesia is more forgivable when the events in question occurred 100, or even 20, years ago. But we also forget more critical recent history.

I was in D.C. on Jan. 6, 2021. The experience still haunts me, as I remember how close we were — and still are — to losing our republic. We were given another chance as a republic after that day, but we seem to be willing to flirt with authoritarianism again.

On Jan. 5, I made the somewhat impromptu decision to drive to D.C. for the rally. I was there to interview people — specifically, to talk to them about whether they would embrace violence if Congress did certify Joe Biden’s victory. There were mixed responses. Some completely disavowed violence and said they liked Donald Trump but were not willing to take further action. However, others were more open to the idea.

I will never forget three men in particular. One said they were planning a “citizen’s arrest of the traitors” because the police were not going to do their job. Another man paraphrased Thomas Jefferson’s quotation about the tree of liberty needing to be nourished with the blood of patriots and tyrants. Another stated that people were probably going to go home that day angry and then come back armed. He said it would be the ugliest thing we had ever seen.

From what I observed, there was not an overly coordinated attack. Though some people were armed, most were not because of D.C.’s gun laws. That is why, when people broke into the Capitol, the result was more circus than bloodbath.

In some ways, as I always tell people, I am deeply grateful Jan. 6 happened. Had rioters not breached the Capitol, I think Mr. Trump would have continued with his election subversion plan all the way to the inauguration and beyond. Who knows what type of violence would have ensued from there.

As his aides later reported, Mr. Trump at the minimum turned a blind eye to the violence and chants suggesting his vice president be hanged. No rational society should have ever allowed him to remain free, much less run for president again.

Jan. 6 was a warning to our republic. We were so close to losing it all. If we forget all that and allow Mr. Trump to win a second term, any notion that we are going to continue as a functioning republic is wishful thinking. We will be living in an authoritarian state of our own choosing. In the end, we will not be able to say that we were not warned.

William McCorkle, Charleston, South Carolina

Guest opinion submissions

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Letters can be sent to letters@washpost.com. Submissions must be exclusive to The Post and should include the writer’s address and day and evening telephone numbers. Letters are subject to editing and abridgment. Please do not send letters as attachments. Because of the volume of material we receive, we are unable to acknowledge submissions; writers whose letters are under consideration for publication will be contacted.

OPINION

MATT BAI

George W. Bush is running out of time

I'd love to hear from George W. Bush before Election Day. Alone among the four living ex-presidents, plus his vice president and even his own daughter, Bush has remained silent about the threat Trump poses to the country, and — like Liz Cheney, who brought this up last weekend — I think he ought to say something.

My reasons, however, are probably a little different from hers.

I don't think Bush needs to speak out because it might persuade some Republicans to vote differently. The endorsements of old politicians don't count for much, generally, and given how completely Trump's party has replaced the one Bush led 20 years ago, he might as well try appealing to the Whigs or the Federalists, for all the influence he would have.

I respect the way Bush withdrew entirely from public life after his presidency, except to paint some very nice portraits. I certainly don't think he has a responsibility to get back into the arena just because the other old guys are doing it. They're not Oasis.

No, I think Bush owes it to the country to condemn Trumpism in this moment because, of all our former leaders, he did the most to create it. He ought to take this chance to get right with history, because history will almost certainly get rough with him.

When Bush ran for president in 2000, conservatives still believed in global leadership, free markets and public morality. Republicans readily adopted Bush's mantra of "compassionate conservatism" and his embrace of Latino immigration. They weren't agitating for a mean government, just one that would look out for their mostly rural communities as much as it did everyone else.

On Bush's watch, however, the country was shaken by a series of cataclysms that could have been mitigated, if not avoided altogether.

The first was Bush's military misadventure in Iraq — an attempt to forcibly export democracy to the Arab world, reliant on intelligence that didn't exist. The second was Hurricane Katrina, a humanitarian disaster made worse by government incompetence. And then came a stunning economic collapse — the result of reckless, unregulated banks preying on the aspirations of working-class Americans.

These events didn't play out in a vacuum. The 2000s were a time when so many of our most trusted institutions — baseball, the Catholic Church, the news media — were sucked into scandal and stripped of their credibility. But none lost more of the public trust than government, which seemed preoccupied with foreign wars even as it failed to protect a sinking populace and widened the national deficit.

All of this led, ultimately, to the unraveling of the Republican Party in 2008, the rebirth of liberalism in the person of Barack Obama, and the increasing radicalization of conservative media and activists.

From this came a simple ethos in Republican politics: *Burn it all down*. Trump didn't spring from nowhere. He was, and is, a vehicle of fury and lost faith. If compassion doesn't work, then maybe cruelty will. If governing in a democracy means inventing wars and bailing out banks at the expense of soldiers and laid-off workers, then maybe the democratic system itself needs to be demolished — and all its high-mindedness exposed as hypocrisy.

It was Bush who opened the door to this rage-filled room full of voices screaming, "America First!" Trump, an instinctive entertainer, simply walked through it.

It must have pained Bush — assuming he even flips through the headlines these days — to read about Trump's Lindbergh-like rally at Madison Square Garden this week, where a comedian called Puerto Rico an "island of garbage" and Trump immigration whisperer Stephen Miller declared America for "Americans only." It must occur to Bush that "America First" is the repudiation of everything he espoused, the ultimate rejection of globalism and tolerance.

And Bush must know on some level, too, the verdict history will render: that his failures led us to the brink of dissolution, that from the swamp of his presidency sprang the twin-headed monster of nativism and isolationism. He can at least attach a footnote. Successive generations should know that if he didn't do enough to stop Trumpism from overwhelming the country, then at least he lent his voice when it mattered and said what was right.

Which is why he should get out a piece of paper and write out a statement, which I think should go something like this:

Donald Trump's rhetoric of hate and intolerance is the opposite of everything I believe about America — and everything my grandfather and father believed. I regret that the Republican Party has followed this path. I join Dick Cheney and others in urging all Americans of conscience to reject Trump and vote for his opponent, in the interest of preserving the democratic project for our children.
Sincerely, George W. Bush.



Donald Trump speaks at a community roundtable at 180 Church in Detroit on June 15.

ANNIE DUKE

Trump's Black voter bump misses the big picture

BY ANNIE DUKE

All the polling supports the buzziest statistical claim of the 2024 election: Black voters are moving toward Donald Trump. An October 2020 Pew Research survey found that Black voters favored Joe Biden by a margin of 81 points, 89 percent to 8 percent. But four years later, Vice President Kamala Harris's margin of support among this group is just 65 points (79 percent for her vs. 14 percent for Trump). In an extremely tight election, a 16-point drop seems like a very big deal.

My expertise isn't in predicting election outcomes, so I won't attempt to do so using this data. I'm a decision scientist and a retired professional poker player. I study how we make decisions and how we can train ourselves to make better ones. The conversation around Black voters is an example of one theme I plan to explore in this year-long column for The Post: how our instincts about data can lead us to draw the wrong conclusions.

For all the talk about misinformation these days, misinterpretation of factually correct information is what keeps me up at night. The research backs up my concern. A May study by researchers at MIT and the University of Pennsylvania found that information about coronavirus vaccines that passed a fact check but was misleading was much more consequential than misinformation in driving a potentially bad, high-stakes decision. How much more consequential? Try *46-fold*.

When we look at the case of Trump and Black voters, the trend is not in dispute. The problem is that we've neglected to gather all the information we need to put the trend in context. We can't know what to make of the numbers — whether they are big or small, or significant or not — if we're looking at the data in isolation, as the majority of commentators have presented it.

As is often the case, we have yet to ask two necessary questions of the data: "Compared with what?" and "Out of how many?"

For the movement among Black vot-

ers to matter, it must mean a net loss for Harris and a net gain for Trump. When we compare Black voters only to themselves, it creates the appearance that this is the case. When we change the comparison to all voting blocs, the picture changes. According to recent polling, Trump is doing worse with White voters, specifically those without college degrees, than he did in 2020 and 2016. I was relieved to see CNN's Harry Enten point this out last week.

In the last two elections, Trump's key demographic — his base — has been non-college-educated White voters. In 2016, he did better than Hillary Clinton with this group by 33 points. In 2020 he outperformed Biden by 31 points. But according to the latest polling averages, Trump's lead among this group has fallen by four points from 2020: He now holds a 27-point margin over Harris.

Of course, Trump's 16-point gain among Black voters *feels* a lot bigger than Harris's four-point gain among non-college-educated White voters. Four times bigger, in fact. That is probably why Trump's gain is getting a lot more of our attention.

But this framing cuts off the full picture. Elections are about total votes, so we need to figure out what percentage of the electorate these two groups represent.

According to Pew, Black voters make up about 14 percent of the electorate nationally. In battleground states Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, Black voters represent smaller shares of the electorate: 14 percent, 11 percent and 6 percent, respectively. Nationally, non-college-educated Whites make up 40 percent of the electorate, but in those Great Lakes states, they make up 51 percent of the vote. So although Trump's gain with Black voters looks to be four times bigger than Harris's gain with noncollege White voters, Harris's "new voters" demographic outnumber Trump's by significantly more than 4 to 1.

To give you an idea of how much the proportion matters, if you selected 100 voters at random in Michigan, Trump

would be predicted to gain about two Black voters, while Harris could expect to gain about two noncollege White voters. That's a wash. In Wisconsin, Trump would be predicted to gain about one Black voter, while Harris would be predicted to gain about two non-college-educated White voters. That's 2 to 1 in Harris's favor.

This is why it's so important to ask "Out of how many?" and "Compared with what?" When we don't, we're basing our beliefs on a statistical illusion. Making more accurate predictions depends on drawing the right conclusions from that data — and, just as important, not drawing the wrong conclusions.

In a presidential election, quality information about the state of the race is crucial because it can shape our behavior. Research has shown that polling can influence how people vote, so misinterpreting it has consequences.

Trump's improvement with Black voters might ultimately matter more in the right places than Harris's improvement with White voters. But we can't assume so based on the headlines we're reading today, so we shouldn't make decisions based on them.

I'm writing this column because I've spent my career thinking about these issues. I've discovered that there are all sorts of things we can do to improve our decision-making. Becoming a better consumer of information is at the top of my to-do list. We can learn to ask the right questions about the information we encounter. We can learn to ask for more context. We can become better at avoiding these self-inflicted errors.

Whether at the ballot box or the poker table or the kitchen table, learning how to become better consumers of information is a project worth pursuing. It's a project I am excited to share with you over the course of the next year.

Annie Duke, a cognitive scientist and former professional poker player, is the author of "Thinking in Bets" and "Quit: The Power of Knowing When to Walk Away." She will spend the next year writing a column on risk and forecasting.

EUGENE ROBINSON

A week that reminded us what's really on the ballot

Two recent campaign events put the stakes of this election on vivid display, and I hope voters were paying attention.

On Sunday, at former president Donald Trump's rally in Madison Square Garden, one of the warm-up speakers called Puerto Rico "a floating island of garbage" and singled out a Black man in the audience with a racist trope about watermelons. Another speaker railed against immigration — which is how this country was built — and declared that "America is for Americans and Americans only." Another speaker thundered that Vice President Kamala Harris, Trump's opponent, is "the Devil" and "the Antichrist." And yet another implied that the vice president was a prostitute, referring to Harris's aides as "her pimp handlers."

On Tuesday, Harris stood in the Ellipse — the oval park near the White House where Trump incited the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol insurrection — and filled an immense crowd with hope. She described our country as "the greatest idea humanity ever devised." She pledged to defend freedom, including a woman's authority over her own body. She vowed to be a president for all Americans, offering "a seat at the table" to those who disagree with her. She invited voters to "turn the page" from Trump's politics of grievance and resentment to an era of progress through negotiation and compromise.

The question voters will answer on Election Day is whether the nation goes back to the way it was before Trump was elected and conned millions of citizens into believing that democracy is for suckers and losers. Before ugly nativism and explicit racism, which had been banished to the fringe of our politics, were ushered back into the mainstream. Before facts and truth ceased being objective and instead became matters of tribal allegiance.

Harris has had less than four months to introduce herself to the nation since President Joe Biden withdrew from the race and she became the Democratic nominee. Being vice president is akin to disappearing into the witness protection program, so she had no independent record from the past four years that she could tout. Nor could she, as the second-highest official in the land, stake out a position different from Biden on, for example, the war in Gaza.

Anyone who doubts her political skills, though, should look at the speed and efficiency with which she united Democrats following Biden's withdrawal in July. Look at the enthusiasm for her candidacy: the size of the crowds, the cleverness of the memes, the unprecedented flood of campaign donations totaling more than \$1 billion.

And look at the ideological range of her supporters, from Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-New York) and Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont) on the left to former congresswoman Liz Cheney and former vice president Dick Cheney on the right. In a normal election, these progressive and conservative icons would struggle to agree on the time of day, much less unite behind a candidate promising an essentially centrist agenda.

But this is not a normal election. We lived through a four-year Trump presidency and know how much damage he can do. He appointed Supreme Court justices who stripped women of their most intimate rights. He destabilized relations with the nation's most steadfast allies and fawned over brutal dictators such as Russia's Vladimir Putin and North Korea's Kim Jong Un. He refused to urge Americans to be vaccinated against the coronavirus, leading to many thousands of needless deaths.

Even worse, Trump introduced a kind of virus into our politics for which the system had no antibodies. He encouraged his followers to see those who opposed him not as adversaries but as "the enemy from within," as "scum" — and to see journalists who reported unflattering facts as purveyors of "fake news." By delegitimizing institutions, he amassed personal power that he used to reward friends and punish anyone he saw as disloyal.

And, in authoritarian style, Trump scoffed at the customs and rituals that allow democracy to endure in a diverse and fractious nation. When the Supreme Court deemed George W. Bush the winner over Al Gore in 2000, Gore conceded. When John McCain lost to Barack Obama in 2008, McCain conceded. When Hillary Clinton lost to Trump in 2016, Clinton conceded. When Trump lost to Biden in 2020, Trump tried to overturn the will of the voters and cling to power — by any means necessary, including mob violence.

The Constitution is not foolproof. The founders assumed that the high offices of state would be occupied by men with a sense of honor. Among presidents, Trump proved himself to be uniquely dishonorable — worse even than Richard M. Nixon, who did, in the end, peacefully step away.

The founders never imagined that a woman would lead the nation — and, indeed, no woman has. This might soon change.

Williamsburg rebuilds oldest surviving school for Black children

SCHOOL FROM AI

“Our goal is to tell the full and inclusive story of what happened in this town in the decades leading up to the Revolutionary War,” said Ronald L. Hurst, chief mission officer for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. That has been the aim for decades, he said, but discoveries and structures such as the Bray School allow the foundation to “advance their efforts dramatically” and put the story of Black and Indigenous life front and center.

Virginia has recently experienced heated debate over how to teach history and race, after the governor issued an executive order banning “inherently divisive” concepts. About 20 states have enacted similar restrictions in recent years, according to James Grossman, the executive director of the American Historical Association. History education takes place in a wide variety of contexts, he said, including classrooms, museums and historic sites. In all those places, he said, “we need to remember that we cannot heal the nation’s wounds unless we understand the origins and histories of those wounds.”

And, he added, “the influence of history is more intimate and more powerful when you can touch, and see, the remnants of the past.”

The foundation has determined that the Bray School is such a critical educational tool that it will be open to the public free of charge for perpetuity, Hurst said.

The significance of the building and the history it can teach is driven by the children who studied there: How did they use their education? What became of them? But finding information is daunting.

Merideth, an oral historian with the William & Mary Bray School Lab, is working with a genealogist and others at the lab to search for historical records about the students. They’ve found glimpses in old documents and in family stories passed down over generations: A boy who escaped. A possible witness to an insurrection.

Merideth is also searching for descendants of the students and clues to her own fraught past: Her family history is tightly wound about this place.

She knows quite a bit about her fourth great-grandfather, Peter Armistead, a White man from a prominent family. She knew very little about her fourth great-grandmother — except that her first name was Lavinia, she was enslaved, and she bore four of Armistead’s children.

Of the child her ancestors sent to the Bray School, so far Merideth has only a name: Locust.

It was the names of two children that pushed an English professor’s search for the Williamsburg Bray School, he said.

The school — one of several established for Black children in the years before education was banned for enslaved people because of the power knowledge could give — was long hidden in plain sight. The building is the first site of the Bray School, which opened in 1760, moved to a different location in 1765 and closed in 1774, according to records. Historians had long known of it. But it took a curious scholar of Victorian poetry willing to look beyond the town’s famous forefathers, and to connect some forgotten dots, to find it.

Terry Meyers, chancellor professor emeritus of English at William & Mary, was reading 20 years ago when he was startled by the two names. The buried history jumped out at him.

And he found, in centuries-old faculty minutes, a notation that they were sending firewood to a woman who was teaching two people enslaved by the university.

“That was an electric moment in my life,” he said, “when I realized I was working for an institution that had owned people — that had owned children.

“When I saw the names Adam and Fanny, it became real to me.”

The Bray School building had been moved and enlarged. When Meyers began asking questions about it, the building was covered in 20th-century siding, and the original chimneys were hidden under a new roofline. It had housed faculty and students and ROTC over the generations, and, Meyers was told, it was slated to be demolished.

It took many years and many other people to prove it. But Meyers had found the Williamsburg Bray School, the place where Adam and Fanny once studied.

The school completely upended Tonia Merideth’s life.

In 2013, after a chance visit to Colonial Williamsburg during a trip to the region for a daughter’s dance competition, she learned that there had been a school for



The Williamsburg Bray School is undergoing a restoration, which is expected to be finished in the spring.

“I had always been taught that enslaved African Americans were not educated — they could not be educated. A lot of eugenics were used to justify slavery. ... When I saw that school and touched it, it was a reversal of that narrative I had been taught my entire life.”

Tonia Cansler Merideth,
oral historian at the William & Mary
Bray School lab

Black children there in the 1700s. The idea astonished her. She wondered how that could have been possible at that time.

Three months later, she flew from her home in Houston back to Virginia: She wanted to see the school.

The building had not yet been confirmed as the Williamsburg Bray School. It was in the wrong place. It looked like a 1930s-era house. But when she found it, she walked up to it, reached out and touched it. She held her hand there for a moment.

“I had always been taught that enslaved African Americans were not educated — they could not be educated. A lot of eugenics were used to justify slavery. One of them was that our brains were smaller — we couldn’t learn,” she said.

“When I saw that school and touched it, it was a reversal of

that narrative I had been taught my entire life.”

Back in Texas, in her 40s, working full time and raising four children, she decided to go back to school.

The Bray School made her think about how Black children were some of the early scholars in the New World. It made her think about the impact of education on African Americans and on society.

After she earned her associate’s degree, she applied to William & Mary, writing in her essay about the Williamsburg Bray School. She was accepted but couldn’t enroll. She finished her bachelor’s degree in Texas, visiting Williamsburg several times a year, dreaming of one day working at the Bray School: She wanted to help reveal the history the school could teach.

For her master’s degree, she studied how to document the history of marginalized communities that left no written record. She decorated a room in her house in Texas in 18th-century Williamsburg style.

During a visit to Williamsburg in November 2021, she learned that the building she had touched had been verified as the Bray School. She went home, quit her job, finished her thesis and, two weeks after graduating in 2022, moved to Williamsburg.

In town, she had often seen the Armistead name on roads and buildings. There’s a prominent house adjacent to Colonial Williamsburg, and a family cemetery nearby. The family was listed on the roster of those that had sent a child to the school.

And it was a name she had heard in her own family history. She had been told that their people had been enslaved in Tidewater Virginia.

After seeing the Armistead name on the school roster, she began digging into that.

She began working as an oral historian at the William & Mary Bray School Lab, which grew out of a partnership between the university and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation to uncover and share the school’s history.

Almost simultaneously, she learned she had a DNA match to the Armistead family, which had sent Locust to the Bray School.

One day this summer, Matthew Webster ducked under a tarp, stepped around puddles and climbed a wet ladder up into the Williamsburg Bray School, where workers were busy with the restoration.

When they first went into the

building, every surface looked like the 1930s, said Webster, the executive director of architectural preservation and research at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. But through a partnership between the foundation and William & Mary, workers cut into the plaster and used dendrochronology, a dating method using tree rings, to determine the age of the wood. Several samples indicated the winter of 1759-1760, or the spring of 1760. “It was very clear: This has to be the Bray School,” he said.

It was moved last year — ever so carefully — several blocks by truck to Colonial Williamsburg.

When workers began removing the 20th-century plaster, they were amazed to find how much of the original building was still there. Underneath the 1930s floor was the 1760 floor. There is still bark clinging to some of the planks in the structure, and the marks of 18th-century tools. There are still handmade bricks, some with fingerprints of the laborers who made them.

Benjamin Franklin recommended Williamsburg as a location for a school established by an Anglican charity in England known as the Associates of Dr. Bray. A president of William & Mary was one of the first administrators, and the university supported the school, which was in a rental house at the time.

During the restoration process they examined every splinter, Webster said, and every rat’s nest. (Rats are foragers and hoarders; researchers have found bits of ceramics, silver, tickets and love letters in their nests.) They preserved the 18th-century materials and restored what the school would have looked like in 1760, down to books hand-stitched by a curator.

The school was one of several founded by the Anglican charity to bring religion to enslaved people. It was not an abolitionist effort; part of the intent was to teach enslaved children to accept their station.

But once you teach someone to read, there’s no telling what they will do, Webster said. “That’s the power of education.”

Some descendants of Bray students tell family stories of how the students passed on lessons from the school to their Black neighbors.

The discovery of slate pencil fragments in an archaeological dig at the original site furthered debate over whether the children

might have been taught to write as well — a skill that could have given them, among other benefits, the ability to forge freedom papers.

Merideth and Elizabeth Drembus, the genealogist for the William & Mary Bray School Lab, had spent the day in a library in rural Virginia earlier this year and were feeling defeated.

They were searching for clues about Bray students, but they have only three years of rosters, out of the 14 years the school was open. Most of the students are listed by only their first name, along with their age and the name of the enslaving family. So Merideth and Drembus try to find documents such as estate records and wills, as well as family stories that may provide hints.

“It’s this huge burden we feel like we’re carrying ... because we feel a responsibility to find these kids,” Merideth said. “We felt like we were walking away with nothing.”

But as they were leaving that day, they found a card a woman had left in the library decades earlier: Loretta Burwell, a retired English teacher, had been seeking clues to her family history.

Burwell was the last name of a family that had sent enslaved children to the school. Merideth contacted her.

Burwell, who now lives in Georgia, began researching her genealogy after a trip to Colonial Williamsburg in the 1990s. A book about the aristocratic Burwell family in the visitor’s center stopped her dead in her tracks, with its cover portrait of a White man in 18th-century finery and gloves.

“I stared at that picture,” said Burwell, who is Black, and thought, “If you paint that face brown, that’s Uncle Thomas.”

She had heard family stories about her roots — the miller who was a crack shot with a pistol and could kill a fly with a single snap of his whip, the enslaved girl who saved a White girl from the fire tearing through the family’s home, catching her when she jumped. As Burwell found records, she began piecing her family tree together.

Burwell may be related to a Bray school student, Merideth said. They know that one of her ancestors, Dolly, was enslaved at the same plantation as a Bray student.

“You feel them,” Burwell said of the ancestors. “It is like they want to be known,” they want their stories to be told. “They

want you to find them.”

Devin Canaday looked down at his hands, fingers interlaced, considering a question Merideth had just asked him: What did he hope to feel when he walked into the restored Williamsburg Bray School?

Canaday, an educational consultant and a descendant of a Bray student, wasn’t sure how to answer.

“There’s a desire to feel a sense of warmth, but was there really warmth there?” he said. Stepping into that space would evoke what was happening at that time. “I don’t want to take away from the reality of institutional slavery and what my ancestors faced,” he said. “I want to feel truth. I want to feel authenticity.”

Canaday has known about the school for decades; as a kid in the 1990s, he and others in his family played the roles of enslaved Black people in Colonial Williamsburg.

As a child he quickly categorized tourists’ reactions to the Slave Quarter reenactment. Among White visitors, he said, “I think some are open to it.

“Most are like, ‘Nope, I’m good.’ They’re into tricornered hats ... muskets ... ‘The people we’re learning about in history class, we want to see where they walked.’ I don’t think the vast majority are saying, ‘We want to learn about the other 52 percent who were there.’”

He also got used to horror, or anger, from some Black visitors. But he knew why he was there. “We understood the importance of raising a voice for people that could not raise a voice back then.”

The first time Merideth saw Williamsburg — driving in from a country road, with trees arched overhead like a canopy — she fell in love with the place. “It just felt like God’s country.”

But sometimes, as on a road leading out of town still dotted with historic plantation houses, the past feels too close.

She thinks of people running — trying to escape.

“You feel that history. When you go down that highway, you feel the people that were there.”

She has her dream job. But it’s heavy. Her office window looks out onto the Bray School. She laughs with descendants as they tell family stories with relish. She’s ready with a tissue, too; tears often well up as people confront the past. She has written about the trauma that descendants delving into horrors experience.

Some people in the Black community don’t want to participate in the oral histories, she said; there’s skepticism, or outright hostility, from some in town toward the university and Colonial Williamsburg. They remember things, like the Black cemetery that was paved over for a parking lot in the 1960s.

(Colonial Williamsburg has done archaeology on the site of a Black church from the early 19th century and is putting markers on 62 gravesites that were found. Plans are in place to begin rebuilding the church near the Bray School next year.)

Others tell her they feel compelled to speak, so that the children won’t be forgotten.

The school’s dedication ceremony is bittersweet, Merideth said; researchers believe hundreds of children attended, but most remain unknown. “We only have 86 names.”

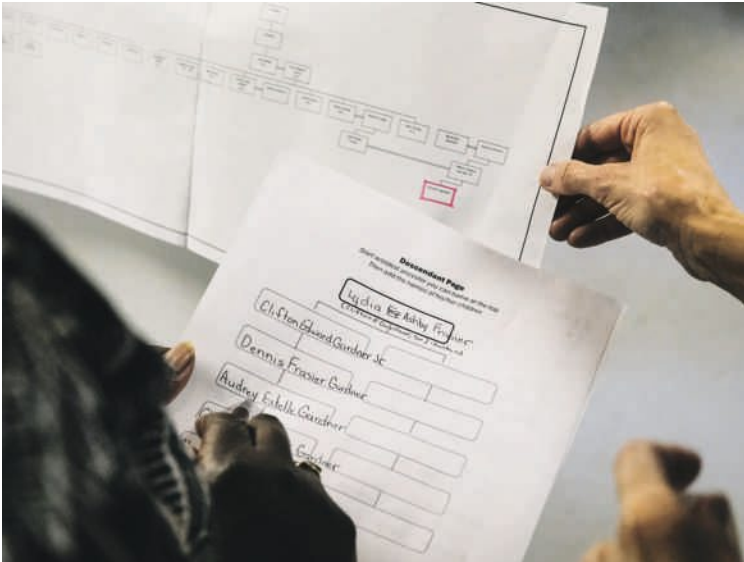
Whatever the intentions of the school’s founders, she clings to the idea that all those children were learning to read — and sharing that power, passing that down. “The legacy of education is in the descendant community,” she said.

She has spent many months searching for any scrap of information about Lavinia, her fourth great-grandmother who bore four children for the Armistead patriarch and whose lost history drives Merideth. “You can go in the special collections at William & Mary, and there are volumes and volumes of information about the Armistead family,” she said. “And for someone to have such a central role and we know nothing about her? It’s just — it’s not fair.”

A few weeks ago, she learned something and got a new trail to follow about Lavinia, who apparently left Virginia at some point for the Deep South.

As for Locust, the child sent to the Bray School by her family, Merideth still hasn’t found any clues in documents from the time. Maybe the name on the school roster was a transcription error, or a nickname.

Maybe Locust was sold to a brutal life elsewhere in the colonies, she thinks. Maybe Locust died young, of illness or abuse. Or maybe — just maybe, Merideth hopes she might find — an educated Locust found a way to freedom.



Members of the Ashby family trace their ancestry during a family reunion in Williamsburg, Virginia, last month.



Tonia Cansler Merideth, an oral historian at William & Mary, has led the restoration of the Williamsburg Bray School.

Assistant principal charged in abuse case

Administrator allegedly failed to report claims of teacher hurting students

BY KARINA ELWOOD
AND TOM JACKMAN

A Fairfax County elementary school assistant principal was charged this week with failing to inform authorities or Child Protective Services about alleged assaults of 4-year-old students by a special-education teacher.

The charges against White Oaks Elementary Assistant Principal Dana Chen come about four months after the arrest of the teacher, Elizabeth Yoshimi Nagagata.

Nagagata, 62, was accused in June of assaulting three students at the Burke school on separate occasions between September 2023 and April, police said.

According to court records, Nagagata allegedly took actions that included shoving a student into a chair, pulling a chair out from under a student, stomping on a child's arm and picking a student up off the ground and dropping them. One student, according to the documents, had bruises from an incident. The three students referenced in court records were all 4 years old.

Nagagata was charged with seven counts of simple assault and has a trial scheduled for January. According to court records, she spent five days in jail without bond in June, and was later released while the case proceeded. Nagagata did not answer a call from The Washington Post on Thursday to the number listed for her in court documents. Her attorney, Timothy Davis, declined to comment.

On Wednesday, Police announced that they had charged Chen, 42. By law, Chen was required to report the allegations to Fairfax County Police or protective services officials, authorities said.

In an investigation, authorities said, they determined that complaints about the alleged assaults were reported to Chen. It was not immediately clear how Chen was allegedly made aware of possible assaults, or what actions she may have taken. Chen was served a summons and released, police said on Wednesday. A call by The

SEE ASSAULT ON B3



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Virtual space honors heroes who show up in real life

Online collection for D.C. firefighters, EMS is an extension of small museum

BY CLARENCE WILLIAMS

At the back of the century-old firehouse on New Jersey Avenue, a metal staircase spirals up to a large attic space that holds the history of fighting fires and saving lives in the nation's capital.

The D.C. Fire and EMS Museum houses treasures of bygone firefighting eras — hoses and helmets, logbooks and lanterns. There's memorabilia such as a thank-you letter from President Herbert Hoover for saving the West Wing from a six-alarm Christmas Eve blaze and a fire bucket from the Georgetown home of Francis Scott Key's nephew.

And a key part of the collection — hundreds of photos and images — gathered dust in albums on bookshelves and in museum storage that tourists never saw.

Tours have been limited because the museum has no paid staff, and two key volunteers passed away in recent years. Most days, a faded wooden sign that hangs outside the station reads: Closed.

But now, the public can explore the department's 153-year history through dcfireemshistory.org, a

curated site that launched Tuesday. Organizers dusted off and digitized photos dating to the late 19th century and added oral histories as well as videos and photos from private donors.

"Museums are useless unless you have people come in," said Mark Tennyson, who has served as curator since 1999. "Now people can visit the museum from home if they want to. ... It's an extraordinary thing."

The online history highlights key societal developments, including firsthand interviews of women and Black departmental veterans who helped integrate the fire service ranks.

The website project was launched by the D.C. Fire and EMS Foundation, which supports the department, and Friendship Fire Association, a volunteer support unit established in 1940 that provides on-site canteen services for firefighters and has also been collecting the department's history.

Organizers hope the website will ignite interest

SEE HISTORY ON B2

Vito Maggiolo, top, curator and fire department spokesman, tours the D.C. Fire and EMS Museum. He donated many of the artifacts and memorabilia of firefighting in the District.

Think local: News close to home is what unites us



Petula Dvorak

I keep thinking about a newspaper paragraph I ran across while reporting last week.

It was just a "brief," a short news item that reporters do as part of the job. This one was in the Baltimore Sun on May 29, 1900, and was unearthed by a historian doing research for the Maryland Lynching Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

"Martha Harris, widow of Lewis Harris, who was lynched in Belair on the 26th of March, was fined \$5 and costs for cursing on the streets of Belair Sunday afternoon. Since the lynching of her husband she has been very abusive toward many persons."

It was just 44 words, but look at how much this brief tells us about the time, the casual view of mob-inspired murder, and the cruelty to both victim and family. It's all there in black and white — the first draft of history — and it begs a chilling question: How much of our nation's story is being lost as we turn our backs on local journalism?

Sure, historians can do their thing. But how could they tell the story of Martha Harris without a news account? There won't be any court records because there was no trial. Community news plays the vital

role of telling stories that don't make it into official documents — the stories of everyday people.

More than 3,204 print newspapers have vanished in the past two decades and continue to disappear at a rate of more than two every week, according to the 2024 State of Local News report by Northwestern University.

We are living in extraordinary times. How much of our shifting world will be chronicled when news organizations are shrinking so rapidly?

This week, the Star-Ledger in Newark announced the end of print publication. And with the paper's move to exclusively online journalism, the 157-year-old Jersey Journal that shared its presses is shutting down completely.

"Unfortunately, we have concluded that it doesn't make sense to continue," David Blomquist, the Jersey Journal's editor and publisher, said in a statement. "This is certainly an emotional day for all of us."

Some might say that this information has simply moved online. And that might be okay if it were true.

But sadly, the change has less to do with the death of a printed product than it does about the economics of the business. When news organizations retrench, local coverage is usually the first to go.

With each of those cuts and

SEE DVORAK ON B2

In Virginia's 7th District race, some voters are experiencing double vision



VALERIE PLESCH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Eugene Vindman (not his brother, Alexander) is running for the House in Virginia's 7th District race.

BY TEO ARMUS

FREDERICKSBURG, VA. — Moments after Yevgeny "Eugene" Vindman came by with a handshake and a campaign pitch, Jerry Stokes, 81, praised the "immense strength and leadership" the Democratic House candidate had shown toward President Donald Trump in 2019.

"He blew the whistle. He testi-

fied before Congress and showed his honesty," Stokes said of Vindman, who is running in Virginia's 7th District, the state's most hotly contested congressional race. "He was a star witness in the hearings that led to the impeachment of Trump."

Except Vindman, a former Army colonel who served in the National Security Council, never spoke in those hearings. That was

his identical twin, Alexander.

Although both brothers played a role in the first impeachment inquiry into Trump, only Alexander Vindman delivered a speech before a House impeachment panel in October 2019.

And exactly five years later, only Eugene Vindman is running for Congress — a distinction that seems to be prompting a case of

SEE TWINS ON B3

In 2nd trial, not guilty verdict

EX-CIA TRAINEE
ACCUSED OF ASSAULT

Case sparked reckoning within the agency

BY TOM JACKMAN

A former CIA officer trainee was found not guilty Wednesday of assaulting a fellow trainee inside the CIA headquarters in Langley, in the second trial in a case that helped spark an agency-wide reckoning over sexual assault and harassment within the famed agency.

The stories that Rachel Cuda, 37, who alleged she was assaulted, and Ashkan Bayatpour, 40, her fellow trainee, told the seven-person misdemeanor trial jury were fairly similar, until they described their climb up an internal stairwell at the CIA on July 13, 2022. Cuda claimed that Bayatpour had wrapped a scarf around her neck and tried to strangle her. Bayatpour said he draped a scarf on her shoulders and nothing more.

The CIA did not find that Bayatpour posed a threat to Cuda after an internal review, so she went to the Fairfax County police, who obtained a warrant charging the officer trainee with misdemeanor assault and battery in March 2023. Bayatpour went to trial in Fairfax General District Court in August 2023, where Judge Dipti Pidikiti-Smith found him guilty and ordered him to serve six months of probation.

But Bayatpour appealed to circuit court, where a jury could hear his case. A jury of six women and one man listened to two days of testimony, and closing arguments on Wednesday, then took four hours to reach its verdict. The Washington Post generally does not name victims of sexual assault, but Cuda consented after providing interviews to other media outlets on the eve of the trial.

Bayatpour said after the verdict that he was grateful to the jury, and that "being falsely accused for the last two years has been a nightmare. My family and I have had so much peace, joy, privacy and security stolen from us." He was forced to leave the CIA last December after publicity about the case prevented him from working undercover, he said.

Kevin T. Carroll, Cuda's lawyer, said they were disappointed by the verdict, but thanked Fairfax prosecutors for bringing the case. Carroll said, "The CIA put its thumb on the scale" by handing over Cuda's internal statements to the lawyers for use at trial but not Bayatpour's, and said the Justice Department should launch a civil

SEE CIA ON B2

TODAY'S WEATHER

8 a.m.	Noon	4 p.m.	8 p.m.
67°	73°	80°	70°

High today at approx. 4 p.m.: 80°

Precip: 40% Wind: SW 7-14 mph

For weather news, go to B6

VIRGINIA

A carjacking suspect was fatally shot by state police after a pursuit on I-95. B4

THE DISTRICT

An ex-D.C. corrections officer pleaded guilty to embezzling \$30,000. B4

OBITUARIES

Richard Cash, 83, helped change the treatment protocol for cholera. B4



Vintage collection of D.C. firefighters and first responders makes online debut

HISTORY FROM B1

and donations to the museum and foundation, said Amy Mauro, D.C. Fire and EMS Foundation's executive director, who previously served as chief of staff for the department.

Mauro said that in the oral histories, people interviewed shared stories from a time when it took as long as 45 minutes for an ambulance to respond to critical injuries. By comparison, today responders arrive about 5 minutes after dispatch to life-threatening incidents, and an ambulance typically arrives within 8 minutes, according to the department.

Mauro argues that the historical information helps to prevent repeating errors of the past.

"The community needs to know its history to have a better future," Mauro said. "We advocate for the department, so we never return to a place where EMS patients and firefighters are endangered because of lack of funding and political support."

The foundation received a D.C. Humanities grant of \$64,600 this year to launch the website. With the grant, the foundation was able to hire a web developer and former Library of Congress photography curator, Kate Fogle, to serve as photo and film archivist for this project.

The website includes information on the evolution of emergency medicine, firehouses and incidents. It also honors 102 fire-



PHOTOS BY MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: The exterior of the century-old firehouse on New Jersey Avenue in D.C., built in 1916. RIGHT: A photograph showing members of the D.C. fire department in 1904, an image created by photographing each portrait and piecing them together.

fighters who died in the line of duty.

A challenge for Fogle was finding images that tell the story of a community that many people take for granted, and not just providing static photos of burning buildings, men with bushy mustaches and horse-drawn carriages.

"We really tried to focus on trailblazers as well," Fogle said.

The history includes interviews with the department's first female member as well as leaders of the Progressive Firefighter's Association of Washington DC, a group that fought for equality for Black firefighters and communi-

ties.

"The website tells the history of African American integration," Mauro said.

Incidents highlighted on the website include photos from the Knickerbocker Theater's roof collapsing in 1922 under the weight of snow after a two-day blizzard, killing 98 people; photos, video and oral histories from the 1968 civil unrest after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.; as well as more recent events up through the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol.

Fogle is continuing to archive images collected from private sources, including hundreds of



photos and videos from Vito Maggiolo, a volunteer for the Friendship Fire Association who has been a fire buff since the early 1970s and donated his private collection. He is also a spokesman for the department.

"Most fire buffs are not firefighters. They are citizens who want to support the fire service. One way to support the fire

service is to maintain its history," Maggiolo said. "It's a long, proud history of a fire department protecting one of the most important cities in the world."

Maggiolo said the website will serve as a central online location to showcase photos that long had been kept in storage or scattered in private hands.

Tennyson, who is 66 and re-

covering after a stroke, said he is the sole person giving tours to groups requesting museum visits. He hopes the curious will take advantage of the history online.

"We have a very good window into the past," he said, "which is just an awesome thing when you're trying to share and preserve history."

Former CIA employee is acquitted in an assault case at agency headquarters

CIA FROM B1

rights investigation into CIA discrimination against female complainants.

At the trial, Fairfax County Deputy Commonwealth's Attorney Jenna Sands showed jurors pages of Skype text messages between Cuda and Bayatpour starting shortly after they began training at the CIA in March 2022. Cuda said CIA employees communicate unofficially by Skype since phones are not allowed in the building.

Cuda and Bayatpour also testified that they took walks and had lunch together in the headquarters building, and chatted on Signal, the messaging app that enables messages to be deleted within minutes of being read. Bayatpour said their discussions often veered into Cuda's personal and sex life, and he saved one screenshot of a Signal message in which Cuda appeared to be giving graphic details of a recent sexual encounter. Cuda claimed the message, marked from "Rachel," wasn't from her; Bayatpour said it was.

In early July 2022, Bayatpour testified, he met a woman to whom he would later become engaged. He was thrilled. But when Cuda reached out to him for an afternoon walk, Bayatpour expected she would be depressed and unhappy with work and relationships, so he said he grabbed a blue scarf from a bookshelf as he walked out, hoping to cheer her up with it. He gave it to her when they met up in the CIA courtyard, both said.

Bayatpour said the discussion

was largely about Cuda's life, but when it turned to his life, he gushed about his new relationship. Then, Bayatpour said, he felt bad about being so happy while his colleague was so down. Bayatpour and Cuda both said that Bayatpour asked for the scarf back, and the two headed into the stairwell for the climb to Cuda's office on the fifth floor.

That is where their stories drastically diverged.

With Bayatpour behind her on the stairs, "I felt and saw the scarf come over my head," Cuda testified. She said they were on the fourth-floor landing. "I turned around. I didn't know what was going on. He started to cross the ends" of the scarf, Cuda said. On the witness stand, she began to cry.

She said Bayatpour was "so aggressive, he was making a face. I knew he was trying to hurt me. He said, 'This is what I want to do to you.' Then he tried to lean in to kiss me."

Cuda said she ducked out of the scarf and headed to the fifth floor. On the landing between the fourth and fifth floors, Cuda said, "I felt that scarf come over my head again." She said she heard Bayatpour say, "There's many uses for this."

"At that point I knew I had to get out of the stairwell," she testified.

There were no video cameras in the stairwell and no witnesses to the two alleged encounters.

Bayatpour testified that as he walked alongside Cuda in the stairwell, he wanted to "say something funny" to cheer her up. He said he asked for the scarf on the



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

The agency seal on the floor of the lobby at the CIA, in McLean, Virginia.

second-floor landing, and then draped it on her shoulders and lightly pulled on the ends without pulling it around Cuda's neck. Bayatpour said he told Cuda, "You know, these have many uses."

Bayatpour said, "It was intended to be a reference to all the things she expressed" to him about her preference for rough sex. "She had told me she liked to

be choked in bed, I was saying in jest he could use this."

He denied choking or assaulting Cuda. "I was laughing," he said Cuda "rolled her eyes and me and walked back up the stairs." He said there was not a second encounter, and the two ultimately hugged and went back to their desks.

Cuda said she immediately left

work, and first mentioned the incident to a supervisor two days later. Cuda acknowledged she had not mentioned the second encounter to CIA investigators, and didn't mention she'd been choked with the scarf. "I didn't know I had to be explicit," Cuda said.

Also in that meeting with CIA investigators, Cuda said Bayatpour had "said something to me, like, I didn't really catch it." She said she recalled it later after going through therapy.

"He was making a joke," Bayatpour's attorney Ronald S. Safer told the jury in closing arguments. Bayatpour told The Post earlier

this year, "I don't want this to be a referendum on something else," such as the CIA's handling of sex complaints. "I want to be very clear that I do believe women. This is just about my situation." After the verdict, he said, "These kind of allegations should be taken seriously and investigated thoroughly. But we have to find a better way to sort out credible investigations from lies."

A juror, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of possible retaliation, said the jury focused on "did the acts that he admitted to qualify as assault and battery." He said they discussed the key points of the misdemeanor or assault law, which required the jury to find a "willful touching done without legal excuse or justification" which was done "in an angry, rude, insulting or vengeful manner."

Cuda said in an earlier interview with The Post that she was not offered a permanent job because the agency told her she failed officer training. But she felt with the publicity about the case, "the target was on my back . . . I didn't want to be, and I still don't want to be, known as the woman who got sexually assaulted at CIA headquarters."

The agency now assigns individual advocates to employees who contact the Sexual Harassment/Assault Response and Prevention Office, and established a 24/7 hotline to field complaints. CIA Director William J. Burns told The Post the agency had "made a number of significant reforms to strengthen our approach . . . We still have work to do, and we have to get this right."

PETULA DVORAK

With neighbors at odds, we need local news now more than ever to unite us

DVORAK FROM B1

reorganizations, we lose nuts-and-bolts information about our communities that is done by reporters. What's up with that road repair? What are police doing about all the car break-ins? Is the local softball team going to state this year?

As we become less informed, our connection to our communities erodes. And yet, as the local publications that have provided that connection for

more than a century die, very little is said. It is simply not part of the national conversation.

It wasn't someone on Nextdoor who first reported that Rep. George Santos (R-New York) lied his way into Congress. It was the North Shore Leader, a tiny local paper, reporting the "inexplicable rise" in net worth to \$11 million months before national media was on it.

The idea that we all receive our news online from non-journalists also introduces new problems, especially when it

comes to social media — which folks often use as a default news source.

"This raises serious concerns, including the spread of misinformation and the use of platform infrastructure to engage in disinformation campaigns," according to a white paper from the University of North Carolina's Center for Media Law and Policy.

It also fuels the partisan vitriol we all experience when the conversation turns to politics, whether at work, on the

schoolyard or at the dinner table.

But there is some good news in all of this. We can still get this right. The Desert Sun, a newspaper that has served its community in Palm Springs, California, for almost 100 years, continues to provide local news in print and digital formats. It also made some progress on limiting polarization.

Seeing an increasingly divided readership, the newspaper tried an experiment a few years back. It removed all


national politics from its opinion pages for one summer month in 2019, focusing only on local issues.

As a result, "politically engaged people did not feel as far apart from members of the opposing party, compared to those in a similar community whose newspaper did not change," said a report on the experiment, "How Local Newspapers Can Slow Polarization." "While it may not cure all of the imbalances and inequities in opinion

journalism, an opinion page that ignores national politics could help local newspapers push back against political polarization."

This isn't something we can do at The Washington Post, of course. With Congress in our backyard, our opinion pages and news reports will always be about national politics.

But it may be a good time to remember how important a conversation is about local news in our community, outside the Capitol bubble.




The Guide to Offers
The Washington Post

Enter for the chance to win a pair of tickets to Dinosaur Live on November 22 at the Lincoln Theatre

Dinosaur is a fast-paced, unscripted improv comedy show featuring a powerhouse lineup of talented comedians, including Paul Scheer, Rob Huebel, Jason Mantzoukas, Nicole Byer, Lisa Gilroy, Phil Augusta Jackson, Carl Tart, Owen Burke, Chad Carter and Seth Morris. Rising star Chloe Troast (*Saturday Night Live*) will be joining the lineup for the Washington, D.C. show. Known for its sold-out shows in Los Angeles, Dinosaur has captivated audiences across the country with its unpredictable and hilarious performances. The show, says Brooklyn Vegan, is, "pretty fantastic."


See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)



The Washington Post INVESTIGATIONS

Broken Doors

A six-part podcast | No-knock warrants can destroy lives. Why are they so easy to obtain and carry out?



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N0229 6x1

A Virginia assistant principal is charged with failure to report claims of assault

ASSAULT FROM B1

Post to Chen was disconnected. She did not return a follow-up call and voicemail message.

Fairfax County Schools spokeswoman Julie Allen said in an email

that Chen had been suspended from her role at the school. Allen said that White Oaks Principal Ryan Richardson was placed on administrative leave in August in connection with the arrest.

According to an announcement

shared by the school's Parent Teacher Association, parents were notified a few days before the start of the school year that Chen and Richardson had been placed on administrative leave.

"I'm experiencing many mixed

emotions, as I'm sure you might be. I also have many questions," the PTA president wrote in the announcement.

According to court records, multiple witnesses corroborated the alleged assaults by Nagagata.

The documents also said Nagagata had similar behaviors at previous schools, but did not provide details. Allen said in a statement that Nagagata began working for FCPS in 2006 and had one prior report to Child Protective Services

(CPS) made in 2022. CPS found the complaint to be unsubstantiated, Allen said. She declined to comment further citing the ongoing personnel matter.

Hau Chu contributed to this report.

High-profile twins with parallel pasts cause some confusion in Virginia race

TWINS FROM B1

mistaken identity among pockets of the electorate, including Democrats and Republicans alike who are getting tripped up by the siblings' shared name, face, voice and biography.

"I guess I was mistaken," said Stokes, a retired federal worker and father. He noted that it's sometimes hard to tell the difference between his own twin sons.

Candidate Vindman, who is six minutes younger than his twin, faces Republican Derrick Anderson in a closely watched battleground race that will help determine control of the House. A former National Security Council ethics lawyer, Eugene Vindman helped his brother raise alarms about a phone call between Trump and Ukrainian officials and then write his House panel testimony.

In interviews with dozens of voters at more than 10 different campaign events across the district, at least eight voters attributed their support of — or opposition to — Vindman over specific actions taken by his elder twin. Some confessed they did not know there were two of them at all.

"Trump lied and Mr. Vindman came and said: That's not true," said real estate agent Elena Lane, carrying a yard sign with the candidate's name outside an early-voting site in Woodbridge this week. "I watched it on MSNBC."

"Many of the things he said in the hearings were lies," McKendree Fulks, a grain farmer, said of Vindman after a GOP rally in Stafford County.

Given the hard-to-summarize impeachment saga involving both twins — plus the nationalization of local elections and shrinking sources of information — it's no wonder some voters are mixing up which Vindman brother is running for Congress.

In a statement, Eugene Vindman said: "It would be hard for voters to mistake us because I am unequivocally the better looking twin. My very real brother knows that I stand for what the voters care about: abortion rights and against MAGA's Project 2025." (Project 2025 is a blueprint for a second Trump administration drafted by a conservative think tank.)

Anderson seized on the trend to slam his opponent, saying that Vindman had been absent from the campaign trail.

"It's no surprise that voters are confusing him with his brother because he's literally hiding from voters — he has dodged all the TV debates and a number of local TV interviews. He barely even appears in his own false TV ads," campaign spokesman Riley Ploch said in a statement.

But some voters were able to detail the differences between the two brothers in great detail, and



Eugene Vindman, above, Democratic candidate for Virginia's 7th House District, speaks at a canvass kickoff event in Dumfries on Sunday. He is sometimes confused with his twin, Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, right, who delivered a speech concerning President Donald Trump before a House impeachment panel in October 2019. Both brothers were involved in the Trump impeachment case.



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

many more interviewed by The Washington Post said they were voting straight-ticket for either party and were unfamiliar with either brother — or with Anderson.

Mark Rozell, dean of George Mason University's Schar School of Policy and Government, said the confusion is unlikely to sway any votes in the 7th District, which is open because Rep. Abigail Spanberger (D-Virginia) is running for

governor next year instead of seeking reelection.

"It's not as though people are going to separate the two from each other or think there's an entirely different political profile in terms of partisan preference," he said in an interview.

But in a world where politics — and nearly everything else — is defined around singletons (that's anyone *without* a twin), it is a curious wrinkle that augments

how the impeachment inquiry is playing out in a crucial contest.

Vindman has leveraged the impeachment backstory to raise a record-breaking sum — more than \$14 million, compared with about \$3 million for his opponent — but has not been bringing it up on the campaign trail. Anderson, meanwhile, has accused Vindman of going on a "revenge tour" against Trump — and has also skimped on detailing which brother did what.

VIRGINIA

Election Day looms, and there's a lot of action to pay attention to in the state

BY TEO ARMUS

Virginia is never lacking in political drama when elections come around, and this year is no exception: Several closely watched races around the commonwealth could help determine control of Congress or offer clues about how the political tradewinds are blowing nationally.

Chief among those contests is the battleground 7th District, where two Army veterans with law backgrounds but little political experience — Derrick Anderson (R) and Yevgeny "Eugene" Vindman (D) — are locked in a tight contest for the Fredericksburg-area seat being vacated by Rep. Abigail Spanberger (D) as she runs for governor next year.

But it's not the only race worth watching on Nov. 5: Rep. Jen Kiggans (R) faces a spirited challenge for her House seat based in Virginia Beach, and Sen. Tim Kaine (D) is seeking his third term in the Senate. There's also a fierce battle for an open seat anchored in Loudoun County, where Rep. Jennifer Wexton (D) is retiring due to health issues.

Virginia political reporter Teo Armus answered questions about the general election in a recent Reddit AMA (that stands for "Ask Me Anything"). This Q&A is an edited and condensed version of

the AMA session.

What are the polls and local opinions looking like for Democrat Missy Cotter Smasal's race against Kiggans in the 2nd District? And how is the 7th District shaping up?

If we're looking at the numbers, the 2nd District race is really tightening. Kiggans had a small but notable lead in mid-September, but a poll last week found that the contest is essentially a dead heat. We're at the point where few voters are still making up their minds, so it's really going to come down to turnout on either side. My colleague Gregory S. Schneider reported a great story from the 2nd District spotlighting how Black voter turnout could be crucial for Cotter Smasal given the area's large Black population. Kiggans, meanwhile, is trying to rile up her base by campaigning with hard-right Rep. Jim Jordan (R-Ohio).

Most elections analysts have rated the 7th District as a "toss up." There's been no independent polling in that race, but Vindman's chances at winning seem to be dependent on how many voters Vice President Kamala Harris is able to turn out to the polls. The makeup of this district favors Democrats ever so slightly, and she is expected to have long coat-tails that could boost down-ballot candidates like Vindman.

Does Hung Cao (R) have a chance against Kaine in the Senate race?

Most political analysts do not see this race as competitive, given Kaine's strong name recognition, high popularity and large lead over Cao in fundraising. A poll of Virginia voters we conducted with GMU's Schar School found he has a 13-point lead over Cao.

A poll of Virginia voters we conducted with GMU's Schar School found [Tim Kaine] has a 13-point lead over [Hung] Cao.

How do you think Suhas Subramanyam won the Democratic primary for Wexton's seat in the 10th District despite being relatively new to Virginia politics?

I think there were a few things working in Subramanyam's favor — namely, Wexton's endorsement — as well as his strong support from the region's large South Asian community and the attack ads from outside groups against those more established candi-

dates. I also would not discount the fact that of the top finishers, he was one of two who actually lives in the 10th District — and the only one who lives in Loudoun County, the heart of this seat — which did not go unnoticed by voters.

How do Prince William County and Stafford County voters feel about being in such a closely contested district and getting all this national attention, when they used to be in the safely Republican 1st District or the safely Democratic 11th District?

Virginia's congressional maps are about three years old at this point, so voters in eastern Prince William and Stafford have already witnessed one hard-fought 7th District election. Plenty of local party activists seem to be relishing the heightened role their communities play in deciding control of the House. But I've also talked with a lot of residents who are exhausted by politics and are actively avoiding campaign ads — and seem to be surprised to have a reporter ask them about a more local race at big events or even at the polls.

Why is a voter roll purge in Virginia happening now, days before the election?

This is one of the big concerns that Democrats (and others opposing Gov. Glenn Youngkin's voter purge efforts) have raised.

Per my colleague Schneider, Youngkin (R) has framed the executive order that sent all of this in motion as an "election integrity" effort. He wants people to understand that this is a way to ensure "this election will be secure, it will be accurate, it will reflect the will of the voters." It's a message to his right-wing base that they don't need to worry about questioning election results in Virginia.

And, as he has pointed out, the system is designed to give voters a mechanism to contest being purged. Virginia allows for same-day voter registration, so anyone who should be able to vote can go in, fill out some paperwork and cast their ballot. What Youngkin hasn't addressed is the inconvenience and chilling effect that poses to voters.

How does this compare with other voter purges in the past?

Youngkin has pointed out that the executive order he issued in August to promote "election security" relies on a law enacted in 2006, when Kaine was governor.

Local election officials had already been going through the rolls and conducting purges every month. The state, of course, needs some mechanism to get names that aren't supposed to be there out of the system. The difference here is that this is happening daily and so close to an election — it's unclear if election officials in Vir-

ginia have ever done so this late in the game.

As my colleagues Schneider and Laura Vozzella have found, citizens are being mistakenly pulled from the rolls — in some cases because they skipped or overlooked a question about citizenship on DMV forms, or because they became citizens years after their first interaction with the DMV.

Anything the Virginia General Assembly can do while not in session to shore up voting rights?

Not really, unless they call a special session, which seems extremely unlikely at this point. But the next legislative session starts in just over two months.

I voted early in Virginia. Is it possible to be removed from the system and lose my vote this year?

Not if you've already voted. If you were allowed to cast a ballot, that means you were in good standing when you voted. There's nothing retroactive about the efforts subject to Wednesday's Supreme Court order allowing the purge.

Would you rather fight one horse-sized duck, or 100 duck-sized horses?

I'm going to go with 100 duck-sized horses. I don't like the idea of a giant duck beak coming after me.

THE REGION

Carjacking suspect killed after I-95 pursuit

BY PETER HERMANN

Virginia State Police troopers fatally shot the driver of a vehicle carjacked from Maryland on Wednesday night after a pursuit along Interstate 95 south of Washington, authorities said.

The southbound lanes of the highway were shut for hours after the incident, causing a six-mile backup and delays during the morning commute in the Triangle area of Prince William County, though they partially reopened around 7:30 a.m.

Police said the incident began with a carjacking near Silver Hill Road in Suitland, in Prince George's County about 9:45 p.m. U.S. Park Police said they were investigating the carjacking but had no immediate details.

In a statement, the Virginia State Police said a trooper spotted the carjacked vehicle at about 10:15 p.m. and started to pursue it after the driver refused to stop. A department spokesman did not say where the pursuit began.

The pursuit went southbound on I-95. At one point, authorities said, the driver of the vehicle collided with a Virginia State Police vehicle, causing it to overturn. The trooper driving that vehicle was not injured, police said.

Police said the pursuit ended near the Joplin Road exit, about 15 miles south of the District, when troopers forced the vehicle to stop. The statement from state police said that "the driver refused multiple" commands and made "abrupt furtive movements with his hands." The police statement did not say whether any weapons were found.

Troopers shot the driver, who was pronounced dead on the scene, authorities said. The driver's identity was not immediately released, and a police spokesman would not provide the person's sex or the approximate age.

Police said a male passenger in the carjacked vehicle was injured and flown to a hospital for surgery. The spokesman would not say how that passenger was injured. Police said a third passenger was uninjured and taken into custody.

The police statement said four troopers involved in the shooting were put on administrative leave pending the outcome of the investigation, which will be reviewed by the Prince William County Commonwealth's Attorney. The statement did not say whether all four troopers fired their weapons.

THE DISTRICT

Ex-jail officer admits to embezzling \$30,000 in funds for New York trip

BY SPENCER S. HSU

A former D.C. corrections officer and union official pleaded guilty Wednesday to embezzling more than \$30,000 of union funds, spending much of it on a trip with friends to New York where he caught a Broadway musical and an NBA game, federal prosecutors said.

Andra Parker, 65, pleaded guilty to wire fraud, admitting to a scheme that ran while he was the former chairman of the D.C. jail union labor committee from June

2018 to May 2019, the U.S. attorney's office for D.C. announced.

Parker acknowledged using union bank funds for expenses such as a \$7,000 trip to New York City, where he and three friends saw "Summer: The Donna Summer Musical," attended a New York Knicks-Washington Wizards game at Madison Square Garden and racked up a \$4,000 bill at the Hilton Garden Inn Times Square in Manhattan, according to court filings.

Parker, of Capitol Heights, Maryland, also spent more than

\$2,000 in union funds to purchase four tickets to a Diana Ross concert at the Music Center Strathmore in Bethesda, Maryland, in September 2018, prosecutors said.

"Expect more arrests if there are officers there who continue to do the wrong thing," Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) said after Parker's arrest in December 2022. "You will be held accountable if there's something that you're not doing right," she said.

U.S. District Judge Rudolph Contreras set sentencing for March 6.



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Andra Parker, 65, pleaded guilty to wire fraud, admitting to a scheme that ran while he was the former chairman of the D.C. jail union labor committee from June 2018 to May 2019.

OBITUARIES

RICHARD CASH, 83

Doctor championed a 'simple' therapy to overcome cholera

BY BRIAN MURPHY

During a cholera outbreak in 1968 in villages east of Dhaka, two young public health specialists began giving desperately ill patients liter after liter of a simple formula: salt and sugar dissolved in clean water.

For decades, the accepted cholera treatment was an intravenous drip to counter the rapid fluid loss from diarrhea and vomiting that often led to swift death. Yet IVs could bring too little relief and be administered too late. A new idea had emerged to aggressively rehydrate patients at the same pace they were losing electrolytes, sodium and fluids.

In a tent alongside a missionary hospital, American researchers Richard Cash and David Nalin gave cholera sufferers the salt-sugar solution and kept detailed notes in the first coordinated field study of the protocol. The disease, Dr. Cash said, could turn a person from a "from a grape to a raisin" in just hours.

The results from oral solution were stunning. The recovery and survival rates were unprecedented and the treatment, known as Oral Rehydration Therapy, became the medical standard — credited by the World Health Organization and other groups for saving more than 50 million lives, including many children, since the 1970s.

"It really is much harder to make something simple than it is to make it complicated," said Dr. Cash, who died Oct. 22 at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at 83.

The rehydration therapy is often hailed as one of the most

sweeping public health breakthroughs for its pennies-per-dose cost and the ability for ordinary people to create their own mixture.

Dr. Cash helped promote an easy-to-follow "pinch and scoop" method for caregivers — a bit of salt and a fistful of sugar mixed with water — while working with organizations such as BRAC, or the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, now a global public health and antipoverty nonprofit network.

"Behavior is really, really, really critical," Dr. Cash said at a panel discussion with Nalin in 2019. "It's not just simply: Here it is. Do it. Take it. We've got to understand this."

In 1977, Dr. Cash joined Harvard University's School of Public Health (now the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health) as a lecturer but maintained close ties with medical teams and leaders in Bangladesh throughout his career. "You can't sit here in the U.S., do your research and expect your ideas to work a thousand miles away," he once said.

Rehydration formulas have been improved over the decades, including introduction of a glucose-electrolyte solution called Oral Rehydration Salts. But the basic approach remained unchanged: fast replacement of the critical fluids lost by patients battling cholera or other diseases causing intense diarrhea.

The United Nations children's agency UNICEF said the treatment had helped sharply reduce childhood deaths from acute diarrhea from millions to about 444,000 a year. "No other single medical breakthrough of the 20th century has had the potential to prevent so many deaths over such a short period of time and at so little cost," said a UNICEF report in the 1980s.

Studies of oral rehydration methods to treat cholera and other diseases went back to the 19th century but gained increased attention in the 1960s by health scientists including Dilip Mahalanabis with the Johns Hopkins Medical Research and Training in Kolkata, then known as Calcutta.

Mahalanabis's team experimented with various solutions to treat cholera patients in the early stages of the disease. He reported that nearly all the patients survived.

The clinical observations by Dr. Cash and Nalin during the cholera outbreak in what was then the Pakistani province East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) offered the first extensive evidence on the effectiveness of the oral rehydration therapy. Only two patients out of dozens required additional IV treatment, according to their results published in the British medical journal the Lancet.

During Bangladesh's war for independence in 1971, Mahalanabis oversaw the use of oral rehydration solutions in refugee camps in the first use of the treat-



HARVARD T.H. CHAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Richard Cash gave cholera patients in South Asia salt and sugar that was dissolved in clean water during an outbreak in 1968. The approach ran counter to a decades-long approach that required an intravenous drip. "It really is much harder to make something simple than it is to make it complicated," Dr. Cash said.

ment in a major humanitarian crisis. The WHO estimates that about 500 million packs of the oral rehydration solution are now used around the world each year.

"To save the life of a person with diarrhea," David Sack, director of the International Center for Diarrheal Disease Research in Bangladesh, told Time magazine in 2006, "is probably the cheapest health intervention you can think of."

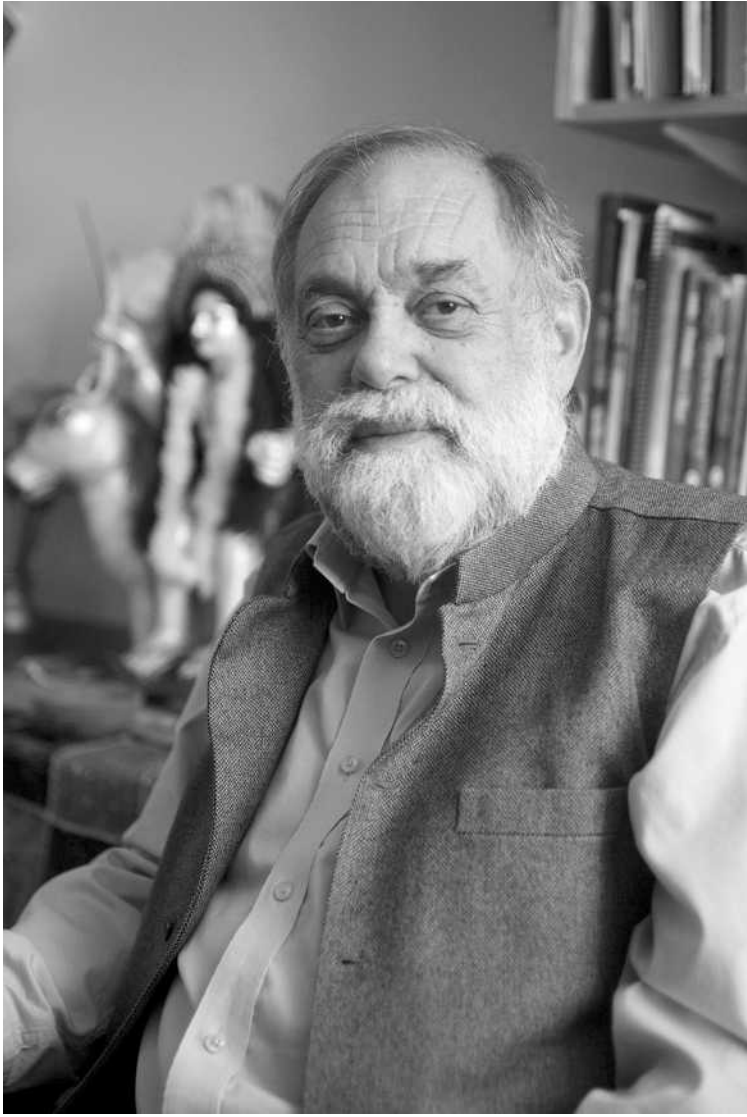
Simple not 'second class'

Richard Alan Cash was born in Milwaukee on June 9, 1941. His father was a family practice doctor, and his mother was a homemaker.

He recalled that his interest in science began as a child during visits to Milwaukee's museum of natural history. He received a bachelor's degree in science in 1963 from the University of Wisconsin, and his medical degree from New York University School of Medicine in 1966.

The following year, working with the U.S. Public Health Service, Dr. Cash took a position at the Cholera Research Laboratory in Dhaka (now the International Center for Diarrheal Diseases.) When cholera hit an area near Chittagong, he was dispatched along with his colleague Nalin.

In 1973, he completed a master of public health program at Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. Later at Harvard, he directed a government-funded project, Applied Diarrheal Disease Research, studying treat-



HARVARD T.H. CHAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

ment efforts around the world.

His awards include Thailand's Prince Mahidol Award in public health in 2006, shared with Mahalanabis and Nalin. In 2011, Dr. Cash received the Fries Prize for Improving Health by the CDC Foundation, affiliated with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Dr. Cash died of brain cancer, said his wife of 23 years, Stella Dupuis. Other survivors include two stepsons; two sisters; and

four grandchildren.

Dr. Cash's legacy of outreach in Bangladeshi villages is sometimes seen on old cooking pots from the 1970s. While showing the pinch-and-scoop techniques for salts and sugar, he had villagers bring cooking vessels to measure out 500 milliliters of clean water. The pots were marked with scratches to show the right amount.

"Simple," he once said, "doesn't mean second class."

The Washington Post

SUNDAY PREVIEW

BUSINESS

How to act at work: A rising interest in business etiquette training reflects the difficulties many workers still face as they return to the office, from how to dress to how to connect.

ARTS & STYLE

'The Terminator' remains unkillable: Forty years ago this week, James Cameron's low-budget, sci-fi movie was released. Now that we are living in the future that it imagined, in certain ways its dystopian prophecy still resonates.

TRAVEL

A melting cruise opportunity: In the Arctic, a spot warming faster than almost anywhere else on the planet, climate change is both an existential threat and a business opportunity, as rapid ice melting has spurred a polar cruise tourism boom by opening up easier navigational paths and extending the season. But possibly not for long.

*Some stories may not run due to breaking news

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IN MEMORIAM

CATOE



MICHELLE BROWN CATOE
November 1, 1969 – November 13, 2012

Those we love don't go away, They walk beside us every day. Unseen, unheard, but always near. Still loved, still missed and very dear.

Love forever,
Ma and Dad
Maya, Jeremiah, Makenzie, Joshua & Jerry



IN MEMORIAM

JENKINS



DR. DOROTHY E. JENKINS
We love you and cherish the beautiful legacy you left us. We deeply miss you and pray for strength as we continue this life's journey.

Love you always and forever,
Andrew, Kimberly, Nicole, Bryan and Rose

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.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICES

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Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party.
Email deadline - 3 p.m. daily
Phone-in deadline
4 p.m. M-F
3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2024 RATES: (PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Black & White
1" - \$160 (text only)
2" - \$370 (text only)
3" - \$525
4" - \$575
5" - \$725

SUNDAY
Black & White
1" - \$191 (text only)
2" - \$405 (text only)
3" - \$580
4" - \$610
5" - \$790

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices
\$160 each additional inch Mon - Sat
\$191 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Color
3" - \$670
4" - \$725
5" - \$885

SUNDAY
Color
3" - \$710
4" - \$810
5" - \$985

6"+ for ALL color notices
\$268 each additional inch Mon - Sat
\$299 each additional inch Sunday

Notices with photos begin at 3" (All photos add 2" to your notice.)

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All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque

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The Washington Post

IN MEMORIAM

SHAFFER

STEVEN M. SHAFFER
On January 2, 1997, you were suddenly gone from our lives. You were a devoted son, brother and nephew. Never a day goes by that your smile, your love, your courage will be far from our thoughts.
Your Brother Brian

DEATH NOTICE

DAY

JACQUELYN DAY (Age 77)
Of Newark, DE passed away October 18, 2024. A funeral service will be held at 11 a.m. on November 2, 2024 at St. George's Episcopal Church, 160 U. Street NW, Washington, DC. Visitation will be held one hour prior.

JAGGERS

LAWRENCE JAGGERS "Larry"
Lawrence "Larry" Jaggars, born in Bethesda, MD on March 20, 1949, passed to heaven on October 16, 2024. Larry was preceded by his parents Dr. Frank Jaggars and Audrey Jaggars. He is survived by his son Gray Jaggars and his sister Diane Gebeaux.

Larry graduated from Valley Forge Military Academy and then from American University. Larry was a valued insurance professional for many years with Early, Cassidy and Schilling. He had recently retired to enjoy his many interests.


Larry was a proud and honored member of the Masonic Lodge, Temple Noyes Cathedral Lodge No. 32. Many of the great values that Larry lived his life by came from the Masonic tradition.

Larry was a long-time member of Congressional Country Club where he was an avid tennis player and golfer. Larry won multiple club championship doubles titles, played on the men's tennis team, and will be missed by all at the Tennis House.

Perhaps Larry's greatest passion was for anything with a motor. He was an expert on the latest automobile technology and will always be remembered for the candy-blue antique jeep he immaculately restored and drove around Potomac.

Larry will be laid to rest in a private service at the Potomac Methodist Church.

JOSEPH GAWLER'S
FUNERAL SERVICES
HONORING YOU



ANN MARIE BURROLA
Ann Marie Burrola, born April 13, 1956, in Arlington, VA, passed away peacefully on October 5, 2024, after bravely battling an aggressive form of Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis, known as Bulbar ALS, for the past year. Throughout her illness, Ann exhibited remarkable stoicism, often more concerned for others than for herself.

She is survived by her Aunt Sue Breeden, numerous cousins, and many close friends who will deeply miss her. Ann was predeceased by her parents, Arturo and Esther (Christian) Burrola; her beloved brother, Albert; and her longtime cherished friend and companion, Lucinda Ebersole.

Known for her congenial demeanor, dry sense of humor, and unwavering willingness to help others, Ann exemplified dedication and a strong work ethic throughout her life.

Ann led a vibrant and accomplished life. She attended public schools in Herndon, where she emerged as a leader, student-athlete, and musician. Active in student government, she played softball and served as goalie on the field hockey team. She played a pivotal role in forming a Girls Athletic Association to promote gender equity in high school sports and played tuba in the marching band, wind ensemble, and orchestra. Her hard work and intelligence earned her a scholarship to George Washington University, where she graduated with honors in History in 1980.

In her sophomore year, Ann secured an internship in the Senate office of Senator Edward Kennedy, which quickly evolved into a part-time job. After graduation, she was offered a full-time position as a staff assistant. During Senator Kennedy's presidential campaign in 1979, Ann was promoted to coordinate activities between the campaign, Senate staff, family, and the Secret Service at the Kennedy residence.

During and following her time in the Senate, Ann was an accomplished photographer and owned and operated Ann Burrola Photography from 1982-2002. As a professional photographer in 1984 she traveled to 85 cities in 87 days as the personal campaign photographer for the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, Geraldine A. Ferraro. Ann later embarked on a distinguished career at the Smithsonian Institution beginning as a contract photographer and photo researcher in 1991. She eventually managed and coordinated numerous public programs and exhibitions first at the National Museum of Natural History and then at the National Museum of American History. At the American History Museum, she rose to the position of Senior Project Manager managing a wide variety of exhibition and major building renovation projects before retiring in 2019.

Beyond her professional achievements, Ann remained an accomplished photographer, a collector of art and rare books, a faithful fan of the Washington Nationals, a devoted cat and Labrador dog owner, and a staunch advocate for democracy, freedom, and civil rights. Her legacy will live on in the hearts of all who knew her.

Services will be private.

CONNELL



GERALD A. CONNELL
Gerald A. Connell, who served as the lead attorney for the U.S. Department of Justice in the landmark AT&T divestiture case, has died at the age of 90. He passed away peacefully surrounded by his entire family on October 28, 2024.

Born in Stamford, CT, on August 29, 1934, Gerald Connell was the middle child of Edward Anthony and Elizabeth Collins Connell. He received his undergraduate education at the College of the Holy Cross as part of the Navy ROTC program. After graduating in 1956, Gerald Connell was commissioned into the Navy, and upon his honorable discharge, he attended Fordham Law School.

After graduating law school in 1961, Gerald Connell married his first and only love, Anna Mary Kelly, and began a 25-year-long law career with the Department of Justice, ultimately being named Chief of the Litigation Branch of the Antitrust Division. In this role, he led the antitrust litigation brought by the U.S. government against AT&T. Under Gerald


Connell's leadership, the government and AT&T reached a settlement characterized as "The Deal of the Century" by Steve Coll in the book of the same name. The divestiture of the "Baby Bells" by AT&T followed, forever transforming the U.S. telecommunications industry. Gerald Connell later joined Baker & Hostetler as a partner in the firm's antitrust practice, where he represented domestic and international clients, including Coca Cola and the Hearst Corporation.

Gerald Connell was an avid tennis player and skier; for more than two decades he and his wife skied with a group of friends who dubbed themselves "The Mount Vernon Mogul Mashers." A loving husband, father, and grandfather, one of his great pleasures was spending time with his extended family of 16 on the Outer Banks of North Carolina each summer. He was a lifelong fan of the Boston Red Sox and would proudly fly an Irish flag emblazoned with the Red Sox logo from the dune stairs to mark the house. As the son of Irish parents, he was a fiercely patriotic Irishman, whose annual St. Patrick's Day parties were legendary in the antitrust law community.

Gerald Anthony Connell is survived by his wife and loving partner of 63 years, Anna Kelly Connell; his four children, Maura Connell Brandt (David), Daniel Connell (Caren), Kevin Connell (Lisa), and Timothy Connell (Anne); and his six grandchildren, Madison Brandt, Quinn Connell, Emma Connell, Haley Brandt, Mason Connell, and Grace Connell. He is predeceased by his sister Maureen Quick and his brother Edward (Brian) Connell.

A viewing for family and friends will be held on Monday, November 4, 2024, from 12 noon to 2 p.m. at Good Shepherd Catholic Church, 8710 Mount Vernon Highway, Alexandria, Virginia 22309, followed by a memorial service at 12 noon.

REILLY



JOHN PATRICK REILLY (Age 87)
John Patrick Reilly (Age 87) of Silver Spring, MD passed away on October 28, 2024. Beloved husband of Lynette Bielet Reilly; father of Kenneth Patrick Reilly (Tracy Reilly), Maureen Ellen Reilly (Douglas Fischer), and Alan Michael

Reilly. Grandfather of Joseph Patrick Reilly, Benjamin Reilly Fischer, Madeline Rose Fischer, and Kateland Jean Harte. Brother of Kathleen Swanson and the late Helen Therese Pitts.


An electrical engineer with Johns Hopkins Applied Physics Laboratory for over 40 years, Pat received the D'Arsonval Award for lifetime achievement in bioelectromagnetics and was a Fellow of IEEE. His scientific contributions improved the safety of countless essential electrical devices, including many articles in the fields of radar and bioelectricity, several essential textbooks, and recounts his early years in Snake Music, a Detroit Memoir. Pat played guitar, harmonica, flutes, percussion and the didgeridoo. He was musical director for A Band for all Seasons and the JP Jazz Quartet.

Private interment at Gate of Heaven Cemetery. A Celebration of Life will be scheduled for family and friends at the Ridewood Celebration Room at a later date to be determined. Memorial contributions may be made to Peabody Conservatory of Music, Baltimore, MD.

www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com

DEATH NOTICE

LAWLOR



MARY ROSE LAWLOR (Age 75)
On Saturday, October 19, 2024, of Silver Spring, MD. Beloved wife of Richard W. Lawlor; mother of Richard J. Lawlor; grandmother of Reese and Tate Lawlor; also survived by extended family in Vermont and New Hampshire. Mass of Christian Burial at St. Patrick's Church, 4101 Norbeck Road, Rockville, MD, on Thursday, November 7 at 11 a.m. Interment Private.

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE


O'BURNS



JAMES O'BURNS "Jimmy O"
Jimmy passed away on September 18, 2024 at NCH in Naples, FL following a brief illness. He is survived by his wife of 33 years, Min (Melinda) O'Burns of Naples. Born in Baltimore, MD, he served the US Air Force in Vietnam. On his return, he graduated from Univ. of MD and embarked on a career in sales, primarily in residential real estate sales in Northern Virginia. He was a top producer for Long & Foster, Samson Properties and a Lifetime Member of the NVAR Million Dollar Sales Club. He loved his career of 37 years, partnered with Min for several years and was a skilled and successful negotiator for his clients. He lived on Lake Anne in Reston for 21 years and spent hours cruising on his pontoon boat with his wife and friends and enjoyed fly-fishing on the lake. He left Reston leaving a cherished circle of friends and neighbors and, after moving to Naples, Jim enjoyed down time and fun times enjoying his new home, community, family, a little golf and a fantastic group of new friends. A Celebration of Jimmy's Life was held in Naples. For condolences please visit Naples-FuneralHome.com.

DEATH NOTICE

FERGUSON



FRANCESCA FERGUSON (Age 96)
On Tuesday, October 22, 2024, Francesca Castelli Ferguson, of Silver Spring, Maryland, passed peacefully at the age of 96. Mrs. Ferguson came to the United States in 1947 with her first child (Joyce), of her first husband, the late Juhu C. Hunter, who served as Communications Officer, 3rd Battalion, 365th Infantry Regiment (The Buffalo Division). A wonderful and loving mother and homemaker ("casalinga"), Mrs. Ferguson

immersed herself in a variety of social activities through which she developed friendships with people of a multitude of backgrounds and ethnicities – a veritable United Nations of relationships that she nurtured throughout her life. She had a penchant for crafts and created a number of stained-glass projects, most of which she gave to friends. In her later years, she took up residence at Leisure World where she was a member of the Italian Club and a regular at dances and balls. Beloved mother of Joyce H. Woodford, Maria H. Northington and Roberto J. Hunter (Donna Webster); grandmother of Robert L. Stanton, Tyrone H. Northington, Alexander C. Hunter (Naomi Haefner), Dana C. Hunter and the late Christopher W. Hunter; sister of the late Vera Waddell, the late Renza Morgan, the late Anselmo Castelli, the late Aulo Castelli and the late Nello Castelli; sister-in-law of Lawrence E. Waddell, and many loving cousins, nieces and nephews mostly of her native Italy. She was predeceased by two husbands, Juhu C. Hunter and George A. Ferguson, Jr. Memorial services will be held at Our Lady of Grace Church, 15661 Norbeck Blvd., Silver Spring, MD, on Monday, November 4, 2024, at 11 a.m. Interment Gate of Heaven Cemetery at 1 p.m. In lieu of flowers, memorial donations may be made in her memory to the American Cancer Society, PO Box 6704 Hagerstown, MD 21741.

PAFENBERG



MELISSA BETH FARRIS PAFENBERG
Melissa Beth Farris Pafenberg (aka Missus) was many things to many people: a fiercely independent daughter, a protective sister, a loving friend, a devoted mother, an artist, a puzzle solver, an engineer, a doting pet parent, caretaker and restorer of a 184-year-old house, and a lover of tea. Her infectious cackle, excitable spirit, warmth, and commitment to those she loved were incomparable.

Melissa was a voracious reader and habitually took up new practices and adventures. She had an insatiable curiosity for learning,

developing new interests and helping those close to her develop theirs. To know Melissa was to know there was always a heart and home (of 1000 projects) open to you.


Melissa attended two art schools but graduated with an electrical engineering degree from George Mason University. Through Signature in the Schools, a theatrical training program for high school students, Melissa was introduced to theater lighting. In her 20s, she supported her friends as a stage electrician and rigger and was an active member of I.A.T.S.E. Local 22. She worked for General Dynamics, Praxis Engineering and SAIC as an engineering government contractor.

Melissa often said her "faith" was in the green" and was never so happy as when spending time outdoors with her child and her friends. She was a Girl Scout Troop leader and helped with trail maintenance through the Potomac Appalachian Trail Conservancy.

Melissa passed away, much too soon and fighting all the way, on October 12, 2024. In the future, her friends and family may visit her at Fairfax Memorial Park, on the dust of the Appalachian Trail, at Frostburn, or anywhere in the green.

She is survived by her many adoring family members and friends, who will carry her memory in their hearts always. A celebration of her amazing life will be held in her honor at 10 a.m. on Sunday, November 10, 2024, at The Garden of Eatin', VA. https://melissacelebrationoflife.rsvpify.com

WALLER



JOHN DELANO WALLER
John Delano Waller, 86, of Alexandria, Virginia and Naples, Florida, went to the Lord on October 26, 2024, surrounded by his loving family.

John was born in Atchison, Kansas on September 6, 1938, to the late John Francis Waller and Olivia Pearl (Johnson) Waller of Raytown, Missouri.

John is survived by Mark and Paula (Ballantine) Waller of Yokosuka, Japan, and their children Kathleen, Abigail (and Joshua Kotler) and Devin; John and Kelly (Ailstone) Waller of Chicago, Illinois; and their children, John Michael (and David Meppen), Brandon (and Kirsten Mojizsek), Ian (and Madeleine Giris), and Elizabeth; and Brian and Diana (Titus-Allen) Waller of Alexandria, Virginia, and their daughters Addison, Maeve and Reece.

He was preceded in death by his loving wife of 59 years, Elizabeth Claudia (Cronin) Waller, and his son, Michael Dennis Waller.

Following graduation from Kansas City's Bishop Lillis High School (go Irish), John earned a degree in mathematics at Rockhurst College and achieved his goal of attending the University of Notre Dame (go Irish) where he earned a doctorate degree in mathematics. Although a serious student with little free time, a charming Saint Mary's College nursing student swept him off his feet. Overcoming his last-minute jitters, he and Claudia wed at Detroit's Gesu Church and moved into Notre Dame's married student housing while he finished his dissertation. The newly minted Dr. Waller loaded his nascent family into a fire red Plymouth

and drove to Washington, DC to contribute to the nation's war effort at the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA).

Settling in Alexandria, the family grew to four active boys that became a fixture at many D.C. area parks, beaches, parades, athletic events, museums, waterways, and, of course, at John's beloved Parklawn pool (go Porpoises!).

Disillusioned with the increasingly divisive Vietnam War, Dr. Waller moved to the Urban Institute, shifting the focus of his analytical skills to the War on Poverty. He was justifiably proud of his efforts to save Head Start from budget cuts, enabling the participation of over 37 million children in this life-changing program. After stints with private firms, he capped off his professional career at the Postal Rate Commission.

Commission/Postal Regulatory Commission, eventually serving as the Director, Office of Rates, Analysis and Planning, Office of Accountability and Compliance. Throughout this period, Dr. Waller stayed in touch with his academic roots as an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Operations Research at George Washington University.

Committed to contributing to his community, John set the standard by taking on leadership roles in civic organizations that included parent-teacher associations, community pool committees (Alexandria and Naples), kids sports clubs, scholarship funds and church organizations.

His uncluttered door policy welcomed anyone in need of encouragement, assistance or a sympathetic ear and resulted in the love and laughter that emanated from both Kelley Court and Bay Forest. John's legacy is evident not only in the accomplishments of his ten grandchildren, of which he was justifiably proud, but also in his lifelong effort to bring us together while challenging us to carry forward his examples of peace, love, forgiveness, faith, hope, light and joy.

Visitation will be held from 5 to 8 p.m., Thursday, November 7, 2024, at Everly Wheatley Funeral Home, 1500 West Brad-dock Road, Alexandria, Virginia 22302. Services will be held at 11 a.m., Friday, November 8, 2024, at Our Lady Queen of Peace Catholic Church, 2700 19th Street South, Arlington, Virginia 22204.

The family suggests contributions in memory of John D. Waller to either the Scholarship Fund of Alexandria's Michael, Claudia, and John D. Waller Scholarship, or the University of Notre Dame's John Delano and Claudia Cronin Waller Scholarship.

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A chance of slight precipitation

 Our welcome-to-November gift could be a short-lived band of mainly light showers moving through in the morning. After morning clouds, partly sunny weather returns by midday as highs head for the mid- to upper 70s. Breezes continue from the southwest at 10 to 20 mph with higher gusts at times. In the evening, clear skies and cooling temperatures with lows falling into the 40s will prevail. Breezy conditions from the north offer a slight wind chill.

Today

Morning shower



80° 51°

FEELS*: 79°


CHNCE PRECIP: 40%

WIND: SW 7-14 mph

HUMIDITY: Moderate

Saturday

Mostly sunny



67° 45°

FEELS: 67°


P: 0%

W: NNW 6-12 mph

H: Moderate

Sunday

Partly sunny



64° 49°

FEELS: 66°


P: 5%

W: E 6-12 mph

H: Moderate

Monday

Low clouds



68° 60°

FEELS: 67°


P: 15%

W: SSE 6-12 mph

H: Moderate

Tuesday

Mostly sunny



79° 64°

FEELS: 77°


P: 20%

W: SW 7-14 mph

H: Moderate

Wednesday

Mostly cloudy



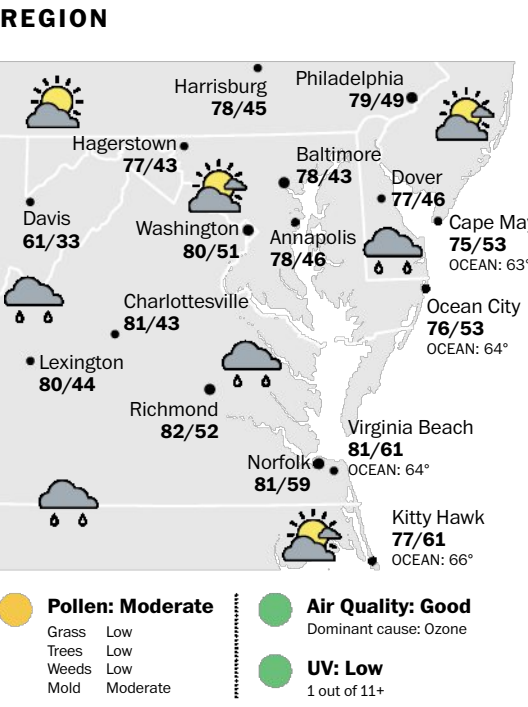
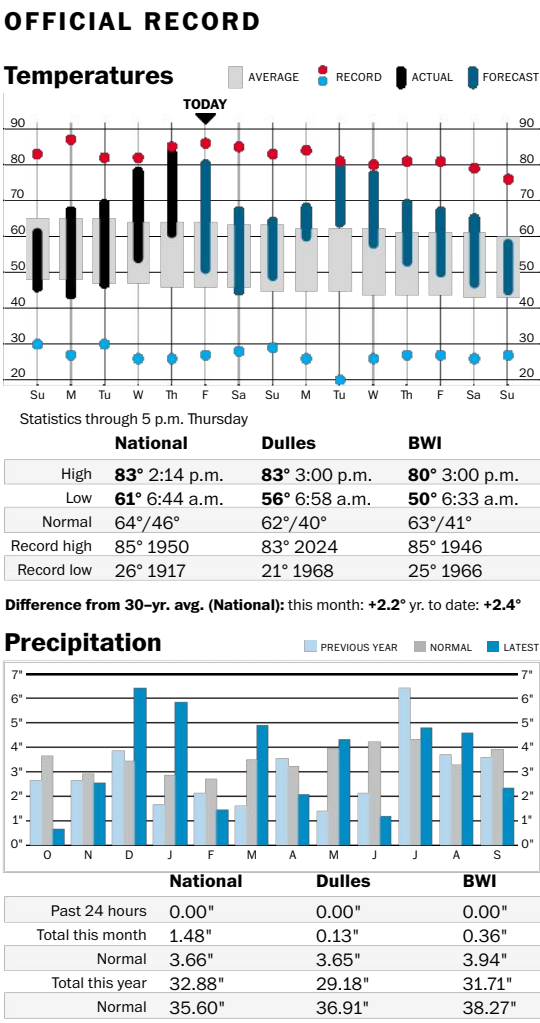
77° 58°

FEELS: 75°

P: 25%

W: SW 8-16 mph

H: Moderate



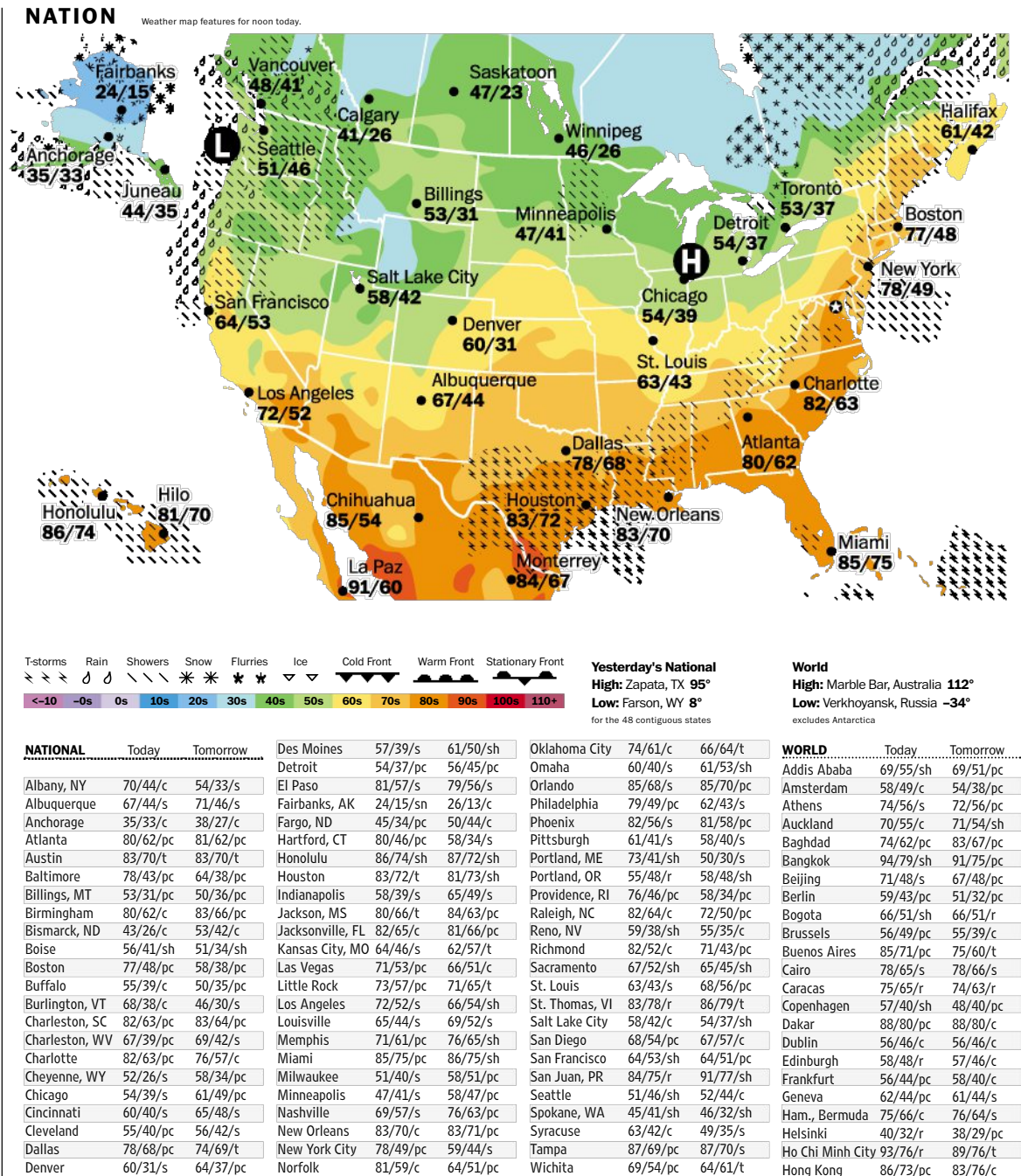
Blue Ridge: Today, a shower in spots; in the morning in southern parts, any time in central parts. High 62 to 66. Winds west 10-20 mph. Tonight, clear, cooler in the north; in northern parts. Low 46 to 50. Winds west-northwest 8-16 mph.

Atlantic beaches: Today, mostly cloudy, warm, a shower; breezy in central parts this morning. High 76 to 81. Winds southwest 10-20 mph. Tonight, clear, cooler in the north; clear to partly cloudy in central parts. A shower in spots in the south.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, partly sunny, a shower in the area. Wind southwest 6-12 knots. Waves 2-4 feet. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, mainly cloudy, a shower. Wind southwest 6-12 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 2.80 feet today, with no change of 2.80 Saturday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

	Washington	Annapolis	Ocean City	Norfolk	Point Lookout
3:27 a.m.					
8:49 a.m.					
3:21 p.m.					
9:00 p.m.					
1:40 a.m.					
7:58 a.m.					
2:20 p.m.					
8:15 p.m.					
3:40 a.m.					
10:06 a.m.					
4:28 p.m.					
10:19 p.m.					
1:33 a.m.					
7:25 a.m.					
2:14 p.m.					
9:07 p.m.					





MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Claudia Avalos took a leave of absence from her Las Vegas job about a month ago to be a canvasser for Culinary Workers Union Local 226.

ELECTION 2024

Democrats are worried about hanging on to working-class voters, especially in Nevada, and time is running out

IN VEGAS, NOT SUCH A SURE BET

BY JESÚS RODRÍGUEZ IN LAS VEGAS

Neon strip in a bag-eyed nation, blinking blue, blinking red. For the past 21 years, Claudia Avalos has been clocking in to work smack in the middle of the prismatic lightscape, as a guest-room attendant at the Rio. But now she was far from the casinos, standing at the front door of a two-story shiplap home in an upscale planned community, to ask a stranger to join her bet on a certain American future.

She rang the bell. Through the blinds, her candidate for president talked on the TV. The door unlocked.

"Hi! My name is Claudia," she chirped. "We're here from the Culinary Union 226. ... Did you already vote?"

A tall man furrowed his brow and replied yes.

"Are we going to have your support for Kamala Harris?"

His MAGA hat was black on black. Fox News played in the living room.

"Absolutely not!" said the man, a Wall Street retiree. "How can you? What Biden has done, and she's *supported* him?"

She chuckled nervously. "Oh. O-kay. Okay, that's fine! It's okay!"

The 9-to-5 Vegas that Avalos commutes into is drably unlit, quiet like an empty amusement park. On a typical day, she'd be working her way through the 15th floor of the Masquerade tower, ticking through a list of rooms to clean, pushing a cart full of linens, tiny soaps, cleaning chemicals. On a good week, there are guests flying in for business conferences, and they're all very neat, and they leave a good tip. On a bad one, teenagers come to party. They're drunk. There's drugs. They're rude.

Las Vegas: Where America goes to
SEE VEGAS ON C2

Q&A

Unbraiding Willie Nelson's vast catalogue

BY JOHN TAYLOR

It's hard to fathom on multiple levels, but Willie Nelson is releasing his 153rd album this week. In fact, "Last Leaf on the Tree" is his second studio recording this year, following "The Border" last spring. It's all part of yet another busy year for the 91-year-old country music legend: Nelson continues to tour, he appeared on Beyoncé's country album, and he shared a stage with her and Vice President Kamala Harris a week ago at a rally in Houston.

That Nelson continues to record and release music that's interesting, vital and genuinely enjoyable is, in a way, remarkable. Many of his famous friends and musical peers and collaborators are already gone, and he's the last man standing from the Highwaymen supergroup, after Kris Kristofferson's death in September. His older sister and ever-present pianist, Bobbie Nelson, died in 2022. (And to think: Nelson released an album called "Last Man Standing" six years ago.)

He revisits those themes — aging, loss, mortality — in "Last Leaf on the Tree," which his son Micah produced. Micah, who performs as Particle Kid, infused it with his experimental approach. They chose songs from a wide variety of artists — some from closer to Willie's generation, such as Keith Richards, Neil Young and Tom Waits, and also from a younger

SEE Q&A ON C3

FASHION

Donald Trump dressed like a garbage man. That's rich.



BRENDAN MCDERMID/REUTERS

Donald Trump used a waste disposal truck and high-visibility safety vest as props before his Green Bay, Wisconsin, rally.

BY RACHEL TASHJIAN

On Wednesday night, Donald Trump had a new role to play, costume and all.

As Kamala Harris's campaign attempted to clean up comments from President Joe Biden that maybe suggested Trump's supporters were "garbage" or maybe did not — a criticism of the words of a comedian who called Puerto Rico a "floating island of garbage" at last week-end's New York Trump rally — the Republican hopeful arrived for a Wisconsin rally with a custom Trump campaign-branded garbage truck.

He leaned out of the passenger-side window, his face looking more deeply tanned than usual and his hair a frosty pile of white blond. In place of his standard-issue Brioni suit jacket was a high-visibility orange and yellow vest, the kind that trash collectors wear to do their dirty and dangerous work, layered over his shiny striped red tie and freshly starched French cuff shirt, which was studded with square pavé diamond cufflinks.

"This truck is in honor of Kamala and Joe Biden," he told reporters, those sparkly cufflinks looking strangely unsparkly. (Maybe, like the ones he's known to

SEE FASHION ON C2

MOVIES IN WEEKEND

Here

★★★★☆

Tom Hanks-Robert Zemeckis reunion might remind you of "The Polar Express." **23**

Anora

★★★★☆

Playing a resourceful stripper, Mikey Madison is a sweetheart for the 21st century. **20**

Juror #2

★★★★☆

Director Clint Eastwood is still grappling with morality at age 94 in this courtroom drama. **22**



In Las Vegas, Latino-heavy labor union blows on the dice

VEGAS FROM C1

forget its problems. Except in election years. A month and a half ago, Avalos, 51, an immigrant from Mexico, took a leave of absence from work to be a canvasser for Culinary Workers Union Local 226, becoming a cog in a Democratic machine that has been key to a 12-year presidential winning streak here. The 60,000-member, majority Latino, majority women union is distinct among the labor unions that make up the Democratic coalition: porters instead of carpenters, kitchen hands instead of iron smelters, servers instead of teachers.

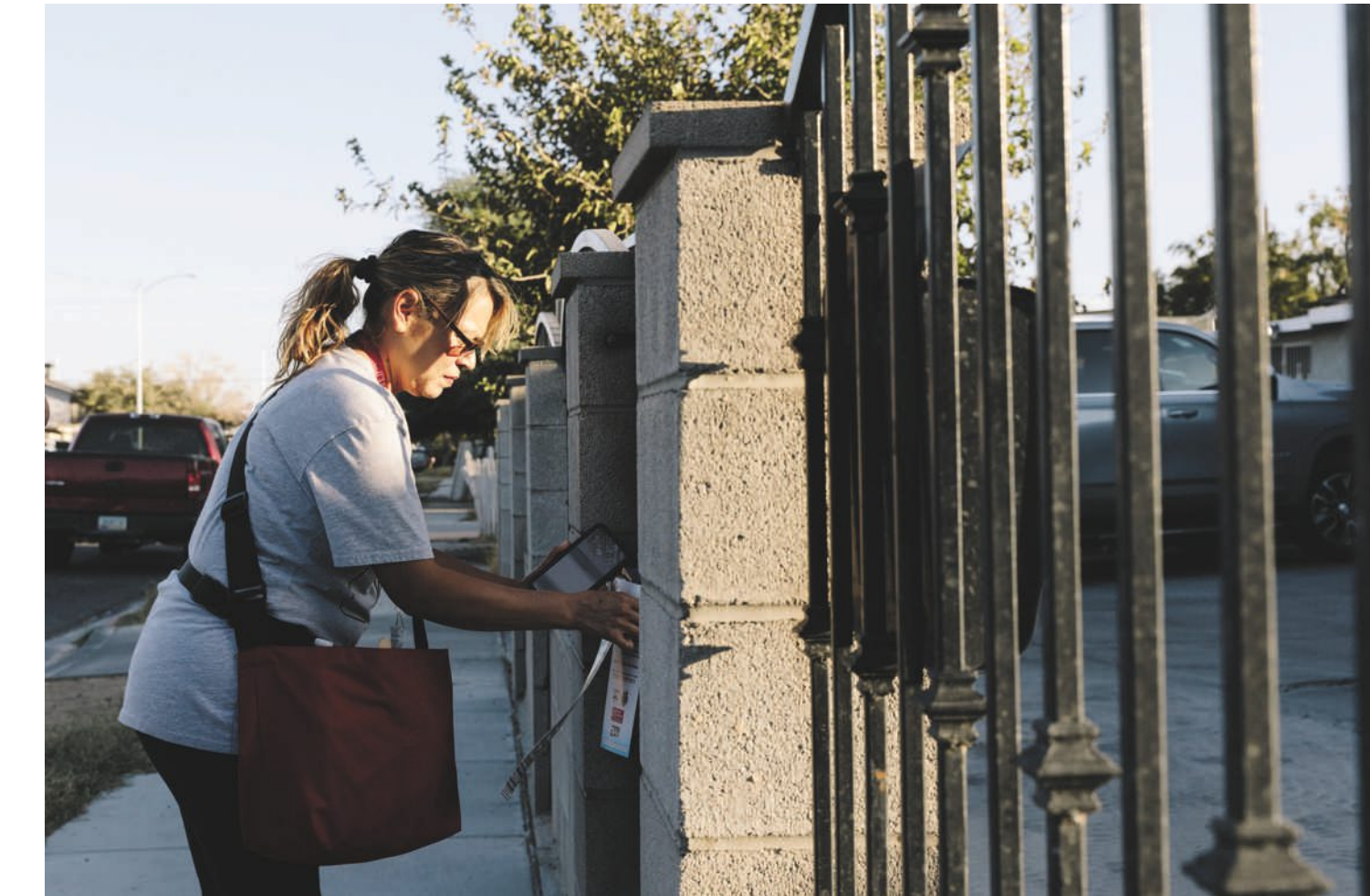
But that coalition could be fracturing — not just nationwide, but in Nevada, a state Biden carried by just two points in 2020. “When Biden was running, we were going to lose Nevada,” says Ted Pappageorge, the union’s secretary-treasurer, sitting in his office in the back of a white-brick building on Commerce Street. He’s a 63-year-old former hotel worker, tall with swept-back silver hair and a pair of thick, candy-cane-red eyeglasses.

Since then, Harris has closed the gap in polling, and Harris and Trump are running about even — with Harris leading by less than a percentage point, per The Washington Post’s polling average.

The trouble runs deeper than that for her party, by some lights. They’re not being foiled by Wall Street retirees in swing states; in Nevada and elsewhere, Democrats are worried about hanging on to the laborers. Working-class voters — that is, voters without a college degree, as defined by pollsters — made up 68 percent of those who turned out here in 2020, according to exit polls. Harris and Trump are fighting for any edge. This summer, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters declined to endorse the Democrat for the first time since 1996 after internal polling showed Trump leading Harris among its members. (Its Nevada chapter endorsed Harris.) The International Association of Fire Fighters, which backed Biden four years ago, also declined to make an endorsement.

“Rich people vote for Republicans because Republicans promise tax breaks for rich people. Poor people vote for Democrats because Democrats promise redistribution from richer people to poor people,” says Jonathan Cervas, an assistant teaching professor of political science at Carnegie Mellon and a former Vegas bartender. “So if Trump is winning the working-class voters who presumably have much lower income, that would represent a marked change from the New Deal era alignment in American politics.”

Las Vegas: What happens here could happen everywhere. Especially in election years. If Harris loses Nevada and Arizona, “it’s going to be because Latino voters slipped away from her, which means there’s a real problem with the future of the party with the working class, because White working-class voters are shrinking,” says Mike Madrid, a California-based Republican



MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



MIKAYLA WHITMORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



ETHAN MILLER/GETTY IMAGES

CLOCKWISE FROM ABOVE: Culinary Union member Claudia Avalos, who has been canvassing for about a month, goes door to door in a Las Vegas neighborhood. TV host and comedian Jimmy Kimmel appears last month with union official Ted Pappageorge to address hospitality workers at the union hall in Vegas. Yolanda Scott, a coffee shop server and culinary union member, says she loves her job and thanks the union for pushing for higher wages, but she works for tips

strategist turned Harris supporter.

Johnathan Penate, a 29-year-old casino manager who attended a mid-October Latino economic roundtable in North Las Vegas that Trump spoke at, said the economy was a big reason he was voting for Trump, even if he found his rhetoric about Latinos hurtful. And his faith played a big role, too.

“At the end of the day it’s for my kids, for the future of this country,” Penate says of his vote. He adds: “It’s based on what the fundamental of this country was, which is God. Simple.”

Steve Anapolsky, a 69-year-old retired bar owner who’s for Harris and feeling like a “nervous wreck,” says, “If you speak to dishwashers and you speak to bartenders, they say they like Trump because he gave them those tax

breaks back in 2020 and [they think] he’s going to do it again.”

Pappageorge, the culinary union boss, thinks the presidential contest in Nevada will be even closer this time than in 2020. By this point, he says, his 600 canvassers would’ve normally switched from persuading undecided voters to turning out reliable Democrats, but it’s still both, days out from the election. (Madrid sees that as a warning sign: “If you’re in persuasion mode this late in the cycle, it means you don’t have the votes identified to hit the goal you need.”) Some of the voters are still unsure how Harris would address high rents and grocery bills, Pappageorge says.

“There’s clearly working-class folks that are looking at Trump right now, because at the end of the day, working-class folks got to

get their kids up, they got to get them to school, they got to get to work, they got to get their kids picked up. They got to get dinner on the table. And when you’re struggling to be able to pay your grocery bill and pay your rent, that’s number one. That’s a security issue.”

For a while, he says, Democrats had tried to sell Biden’s economic policies without acknowledging that prices were going up. That message wasn’t working.

“Everything is skyrocket,” says Yolanda Scott, 55, a server and union member at Treasure Island, on the Strip.

On any given morning, Scott pulls on an electric-blue polo and fills up coffees for middle-aged tourists at a coffee shop bathed in the blue glow of nearby games. She loves her job and thanks the union for pushing for higher wag-

es, but she works for tips — and these days, the way she sees it, “the IRS want to take all your money.”

“I had someone just tell me today, matter of fact, their paycheck was \$160. \$160? Are you kidding me here? What are you gonna do with that?” she added on a recent afternoon, at home after voting for Harris.

The day before, Trump’s running mate, JD Vance, had come to her hotel to tout Trump’s no-tax-on-tips policy, a made-for-Vegas idea that Harris also endorsed (with a different plan) days after Trump had announced it. “It was his idea,” Vance told a ballroom of Trump supporters, accusing Harris of stealing it. “I was actually there when he came up with the idea. And then he called a couple economists and says, ‘All right, give me a sense of how this would

Donald Trump’s goofy, committed pandering

FASHION FROM C1

gift to friends as diamond, they were just cheap zirconia.)

Later that evening, he took the stage to make his case to this swing state, which was decided by less than one percentage point in the 2016 and 2020 races. He told voters about the Navy shipbuilding contract that came to their state during his tenure in office, claiming he redesigned some of the boats: “I love beauty.”

As if this were some kind of campy musical (putting the swing in swing state!), onetime-presidential-hopeful-turned-Trump-supporter Vivek Ramaswamy also arrived Wednesday at an another swing state rally on a garbage truck, wearing an orange vest. His stinky chariot, in Charlotte, North Carolina, was no novelty, but a working vehicle courtesy of the area’s Select Sanitation Services. Ramaswamy even put some trash into the rear trough. “Pretty good machinery, actually!” he chirped. “It kind of works!”

On the face of it, Trump or his surrogates putting on the uniform of the working class seems like a dopey trick: donning the clothes of a voting bloc all politicians hope to reach but from whom they usually have the biggest distance, financially and materially.

But that’s what makes it effective,

which is to say visually arresting, bizarre and, most important, memorable. The image will ricochet all over social, digital and print media, and network television today, and stick in voters’ minds for days to come.

Here is a man who rose to global power and importance on a reputation of wild wealth not doing passionate cosplay but goofy, committed pandering.

He is repeating the trick that worked so well a few weeks ago, when he appeared at a Pennsylvania McDonald’s and replaced his jacket with a navy and yellow apron. There was no hairnet or hat, and he kept on his tie; his temporary colleagues wore more fryer safety-conscious T-shirts. The idea isn’t to be realistic, which is to say to show he knows how to do a blue-collar job. He will compromise a bit, *just a bit*, of dignity — which, in Trump-world, means his unchanging visage of tanned, expensively suited billionaire — to appeal to his base.

Ironically, this highlights the distance between himself and many voters. And this game of dress-up is very different from the one Harris has engaged in to forge her connection to working- and middle-class voters.

Again and again, she has foregrounded her humble roots. “I come from the middle class,” begins one of her most-repeated



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump kept the high-vis safety vest on during his rally in Green Bay, Wisconsin.

stump speeches, in which she recalls growing up with a working mother, living in a rented home and a summer job at McDonald’s. This is her pitch that, although she now wears French suits and walks the halls of global power, she knows the struggles and ambitions of the average American, because they were once her own. She paints this picture repeatedly.

Trump doesn’t have those credentials, so rather than paint, he performs, puts on, *plays*. He wears a uniform as a stunt —

exactly the sort of gesture that Democrats have railed against by extolling the authenticity of vice-presidential candidate Tim Walz’s plaids and Carhartt. But the stunt works because stunts are more immediate, more suited to our moment of visual-first world.

Usually, politicians, who go to great pains to appear somehow relatable and authoritative at the same time, rely on sartorial cues like loosening their tie or rolling up their shirtsleeves. (Harris has mixed her suit jackets with jeans

and Converse sneakers, for example.)

Trump doesn’t play by those rules, though. And the absurdity of the resulting look is what makes it powerful, gives it stickiness.

We’ve all seen those images of politicians doing “relatable stuff” that make us cringe: they eat fried food in their business casual at state fairs; an image of Hillary Clinton visiting a housing project in 2016 was so odd that it has become a meme; and Michael Dukakis’s 1988 bid for president

work.”

In fact, it’s an issue the union had been pushing before, along with a minimum wage hike.

“I’ve been in the union for 32 years, right?” says Scott, who canvassed for Biden in 2020, the day after Vance’s speech. “I know Trump didn’t come up with that. He just found out and ran with it.” She lets out a big laugh.

(Beyond the tips policy, in a sentence fragment on her website, Harris’s campaign promises to “fight to raise the minimum wage.” She’s also vowed to build more homes and curb price gouging. Trump says he’d free up federal land for construction, cut regulations, deport millions of undocumented immigrants, the latter of which could have the knock-on effect, experts say, of tanking the economy.)

For the next few days, Pappageorge has the job of amping up a room full of canvassers before they go out to hit the doors. One recent morning, firing up the troops in his red-frame glasses and a red polo, he looked the part of a high school principal emceeding a pep rally. He paused intermittently so a mustached man next to him could interpret his speech to Spanish. “Election Day is *today!*” he hollered into the microphone, as the hall erupted in cheers. “We got to talk to every person,” he went on. “We got to get every vote.”

Afterward, in his office, Pappageorge wouldn’t say whether he thought Harris would win if the election indeed took place that day, except to say, “It’s going to be incredibly close.”

“What we’re seeing is that we’re winning these votes, like, door by door, we’re winning these votes.”

On the evening the union allowed a Post reporter to tag along with Avalos, the territory she was surveying wasn’t working class. It was a tony neighborhood with swimming pools waiting on the back patios. Over more than an hour, most knocks went unanswered — besides the dogs barking inside.

“No, thanks,” said a middle-aged woman with a “God Bless America” sticker on her window, declining to chitchat.

“Politics is over,” said a man at another.

The three friendlier residents Avalos met said they were already voting for Harris. At one of the houses, the man she was looking for was working for a campaign out of town, but the older man who answered the door said, “You don’t have to worry. He always votes Democratic for everything.”

In her month and a half of canvassing for the union, Avalos has only rarely encountered undecided voters — about one a day, she says. There were a handful of houses with visible Trump signs in this neighborhood — like one that read “TRUMP LOW PRICES” — but those voters weren’t on the union’s list of addresses. Except for that Wall Street retiree with the black MAGA hat.

Does she ever try to change those minds?

“No,” she said. “We just move on.”

Justine McDaniel contributed to this report.

was practically ended when he posed in a tank.

But Trump leans into the awkwardness, playing up the idiocy of these gestures, and even his foreignness from these working-class worlds. It is more like a British royal doing a photo op than a politician connecting with voters — the gulf between who he is and who he is visiting is enormous, and the enormity is the point. Harris says she once worked at McDonald’s? I can “work” at McDonald’s! Biden says my supporters are garbage? Let me collect my people in my clean, branded truck. (Nevermind that the whole debate around people being “garbage” began at his own Madison Square Garden rally.) One man’s trash is — well, you know.

Trump’s little costumes are impactful, at least visually, because they show how his cartoonish impulses function. The whole charade is degrading to working people, not relatable.

Of course, both candidates know that this election is not really about where they came from but what they are willing to do now. Harris has a lot of plans, but Trump is willing to get his hands dirty. Only theoretically, of course.

These images show that a man who has spent almost eight decades obsessively conforming his unchanging image to something that telegraphs big, big money will compromise some of that image, so long as no one mistakes him for the type he is impersonating. As he said about those boats: “I love beauty.”



SONY/LEGACY
“Last Leaf on the Tree,” Willie Nelson’s 153rd album, has an array of cover songs.

Finding meanings of Nelson’s songs beyond the lyrics

Q&A FROM C1

set, like Beck and the Flaming Lips. As with most Nelson records, there’s a fresh interpretation of a classic from his catalogue — this time, it’s “The Ghost,” which first appeared on 1967’s “The Party’s Over.”

But it’s that partnership with his son — and the prominent role played by Trigger, Nelson’s classical guitar — that makes this 153rd Willie Nelson album stand out to John Spong. A longtime writer and editor for Texas Monthly, Spong helped launch a daunting project at the magazine: cataloguing, reviewing and ranking every one of those recordings. Which means he had to listen to them all, too.

“All 143 Willie Nelson Albums, Ranked” debuted on Nelson’s 87th birthday in the early days of the coronavirus pandemic. With a title like that, and such a prolific artist, they knew the database would require updates, often: new albums to listen to, review and rank. Spong became the magazine’s unofficial Willie Nelson editor, which led him to launch a related endeavor in October 2020: “One by Willie,” a podcast in which he interviews celebrities, musicians and even Nelson family members about their favorite songs and stories. Season 6, produced by PRX in partnership with Texas Monthly, is scheduled to start in January.

With the album out Friday — which means a new review and another re-ranking — Spong, 58, took time out from recording his podcast to talk about the man and the music that have shaped his life and career.

(The interview has been edited for length and clarity.)

This is going to sound like a question you ask on your podcast: How did your relationship to Willie and his music start?

I grew up in Austin, so he was there. “Blue Eyes Crying in the Rain” comes out in ’75, that was this massive national hit, and it was my parents’ favorite song. I would hear it with them. We were leaving lunch one day and got in an elevator to go down, and when everyone emptied out of the elevator, my dad said,

“That was Willie Nelson.” And I said, “Oh, who’s that?” And he said, “That’s the song we’ve been listening to in the station wagon.”

So he’s just everywhere. He’s in the air here, he’s in the water, he’s played on the radio all the time. There were so many chances to see him. It really does become a personal thing with his music when you get to listen to it that much.

Texas is a big state — there are many famous musicians and big personalities. So when you decide to work on a project like this, why Willie?

I love writing about musicians, in particular songwriters. I love trying to understand how they create the elements in songs that they put in for this reason or that. I love to look behind the curtain and learn their backstories, how they wrote a certain thing.

What happened with the list is that I realized that every one of those albums had a story behind it. And more to the point, a relationship behind it. I’m not overstating that.

There’s so much Willie that came out over the years. When we started this, we thought there were maybe going to be 100-plus, but we had no idea. Then we did the research and at that point figured out it was like 143. There would be so much Willie coming out that you wouldn’t necessarily need it, or someone would think they didn’t. So you wouldn’t even pay attention.

But when we did the dive, and did all the research ... I was the one who had to listen to everything and put it all together and do as much research as I could — especially in finding the records — and I was like, “Wow, every one of these records has a great story behind it.”

Even the reggae album, “Countryman”?
That’s a great example, because conceptually it’s easy to goof on, right?

But then, once you start listening to the music, you go, what kind of reggae do you like? That sounds a lot like late ’80s Steel Pulse, stuff like that, which is not the reggae I like.



JOSEPH HOLGUIN



DANIELLE VILLASANA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

But there are a couple songs on there — in particular, “The Harder They Come,” which is pretty much just acoustic, Willie and Trigger, and it’s a fantastic version of that song. It is all the way worth listening to.

With the list, what happens when a new album drops?

We came up with a byzantine scoring system that really works. Boy, it was nerdy. It was done by committee. But when a record comes out now, I can usually get a couple of other people to listen, too. To see where it fits overall, I try to get some feedback. But then there’s a bunch of criteria we used initially: Do you enjoy listening to it? How many songs did he write? How much Trigger is on it? That’s important. What are his vocals like? And what do you learn about him from it? Because there’s a weight that comes from knowing that something was (for instance) the last recording he made with Merle Haggard.

So the one he did two records ago was “Bluegrass” — he had never done a bluegrass record, and there’s no Trigger on it. I think a lot of people would go, “Oh, really? No Trigger?” But part of that is because the

bluegrass culture and world is tight, and they don’t like tourists. And Willie really was being respectful of the way they do things by not adding his guitar on top it once they’d done it. Knowing that, I just learned something about Willie. And that gave it a different kind of weight for me.

I noticed that the music he’s released since 2020 has ranked fairly high on the list.

It goes back to that criteria and weight thing. Once he started writing again — there were a whole bunch of records up until that point (when he started working and writing with Buddy Cannon in the 2010s) that didn’t have that. And that he’s producing it at this age — that factors in. It goes to that stories part. So a lot of them have been up there.

What’s your favorite story from the podcast?

It’s tied to the list. “Across the Borderline” is one of my favorite records. So I was doing the research on when it was recorded, and all of that stuff. He’s got that Sinéad O’Connor duet on it. Which, at the time when it came out, that’s one of those things where I would

TOP: Musician Charlie Sexton, left, records an episode of the “One by Willie” podcast with host John Spong. ABOVE: Willie Nelson plays at a Houston rally last week for Democratic presidential nominee Kamala Harris.

“Every one of those albums had a story behind it. And more to the point, a relationship behind it. I’m not overstating that.”

John Spong, a longtime writer and editor for Texas Monthly who has ranked all of Willie Nelson’s 153 albums

think, “I don’t need a Willie duet with Sinéad O’Connor. I listened to her records, I like that one song fine, but I don’t get it.”

But looking back, from 2019 or 2020, when we were doing this, I realized: The day it was recorded in New York was the day after the famous Bob Dylan tribute show at Madison Square Garden [in 1992] where the crowd booed her down. I thought she had been booed off the stage, but she wasn’t — she actually sat there and took the boos. That was only two weeks after the “Saturday Night Live” controversy, when she tore up the pope picture. And so she comes out two weeks later, it’s in New York, which is supposedly this progressive, accommodating place, and they would not let her get a sound out. And Kristofferson famously came out, put his arm around her and said, “Don’t let the bastards get you down.”

So I found out that it was the very next day that she recorded that song with Willie, which is Peter Gabriel’s “Don’t Give Up.”

So we did a podcast episode with Don Was, who’s one of the most soulful people I’ve ever been around. He’s such a great storyteller, and this might not even be the best story he tells in that episode. But Willie was on that [Dylan] show, and Don Was was the bandleader and musical director. Willie saw that happen to Sinéad O’Connor, and then defiantly she sang her a cappella version of Bob Marley’s “War” again, as the crowd was trying to shut her down. Willie didn’t know who she was. He looked at Don Was and said, “Who’s that?” And he said, “That’s Sinéad O’Connor.” And he said, “Well, whoever she is, I want her in the studio tomorrow.” And that’s how they did that duet.

So to have Don tell that story was great.

So you know that Willie listens, and his children have been on the podcast. Do you think you’ll get Willie on?

I’m hopeful. There’s been talk about doing one with Annie, his wife. And you know, I’d be open to him poking his head in on the side of the screen. That would be wonderful.

Mom, aunt complain about holiday hosting but won’t hand over the reins



Carolyn Hax

five years, they have complained relentlessly about how they “do all the work,” and wonder aloud when the younger generation will step up.

I, along with my two siblings and two cousins, would love to host. Like a lot of millennials, none of us owns a home. Two of us have decent enough apartments. All of us can cook.

So this year, we suggested we might team up to co-host at one of the decent apartments, but pointed out that the holiday would be different from the ones we have traditionally done — smaller, different menus that better accommodate *our* eating

preferences, possibly some outside friends invited, etc.

Surprising no one, Mom and Auntie both immediately balked and rejected all our proposed modifications. It’s looking like another year where they host and complain about doing so.

How do we stage a not-so-hostile takeover? We would really love to just do it despite their objections but aren’t sure how to get started.

— Our Turn

Our Turn: Good to see the diplomacy gene passed to the next generation intact.

I say this with the crabby affection of an auntie on gravy duty for the 15th Thanksgiving straight.

Can we call it *screamingly* obvious that Mom and Auntie want the holiday to stay the same? Probably not, when “the same” can mean “identical” and they keep doing everything, hollow complaints and all (a

personality type that mystifies me too, by the way), or just “not so radically different” that they feel corrected or even shamed for the way they’ve always hosted.

And grieve a bit, too.

Either way, it’s safe to say your offer shoved them aside harder than they expected. They want you to take over their traditions, not ditch them for yours, which is why they did all this work for you in the first place. And, yes, for themselves, too, because that’s how traditions work — the giving and receiving generations both feel the warmth of connection. Theoretically.

I’m not invested here. Feed me whatever. I am sympathizing hard with your mom and aunt, though, because even as I type out this answer, basting the damn bird (should I complain about my tendinitis?), I know it’s an answer you already know! “*Surprising no one*,” you say, with my emphasis, “Mom and Auntie both immediately balked.”



MOM, AUNTIE, YOU’VE BEEN WONDERFUL. BUT NOW IT’S OUR TURN TO COOK FOR DAYS ONLY TO FAIL TO MEET TWO GENERATIONS’ COMPLETELY DIFFERENT EXPECTATIONS.

ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

So I’ll quit advising and ask. When clearly your insight into your elders was already stuffed, trussed and good to go, why didn’t you just use it?:

1. You’re right, it is our turn.

How ’bout this year, we co-host, and you teach us everything?” No appeasement motions, no “our eating preferences,” yes oral history.

2. After doing this and reading

their reactions to it, ask if they’re ready to gather at your homes next year. If not, then offer to host them fully at theirs. (Repeat as needed.)

3. Prepare their foods still, *adding* some dishes your way. Subtracting ... in good time. Toward eventual takeover.

Because if they aren’t just martyr-muttering in the kitchen with no intention of handing over the reins, then they will welcome a seamless transition, surprising no one.

A coup works, too, just different consequences. Up to you.

But if the “not-so-hostile” matters, then learn about those threads you’re picking up before you change the weave; after all, I doubt the sisters cook precisely what your grandparents did. People balk at being pushed out, understandably, but drawing them out is a sign of care and respect.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/gethax.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at washingtontimes.com/live-chats.

	TELEVISION									
11/1/24	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• NBCNe...	• News4...	• Happy'	• Lopez vs	• Dateline NBC				• News	
4.2 WRC (IND)	Roseanne	Roseanne	King	King	King	King	Frasier	Frasier		
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	• Pregame (Live)		• MLB New York Yankees at Los Angeles Dodgers (Live)						• PostGa..	
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• Wheel	• Jeopardy!	• Shark Tank		• 20/20				• News	
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	• InsideEd.	• ET	• S.W.A.T.		• Fire Country		• Blue Bloods		• 9 News	
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	• Rosa		• Fugitivas		• Juana		• El precio		• Noticias	
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• FamFeud	• FamFeud	• Fox 5 News		• TrueCri..	• Crime	• FamFeud	• FamFeud	• Chi. Fire	
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	• State	• Artworks	• Luther		• Great Performances				• Week	
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• PBS News Hour		• Week	• Rubens..		• Great Performances	• Anthems		• Amanp..	
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	• N'DIGO	• Arts Talk	• The Misadventures		• Dance Party		• The Electric Indian		• BBCNe..	
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• BobHeart	• BobHeart	• Whose	• Whose	• Joan		• DC News Now		• Neighbor	
66.1 WPXW (ION)	• Magnum		• Magnum	P.I.		• Magnum P.I.		• Magnum		
A&E	The First 48	The First 48	The First 48		The First 48		The First 48		First48	
AMC	Movie: Beetlejuice	★★★ (1988) Two ghosts try to scare away their home's new tenants.			Movie: The Lost Boys	★★★ (1987)			Movie: Silver B...	
Animal Planet	Tanked		Tanked		Tanked		Tanked		Tanked	
BET	Martin	Martin	Martin	Martin		Movie: The Equalizer	★★ (2014)			
Bravo		Movie: The Fate of the Furious	★★ (2017) A mysterious woman forces Dom to betray the crew.				Movie: The Fate of the Furious	★★ (2017)		
Cartoon Network	King/Hill	King/Hill	Burgers	Burgers	Burgers	American	American	American	American	
CNN	E. B. OutFront (Live)		Cooper 360 (Live)		The Source (Live)		CNN (Live)		Laura	
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Office	Office	Office	Office	
Discovery	Gold Rush		Gold Rush				(:15) Backyard Gold		(:15) Gold	
Disney	(6:20) Movie: Brave (2...		Place	Place	Primos	Primos	Primos	ZOMBIES	ZOMBIES	
E!	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Office	Office	Office	Office	
ESPN	Courtside (Live) /(:15) Cleveland Cavaliers (Live)		NBA Basketball Orlando Magic at Cleveland Cavaliers (Live)			(:35) NBA Basketball Denver Nuggets at Minnesota Timberwolves (Live)				
ESPN2	Countd-own (Live)		College Football South Florida at Florida Atlantic (Live)						SportsCenter (Live)	
Food Network	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	Diners	
Fox News	The Ingraham Angle		Jesse Watters (Live)		Hannity (Live)		Gutfeld!		Fox News	
Freeform	(6:25) Movie: Finding Dory	★★★	Movie: Coco	★★★ (2017) A boy embarks on a journey to discover his family's history.					The 700 Club	
FX	(6:00) Movie: The Waterboy	★ (1998)	Movie: Super Troopers	★★ (2001) Budget cuts threaten the jobs of five state troopers.		Movie: Super Troopers	2 ★★ (2018)			
Hallmark	(6:00) Movie: Christmas in Notting Hill (2023)		Movie: A Carol for Two (2024) (P)			Movie: The Christmas Charade (2024)				
Hallmark M&M	(6:00) Movie: A Veteran's Christmas ...		Movie: Christmas at Grand Valley (2018)			Movie: A Dream of Christmas (2016)				
HBO	(6:15) Movie: Dune: Part Two	★★★ (2024)	(:05) The Penguin		Real Time With Bill Maher (Live)		It'			
HGTV	DreamHo...	DreamHo...	DreamHo...	DreamHo...	Dream Home	DreamH...	DreamH...	DreamH...		
History	The UnXplained		The UnXplained		The UnXplained	(:05) Proof-There	UnXplain...			
Lifetime	Castle		Castle		Castle	(:05) Castle		(:05) Castle		
MASN	Baseball				24Perfect	Sports	Pulse/P...	Pro Football Plus		
Monumental	Tony Skinn	Beyond the	Caps	Hometown	NHL Hockey			Sweeter		
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)		All In With (Live)		Wagner (Live)		Last Word (Live)		11th Hour	
MTV	Catfish: The TV Show		Movie: We're the Millers	★★★ (2013)		Movie: Other Guys (2...				
Nat'l Geographic	Explorer		Explorer: Lost		Movie: Endurance (2024)					
Nickelodeon	Movie: Boss Baby 2	Family Business (2021)	Movie	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends		
News	On Balance (Live)		Cuomo (Live)		Dan Abrams (Live)		Bankfield (Live)		Cuomo	
Paramount	Two and a Half Men	Two and a Half Men	Movie: Twister	★★★ (1996) Storm chasers race to test a new tornado-monitoring device.		(:35) Movie: Top Gun	★★★ (1986)			
Paramount+Sho	(6:00) Movie: Looper	★★★ (2012) (P)	Movie: Goodfellas	★★★★ (1990) Henry Hill rises through the ranks of a crime branch. (P)		Movie: Last Man Standing (1996) (P)				
Syfy	(5:30) Movie: D...	Movie: Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them	★★★ (2016) Magizoologist Newt Scamander tracks down magical creatures.		Movie: Fantastic Beasts: Crimes of Gr...					
TBS	Big Bang	Big Bang	Movie: Django Unchained	★★★ (2012)						
TCM	(6:00) Movie: Of Human Bondage (1946)		Movie: Being There	★★★ (1979) A childlike man is mistaken for a brilliant philosopher.		Movie: The Candidate (1972)				
TLC	90 Day Fiancé		90 Day Fiancé: Before the 90 Days		90 Day	1000-lb Sisters				
TNT	(:15) Movie: Thor: Ragnarok	★★★ (2017) Thor must battle the mighty Hulk and the all-powerful Hela.			All Elite Wrestling: Rampage	Movie: Aquama...				
Travel	The Dead Files		The Dead Files		The Dead Files		Spooked Ireland	Dead Files		
TruTV	Movie: Coach Carter	★★★ (2005) (P)			TNT Sports Specials	Movie				
TV Land	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	(:20) Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King			
TV One	CosbySh...	CosbySh...	CosbySh...	CosbySh...	CosbySh...	CosbySh...	CosbySh...			
USA Network	(4:00) Horse Racing		WWE Friday Night SmackDown (Live)		Scare	Hysteria!				
VH1	Movie: Rush Hour 2	★★ (2001)	Movie: Rush Hour 3	★ (2007)		T.I.-Tiny				
WNC8	Best Mattress Topper		7News at...	Paid Prog.	SportsTalk	WorldNe...	WJLAn...	Pain	National	
	LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs ♦ High Definition									
	Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated									

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

	1					9		
3				9			6	
	2			7				8
1			3	5				
4			7		1			5
				4	6			2
6				3			8	
	3		2					1
		8				4		

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★

SCRABBLE G R A M S

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A1E1N1H1P1S1R1

Double Word Score

RACK 1

A1A1E1Y1L1D1R1

RACK 2

E1E1O1W1P1N1H1

RACK 3

E1O1U1D1W1B1N1

3rd Letter Triple

RACK 4

PAR SCORE 155-165
BEST SCORE 218

FOUR RACK TOTAL
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

DIRECTIONS: Make a 2- to 7-letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. Finally, 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. "Games" used as any letter have no point value. All the words are in the Official SCRABBLE® Players' Dictionary, 5th Edition. SOLUTION TOMORROW

For more information on tournaments and clubs, email NASPA - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scrgram@gmail.com

11-01

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

9	5	8	2	3	1	7	4	6
2	7	4	8	9	6	5	1	3
3	1	6	4	7	5	2	9	8
8	4	2	6	1	3	9	5	7
7	9	1	5	8	2	3	6	4
6	3	5	9	4	7	8	2	1
5	8	9	7	6	4	1	3	2
1	6	7	3	2	9	4	8	5
4	2	3	1	5	8	6	7	9

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

T	O	P	I	A	R	Y
C	H	I	E	F	L	Y
U	N	C	A	K	E	D
P	O	P	G	U	N	

PAR SCORE 155-165
TOTAL 229

BIRTHDAY | NOVEMBER 1:

You have a unique and memorable style. You are strong, independent, witty and magnetic. This is a slower-paced year. Take time to rejuvenate your energy and your outlook. Seek out people who are kind and helpful to you. Focus on relationships that have your back.

Moon Alert: There are no restrictions to shopping or important decisions today. The Moon is in Scorpio.

ARIES
(MARCH 21-APRIL 19).
This is an excellent day to deal with debt, taxes, insurance matters, shared property and inheritances. This is because you have a realistic and cautious take on things today, especially with a view to reducing your debt. You want to improve things!

TAURUS
(APRIL 20-MAY 20).
This is the perfect day for a serious talk with a partner or close friend. You want to get down to brass tacks about something. Perhaps you need to discuss the division of labor or how expenses are shared. Someone older or more experienced might have advice for you. (Be open.)

GEMINI
(MAY 21-JUNE 20).
You can accomplish a lot at work today, because whatever you do, you will do with thoroughness and care. You'll pay attention to detail, which means you won't have to repeat your work. Oh yes, you'll be like the wise carpenter: "Measure twice, cut once."

CANCER
(JUNE 21-JULY 22).
Children might be an increased

HOROSCOPE

responsibility today. Or you might have serious discussions about the care of children and how to meet the cost of their education, food and clothing. This is also a productive day for discussions about the entertainment world and the hospitality industry.

LEO
(JULY 23-AUG. 22).
Discussions with family members will be productive today, especially if they deal with how to secure your home in the future in a way that gives you confidence. You also might discuss the care of an older family member. Alternatively, an older family member might have excellent suggestions.

VIRGO
(AUG. 23-SEPT. 22).
Today you're in a serious frame of mind and you have a more realistic view of things, which is why you might want to learn a new skill or discuss practical matters with someone, especially someone older. It's Friday, but for you, this is not a frivolous time.

LIBRA
(SEPT. 23-OCT. 22).
This is the perfect day to draw up a budget or think about how you can handle your money in a more sensible fashion. It's easy to get into debt, as you might know. The problem is it's harder to get out of it! Think of some ways, perhaps small baby steps, that will help you improve your finances.

SCORPIO
(OCT. 23-NOV. 21).
By nature you're a private person. However, today especially, you won't want to talk about your feelings to just anyone. But you might seek out someone older or more experienced to ask for their advice or assistance.

SAGITTARIUS

(NOV. 22-DEC. 21).
This is an ideal day to go off by yourself and ponder some important, probably practical ideas. It's the end of the week, and you might want to socialize. Nevertheless, you also need some time to explore a realistic approach related to children, vacations or social outings.

CAPRICORN
(DEC. 22-JAN. 19).
You might be thinking about your future goals today. If so, you're looking at things from a practical point of view. This is an excellent day to ask for the advice of someone else, especially someone older. Why not stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before you? You don't have to reinvent the wheel.

AQUARIUS
(JAN. 20-FEB. 18).
Discussions with parents, bosses and authority figures will go well today. They see you as responsible, reliable and conscientious. Furthermore, Mars is giving you energy to work hard now, which makes you really shine!

PISCES
(FEB. 19-MARCH 20).
You'll find it easy to study today because your mind is focused and you can pay attention to detail. Therefore, use this ability to persevere and tackle anything you want to learn. Discussions about publishing, legal matters and medicine will go well.

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Renee Thomason & Katie Hale

ACROSS

1 State that's easy to draw

5 South American bean

10 Loyalty program level

14 Post-WWII alliance

15 Celebrity gossip source since 1991

16 Princess athlete in the 1976 Summer Olympics

17 Air quality factor

18 "Pop-up shop on the edge of the road?"

20 Device called a "cashpoint" in the U.K.

21 Matching

22 Stellar

23 "Underground market for home goods?"

26 Court tie

27 Host

28 Forensic profiling material

30 Solstice mo.

31 Corp. head

33 Ripe old

34 " _ we forget"

35 "Butcher's knife that's very hard to handle?"

38 Chop garlic, say

40 Address bar character

41 Car wheel part

42 Coxswain's lack

43 Pressure meas.

44 Justice

45 Sotomayor

48 Feudal lord

50 "Snuck up on a chicken coop to collect breakfast?"

54 Bringing up the rear

56 Hindu honorifics

57 Truly regret

58 Give clear directions, or how to make the starred clues match their answers?

60 _ Williams bourbon

61 Ale holder

62 Thrill to bits

21 Heifer's brother

24 Summary

25 Polygon part

29 Not far

32 Probability calculations

33 Key not found on a Mac

34 Finger bowl slice

35 "Let's check the map"

36 Spiral

37 Exchange program papers

38 Future Hill worker's maj., maybe

39 Slicker accompaniment

43 Wasp, for one

45 Jitters

46 Tropical lizard

47 Meeting list

49 Nervously clumsy

51 Egyptian market city

52 Furious

53 Person eager to tackle home improvement projects, briefly

55 Those folks

59 New Haven student

60 Petting zoo bird

BRIDGE

“Do German cats have an unlimited number of lives? Nein!” — graffiti.

When today's East overcalled eins spade, South offered a negative double, showing hearts but the wrong type of hand to bid zwei hearts. (He also suggested diamond tolerance or clubs.) When North bid zwei clubs next, South bid game at no Trump.

West led a spade, and South won, cashed the A-K of diamonds and led another diamond. West won and led another spade. Declarer took his ace but had only acht tricks: zwei clubs, vier diamonds and zwei spades. Eventually, East got in with his ace of hearts and defeated 3NT with good spades.

South's play was doomed to go kaput. After South wins the first spade, he should lead a diamond to dummy and return the deuce of hearts through East, who bid. If East plays low, South wins and attacks the diamonds for nein tricks.

BRIDGE

If instead East grabs his ace of hearts to continue spades, South still succeeds. He has drei hearts and zwei tricks in every other suit.

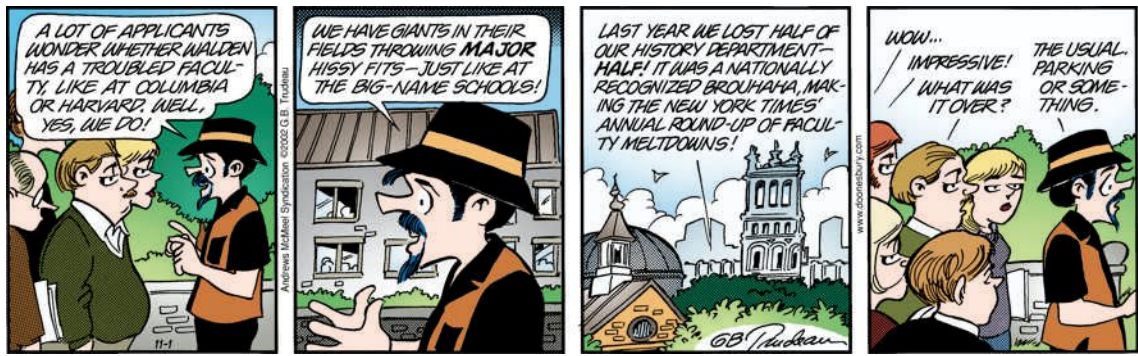
DAILY QUESTION
You hold:
♦ 5 4 ♥ K 2
♠ A K 7 6 3 ♣ A 8 6 4
Your partner opens one heart, you bid two diamonds, he rebids two hearts and you try three clubs. Partner then bids four hearts. What do you say?
ANSWER: Since partner rebid only two hearts, he doesn't have much extra high-card strength. Still, his four hearts suggests a sound hand. Bid five hearts, asking him to go to slam with a “control” in spades, the unbid suit. He may hold A 9, A Q J 10 7 6 3, Q 2, 5 2.

THURSDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION

T	E	C	H	I	E		A	H	O	Y		A	D	A
A	T	H	E	N	A		L	O	P	E		N	E	T
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L	E	O	N	A		E	A	R	N		A	R	I	A
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CLASSIC DOONESBURY

GARRY TRUDEAU



PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE



RED AND ROVER

BRIAN BASSET



AGNES

TONY COCHRAN



FRANK AND ERNEST

TOM THAVES



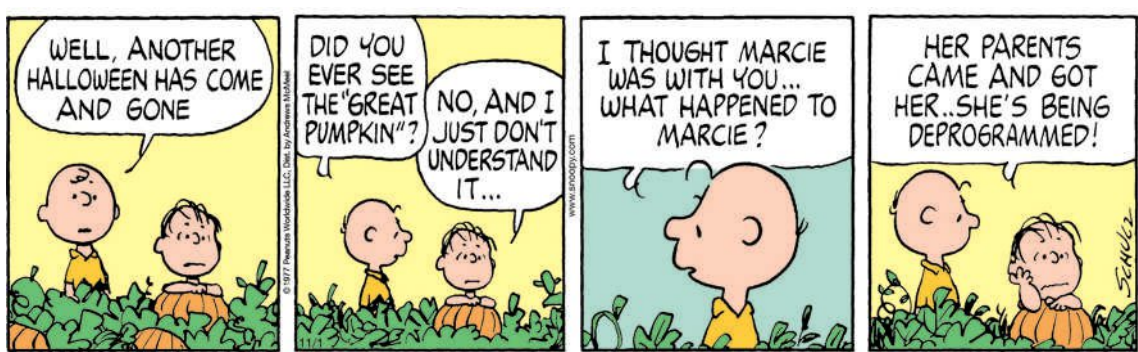
WUMO

MIKAEL WULFF & ANDERS MORGENTHAUER



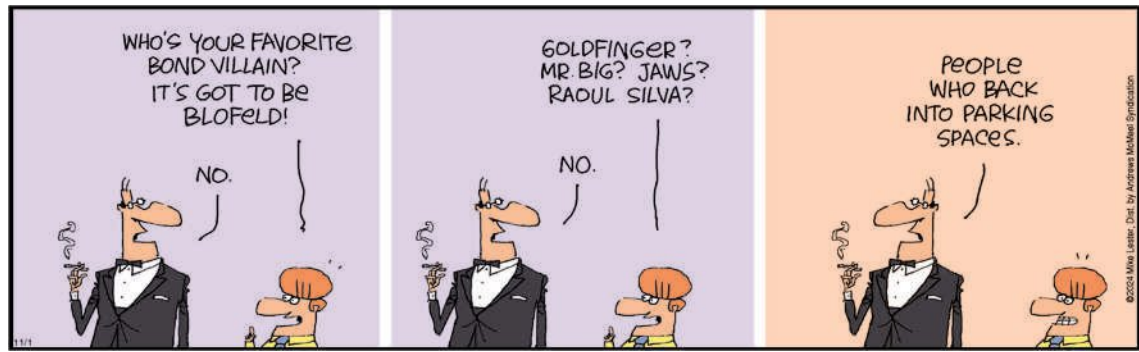
CLASSIC PEANUTS

CHARLES SCHULZ



MIKE DU JOUR

MIKE LESTER



RHYMES WITH ORANGE

HILARY PRICE



MARK TRAIL

JULES RIVERA



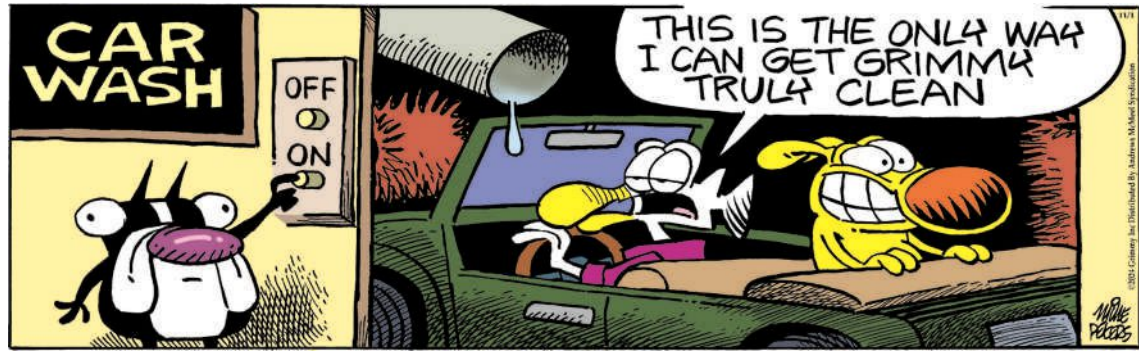
LIO

MARK TATULLI



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM

MIKE PETERS



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

CHRIS BROWNE



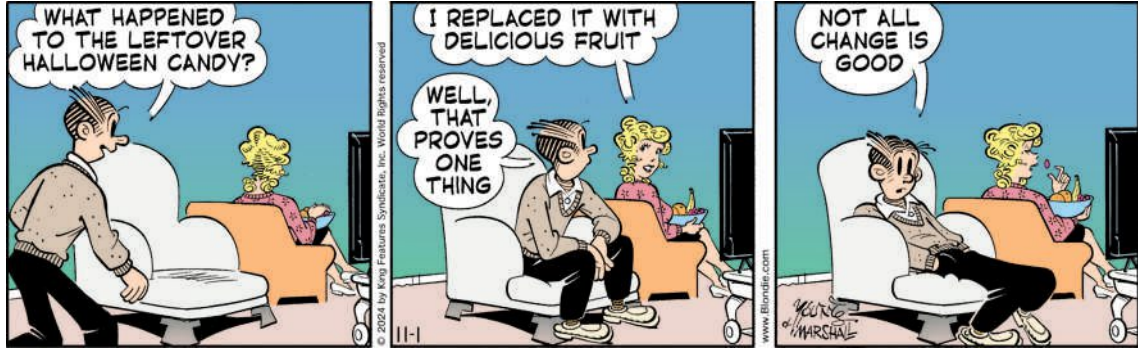
BALDO

HECTOR CANTU & CARLOS CASTELLANOS



BLONDIE

DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL



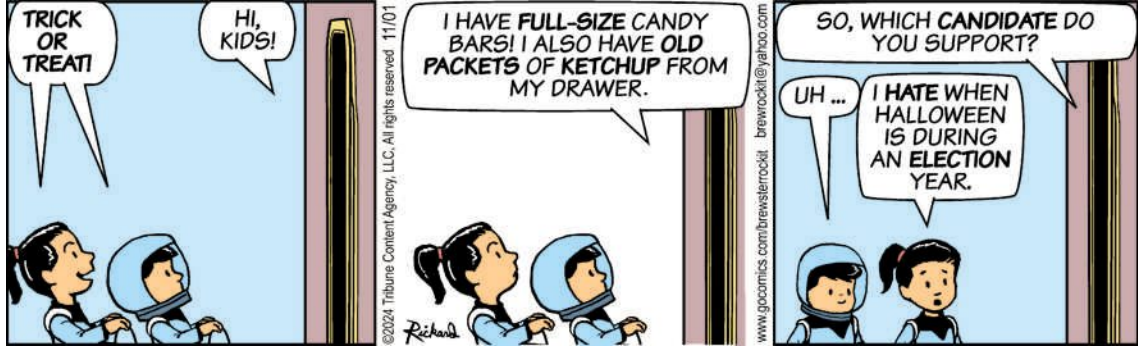
SALLY FORTH

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!

TIM RICKARD



SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOOMEY



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



CURTIS

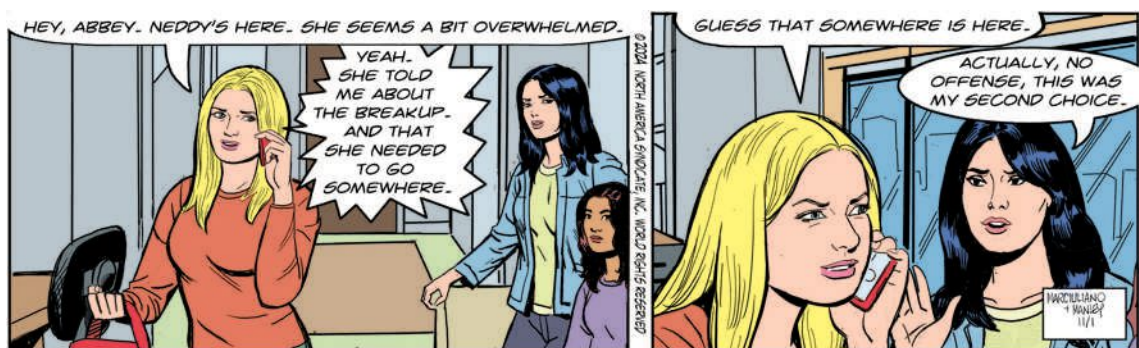
RAY BILLINGSLEY



JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



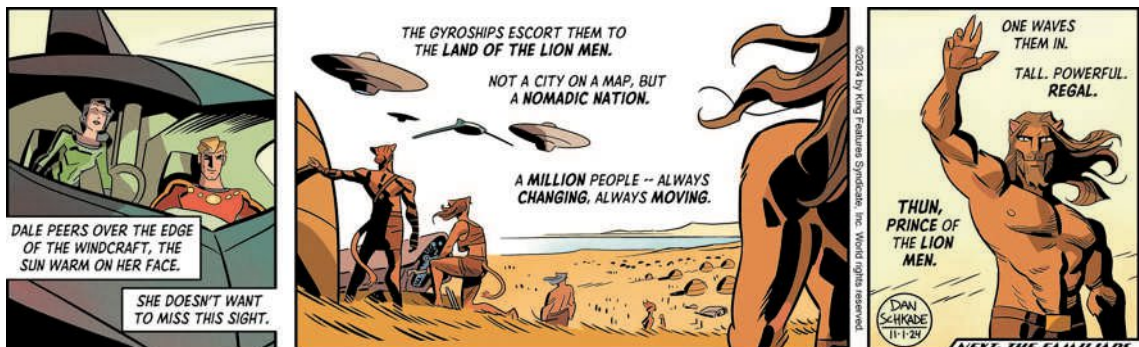
DARRIN BELL



WEINGARTENS & CLARK



DAN SCHKADE



DAVE BLAZEK



RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



H. KETCHAM



DONNA A. LEWIS



Commanders flip their script and savor view from the top



Candace Buckner

After the Sunday night miracle and then the madness that followed, safety Jeremy Reaves remained in the stadium for an hour. Still in his pants and pads, fully clothed but letting the team's game-winning Hail Mary wash over him.

"Just trying to process what really just happened. Again, for a long time here, that play has never went in our favor," said Reaves, who has been wearing the burgundy and gold for seven years and at last gets to enjoy nice things. "You have something go in your favor now. Now, it's

like, okay this is different. This is very different. The teams that have those moments are teams that tend to keep building on those moments. It was a moment that I took it all in."

Reaves wasn't simply soaking up that one play, but the new reality. The one in which his Washington Commanders are allowed to lead highlight shows for — get this — *football*-related storylines. What goes unreported about this team is just as important, because these Commanders ooze maturity, something even evident in rookie quarterback Jayden Daniels, who you could not imagine admitting on camera

SEE BUCKNER ON D3

As trade deadline looms, the ball is in Peters's court



THOMAS SIMONETTI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

With the Commanders sitting atop the NFC East, GM Adam Peters must decide whether to be a buyer before Tuesday's trade deadline.

BY NICKI JHABVALA

For the first time in years, the postseason is not only a possibility for the Washington Commanders, but an expectation. The Commanders (6-2) still preach a long-term outlook, but they hardly appear to be a long-term project. They're winning now — and they sit atop the NFC East — which could make their approach to Tuesday's 4 p.m. NFL trade deadline different from recent years.

No longer are the Commanders among the teams on a downward slide to Week 18 pondering a yard sale to collect draft picks. This team instead could become a buyer, adding personnel to build upon first-half success.

But there's still a tough balance General Manager Adam Peters

must weigh.

"It's something you're always trying to do constantly," Peters said ahead of training camp earlier this year. "... We're always ready to help win right now while having all of us really keep one eye on the future and make sure we're able to sustain success for a long time."

Finding ways to help the Commanders contend now doesn't necessarily mean Peters will make moves at the deadline — either to acquire outside talent or send away another of Washington's own players; the team traded quarterback Sam Howell to the Seattle Seahawks in March, then

SEE COMMANDERS ON D3

Commanders at Giants
Sunday, 1 p.m., Fox

For the Yanks, a nightmarish fifth to haunt their offseason



Barry Svrluga

NEW YORK — Get out the scalpel and the forceps. Let's dissect the inning that cost the New York Yankees — the proud, 27-time World Series champion New York Yankees — a chance to extend the 120th World Series. It already reeks of formaldehyde, though no one in the Bronx wants it preserved. Look away, Yankee fans. Except swiveling your heads Wednesday night might take the gaze to the infield at Yankee Stadium, where the Los Angeles Dodgers piled upon themselves.

"This is, like ... as bad as it gets," ace right-hander Gerrit Cole said, haltingly, still stunned hours later. "It's the worst feeling you can have."

The view from altitude of Game 5 was this: Cole entered the top of the fifth inning having allowed the Dodgers no hits, needing just 49 pitches to record the first 12 outs. He held a 5-0 lead. He was dominant, and the Yankees looked poised to become the first team to force a sixth game after trailing a World Series 3-0. Make the Dodgers fly back across the country wondering whether they would be champions or chokers — well, anything was possible.

Instead, in the fifth, the Yankees got out a gift box, reached for some wrapping paper and found a very pretty bow. One source said they accompanied their present with a lovely bouquet of flowers — Dodger blue-and-white hydrangeas, the source said. Waiting on confirmation.

"Wild inning," Cole said. "They made it tough on us."

Come on, Gerrit. That's only partially true. You made it tough on yourselves.

"We didn't take care of the ball well enough in that inning," Yankees Manager Aaron Boone said. "Against a great team like that, they took advantage."

To be clear, the Dodgers won the World Series because the Dodgers were the better team. Their lineup was deeper and more consistent. Their bullpen was elastic and electric. And their defense was nearly flawless.

But because of the way this unfolded, the Yankees can't be left merely tipping their cap to a superior opponent and saying, "See ya next spring." This ate at them as Wednesday night turned into Thursday morning, over the course of a clubhouse meeting that extended some 45 minutes after the final out. They shared

SEE SVRLUGA ON D2



GEOFF BURKE/USA TODAY SPORTS/REUTERS CORN

Capitals defenseman Martin Fehervary (42) contests Canadiens left wing Emil Heineman's shot in Washington's 6-3 win on Thursday, its fifth straight home victory.

Home and cooking

BY BAILEY JOHNSON

Between the second and third periods of Thursday's game at Capital One Arena, the Washington Capitals looked at each other in the dressing room and established marching orders for themselves: They had to be better, and they were going to find a way to win the game.

They did just that, with three unanswered goals in the final frame to beat the Montreal Canadiens, 6-3, and extend their home winning streak to five games. Goal-tender Charlie Lindgren made 13 saves on 16 shots for the Capitals. Cayden Primeau stopped 28 of 34 shots for Montreal.

"In a highly competitive environment, these guys want to win," Washington Coach Spencer Carbery said. "They look at

CAPITALS 6, CANADIENS 3

Sizzling 7-2 start continues with fifth straight home win

each other and go, 'Oh yes, this is how we've got to do it. Cut the crap, let's go.' And that's exactly what you saw was our character in our group come through in that third period. We weren't just going to let the game slip away."

A low-event first period, with no goals and only 13 combined shots, quickly gave way to fireworks in the middle frame.

Washington's power play ended an 0-

for-22 drought dating back to Oct. 17 with a tally from winger Tom Wilson just 3:21 into the second period. Wilson, who is one of the players the Capitals have tried out in the bumper position between the circles in the absence of T.J. Oshie, got a tip on a shot from captain Alex Ovechkin in the left circle to put Washington into the lead.

Immediately after Wilson's goal, the Capitals' fourth line put in an aggressive shift in the offensive zone but couldn't get one of their scoring chances through Primeau. Winger Aliaksei Protas scored shorthanded with center Dylan Strome boxed for hooking a few minutes later, but the goal was overturned — Protas was offside on the zone entry — after a successful challenge by Montreal.

SEE CAPITALS ON D4

Blue Jackets at Capitals | Saturday, 5 p.m., Monumental Sports Network

BASEBALL

World Series MVP Freddie Freeman was playing with not one but two injuries. **D2**

WOMEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL

Maryland, with 10 new players, will be something of a "good mystery." **D4**

HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL

In Maryland, every public school is a playoff team, for better or worse. **D5**

BY GENE WANG

Over the summer, Maryland football coach Michael Locksley was participating in a Big Ten initiative in Alabama highlighting the civil rights movement when he recalled pausing to process the historical significance of his surroundings. He, along with other attendees, including Terrapins backup quarterback Champ Long, had

walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, the site of the Bloody Sunday march of 1965, and couldn't help but feel overwhelmed.

The visit to the site of an inflection point for voting rights among Black people in the Jim Crow South compelled Locksley, upon returning to College Park, to share with his players that he had neglected to cast a ballot on election day for many cycles. The

aim of Locksley's message was to ensure the young men under his watch were educated on the importance of voting, regardless of their party affiliation, during this election season that culminates Tuesday.

"To hear the fact that in the 1960s people were still dying for the right to vote, that just blew my mind a little bit," Locksley said. "This generation is a lot more advanced than maybe I was

to understand the power that we have in politics. Growing up in an environment where voting wasn't talked about a lot, to me it's just a civic duty. As a head coach and as a guy that's molding our future generations, I think it's important that they understand voting is a right."

Locksley and his staff have continued to reinforce the merits of voting as part of the regular discourse at the football facility,

educating players about the sacrifices that led to the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965 that prohibited racial discrimination in voting.

They are also providing visual tools via wall-mounted screens to assist players in researching this round of presidential candi-

SEE MARYLAND ON D4

Maryland at Oregon

Nov. 9, 7 p.m., Big Ten Network

THE DAY IN SPORTS

PRO BASKETBALL

Magic’s Banchemo out with torn right oblique

Orlando Magic star **Paolo Banchemo** has a torn right oblique, the team said Thursday night after he had further testing in Cleveland.

Jeff Weltman, Orlando’s president of basketball operations, said Banchemo will be out indefinitely and reevaluated in four to six weeks.

Banchemo was injured Wednesday night in the fourth quarter of Orlando’s victory at Chicago. He scored a career-high 50 points against Indiana on Monday night.

BASEBALL

Costas, longtime voice of the sport, to retire

After 42 seasons, **Bob Costas** is retiring from baseball play-by-play.

Costas had done games the past couple of seasons for MLB Network and TBS. His final games were the American League Division Series between the New York Yankees and Kansas City Royals. Costas’s contract with TBS expired at the end of the season. He plans to address his decision at a future date.

Baseball has always been Costas’s favorite sport. He called games on NBC from 1982 to 1989 and again from 1994 to 2000. He was one of the announcers for the 1995 World Series and then the main play-by-play voice for the Fall Classic in 1997 and 1999.

He will continue to do some work for the MLB Network on key events, including the Hall of Fame announcement. In 2018, Costas received the Ford C. Frick Award for broadcast excellence from the Baseball Hall of Fame. ...

The World Series between the Los Angeles Dodgers and Yankees averaged 18.5 million viewers for each of the five games, Fox Sports announced.

The series registered the highest ratings since 2017, when the Dodgers lost to the Houston Astros in seven games. The 2023 championship between the Texas Rangers and Arizona Diamondbacks drew 9.1 million viewers per game on average. ...

The Milwaukee Brewers announced that pitcher **Wade Miley**’s \$12 million mutual option for 2025 was declined, making the veteran left-hander a free agent.

Miley, 37, made just two starts this year before undergoing Tommy John surgery. ...

The Atlanta Braves traded **Jorge Soler** to the Los Angeles Angels for right-hander **Griffin Canning**.

Soler did not have a clear role with the Braves. He is an outfielder by position, but at this point is a designated hitter with defensive limitations. ...

The Baltimore Orioles acquired outfielder **Daz Cameron** from the Athletics for cash. Cameron hit .200 in 66 games with the A’s last season.

The Orioles also announced that outfielder **Daniel Johnson** and right-hander **Burch Smith** elected free agency instead of accepting outright assignments to Class AAA Norfolk.

Also, Athletics owner **John Fisher** and his family will invest \$1 billion into the construction of a stadium in Las Vegas, and U.S. Bank and Goldman Sachs will offer a \$300 million loan, club executive **Sandy Dean** said.

SPOTLIGHT: WORLD SERIES



ASHLEY LANDIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Freddie Freeman lifted the Dodgers to the title on a sprained ankle and with a previously undisclosed intercostal injury.

MVP Freeman played with unreported injury

BY CHELSEA JANES

NEW YORK — Newly minted World Series most valuable player Freddie Freeman laughed at the question, though not because its subject was absurd. Did Freeman, who hobbled his way into history with a miraculous postseason played on the most famous sprained ankle in baseball, also play through an injury to his side?

“I’m not going to answer that,” the Los Angeles Dodgers first baseman said with a smile as he dried off before the news conference his World Series heroics earned him. But his manager, Dave Roberts, later confirmed Freeman was also dealing with a previously unreported intercostal injury that lingered into the National League Championship Series. None of it matters anymore. On Wednesday night, Freeman lifted both the MVP and World Series trophies just fine.

“To come through in those situations, that’s what you dream about as a kid, doing that in the World Series,” Freeman said.

Freeman earned World Series MVP honors after becoming the first player to homer in each of the first four games of a Fall Classic. The 35-year-old tied a 64-year-old record for the most RBI in a single World Series with 12, the last two coming on an RBI single that turned a promising rally into a five-run comeback in Game 5. He finished the series 6 for 20 with four homers, the first of which launched him into legend in Game 1.

“He hurt us big time, without question,” New York Yankees Manager Aaron Boone said. “Kind of hobbled into this series. We weren’t sure what we were going to see. From the jump, obviously, he was Freddie Freeman at the plate.”

But being Freddie Freeman in 2024 was more complicated, and not just because of injury. One of his three sons,

3-year-old Maximus, spent eight days in the intensive care unit this summer after being diagnosed with Guillain-Barré syndrome, a neurological disorder. Freeman left the team for several days in July and early August to be with him.

“Ultimately, Maximus is doing really, really well right now. He’s a special boy, but it has been a grind for three months. It really has. It’s been a lot,” Freeman said. “Then, obviously, with the injuries at the end, it makes it all worth it kind of in the end. I’ll never compare Maximus to baseball. I won’t. It’s just two separate things, but with him doing really well now, it does mean a little bit extra.”

Freeman is now a two-time World Series champion. He has a regular season and World Series MVP to his name. If there are boxes left unchecked on his baseball to-do list, there cannot be a lot. And he now has all offseason to recover from a bruising final month with an ending worthy of the pain.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

NBA		
7:15 p.m.	Orlando at Cleveland	» ESPN
9:30 p.m.	Denver at Minnesota	» ESPN
NHL		
2 p.m.	Florida vs. Dallas	» NHL Network
COLLEGE FOOTBALL		
7 p.m.	Yale at Columbia	» ESPN
7 p.m.	Georgia State at Connecticut	» CBS Sports Network
7:30 p.m.	South Florida at Florida Atlantic	» ESPN2
8 p.m.	San Diego State at Boise State	» Fox Sports 1
AUTO RACING		
10:30 a.m.	Formula One: São Paulo Grand Prix, first sprint practice	» ESPN
1:30 p.m.	NASCAR Truck Series: Zip Buy Now, Pay Later 200, qualifying	» Fox Sports 2
2:30 p.m.	Formula One: São Paulo Grand Prix, sprint qualifying	» ESPN
6 p.m.	NASCAR Truck Series: Zip Buy Now, Pay Later 200	» Fox Sports 1
GOLF		
5 a.m.	Asian Tour: Indonesian Masters, second round	» Golf Channel
7 a.m.	DP World Tour: Challenge Tour Grand Final, second round	» Golf Channel
11:30 p.m.	LPGA Tour: Japan Classic, third round	» Golf Channel
2:30 a.m.	Asian Tour: Indonesian Masters, third round	» Golf Channel
SOCCER		
1:45 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Angers at Monaco	» BeIN Sports

4 p.m.	English League Championship: West Brom at Luton Town
	» CBS Sports Network
4 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Lyon at Lille
	» BeIN Sports
TENNIS	
5 a.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, quarterfinals; WTA: Hong Kong Open, quarterfinals
	» Tennis Channel
2 p.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, quarterfinals; WTA: Hong Kong Open, semifinals
	» Tennis Channel
2 a.m.	WTA: Hong Kong Open, semifinals
	(Saturday)
HORSE RACING	
4 p.m.	Breeders’ Cup, Day 1
	» USA Network
COLLEGE CROSS-COUNTRY	
9:30 a.m.	ACC championship
	» ACC Network
10 a.m.	SEC championship
	» SEC Network
11:30 a.m.	Big Ten championship
	» Big Ten Network
COLLEGE FIELD HOCKEY	
4 p.m.	Ohio State at Northwestern
	» Big Ten Network
6 p.m.	North Carolina at Duke
	» ACC Network
MEN’S COLLEGE SOCCER	
7:30 p.m.	Boston College at North Carolina
	» ACC Network
WOMEN’S COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL	
6:30 p.m.	Purdue at Maryland
	» Big Ten Network
9 p.m.	Missouri at Texas
	» SEC Network
9 p.m.	Nebraska at Wisconsin
	» Big Ten Network

BARRY SVRLUGA

The Yankees had the Dodgers on the ropes. Then things went ‘as bad as it gets.’

SVRLUGA FROM D1

words about the season they just experienced. They now share an experience that is nothing short of haunting.

“Obviously, it stings now,” Boone said. “But this is going to sting forever.”

Scalpels ready? Lab coats on? Let the dissection begin.

The fifth opened with the first hit off Cole, a single to right from postseason stud Kiké Hernández. No problem. It’s still 5-0. Cole still had his Grade A stuff.

“Really brilliant,” Boone said of his \$324 million right-hander. “... I thought he was in complete command of his emotions, or just of his nerves and the calm he had out there, which showed up right away in his command of all his pitches.”

The fifth inning tested that calm, if it didn’t outright fray it. The next hitter was National League Championship Series MVP Tommy Edman, who hit a harmless, soft liner to center, where Aaron Judge awaited. Judge, the presumed American

League MVP, had already shaken off a postseason skid with a two-run homer in the first to help the Yankees build that lead. In the fourth, when he made a beautiful running catch at the wall to take away extra bases from the indefatigable Freddie Freeman, the buoyant crowd of 49,263 chanted, “MVP! MVP!” Yankee Stadium filled with possibility.

And then Judge inexplicably dropped Edman’s ball.

Did it knuckle? Was he blinded by the lights?

“I just didn’t make the play,” Judge said.

So with runners at first and second, here came Dodgers catcher Will Smith. He bounced a ball to shortstop. Anthony Volpe, the local kid who was the grand slam-hitting Game 4 hero, made an aggressive play to try to get Hernández with a force at third. The ball skipped — “a little bit of a short-hop,” Boone said — and third baseman Jazz Chisholm Jr. couldn’t pick it. Safe all around. Another error. Bases loaded.

If the 5-0 lead had built a solid foundation for a trip back to Los

Angeles, the cracks were now showing. To his enormous credit, Cole stood tall.

“As a player, if there’s a mistake on the field, you try to look at it as an opportunity to pick somebody else up,” he said.

“You’re never really going to play perfect baseball all year. You’re going to have to overcome mistakes. And certainly, everybody makes mistakes.

“So if you buy into taking care of your teammates and trying to pick them up in those situations, you just always keep giving yourself a chance.”

Cole’s chance: blowing away Gavin Lux with a 99-mph fastball for the first out, then getting superstar Shohei Ohtani — clearly compromised by his Game 2 shoulder injury — to swing through a knuckle-curve for the second out.

Somehow, the Yankees still led, 5-0. Except a baseball truism hung over the entire affair.

“You can’t give a good team like that extra outs,” Judge said.

And yet here was the play to get out of it: Cole with a slider to

Mookie Betts, a right-handed hitter, who squibbed it toward first. By the quality and execution of the pitch, Cole deserved to be out of a wacky inning unscathed. Instead, the fissures in the foundation became wide-open crevasses.

“Those balls off righties ... are the hardest balls for us” said Anthony Rizzo, New York’s first baseman. There is spin involved. It is unpredictable.

Cole thought he might have Betts’s ball anyway.

“I took a direct angle to it to cut it off, because I just didn’t know how hard he hit it,” Cole said.

Yet by that point, the Yankees were rattled.

“Especially with what had transpired throughout the inning,” Rizzo said, “I kind of was going forward — and then it kicked one way, so I had to really make sure to catch it first. And looked up to flip and just ...”

No one was there. Cole pointed to Rizzo to run to first. Except Cole wasn’t *covering* first. He looked, frankly, like he was

headed to the dugout. He had done the hard part, getting Betts to hit a ball that should have been an out. He just didn’t do the easy part.

“I was not in position to cover first,” Cole said. “Neither of us were, based on the spin of the baseball and him having to secure it. Just a bad read off the bat.”

Hernández scored the first Dodgers run. The bases were still loaded. And Freeman — a terror all series, the indisputable MVP — came to the plate.

“You could just feel the excitement,” Freeman said.

Down in the count 1-2, Freeman fouled off a nasty change-up to stay alive. A lesser hitter would have flailed, and the Yankees would have led, 5-1.

Instead, Freeman lived for the next pitch, a fastball. He sent it to center, where it found the grass. Edman and Smith both rounded third. Both had reached on errors. Both scored.

“When you’re given extra outs and you capitalize in that kind of game,” Freeman said, “that’s

Construction of a \$1.5 billion, 33,000-seat stadium to serve as the team’s home after it relocates, is expected to begin in the spring with a targeted opening before the 2028 season.

The A’s have said they will play at least the next three seasons in Sacramento. ...

The St. Petersburg City Council voted to spend about \$6.5 million to clean up Tropicana Field and guard against further harm to the home of the Tampa Bay Rays that was heavily damaged by Hurricane Milton.

The ballpark’s translucent fiberglass dome was shredded by the storm Oct. 9, leaving in doubt whether it can be repaired in time to open the 2025 season. Major League Baseball wants the Rays to play home games in the area if the ballpark isn’t ready, probably at local spring training sites.

HOCKEY

No. 1 pick Celebrini nears return to Sharks

The San Jose Sharks announced rookie center **Macklin Celebrini**’s return to team activities, nearly three weeks after he was placed on injured reserve with a lower-body injury.

Celebrini, the No. 1 pick in the NHL draft in June, had made an impressive debut by recording a goal and an assist in an overtime loss to St. Louis. Two days later, the 18-year-old was out.

In a statement, the team said he has made positive progress over the past several weeks.

Coach **Ryan Warsofsky** said Celebrini is week-to-week.

MISC.

Sluka, ex-quarterback for UNLV, enters portal

Quarterback **Matthew Sluka**, who left UNLV three games into the season over a name, image and likeness dispute, entered the transfer portal, agent **Marcus Cromartie** said.

Sluka’s decision to leave the Rebels after leading them to a 3-0 record ignited a nationwide debate about what kind of precedent it could set. Sluka has one final year of eligibility. ...

Frenchman **Ugo Humbert**, the No. 15 seed, harnessed the energy of the home crowd and produced one of his best career performances in beating second-seeded **Carlos Alcaraz**, 6-1, 3-6, 7-5, to reach the quarterfinals of the Paris Masters.

Third-seeded **Alexander Zverev** won the serving battle and silenced the boisterous home crowd, beating French prospect **Arthur Fils**, 6-4, 3-6, 6-3, and eighth-seeded Bulgarian **Grigor Dimitrov** beat **Arthur Rinderknech**, 6-2, 4-6, 7-6 (7-5), to have an outside chance of reaching the season-ending ATP Finals. ...

Hana Wakimoto of Japan shot a bogey-free 9-under 63 to lead by two shots after the first round of the LPGA Tour’s Toto Classic in Shiga, Japan. ...

Former Tokyo Marathon runner-up **Tsahay Gemechu** was banned for four years because of suspected blood doping, the Athletics Integrity Unit said.

The 25-year-old Ethiopian also was disqualified from all her results and prize money earned since March 2020, including second place in the elite-level Tokyo race in March 2023.

— From news services

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

NFL NOTES

Mahomes sets sights on WNBA franchise

FROM NEWS SERVICES

Kansas City Chiefs quarterback Patrick Mahomes and the rest of the ownership group of the Kansas City Current, which plays in the National Women's Soccer League, have been meeting with WNBA officials about bringing an expansion franchise to the city.

Mahomes confirmed the talks Thursday, saying that it was a “no-brainer” to try to bring women's hoops to Kansas City.

“Obviously, we want to get basketball in Kansas City in general,” said Mahomes, who also has ownership stakes in the MLB Royals and MLS club Sporting Kansas City.

“You talk about the University of Kansas basketball, the Chiefs, whatever it is, the city is going to come out to the stadium. It's cool we were able to get the women's soccer team here and you see the support they have.”

The Current, which plays in a \$117 million purpose-built stadium near downtown Kansas City, Mo., has regularly sold out its home matches this season. It begins the NWSL playoffs as the No. 4 seed on Nov. 9 after losing just three times all season.

“I think more than anything, I know how much sports has given to me,” said Mahomes, whose unbeaten Chiefs host the Tampa Bay Buccaneers on Monday night. “Whenever I'm done with football — whenever that is — and I have to venture into life after football, and chase kids around, I want to still be a part of it. Hopefully, we can get this WNBA team here, for life after football, so I can make an impact in sports, and show my daughter that you can chase your dream, whatever dream that is.”

The WNBA is expanding by three teams over the next two seasons with Golden State, Portland and Toronto pushing the total number of franchises to 15. And while league commissioner Cathy Engelbert has said the WNBA would like to add a 16th team by the 2028 season, Kansas City is expected to have competition from St. Louis, Philadelphia and several other cities.

• **BRONCOS:** The rookie quarterback leading the 2024 draft class into November isn't Caleb Williams or Jayden Daniels, the top two selections in April whose epic showdown in Week 8 saw each lead touchdown drives in the final 25 seconds.

It's Denver quarterback Bo Nix who was named the AFC's offensive rookie of the month on Thursday, quite a rebound from his rough September.

Nix had a stellar October in which he led the Broncos (5-3) to three blowouts and their best start through eight games in eight years.

• **MISC.:** Two-time Super Bowl-winning coaches Tom Coughlin, Mike Shanahan and George Seifert are among the nine semifinalists in the coaching category for the 2025 Pro Football Hall of Fame class.

One other Super Bowl winner, Mike Holmgren, also made the cut after voting by the Hall's nine-member Blue Ribbon committee. The committee will meet Nov. 19 to pick one finalist to go before the Hall's full selection committee for consideration early next year.

— Associated Press

• **RAVENS:** Baltimore quarterback Lamar Jackson was not at practice for a second straight day, but he was in the Ravens' building.

Jackson was in the locker room after practice chatting with teammates and appeared in good spirits. He was not made available to speak with reporters, however.

On Wednesday, Coach John Harbaugh said that Jackson was given a rest day from that afternoon's practice. Later, though, he showed up on Baltimore's injury report with back and knee injuries.

Whether he's available to play Sunday at M&T Bank Stadium against the Broncos (5-3) remains to be seen, but his appearance is a good sign.

“It is what it is,” offensive coordinator Todd Monken said when asked about preparing for Denver without the two-time NFL most valuable player the past two days. “Like any other position, you go to work and guys still have to function around him. What the calls are, the calls are up front. There are still guys who've got to have a high level of execution no matter who's at what position.”

— Baltimore Sun

JETS 21, TEXANS 13

BY DENNIS WASZAK JR.

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J. — Garrett Wilson made a dazzling one-handed 26-yard go-ahead touchdown catch early in the fourth quarter and the New York Jets snapped a five-game losing streak by beating the Houston Texans, 21-13, on Thursday night.

Aaron Rodgers had three touchdown passes, including another earlier one-handed score by Wilson and a 37-yard throw to recently acquired Davante Adams, as the Jets (3-6) won for the first time in four games under interim head coach Jeff Ulbrich.

With the Jets trailing 10-7 and



SETH WENIG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Aaron Rodgers threw for 211 yards and three touchdowns Thursday as Jeff Ulbrich earned his first win as the Jets' interim head coach.

CANDACE BUCKNER

Commanders have suddenly graduated to the NFL's adult table

BUCKNER FROM D1

that he was too “tired” to finish a drive. These Commanders, unlike some division rivals, are neither ruled by an owner who might threaten to fire a radio host not on his payroll, nor coached by a leader of men who'd actually think that yelling at the team's own fans would be a great idea.

So, this is what it feels to sit at the grown folks' table. To not feel triggered by sports breaking news alerts, fearing what came out *this* time about your favorite football team in a congressional hearing. To look at the standings, where a record-tying nine teams have logged six losses already, and not read “Washington” on that list.

The headlines now center on sane football things, like wins and waivers. (For anyone still thirsty for drama, however, try tracking who will be the next first-round pick from the Ron Rivera regime voted off Ashburn island.)

The lone cloud of chaos over this Commanders' season? The bro in Baltimore who celebrated a Ravens win by punching Commanders fans on the street. Other than that incident, the stories about Washington's football team have been all about business on the field.

Finally. If Washington's 6-2 record and its lead atop the NFC East were not proof enough of the changes, then Daniels's 52-yard touchdown pass to Noah Brown as time expired Sunday night against the Chicago Bears served as the best milestone for Washington's departure from crazytown and into credibility.

“That's what we emphasize in this building,” Reeves said. “First and foremost, we protect the team, what you do in the building, what you do out of the building. We need everybody, so everybody's got to buy into that and everybody's got to protect



DANIEL KUCIN JR./ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Commanders have had plenty of reason to celebrate this season, including a 6-2, first-place record.

the team. And then on the outside of it, when you make everything just about football in this building, then that's all you have to focus on. That's how it's supposed to be. Just football. We're all paid to play football, so like that's where the focus needs to be.”

Considering the new executives, coaching staff and roster have been together for less than a year, it's been a short climb back to respectability. Hard to believe that not too long ago this was the team so desperate to scratch and claw for a fifth win late in the season that the lame duck head coach curiously benched Sam Howell for backup Jacoby Brissett. As if one more win would apply a bit more MAC on that pig of a season.

But bad teams do goofy things, and the most dysfunctional franchises in the league love company. Year after

year after miserable year, the worst teams huddle together, warming their hands around a tire fire while swapping sob stories about draft pick busts and blowout losses. From 2013 (the year following the injury to Robert Griffin III) until the end of the 2023 season, Washington's football franchise had a bottom-five NFL record. Sharing in that loser's lament: the New York Giants, Cleveland Browns, New York Jets and Jacksonville Jaguars.

The Giants, Washington's division rival and its next opponent, need to break up with the sixth overall pick of the 2019 draft. Instead, they're in a long-term, toxic relationship with quarterback Daniel Jones and his 24-43-1 career record.

The Browns handed over \$230 million guaranteed to a man who was accused by more than two dozen women of sexual assault. And that gamble failed

facing third and 19 from the Texans 26, Rodgers tossed the ball up toward Wilson in the end zone. The star wide receiver jumped and reached up with his right hand with both legs spread in the air — looking like the Michael Jordan “Jumpman” logo.

The play was initially called an incomplete pass, but a video replay review confirmed that Wilson's shin was down in the end zone and a touchdown was signaled to give the Jets a 14-10 lead with 12:54 left.

It sent the MetLife Stadium crowd into a frenzy.

It also helped make up for a Jets touchdown that wasn't when rookie Malachi Corley made a mental mistake that negated his first NFL score.

With the Jets at the Texans 19 early in the second quarter, Corley

took the toss from Rodgers and zipped down the right sideline. Corley sped into the end zone, but just before he crossed the goal line, he dropped the ball out of his right hand to celebrate.

A video review showed he had not gotten into the end zone before he dropped it. So, Corley was credited with an 18-yard run and a fumble. And because it rolled out of the side of the end zone, it was ruled a touchback and a turnover.

Rodgers finished 22 of 32 for 211 yards. His 37-yard touchdown pass to Adams, who earlier was cleared after being checked for a possible head injury, put the Jets up 21-10 with 2:56 left.

C.J. Stroud was 11 of 30 for 191 yards for the Texans (6-3), who played without injured wideouts Stefon Diggs and Nico Collins.

— Associated Press

class. On Tuesday — who benches their quarterback on a Tuesday?! — the Colts demoted former No. 4 pick Anthony Richardson following his latest loss in which he tapped out because he needed a breather.

These are the teams with which the Commanders no longer share a commonality. At least after the first eight magical games of this season. And it comes down to competence in the coaches' room and stability at quarterback.

“And the work ethic that you saw early on allowed that to happen,” Coach Dan Quinn said of his quarterback's savvy excellence. “By us making him go and compete for that position, I think that's an important step along the way for a player to demonstrate to his teammates ‘I'm down for it. I compete like everyone else has.’”

There's been a buy-in with Quinn since the beginning, and a similar belief in the rookie Daniels. Even so, a game like Sunday's can have an immeasurable impact on a team. Reeves, the kind of guy who shows up to the facility at 5 in the morning, has already sensed it. He felt it Sunday night, while still in his work clothes an hour after the game.

“We've always believed that we could be this team. In the spring when nobody else thought it, we thought it. Like, we knew it because we were here putting the time in behind closed doors, nobody saw it. So the belief was always there, but [Sunday was] a transcending moment for an organization,” Reeves said. “When I look back five or 10 years from now, hopefully I'm still here and still playing, but if I'm not playing anymore, I'll look back and I'm like that was one of those moments that changed the whole path.”

Reaves, after seven years, is just trying to take it all in. Don't be afraid to join him.

Washington considers options as Tuesday's trade deadline looms

COMMANDERS FROM D1

sent receiver Jahan Dotson to the Philadelphia Eagles and defensive tackle John Ridgeway to the New Orleans Saints in August.

Peters has said the Commanders will be built through the draft, and in March he made inroads to doing just that: The bulk of Washington's free agent acquisitions this offseason were signed to shorter deals, and so far the rookie class has delivered.

So, what's reasonable to expect from Peters ahead of Tuesday's deadline? Here's a quick primer:

Positions of need

Cornerback. Before the season, the Commanders' weakest links appeared to be their offensive line and secondary. The line has improved to become one of the team's strengths — and one of the more consistent O-lines in the NFL. But the secondary has had its share of problems. The lack of depth at cornerback and early performance issues forced Coach Dan Quinn to move rookie slot corner Mike Sainristil outside. Sainristil has played well, but moving a rookie rarely helps the player's development.

Emmanuel Forbes, the Commanders' 2023 first-round pick, was a healthy scratch against the Baltimore Ravens and has since been a backup. Finding another veteran cornerback would boost a



PETER JONELEIT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Commanders' defensive line is a position of need after stalwart tackle Jonathan Allen was lost for the season with a torn pectoral.

group that could undergo an even bigger overhaul in the offseason.

Defensive line. The line lost defensive tackle Jonathan Allen to a season-ending pectoral injury, and Allen's contract could prompt Washington to look to a future without him; the team would save \$17 million in cap space next year if it released or traded him before June. Defensive ends Dorance Armstrong (rib) and Clelin Ferrell (knee) have also dealt with nagging injuries this season. Adding another

pass-rusher up front could help the defense, if the price is right.

Wide receiver. The Commanders signed Noah Brown shortly before the season opener to add size and depth, and the team drafted Luke McCaffrey in the third round. Olamide Zaccheaus has also been a strong addition on offense and special teams. But the receiving corps runs through Terry McLaurin, and only he and McCaffrey are under contract for 2025. Adding talent and more size there to give

Daniels another target could help the offense even more.

Potential targets

Za'Darius Smith, EDGE, Browns

The Browns are 2-6 and could be in sell mode. Smith, 32, a three-time Pro Bowler, has 20.5 sacks over the past three seasons. He's under contract through 2025, but his salary next year isn't guaranteed.

Greg Newsome II, CB, Browns

The 2021 first-round pick has been the subject of trade rumors for a while with multiple teams in need of help at cornerback. Washington could be among them, but there's one drawback: Newsome's contract. The Browns exercised his fifth-year option for 2025 for \$13.377 million, which any acquiring team would take on its books.

Jaycee Horn, CB, Panthers

The Panthers have the NFL's worst record (1-7) through Week 8, and they already traded wide receiver Diontae Johnson to the Ravens. Horn was one of the top corners in the class of 2021 and was selected eighth overall by the Panthers. Fox Sports reported that the team does not plan to trade Horn, but such declarations mean little. Remember when Seahawks coach Pete Carroll told reporters in March 2022 that the team had “no intention” of trad-

ing quarterback Russell Wilson? They traded him six days later.

Mike Williams, WR, Jets

Williams appears to be on the outs in New York after quarterback Aaron Rodgers publicly called him out following a loss to the Buffalo Bills in Week 6 and the team acquired Davante Adams the following day. At 6-foot-4, 218 pounds, Williams would add more size to Washington's receiving corps.

Potential trade candidates

Emmanuel Forbes, CB

Forbes's rookie season was rocky and he has struggled to win over the new staff. A week after he was a healthy scratch at Baltimore, Forbes came through with an interception against the Panthers. It's possible another team sees his potential and believes it can develop him, but how much would it be willing to give up to acquire him?

Darrick Forrest, S

Forrest was a onetime starter in Jack Del Rio's defense and has shown to be a physical player who can also contribute on special teams. His athleticism and potential could be appealing to another team in search of low-cost depth. It would also give Forrest an opportunity to earn a bigger role; in Washington, he is sitting behind veteran Jeremy Chinn and has been active for only three games.

After a roster overhaul, Terps are ‘a good mystery’

On heels of disappointing first-round exit from last season’s NCAA tournament, Maryland women’s basketball reloaded with 10 new players

BY KAREEM COPELAND

Shyanne Sellers stood with teammates in the corner of Xfinity Center on Wednesday night and did a little dance, mimicking drum riffs as she bounced to the beat of the band. The night was a demonstrative one for the Maryland women's basketball senior as the Terrapins closed the exhibition season with a 50-point win over Frostburg State.

Sellers seemed in midseason form with her celebrations. She walked to the sideline miming handcuffs after a defensive stop. She held an open palm close to the ground after a teammate's rebound, noting the opponent was too small. There was a rock-the-baby gesture and a few bicep flexes — all with a playful smile.

This is a happy Sellers, who enters her final season with some help, even though questions abound with 10 newcomers.

“Love a good mystery,” Sellers said through a grin. “Expect the unexpected.”

When the Terps tip off Monday night at Maryland-Baltimore County, expectations will include improved results from last season, when Maryland finished 19-14 and unranked for the first time since 2010. A 9-9 Big Ten record left the Terps in eighth place.

The Terrapins lost in the first round of the NCAA tournament, 93-86, to Iowa State out in Palo Alto, California. It was the first time the program lost in the first round since Coach Brenda Frese took over in 2002 — and in that time the Terps missed the tournament only twice. The No. 10 seed the Terps carried was the worst since 2004 and only the second double-digit seed under Frese.

Even before the loss, the program's winningest coach made an adjustment with an eye on the future. A challenge for successful teams is that the transfer window opens the Monday after the tournament's Sunday selection show. Teams in the tournament pull double duty trying to



LUKE JOHNSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Transfers Sarah Te-Biasu, left, and Kaylene Smikle are two of the 10 new players the Maryland women's basketball brought in this season.

prepare for their most important games and also build for the future. Frese tweaked her staff responsibilities and increased the emphasis on the portal.

“I love putting all the pieces together,” Frese said. “For some people it might be daunting to have 10 new players. It's like pieces to a puzzle for me. We're going to be learning this as time goes on.

“[The details are] going to be evolving, just like any roster for any coaches, but, yeah, I find it invigorating.”

The results have transformed the roster. Sarah Te-Biasu, the 2024 Atlantic 10 player of the year from VCU, was a significant addition at point guard. Now Sellers can move back off the ball and not have so much of an offensive load while the 5-foot-5 Te-Biasu pushes pace.

Amari DeBerry, who stands 6-6, was signed from Connecticut to give the Terps their first true center since Shakira Austin in 2019-20. Christina Dalce (6-2 and from Villanova), Saylor Poffenbarger (6-2, Arkansas) and Isimenme Ozyy-Momodu (6-3,

Gulf Coast State) add length and depth to the wing.

Former Rutgers guard Kaylene Smikle was second-team all-Big Ten as a freshman when she ranked fifth in the conference points per game (17.9) before an injury limited her to 15 games last season. Dalce was Big East co-defensive player of the year and Poffenbarger was named to the 2022-23 all-SEC freshman team.

Each transfer is at least a junior, adding a significant veteran presence.

“I'm not saying easy but it's

been comfortable,” Smikle said, “coming here with so many transfers that [are] basically going after the same goal. We came here for the same thing.”

Dalce added, “Personally, I've loved it ... uplifting each other and having the same goal and going for the same dream.”

Rebounding, three-point shooting and ballhandling were priorities for the coaching staff. Seven transfers and three freshmen make for a deeper team that could be a menace defensively. In the exhibition finale the Terps had 22 steals, includ-

Caps beat Canadiens to extend home winning streak

CAPITALS FROM D1

In a short span, the Capitals went from an apparent 2-0 lead to trailing 2-1. After killing Strome's penalty, Washington was called for too many men on the ice, and Cole Caufield scored his 10th goal on the power play at 9:52. And just 39 seconds later, Brendan Gallagher tipped a shot from Lane Hutson past Lindgren to give the visitors the lead.

The scoring frenzy didn't stop there. Only 1:14 after Gallagher's goal, winger Brandon Duhaime scored his first goal as a Capital, leveling things again with a shot that fluttered through traffic and fooled Primeau.

Winger Jakub Vrana restored Washington's lead 54 seconds after Duhaime scored — the fourth goal scored by either team in less than three minutes — as he beat Primeau from the doorstep after a turnover behind the net.

But that lead wouldn't last either. Nick Suzuki tied the game with two minutes remaining in the second period on a one-timer off a cross-ice pass from David Savard that Lindgren didn't fully track. Lindgren's slow move across the crease gave Suzuki a window on the short side on the net.

“First two periods, they were fine,” Carbery said. “We were making some decisions, reads that were pretty uncharacteristic of our group through the first three weeks of the season. We did some good things offensively, we scored on the power play, we sort of grabbed hold of that game in a couple different moments and then we just gave it right back.”

Relinquishing a lead late in a period has the potential to affect a team into the next period, but Washington didn't appear rattled. Forward Connor McMichael scored his fifth goal of the season 4:21 into the frame, tucking home a rebound off a shot from defenseman Trevor van Riemsdyk, and Protas got a goal of his own — one that counted this time — 36 seconds later to give the Capitals a two-goal lead.

“Just got back to the way we have to play and we can play, to the way we played the last couple weeks,” Protas said. “Got back to our standard and just played our way. It's good. First two periods, I don't think it's how we should play. Third period, we found a way to win.”

A tripping penalty to Wilson



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Tom Wilson (43) and Alex Ovechkin converge after Wilson's second-period goal on Thursday night.



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Jakub Vrana scored his second goal of the season in Washington's victory over Montreal to give the Capitals five straight home wins.

while Washington was already on the penalty kill after Duhaime was boxed for hooking gave Montreal a five-on-three advantage for 1:35 midway through the third period. The Canadiens took their timeout with 20 seconds left in the five-on-three after a sprawling save by Lindgren on Caufield, but the Capitals managed to kill off the remainder of both penalties.

CAPITALS' NEXT THREE		
vs. Columbus Blue Jackets		
Saturday	5	Monumental
at Carolina Hurricanes		
Sunday	5	Monumental
vs. Nashville Predators		
Wednesday	7	Monumental
Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WFED (1500 AM)		
The second period had a frenetic bend to it, but leveling up their play in the third period allowed Washington to pull away for a comfortable win. Through nine games, the Capitals have scored four or more goals six times — a feat they only accomplished 24 times in 82 games last season.		
They're also having a whole lot of fun.		
“We're just putting it all together as a group,” McMichael said. “There's a lot of unselfish guys. You see a lot of guys laying their bodies on the line to block pucks. ... Guys are just doing whatever it takes to win, and we're having fun. We all love each other, so it's been a lot of fun.”		

With Maryland football, the right to vote matters

MARYLAND FROM D1

dates. One monitor, for instance, displays an eight-step guide that includes identifying issues most impactful to them, following reliable news sources and learning how to fact-check for misinformation.

All of which has contributed to a voter registration rate of 100 percent among players — 117 on this season's roster — thanks not only to the push from coaches and administrators but also from veteran leadership such as defensive lineman Taizse Johnson. The senior has been among the most passionate in helping to educate teammates about the need to vote.

Johnson's commitment stems in part from relationships with members of the 2020 Terrapins who, during the coronavirus pandemic, helped create the initial groundswell for getting registered and casting a ballot. He also attended high school at St. John's in Washington, where politics is deeply interwoven into everyday life.

“I want everyone to understand and know that even if you think your one vote doesn't matter, regardless of that, there's been a lot of people who've paved the way before us in terms of being able to vote,” Johnson said. “I feel like it's our responsibility to build on what the people before us have been able to do to get us to vote, and I think that it's a great opportunity to show that we're mature enough, we're all in a space where we're transitioning to adulthood, and we have to show we're also in tune with what's going on in the world.”

The voting movement isn't about only policy, either. In certain instances, players have inquired about the registration process because this election will be their first as eligible voters. Charlie Harley, the Terrapins' director of character and leadership development, along with football operations team members Hannah Hansley and Alex Kramer have taken the lead in answering questions related to registering.

Other players have requested information about absentee voting. A screen in the football facility relayed those procedures

for a half-dozen states, including Georgia and Pennsylvania, each considered to be pivotal in deciding the next president, and the deadline to request mail-in ballots.

For in-state residents, another screen highlighted on-campus voting sites at Ritchie Coliseum and Stamp Student Union.

“It was something that was important to me when I got back from Selma,” Locksley said. “Let's come up with a way to educate them on policies and people. A bunch of people in our player development roles have really taken this on to where we didn't have to have only players lead it because we put the resources into having those people in our building, which is part of the development of our team.”

The enthusiasm for voting comes amid the Terrapins attempting to steady a season that is in jeopardy of ending without a bowl appearance for the first time in four years. Maryland (4-4, 1-4 Big Ten) has lost three of four, most recently a 48-23 defeat at Minnesota on Saturday.

With four games left and in need of two more victories to become bowl eligible, Maryland has an open date this week before it faces top-ranked Oregon on Nov. 9 in Eugene.

The Terrapins' downturn, however, has not diminished Locksley's ardor for preparing his players well beyond football, through activations such as registering to vote and other program pillars that include promoting literacy and drug and alcohol awareness. Through more than 30 years in coaching, Locksley, 54, still counts his influence on former players as among his most gratifying accomplishments.

“We've got to win games, and I know that,” said Locksley, a D.C. native, “but I'm at a point in my life as a coach where I want to win games, but I also want to make sure I'm doing my part to develop these guys to be great future husbands, fathers, better sons, better people because of the time they spent here, and it's not just talk for us. It really isn't. I hold us accountable to make sure that the things we need to do to make them better men, that's just as important to me as winning.”

WEEKEND TV AND RADIO

Tomorrow

NBA	
9:30 p.m.	Miami vs. Washington » Monumental Sports Network, WTEM (980 AM)
NHL	
Noon	Dallas vs. Florida » NHL Network
5 p.m.	Columbus at Washington » Monumental Sports Network, WJFK (106.7 FM)
7 p.m.	Montreal at Pittsburgh » NHL Network
COLLEGE FOOTBALL	
Noon	Virginia Tech at Syracuse » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54), WJFK (106.7 FM)
Noon	Ohio State at Penn State » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
Noon	Duke at Miami » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
Noon	Air Force at Army » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
Noon	Mississippi at Arkansas » ESPN
Noon	Memphis at Texas San Antonio » ESPN2
Noon	Toledo at Eastern Michigan » ESPNU
Noon	Stanford at North Carolina State » ACC Network
Noon	Minnesota at Illinois » Fox Sports 1
Noon	Northwestern at Purdue » Big Ten Network
Noon	Buffalo at Akron » CBS Sports Network
12:45 p.m.	Vanderbilt at Auburn » SEC Network
2 p.m.	Towson at Richmond » MASN
3:30 p.m.	Kansas State at Houston » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
3:30 p.m.	Florida vs. Georgia » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2), WSNB (630 AM)
3:30 p.m.	Oregon at Michigan » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13), WTEM (980 AM)
3:30 p.m.	Texas Tech at Iowa State » ESPN
3:30 p.m.	North Carolina at Florida State » ACC Network
3:30 p.m.	Arizona at Central Florida » Fox Sports 1
3:30 p.m.	UCLA at Nebraska » Big Ten Network
3:30 p.m.	Middle Tennessee State at Texas El Paso » CBS Sports Network
4 p.m.	Navy at Rice » ESPN2, WFED (1500 AM)
4 p.m.	Wyoming at New Mexico » TruTV
4:15 p.m.	Massachusetts at Mississippi State » SEC Network
7 p.m.	Arizona State at Oklahoma State » Fox Sports 1
7:30 p.m.	Wisconsin at Iowa » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
7:30 p.m.	Texas A&M at South Carolina » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
7:30 p.m.	Louisville at Clemson » ESPN
7:30 p.m.	Georgia Southern at South Alabama » ESPNU
7:30 p.m.	Southern California at Washington » Big Ten Network
7:45 p.m.	Kentucky at Tennessee » SEC Network
8 p.m.	Pittsburgh at SMU » ACC Network
8 p.m.	TCU at Baylor » ESPN2
8 p.m.	Colorado State at Nevada » CBS Sports Network

GOLF	
7 a.m.	DP World Tour: Challenge Tour Grand Final, third round » Golf Channel
11 p.m.	LPGA Tour: Japan Classic, final round » Golf Channel
3 a.m.	Asian Tour: Indonesian Masters, final round » Golf Channel
(Sunday)	

HORSE RACING	
2 p.m.	Breeders' Cup: second day » USA Network
3:30 p.m.	Breeders' Cup: second day » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
6 p.m.	Breeders' Cup: second day » USA Network

MOTORSPORTS	
10 a.m.	Formula One: São Paulo Grand Prix, sprint race » ESPN2
2 p.m.	Formula One: São Paulo Grand Prix, qualifying » ESPNNews
2 p.m.	MotoGP: Malaysian Grand Prix, sprint » TruTV
4 p.m.	NASCAR Xfinity Series: National Debt Relief 250 » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)

SOCCER	
8:30 a.m.	English Premier League: Arsenal at Newcastle United » USA Network
9 a.m.	French Ligue 2: Bastia at Caen » BeIN Sports
10 a.m.	Italian Serie A: Lecce at Bologna » CBS Sports Network
11 a.m.	English Premier League: Everton at Southampton » USA Network
11:45 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Lens at Paris Saint-Germain » BeIN Sports
1:30 p.m.	English Premier League: Crystal Palace at Wolverhampton » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
2 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Nice at Brest » BeIN Sports
4 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Strasbourg at Saint-Etienne » BeIN Sports
5 p.m.	NWSL: Seattle at Orlando » Ion
7:30 p.m.	NWSL: Washington at North Carolina » Ion, WSNB (630 AM)
9:30 p.m.	NWSL: Bay FC at Houston » Ion

TENNIS	
5 a.m.	WTA: Hong Kong Open, semifinals » Tennis Channel
8:30 a.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, semifinals » Tennis Channel
9 p.m.	WTA: Merida Open Akron, semifinals » Tennis Channel
3 a.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, final and Belgrade Open, early rounds; WTA: Hong Kong Open, final » Tennis Channel
(Sunday)	

WOMEN'S COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL	
11 p.m.	UCLA at Oregon » Big Ten Network

Sunday

NFL	
1 p.m.	Washington at New York Giants » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45), WBIG (100.3 FM)
1 p.m.	Denver at Baltimore » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13), WBAL (100.5 FM), WSNB (630 AM)
4:25 p.m.	Detroit at Green Bay » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
4:25 p.m.	Chicago at Arizona » WSNB (630 AM)
8:15 p.m.	Indianapolis at Minnesota » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11), WJFK (106.7 FM)

NHL	
1 p.m.	New York Islanders at New York Rangers » NHL Network
5 p.m.	Washington at Carolina » Monumental Sports Network, WJFK (106.7 FM)

GOLF	
5:30 a.m.	DP World Tour: Challenge Tour Grand Final, final round » Golf Channel

MOTORSPORTS	
10:30 a.m.	MotoGP: Malaysian Grand Prix » TruTV
Noon	Formula One: São Paulo Grand Prix » ESPN2, ESPNU
2 p.m.	NASCAR Cup Series: Xfinity 500 » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
5 p.m.	NHRA Drag Racing: Ford Performance NHRA Nationals » Fox Sports 1

SOCCER	
8:45 a.m.	French Ligue 1: Reims at Toulouse » BeIN Sports
9 a.m.	English Premier League: Aston Villa at Tottenham » USA Network
11 a.m.	Turkish Super Lig: Fenerbahçe at Trabzonspor » BeIN Sports
11:30 a.m.	English Premier League: Chelsea at Manchester United » USA Network
2:30 p.m.	French Ligue 1: Marseille at Nantes » BeIN Sports
3 p.m.	NWSL: Kansas City at Chicago » ESPN
3:30 p.m.	USL Championship: Rhode Island at Indy » CBS Sports Network
4:45 p.m.	FIFA under-17 Women's World Cup, final: United States/North Korea winner vs. Spain/England winner » Fox Sports 2

5:30 p.m.	NWSL: Louisville at San Diego » ESPN
8 p.m.	USL Championship: Phoenix at New Mexico » CBS Sports Network
8:30 p.m.	MLS playoffs first round, Game 2: Los Angeles FC at Vancouver » Fox Sports 1

TENNIS	
5 a.m.	ATP: Paris Masters, final and Belgrade Open, early rounds; WTA: Hong Kong Open, final » Tennis Channel
7 p.m.	WTA: Merida Open Akron: final » Tennis Channel

PROFESSIONAL VOLLEYBALL	
7 p.m.	Athletes Unlimited: Team Drews vs. Team De La Cruz-Mejía » ESPNU
9:30 p.m.	Athletes Unlimited: Team Kingdon Rishel vs. Team Abercrombie » ESPNU

RUNNING	
8 a.m.	New York City Marathon » ESPN2

MEN'S COLLEGE SOCCER	
1 p.m.	Ohio State at Maryland » Big Ten Network
3 p.m.	Washington at UCLA » Big Ten Network

WOMEN'S COLLEGE SOCCER	
12:30 p.m.	SEC tournament, first round: Georgia vs. Texas A&M » SEC Network
3 p.m.	SEC tournament, first round: Auburn vs. LSU » SEC Network
5:30 p.m.	SEC tournament, first round: Kentucky vs. Tennessee » SEC Network
6 p.m.	ACC tournament, first round: Teams TBD » ACC Network
8 p.m.	ACC tournament, first round: Teams TBD » ACC Network
8 p.m.	SEC tournament, first round: Vanderbilt vs. Alabama » SEC Network

WOMEN'S COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL	
1 p.m.	Stanford at Florida State » ESPN
2 p.m.	SMU at Virginia » ACC Network
2 p.m.	Northeastern at Towson » Monumental Sports Network
2 p.m.	Princeton at Brown » ESPNU



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Perennial winners like Coach John Kelley's Quince Orchard squad can usually count on facing teams with subpar records in the playoffs.

In Maryland football, every team is a winner

All the state public high school squads make the postseason. But is that good for the players?

BY NOAH FERGUSON

November is a month of change for local high school football teams. The weather gets colder. The Friday night lights come on earlier. As the playoffs near and months of preparation are put to the test, everything seems to get brighter, louder and more important.

For the fourth straight year, every Maryland public school football program will be preparing for the start of the postseason next week. The Maryland Public Secondary Schools Athletic Association made large-scale changes to the state's playoff structure in 2021 in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic, expanding from four to six football classifications and cutting the final week of the regular season to add an extra week of postseason play. Now, every team has the opportunity to take part in a playoff game — whether they're winless in the regular season or undefeated.

Before the change, football was Maryland's only fall team sport that didn't include every member school in the postseason. Now, all 170-plus public school football programs are spread across six brackets: 1A, 2A/1A, 2A, 3A, 4A/3A and 4A.

Four years in, the format has satisfied some local coaches and

frustrated others.

Quince Orchard's John Kelley and Westlake's DaLawn Parrish, two of the winningest active head coaches in Maryland, are among those unhappy with the state's playoff structure. To Kelley, the inclusion of struggling football programs and the addition of two new classifications — 2A/1A and 4A/3A — to crown six different state champions is “watering down” the Maryland football landscape.

“If I was a coach on a team and my team went 1-8, I don't want to go play a top seed in the playoffs and get my doors blown off,” Kelley said. “I want to take my team to the weight room. I want to go get better for the offseason. I want to earn my way to the playoffs.”

Last year, Kelley's Cougars and Parrish's Wise Pumas earned first-round byes after dominating the regular season. They then watched the first week of the postseason unfold; in most cases, the lower seeds were trounced by the higher seeds.

Last fall, across the six MPSSAA brackets, first-round games were decided by an average of 30 points.

“This game is different than a lot of other games,” Parrish said. “I don't like the first two rounds ... where you can have a team

that's 0-10, 1-9 or 2-8 playing somebody that's undefeated.”

Northern Coach Rich Holzer understands that some schools with one or two wins may take their lumps in the first round. But to Holzer, who has coached both rebuilding programs and title contenders over the course of his career, the benefits of the new system outweigh the drawbacks.

Last season, Holzer's Patriots entered the postseason with a 5-4 record and in the middle of the pack in the Maryland Class 3A playoff race. Four years ago, Holzer said, Northern wouldn't have had the opportunity to even make a playoff game. But the Patriots turned their season around with an upset of St. Charles in the first round and eventually reached the state semifinals.

“I think for teams in our situation it's great, it gives us an opportunity,” Holzer said. “In sports, we talk about the Cinderella stories that come out of nowhere and make these improbable runs. ... If we had this attitude where we say this is bad and whatever, we'd never have those stories. ... In every other sport, everyone makes the playoffs — why would we go back to denying opportunities for kids?”

Poolesville Coach Brian Tupa has also been on both sides of the

debate. Two years ago, his Falcons posted seven wins and earned a first-round bye in the Maryland 2A playoffs. A year later, they entered the postseason with just one win and lost to Walkersville, 56-0, in the opening round.

“Last year, being a 1-9 team, it didn't really benefit [us] that much for playoff experience. It felt more like another game,” Tupa said. “I think there should be some incentives for teams to finish at the top of their regions.”

As the format has moved from a pandemic amendment to the new normal, it continues to split opinion. Coaches also vary on what a possible solution would entail. Kelley and Parrish each suggested “middle ground” formats which would include some but not all Maryland teams. Holzer mentioned a structure similar to the amended College Football Playoff format, where more teams earn opening-round byes.

Despite his opposition, Kelley believes the state's current structure is here to stay.

“The only reason they're doing it is to fit football into the box where everyone [makes the playoffs], and also now the state gets to host six state championship games instead of four,” Kelley said. “So what does that mean? That means more money.”

INTERSTATE ATHLETIC CONFERENCE BOYS' SOCCER CHAMPIONSHIP

For Bears, comeback is ‘what dreams are made of’

LANDON 2, EPISCOPAL 1

BY ELI COHEN

The Landon boys' soccer team has made a habit of being at or near the top of the Interstate Athletic Conference. Still, the Bears' 2-1 victory Thursday at Episcopal in the championship game never felt like a sure thing.

The Bears had their fewest regular season conference wins in five years. They entered this campaign coming off a rare year where they didn't take at least a share of the conference trophy and lost much of their scoring to graduation. For most of Thursday's game, Coach Bill Reed thought his team was outplayed. Despite all that,

the Bears still found themselves hoisting hardware during a post-game celebration.

Even though Reed thought it wasn't his team's best performance, there was no better way to send off a group of 11 seniors.

Landon (11-4-6) clinched a share of the league crown with St. Albans, the regular season champion. It marks the Bears' 22nd conference title and third in four years — two of which were shared with St. Albans, which Landon beat Tuesday in the semifinals on penalty kicks.

“We only had four wins in the regular season, and then to win three in a row, even against St. Albans too ... and then go down 1-0 [today] and win,” junior Nick Appleton said, “it's awesome.”

Landon wasn't trailing for long. Just minutes after the Maroon (11-

3-3) opened the scoring on a chaotic goal that found the net from a crowd in front of the goal, Appleton struck for the equalizer in the 52nd minute.

Episcopal looked poised to retake the lead shortly after in a fast-paced game full of threatening counterattacks. Then Landon goalie Luke Tegeris notched three saves in one sequence.

The junior didn't have much to say about his heroics, which were somewhat of a blur to him. Senior Ben Pollack didn't hesitate to chime in, though.

“It was beautiful,” he said.

“Luke is legit; he saved us multiple times today laying out,” Reed added. “He makes rockets look easy.”

The defense in front of Tegeris also played big. Landon has a core of junior year-round soccer play-

ers and senior multisport athletes. Reed primarily tasked the latter with using their athleticism and physically to stop Episcopal's midfielders and attackers. Johns Hopkins lacrosse commit Jeevan Mathura was defending Episcopal senior and Virginia Tech commit Osi Onwudiwe. Junior Kendall Buford was assigned to sophomore speedster Diego Simarro.

Things stayed tied until the 67th minute, when Appleton delivered a cross-field pass in stride to junior defender Graham Macallister, who tucked it home for the game-winner.

“I knew I was going to put that away as soon as I saw him pass it,” Macallister said. “I was out with an injury for the past three games, so to be able to come back like that and score, it's literally what dreams are made of.”

INDEPENDENT SCHOOL LEAGUE VOLLEYBALL CHAMPIONSHIP

Ewing caps career with program-defining triumph

BULLIS 3, GEORGETOWN DAY 1

BY NOAH FERGUSON

Alexis Ewing has grown up with the Bullis volleyball program. She was there in its infancy, honing her skills on the middle school team when her mom, Coach Cheryl Weaver, started the program in 2016. She has captained the team's rise up the Independent School League hierarchy ever since, a steady ascent that brought the Bulldogs to Thursday's ISL AA title game Thursday at Flint Hill School in Oakton.

In the final game of her high school career, Ewing capped that

rise to the top with a program-defining victory. The Bulldogs prevailed over Georgetown Day in four sets, 23-25, 25-17, 26-24, 25-20, marking the school's first league championship.

“I knew we were going to win, I knew I had to leave my senior year with the championship, and I knew that we could do it,” Ewing said. “I just feel so amazing, I feel like I've left my mark on the school.”

Georgetown Day, which has spent all season atop The Post's rankings, suffered its first defeat. The win also avenged a four-set regular season loss to the Hoppers (22-1) just days ago. No. 2 Bullis finished 21-2.

“It means so much, coming from middle school and watching my mom build the program and

seeing how we've grown as people and as individuals and as a team,” Ewing said. “It's just been so impactful to me to see that we've made it so far, to overcome all the struggles for this one moment.”

The matchup was as advertised. The Hoppers struck first, fending off a late surge from the Bulldogs to claim the opening set. Senior outside hitter Jada Aksu raced in from the back row on the team's fifth set point for the game-winning kill.

“We knew we had to overcome every point that we lost, just make sure we stay consistent and stay determined,” Ewing said.

Then came a Ewing fusillade. The Penn State commit patrolled the Bulldogs' side, rising up for a barrage of kills as the Bulldogs

pulled away for a comfortable second-set win. The Bulldogs' offense sputtered throughout the third set, but came to life to rattle off five straight points late.

The teams traded blows in the fourth set, but Ewing and the Bulldogs stayed the course. A booming kill from Angelique Desamours gave Bullis a late three-point lead, and Georgetown Day couldn't return the match's final swing as the Bulldogs spilled onto the court in celebration. Ewing exchanged emotional embraces with her mom and her dad, NBA legend Patrick Ewing, who flew in from New York for the title game.

“She's unstoppable,” a teary-eyed Weaver said of her daughter. The Bulldogs' side, rising up for a

SCOREBOARD

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL						
NFC						
EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Washington	6	2	0	.750	236	167
Philadelphia	5	4	0	.714	171	132
Dallas	5	4	0	.429	150	198
N.Y. Giants	2	6	0	.250	117	175

SOUTH						
Atlanta	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Atlanta	5	3	0	.625	194	195
Tampa Bay	4	4	0	.500	235	213
New Orleans	2	6	0	.250	185	206
Carolina	1	7	0	.125	124	271

NORTH						
Detroit	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Detroit	6	1	0	.857	234	134
Green Bay	6	2	0	.750	216	170
Minnesota	5	2	0	.714	188	137
Chicago	4	3	0	.571	163	119

WEST						
Arizona	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Arizona	4	4	0	.500	178	205
San Francisco	4	4	0	.500	210	182
Seattle	4	4	0	.500	190	195
L.A. Rams	3	4	0	.429	144	174

AFC						
EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	6	2	0	.750	230	146
N.Y. Jets	5	6	0	.333	171	183
Miami	2	0	0	.286	97	157
New England	2	6	0	.250	124	197

SOUTH						
Houston	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Houston	6	3	0	.667	201	200
Indianapolis	6	4	0	.500	175	172
Jacksonville	2	6	0	.250	172	224
Tennessee	1	6	0	.143	120	196

NORTH						
Pittsburgh	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Pittsburgh	6	2	0	.750	187	119
Baltimore	5	3	0	.625	242	209
Cincinnati	3	5	0	.375	195	203
Cleveland	2	6	0	.250	138	186

WEST						
Kansas City	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Kansas City	7	0	0	1.000	173	123
Denver	5	3	0	.625	173	120
L.A. Chargers	4	3	0	.571	132	91
Las Vegas	2	6	0	.250	144	210

THURSDAY'S RESULT

at N.Y. Jets 21, Houston 13

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Washington (-3½) at N.Y. Giants, 1
Dallas at Atlanta (-3), 1
Denver at Baltimore (-8½), 1
L.A. Chargers (-1½) at Cleveland, 1
Las Vegas at Cincinnati (-7½), 1
Miami at Buffalo (-5½), 1
New England at Tennessee (-3½), 1
New Orleans (-7) at Carolina, 1
Chicago at Arizona (-4½), 4:05
Jacksonville at Philadelphia (-7½), 4:05
Detroit (-2½) at Green Bay, 4:25
L.A. Rams (-1½) at Seattle, 4:25
Indianapolis at Minnesota (-5½), 8:20
BYE: Baltimore, San Francisco

MONDAY'S GAME

Tampa Bay at Kansas City (-8½), 8:15

Jets 21, Texans 13

HOUSTON	0	7	3	3	13
N.Y. JETS	0	7	3	7	14

SECOND QUARTER

Houston: Mixon 3 run (Fairbairn kick), 3:21.

THIRD QUARTER

N.Y. Jets: Wilson 21 pass from Rodgers (R.Patterson kick), 9:02.

Houston: FG Fairbairn 54, 4:11.

FOURTH QUARTER

N.Y. Jets: Wilson 26 pass from Rodgers (R.Patterson kick), 12:54.

N.Y. Jets: D.Adams 37 pass from Rodgers (R.Patterson kick), 2:56.

Houston: FG Fairbairn 29, 3:39.

	HOU	NYJ
First Downs	21	17
Total Net Yards	322	293
Rushes-Yards	36-187	21-100
Passing	135-193	193-193
Punt Returns	1-0	0-0
Kickoff Returns	4-106	0-0
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	0-0
Comp.-Att.-Int.	11-31-0	22-32-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	8-56	2-18
Punts	3-51.333	5-54.8
Fumbles-Lost	2-1	2-1
Penalties-Yards	7-60	9-83
Time Of Possession	33:42	26:18

Houston: Stroud 11-30-0-191, Mixon 0-1-0-0.

N.Y. Jets: Rodgers 22-32-0-211.

RUSHING

Houston: Mixon 24-106, Stroud 8-59, Taylor 3-23, Ogunbowale 1-(minus 1).

N.Y. Jets: Hall 15-74, Corley 1-18, Allen 4-9, Rodgers 1-(minus 1).

RECEIVING

Houston: Dell 6-126, Schultz 3-21, Woods 2-44.

N.Y. Jets: Wilson 9-90, D.Adams 7-91, Hall 2-11, Yaboah 3-12, M.Williams 1-6, Ruckert 1-4, Conklin 1-(minus 3).

MISSED FIELD GOALS

Houston: Fairbairn 56, Fairbairn 27.

SOCCER

MLS playoffs

WILD CARD

EASTERN CONFERENCE

TUESDAY, OCT. 23

Atlanta 2, at Montreal 2 (Atlanta wins, 5-4, on PKs)

WESTERN CONFERENCE

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 24

Vancouver 5, at Portland 0

FIRST ROUND

Best of three, x-if necessary

CINCINNATI LEADS NEW YORK CITY FC, 1-0
Game 1: at Cincinnati 1, New York City FC 0
Saturday's match: Cincinnati at New York City, 5 p.m.
x-Saturday, Nov. 9: New York City at Cincinnati, 4 p.m.

ORLANDO LEADS CHARLOTTE FC, 1-0
Game 1: at Orlando 2, Charlotte FC 1
Friday's match: Orlando at Charlotte FC, 7:40 p.m.
x-Saturday, Nov. 9: Charlotte FC at Orlando, 6:10 p.m.

RED BULLS LEAD CREW, 1-0

Game 1: New York 1, at Columbus 0
Saturday's match: Columbus at New York, 4:40 p.m.
x-Sunday, Nov. 10: New York at Columbus, 5:10 p.m.

INTER MIAMI LEADS ATLANTA UNITED, 1-0
Game 1: at Miami 2, Atlanta 1
Saturday's match: Miami at Atlanta, 7:10 p.m.
x-Saturday, Nov. 9: Atlanta at Miami, 8:10 p.m.

WESTERN CONFERENCE

SOUNDERS LEAD DYNAMO, 1-0

Game 1: at Seattle 0, Houston 0 (Seattle wins, 5-4, on PKs)
Friday's match: Seattle at Houston, 6:30 p.m.
x-Sunday, Nov. 10: Houston at Seattle, 7:30 p.m.

LOS ANGELES FC LEADS WHITECAPS, 1-0
Game 1: at Los Angeles FC 2, Vancouver 1
Friday's match: Los Angeles FC at Vancouver, 8:55 p.m.
x-Sunday, Nov. 9: Vancouver at Los Angeles FC, 11:10 p.m.

MINNESOTA UNITED LEADS REAL SALT LAKE, 1-0
Game 1: Minnesota 0 at Real Salt Lake 0 (5-4 PK)
Saturday's match: Real Salt Lake at Minnesota, 9:10 p.m.
Friday, Nov. 8: Minnesota at Real Salt Lake, 9:10 p.m.

GALAXY LEADS RAPIDS, 1-0

Game 1: at LA Galaxy 5, Colorado 0
Friday's match: LA Galaxy at Colorado, 9:40 p.m.
x-Saturday, Nov. 9: Colorado at LA Galaxy, 10:10 p.m.

SEMIFINALS

NOV. 23-24

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Los Angeles FC/Vancouver vs. Seattle/Houston winner, TBD
Real Salt Lake/Minnesota winner vs. LA Galaxy/Colorado winner, TBD

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Miami-Atlanta winner vs. Orlando/Charlotte FC winner, TBD
Cincinnati/New York City winner vs. Columbus/New York winner, TBD

NWSL

	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Orlando	17	2	6	57	43	18
Washington	17	6	2	53	50	28
Gotham FC	16	4	5	53	37	19
Kansas City	15	3	7	52	54	30
North Carolina	12	10	3	39	34	27
Chicago	10	13	2	32	30	35
Portland	9	12	4	31	34	35
Bay FC	10	14	1	31	28	39
Louisville	7	11	7	28	32	36
Utah	7	14	2	25	26	35
Angel City	7	12	6	24	29	39
Seattle	6	14	5	23	25	41
San Diego	5	13	7	22	21	34
Houston	5	15	5	20	18	39

FRIDAY'S MATCHES

Gotham FC at Utah, 9:30
Angel City at Portland, 10

SATURDAY'S MATCHES

Washington at North Carolina, 7:30
Seattle at Orlando, 5

Bay FC at Houston, 9:30

BASEBALL

MLB playoffs

FIRST ROUND

Best of three

ROYALS ELIMINATED ORIOLES, 2-0

Game 1: Kansas City 1, at Baltimore 0
Game 2: Kansas City 0, at Baltimore 0

TIGERS ELIMINATED ASTROS, 2-0

Game 1: Detroit 3, at Houston 1
Game 2: Detroit 5, at Houston 2

METS ELIMINATED BREWERS, 2-1

Game 1: N.Y. Mets 8, at Milwaukee 4
Game 2: at Milwaukee 5, N.Y. Mets 3
Game 3: N.Y. Mets 4, at Milwaukee 2

PADRES ELIMINATED BRAVES, 2-0

Game 1: at San Diego 4, Atlanta 0
Game 2: at San Diego 5, Atlanta 4

DIVISION SERIES

Best of five

NATIONAL LEAGUE

METS ELIMINATED PHILLIES, 3-1

Game 1: N.Y. Mets 6, at Philadelphia 2
Game 2: at Philadelphia 7, N.Y. Mets 6
Game 3: at N.Y. Mets 7, Philadelphia 2
Game 4: N.Y. Mets 4, Philadelphia 1

DODGERS ELIMINATED PADRES, 3-2

Game 1: at L.A. Dodgers 7, San Diego 5
Game 2: San Diego 10, at L.A. Dodgers 1
Game 3: at San Diego 6, L.A. Dodgers 1
Game 4: L.A. Dodgers 8, at San Diego 0

AMERICAN LEAGUE

YANKEES ELIMINATED ROYALS, 3-1

Game 1: N.Y. Yankees 6, Kansas City 5
Game 2: Kansas City 4, at N.Y. Yankees 2
Game 3: N.Y. Yankees 3, at Kansas City 2
Game 4: N.Y. Yankees 3, at Kansas City 1

GUARDIANS ELIMINATED TIGERS, 3-2

Game 1: at Cleveland 7, Detroit 3
Game 2: Detroit 3, at Cleveland 0
Game 3: at Detroit 3, Cleveland 0
Game 4: Cleveland 5, at Detroit 4
Game 5: at Cleveland 7, Detroit 3

LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP SERIES

Best of seven

NATIONAL LEAGUE

DODGERS ELIMINATED METS, 4-2

Game 1: at L.A. Dodgers 9, N.Y. Mets 0
Game 2: N.Y. Mets 7, at L.A. Dodgers 3
Game 3: L.A. Dodgers 8, at N.Y. Mets 0
Game 4: L.A. Dodgers 10, at N.Y. Mets 5
Game 5: at L.A. Dodgers 10, N.Y. Mets 5

AMERICAN LEAGUE

YANKEES ELIMINATED GUARDIANS, 4-1

Game 1: at N.Y. Yankees 5, Cleveland 2
Game 2: at N.Y. Yankees 6, Cleveland 3
Game 3: at Cleveland 7, N.Y. Yankees 5 (10)
Game 4: N.Y. Yankees 8, at Cleveland 6
Game 5: N.Y. Yankees 5, at Cleveland 2 (10)

WORLD SERIES

Best of seven

DODGERS ELIMINATED YANKEES, 4-1

Game 1: at L.A. Dodgers 6, N.Y. Yankees 3
Game 2: at L.A. Dodgers 4, N.Y. Yankees 2
Game 3: L.A. Dodgers 4, at N.Y. Yankees 2
Game 4: at N.Y. Yankees 11, L.A. Dodgers 4
Game 5: L.A. Dodgers 7, at N.Y. Yankees 6

Dodgers 7, Yankees 6

Late Wednesday

LA	AB	R	H	BI	BB	SO	AVG
Ohtani 1b	4	0	0	0	0	1	.105
Betts cf	4	1	2	1	1	1	.300
Freeman 1b	4	1	2	1	1	1	.500
T.Hernandez lf	4	0	2	2	1	1	.350
Muncy 3b	4	0	0	0	1	2	.000
K.Hernandez cf	4	0	0	0	1	2	.000
Edman ss	5	2	1	0	0	2	.294
Smith c	5	1	0	0	1	1	.111
Lux 2b	2	0	0	1	1	1	.100
TOTALS	34	7	7	7	7	9	—

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Game 1: at L.A. Dodgers 6, N.Y. Yankees 3

Game 2: at L.A. Dodgers 4, N.Y. Yankees 2
Game 3: L.A. Dodgers 4, at N.Y. Yankees 2
Game 4: at N.Y. Yankees 11, L.A. Dodgers 4

Game 5: L.A. Dodgers 7, at N.Y. Yankees 6

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For Recruitment advertisements, go to washingtonpost.com/recruit or call 202-334-4100 (toll free 1-800-765-3675)	To place an ad, go to washingtonpostads.com or call 202-334-6200 Non-commercial advertisers can now place ads 24/7 by calling 202-334-6200	Legal Notices: 202-334-7007 Auctions, Estate Sales, Furniture: 202-334-7029 Biz Ops/Services: 202-334-5787
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815 Legal Notices Notice of Availability for the Environmental Assessment and Draft Finding of No Significant Impact for a Visitor Education Center for the 9/11 Pentagon Memorial in Arlington, Virginia The Department of the Army, in conjunction with Army National Military Cemeteries, announces the availability of the Environmental Assessment (EA) and draft Finding of No Significant Impact (FNSI) for the construction and operation of a Visitor Education Center (VEC) for the 9/11 Pentagon Memorial, to be constructed on land owned by Army National Military Cemeteries (ANMC) and located on the grounds of Arlington National Cemetery (ANC) in Arlington, Virginia. The EA was prepared in accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), Council on Environmental Quality regulations and Army-specific NEPA requirements and analyzes the effects of the proposed action. The complete EA and draft FNSI are available for viewing and download on the ANC website at: https://www.arlingtoncemetery.mil/About/Policies-and-Public-Notices/Public-Notices . Interested parties may also view an electronic or printed copy of the EA draft FNSI at the Arlington Public Library, Central Library, located at 1015 North Quincy Street, Arlington, VA 22201. For more information, contact: Mr. Scott Lonesome, Environmental Resources Manager, Arlington National Cemetery Memorial Avenue, Arlington, VA 22211. Submitted comments should include the project title and the commenter's contact information.	815 Legal Notices Trustees Sale - DC MCMALEE, ROSKA, P.A. 6404 Bayview Greenbelt, Maryland 20770 301.441.2420 SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE 6-UNIT APARTMENT BUILDING 1603 18th STREET SE WASHINGTON, DC 20020 (Square 5596, Lot 0019) Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in that certain Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing, dated November 19, 2021, from 1603 18th Street S.E., LLC ("Borrower") to Richard Suzanne, the original Trustee named therein, for the benefit of Stormfield Capital Funding L, LLC (the "Lender") and recorded with the District of Columbia Register of Deeds ("Land Records") on December 8, 2021, as Instrument No. 2021159955, and modified by a Modification of Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing dated March 8, 2023 and recorded among the Land Records on April 15, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024034289 (the "Deed of Trust"), and the Lender having subsequently appointed Aaron D. Neal and Mark W. Schweitzer as Substitute Trustees (the "Substitute Trustees") under the Deed of Trust and in place of the prior Trustee by that certain Appointment of Substitute Trustees made September 17, 2024 and recorded September 20, 2024 in the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024088952, a default having occurred in the payment of the indebtedness secured thereby and the covenants contained therein, and at the request of the party secured thereby, and following mailing of Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit which was recorded on September 24, 2024 in the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024090098 and Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure, which was recorded on September 20, 2024 in the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024088951 the undersigned Substitute Trustees will sell, at public auction, within the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 100, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 on Thursday, November 7, 2024 at 11:15 A.M. , that certain land and premises commonly described as 1603 18th Street, SE, Washington, DC 20020 and identified for tax purposes as Square 5596, Lot 0019, as is more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust.	851 Prince Georges County Prin NAGLE & ZALLER, P.C. 8840 Stanford Blvd., Suite 1800 Columbia, Maryland 21045 10105 Prince Place Unit 204 UPPER MARLBORO, MARYLAND 20774 LOCATED IN PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND Under and by virtue of the power and authority conferred on Treetop Square Condominium by the Maryland Contract Lien Act, Annotated Code of Maryland, Real Property Section 14-201, et seq., for enforcement of condominium liens and as set forth in the Declaration and Bylaws of Treetop Square Condominium whereby Huntley Square Condominium has caused liens to be filed among the Land Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, and recorded Book 45750, Page 33, and in Book 48847, Page 417, and in Book 49201, Page 170, and in Book 49201, Page 178; the undersigned, for the purpose of foreclosure and at the request of the party secured thereby, will offer for sale at public auction pursuant to CASE NO. C-16-CV-24-000382 in the front of the CIRCUIT COURT FOR PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY LOCATED AT 14735 MAIN STREET, UPPER MARLBORO, MARYLAND 20772. November 12, 2024 AT 1:30 PM Unit No. 204-9c in a Condominium known as "TREETOP CONDOMINIUM" as shown on Plats of Condominium recorded in Plat Book W.W.W. 90, as Plats Nos. 14 through 17, inclusive, and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book W.W.W. 90, as Plats Nos. 58 through 61, both inclusive, and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book C.E.C. 93, as Plats Nos. 16 through 19, both inclusive Plats 39 through 42, both inclusive, and Plats 43 through 46, both inclusive; and established by a Declaration of Condominium dated July 24, 1974 and Recorded August 20, 1974, in Liber 4403, at folio 322, as amended by an Amended Declaration of Condominium recorded November 13, 1974 in Liber 4434, at folio 852, and by Second Amended Declaration recorded October 24, 1975, in Liber 4542, at folio 259, by Third Amended Declaration recorded January 14, 1976 in Liber 4575 at folio 422, and Fourth Amended Declaration recorded January 14, 1976 in Liber 4575 at folio 435, and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book C.E.C. 93 at Plats 78 through 81, both inclusive; and established by Fifth Amended Declaration recorded August 28, 1976 in Liber 4660 at folio 60, and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book C.E.C. 93 at Plats 82 through 85, both inclusive; and established by Sixth Amended Declaration recorded October 7, 1976 in Liber 4679 folio 102; and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book C.E.C. 93 at Plats 87 through 90, both inclusive; and established by Seventh Amended Declaration recorded December 2, 1976 in Liber 4701 at folio 115 and Supplemental Plats recorded in Liber Plat Book N.L.P. 96 at folios 39 through 42, both inclusive; and established by Eighth Amended Declaration recorded March 2, 1977 in Liber 4732 at folio 502 and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book N.L.P. 97 at folios 34 through 37, both inclusive; and established by Ninth Amended Declaration recorded June 3, 1977 in Liber 4768 at folio 753 and Supplemental Plats recorded in Plat Book N.L.P. 97 at folios 80 through 83, both inclusive; and established by Tenth Amended Declaration recorded June 28, 1977 in Liber 4780 at folio 97 and folios 84 through 87, both inclusive; and established by Eleventh Amended Declaration recorded June 28, 1977 in Liber 4780 at folio 93, among the Land Records of Prince Georges County, Maryland The property will be sold in "AS IS" condition, without warranty, either expressed or implied with respect to the nature and description of the improvements contained therein; and subject to all other encumbrances, deeds of trust, mortgages, covenants, conditions, liens, taxes, restrictions, easements, housing and/or zoning violations, rights of way, and agreements of record affecting same, if any. INCLUDING DECLARATION AND BYLAWS OF TREETOP CONDOMINIUM. Terms of Sale: A cash deposit by cash or certified check or check acceptable to the Trustees in the amount of \$25,000.00 will be required by the purchaser at the time of sale. The balance of the purchase price, together with interest at the rate of six percent (6%) from the date of sale to date of settlement, shall be paid in cash at settlement, which settlement shall be held within ten (10) days after final ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court unless said period is extended by the Trustees, their successors or assigns, in their sole discretion for good cause shown, time being of the essence. Otherwise, the deposit herewith required shall be forfeited and the property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser. The defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property and in the event settlement is delayed for any reason, there shall be no abatement of interest. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes shall be borne by the purchaser. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Adjustment of all taxes, public charges, interest, and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of the sale and thereafter be assumed by the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, state and local transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by purchaser. Purchaser must obtain possession and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of the auction forward. If the Trustees are unable to convey good and marketable title or if ratification of the sale is denied by the Circuit Court for any reason or a sale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. Upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Trustees.	852 Anne Arundel County Prin Brock and Scott, PLLC 5431 Olander Drive Wilmington NC, 28403 SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS 7879 CHALICE ROAD Severn, MD 21144 Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to, Trustees(s), dated December 31, 1969, and recorded among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 37190, folio 228, 06/18/2021 the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees, by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction at THE ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, ON NOVEMBER 19, 2024 at 10:00 AM ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and described as follows: BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED ONE (1) IN BLOCK LETTERED "N", IN THE SUBDIVISION KNOWN AS "A RESUBDIVISION OF PART OF SECTION 1, ADA VALLEY PLAT 8, SECTION FOUR, THE PROVINCES", AS PER PLAT THEREOF RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND IN PLAT BOOK 43 AT PLAT 47, 7879 CHALICE ROAD, SEVERN, MARYLAND 21144 TAX ID# 04-605-03595580 The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions, liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and of HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110. TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$39,000.00 payable in certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 3.75 % on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk and expense, of the defaulting purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey insurable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights and claims against the Substitute Trustees whether known or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement. Upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. The sale is subject to post-sale review of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit shall be refunded without interest. Additional terms and conditions, if applicable, maybe announced at the time and date of sale. Sale is subject to the attestation by the Borrower in accordance with Section 5.4 of the Governor's order of 10.16.2020. File No. (23-33215) BRENNAN FERGUSON, JOHN C. HANRAHAN, JEREMY B. WILKINS, AMANDA DRISCOLE, ROBERT OLIVERI, PAUL HEINMULLER, Substitute Trustees A181, A316, A311, A183, A425, A426, A461, A463, A508 HARVEY K. W. E. AUCTIONEERS, LLC 100 E. Johns Road Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103 Baltimore, MD 21206 410-769-9797 Nov 1,8,15 2024 0012474496 852 Anne Arundel County Prin Diane S. Rosenberg Mark D. Meyer Miroslav Nikolov Substitute Trustees Versus Jorge O. Tejeda Miguel E. Tejeda Defendants No. C-02-CV-24-001070 NOTICE Notice is hereby issued this Friday, October 25, 2024 that the sale of the property in the proceedings mentioned, made and reported by Mark D. Meyer, Substitute Trustee BE RATIFIED AND CONFIRMED, unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 25th day of November 2024 next, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in some newspaper published in Anne Arundel County, once in each of three successive weeks before the 25th day of November 2024 next. The report states that the amount of sale of the property at 169 BRIGHTWATER DRIVE, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401 to be \$300,000.00. Scott A. Poyer Circuit Court for Anne Arundel County, MD. Nov 1, 8, 15 2024 0012475378 852 Anne Arundel County Prin Diane S. Rosenberg Mark D. Meyer Miroslav Nikolov Substitute Trustees Versus Rosanna M Hoskins Defendant No. C-02-CV-24-001647 NOTICE Notice is hereby issued this Friday, October 25, 2024 that the sale of the property in the proceedings mentioned, made and reported by Mark D. Meyer, Substitute Trustee BE RATIFIED AND CONFIRMED, unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 25th day of November 2024 next, provided a copy of this Notice be inserted in some newspaper published in Anne Arundel County, once in each of three successive weeks before the 25th day of November 2024 next. The report states that the amount of sale of the property at 956 BLUE FOX WAY, ARNOLD, MD 21012 to be \$367,000.00. Scott A. Poyer Circuit Court for Anne Arundel County, MD. Nov 1, 8, 15 2024 0012475381
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THE HEATING, PIPING AND REFRIGERATION TRAINING FUND WHICH OPERATES THE U. A. MECHANICAL TRADES SCHOOL, INC. WILL NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST APPRENTICESHIP APPLICANTS OR APPRENTICES BASED ON RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, NATIONAL ORIGIN, SEX (INCLUDING PREGNANCY AND GENDER IDENTITY), SEXUAL ORIENTATION, GENETIC INFORMATION, OR BECAUSE THEY ARE AN INDIVIDUAL WITH A DISABILITY OR A PERSON 40 YEARS OLD OR OLDER. THE WASHINGTON, DC JOINT STEAMFITTING APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE WILL TAKE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TO PROVIDE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN APPRENTICESHIP AND WILL OPERATE THE APPRENTICESHIP PROGRAM AS REQUIRED UNDER TITLE 29 OF THE CODE OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS, PART 30.

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815 Legal Notices

Mandela Therapeutic Solutions, LLC is applying for a Certificate of Need for Home health rehabilitation Services. A letter of intent will be filed with the District of Columbia State Health Planning and Development Agency (SHPPA). The location of the facility is yet to be determined. For additional information contact SHPPA at 202-442-5875.

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MONTGOMERY COUNTY COUNCIL PUBLIC HEARINGS December 3, 2024, at 1:30 PM

Deadline to sign up to speak is December 2 at 2 PM
Expedited Bill 22-24, Taxation - Collection of Development Impact Taxes
The bill would require collection of development impact taxes at final inspection of the building, and generally amend the law governing development impact taxes. Bill 22-24, Taxation - Paper Carryout Bags and Prohibition on Plastic Carryout Bags ("Bring Your Own Bag")
The bill would require a retail establishment, with certain exceptions, require a tax on paper carryout bags at the point of sale with certain exceptions, exempt recipients of food assistance programs from the carryout bag tax, remove the requirement for the reporting requirements for remittance of the carryout bag tax, clarify that certain conduct by a retailer is prohibited, and generally amend County law related to the excise tax on carryout bags.
Residents must register in advance to provide testimony in-person or virtually at a public hearing at the Council hearing room in the Council office building and may submit written and prerecorded audio and video via the Council's website www.montgomerycountymd.gov/COUNCIL/testimony.html or by calling 202-777-7863 for more testimony. Additionally, written testimony may be mailed to: Stella B. Werner, Council Office Building, 100 Maryland Avenue, 6th floor, MD 20850. For more information, please call 240-777-7900.

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THE NEXT STEP PUBLIC CHARTER SCHOOL

NOTICE OF INTENT TO ENTER A SOLE SOURCE CONTRACT

EdFuel
The Next Step (TNS) intends to award a sole source contract to EdFuel to conduct a compensation study for non-teachers and a performance management framework, from Dec 4, 2024 to June 30, 2025, at a cost of approximately \$68,200. EdFuel conducts bi-annual DC Charter Schools Compensation Studies which provides compensation and benefits data for staff for about 60% of all DC charter schools.

If you have any questions, please contact, Monique Mitchell at mmitchell@nextstepdc.org

Oct 28,30, Nov 1,6,6 2024

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11350 McCormick Road, EP 1, Suite 302
Hunt Valley, MD 21031
470-321-7112

TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
**910 FORRESTER RD
CHURCHTON, MD 20733**

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated December 7, 2016, and recorded in Liber 30446, folio 307, of the land records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, with an original principal balance of \$220,924.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the appointed Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at THE ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401 ON,

NOVEMBER 4, 2024 at 4:00 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND together with any buildings or improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD, located at the above address and more fully described in the aforementioned Deed of Trust.

TAX ID# - 07-000-02929500 & 07-000-90087947

The property and improvements will be sold in an "AS IS" physical condition without warranty of any kind and subject to all conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, including any condominium or homeowners association assessments pursuant to MD Real Property Article A§ 11-110 and A§ 11B-117 .

TERMS OF SALE: A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$19,500.00 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may determine, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The balance of the purchase price together with interest thereon at 3.25% per annum from date of sale to receipt of purchase price by Substitute Trustees must be paid by cashier's check within 10 days after final ratification of sale. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event that additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. All real estate taxes and other public charges and/or assessments to be adjusted as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, any condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the date of sale shall be purchaser's responsibility. Purchaser shall pay all transfer, documentary and recording taxes/fees and all other settlement costs. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining possession of the property. Time is of the essence for the purchaser. If purchaser defaults, deposit will be forfeited and property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser who shall be liable for any deficiency in the purchase price and all costs, expenses and attorney's fees of both sales. If Substitute Trustees do not convey title for any reason, purchaser's sole remedy is return of deposit without interest. This sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan secured by the Deed of Trust including but not limited to determining whether prior to sale a bankruptcy was filed; forbearance, repayment or other agreement was entered into; or loan was reinstated or paid off. In any such event this sale shall be null and void and purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit without interest. File No. (23-166240)

KEITH YACKO, DAVID WILLIAMSON,
Substitute Trustees

A181, A316, A311, A183, A425, A426, A461, A463, A508

HARVEY

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AUCTIONEERS, LLC
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Hunt Valley, MD 21031
470-321-7112

TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
**802 PATUXENT RUN CIR
ODENTON, MD 21113**

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated November 28, 2007, and recorded in Liber 19745, folio 0319, of the land records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, with an original principal balance of \$324,000.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the appointed Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at THE ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401 ON,

NOVEMBER 4, 2024 at 4:00 PM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND together with any buildings or improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD, located at the above address and more fully described in the aforementioned Deed of Trust.

TAX ID# - 24-202238

The property and improvements will be sold in an "AS IS" physical condition without warranty of any kind and subject to all conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, including any condominium or homeowners association assessments pursuant to MD Real Property Article A§ 11-110 and A§ 11B-117 .

TERMS OF SALE: A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$33,500.00 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may determine, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The balance of the purchase price together with interest thereon at 6.125% per annum from date of sale to receipt of purchase price by Substitute Trustees must be paid by cashier's check within 10 days after final ratification of sale. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event that additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. All real estate taxes and other public charges and/or assessments to be adjusted as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, any condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the date of sale shall be purchaser's responsibility. Purchaser shall pay all transfer, documentary and recording taxes/fees and all other settlement costs. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining possession of the property. Time is of the essence for the purchaser. If purchaser defaults, deposit will be forfeited and property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser who shall be liable for any deficiency in the purchase price and all costs, expenses and attorney's fees of both sales. If Substitute Trustees do not convey title for any reason, purchaser's sole remedy is return of deposit without interest. This sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan secured by the Deed of Trust including but not limited to determining whether prior to sale a bankruptcy was filed; forbearance, repayment or other agreement was entered into; or loan was reinstated or paid off. In any such event this sale shall be null and void and purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit without interest. File No. (24-202238)

KEITH YACKO, DAVID WILLIAMSON,
Substitute Trustees

A181, A316, A311, A183, A425, A426, A461, A463, A508

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TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
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**4720 DORSEY HALL DR UNIT 608
ELLICOTT CITY, MD 21042**

Under a power of sale contained in that Deed of Trust dated July 16, 2014, and recorded in Liber 15714, folio 237, of the land records of HOWARD COUNTY, with an original principal balance of \$273,750.00, default having occurred under the terms thereof, the appointed Substitute Trustees will offer for sale at public auction at THE HOWARD COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 9250 JUDICIAL WAY, ELLICOTT CITY, MD 21043 ON,

NOVEMBER 19, 2024 at 10:00 AM

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND together with any buildings or improvements thereon situated in HOWARD COUNTY, MD, located at the above address and more fully described in the aforementioned Deed of Trust.

TAX ID# - 02-343037

The property and improvements will be sold in an "AS IS" physical condition without warranty of any kind and subject to all conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, including any condominium or homeowners association assessments pursuant to MD Real Property Article A§ 11-110 and A§ 11B-117 .

TERMS OF SALE: A non-refundable bidder's deposit of \$15,000.00 by cashier's/certified check or such other form as the Substitute Trustee may determine, in their sole discretion, required at time of sale except for the party secured by the Deed of Trust. Risk of loss on purchaser from date and time of auction. The balance of the purchase price together with interest thereon at 2.402% per annum from date of sale to receipt of purchase price by Substitute Trustees must be paid by cashier's check within 10 days after final ratification of sale. The noteholder shall not be obligated to pay interest if it is the purchaser. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event that additional funds are tendered before settlement or if settlement is delayed for any reason. All real estate taxes and other public charges and/or assessments to be adjusted as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser. If applicable, any condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the date of sale shall be purchaser's responsibility. Purchaser shall pay all transfer, documentary and recording taxes/fees and all other settlement costs. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining possession of the property. Time is of the essence for the purchaser. If purchaser defaults, deposit will be forfeited and property resold at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser who shall be liable for any deficiency in the purchase price and all costs, expenses and attorney's fees of both sales. If Substitute Trustees do not convey title for any reason, purchaser's sole remedy is return of deposit without interest. This sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan secured by the Deed of Trust including but not limited to determining whether prior to sale a bankruptcy was filed; forbearance, repayment or other agreement was entered into; or loan was reinstated or paid off. In any such event this sale shall be null and void and purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit without interest. File No. (24-196965)

KEITH YACKO, DAVID WILLIAMSON,
Substitute Trustees

Nov 1,8,15 2024

HARVEY

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AUCTIONEERS, LLC
300 E. Joppa Road
Hampton Plaza - Suite 1103
Baltimore, MD 21286
410-769-9797

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857

Howard County

857

Howard County

TRUSTEE'S SALE
2901 Florence Rd, Woodbine, MD 21797

Trustee's Sale of valuable fee simple property improved by premises known as 2901 Florence Rd, Woodbine, MD 21797. By virtue of the power and authority contained in a Deed of Trust, dated July 26, 2017, and recorded in Liber 17757 at Page 340 among the land records of the County of Howard, in the original principal amount of \$389,193.00. Upon default and request for sale, the undersigned trustees will offer for sale at public auction at the Courthouse for the County of Howard, located at 8360 Court Avenue, Ellicott City, MD 21043, on **November 14, 2024 at 10:00 AM**, all that property described in said Deed of Trust including but not limited to:

Tax ID# 04-311620

Said property is in fee simple and is improved by a dwelling and is sold in "as is condition" and subject to all superior covenants, conditions, liens, restrictions, easement, rights-of-way, as may affect same, if any.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of 10% of the sale price, cash or certified funds shall be required at the time of sale. The balance of the purchase price with interest at 6.00% per annum from the date of sale to the date of payment will be paid within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale.

Adjustments on all taxes, public charges and special or regular assessments will be made as of the date of sale and thereafter assumed by purchaser.

If applicable, condominium and/or homeowners association dues and assessments that may become due after the time of sale will be the responsibility of the purchaser. Title examination, conveyancing, state revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Time is of the essence for the purchaser, otherwise the deposit will be forfeited and the property may be resold at risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. If the sale is not ratified or if the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title in accord with these terms of sale, the purchaser's only remedy is the return of the deposit. Trustee's File No. 19-282916.

William M. Savage, et al., Substitute Trustees.

LOSS LEGAL GROUP LLP,
Mailing Address: 10130 Perimeter Parkway, Suite 400,
Charlotte, North Carolina 28216
(410) 769-9797

Oct 25, Nov 1, 8 2024

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ENGAGEMENT RING VVS1, from Russia, .85 carat, platinum set. Tiffany & Co. round, brilliant. Orig buyer offers all orig paperwork w/ diamond registration number. Paid \$9.7k, asking \$7.5k. SIZE 6. Call 804-432-3770

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Furniture

INTERIOR

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265

Home & Garden

Old Family Rednose American Pitbull Terrier Have 2 females and 4 males. Puppies have been vet checked and up the date on shots & deworming. Born 07/29/24. Text or call 540-292-9315, 540-487-0959.

365

Auction Sales

PUBLIC AUCTION JK MOVING SERVICES
JK Moving 44112 Mercure Circle Sterling, VA 20166 **SATURDAY, November 16, 2024, 9:00am**
Preview/Register: 8:30am
Over 50 pallets and 24 overflowsof household items, antique furniture, sofas, ottomans, drop leaf tables, mirrors, round tables, buffet, end tables, coffee tables, arm chairs, freezers, lawn mower, patio furniture, Exercise equipment, bedroom furniture, dining room table and chairs, baby furniture, office furniture, file cabinets, and more!
Peyman Eskandari's Auction 703-996-1295 571-230-0083 Card or Cash, No Checks

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Dogs for Sale

PUPPIES!


Golden Retriever AKC registered pups 4 females 1 yr health guarantee. \$900.00 contact @ 301-885-9446 or mustanggt66@live.com

PUPPIES!


German Shepherd King Kennels www.kingkennels.net
Satu x Terrina 5 males 3 females DOB-9/15/2024 AKC registration Microchip Hiss and elbows guarantee \$3000 - (payment plan available)
DESCRIPTION: PUPPIES WILL HAVE STRONG HEALTH AND NERVES, WITH EASY TRAINABILITY. GREAT FOR A FAMILY PET. ALSO SUITABLE FOR PERSONAL OR FAMILY PROTECTION.
Demetrius - (540) 850-1269

GOLDEN RET AKC & GOLDEN / LAB RET CROSS PUPS & ADULTS 8 weeks - 3 yrs. Vet checked, parents on prem, health guar. 240-620-2013 www.Victorias-Pups.com


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Labrador Retrievers American Labrador Puppies that are looking for their forever homes. AKC registered, dewormed and first series of shots. Great loving pets or companions for hunting. Beautiful American Chocolates and Blacks Females/\$1800, Males/\$1500 Ready to go home right before the holidays. Text/ call for more information at (301)399-5886.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 2024

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Anne Arundel County

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Anne Arundel County

Robertson, Anschutz, Schneid & Crane, LLC
11350 McCormick Road, EP 1, Suite 302
Hunt Valley, MD 21031
470-321-7112

TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
**910 FORRESTER RD
CHURCHTON, MD 20733**

857

Howard County

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11350 McCormick Road, EP 1, Suite 302
Hunt Valley, MD 21031
470-321-7112

TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
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ELLICOTT CITY, MD 21042**

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TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY
KNOWN AS
**802 PATUXENT RUN CIR
ODENTON, MD 21113**

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Auction Sales

PUBLIC AUCTION JK MOVING SERVICES
JK Moving 44112 Mercure Circle Sterling, VA 20166 **SATURDAY, November 1**

WEEKEND



Tom Sietsema's 8 favorite Indian restaurants in D.C. 14

ON THE TOWN Find an election watch party. 5 • **MUSIC** 13 can't-miss concerts this month. 6

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NEW YEAR'S EVE AT THE CLUB!
49 Winchester
CHAMPAGNE TOAST AT MIDNIGHT!
DECEMBER 31

TOMORROW!
Jean Dawson w/ Quadecca.....NOV 2

TOMORROW!
U STREET MUSIC HALL PRESENTS
Gimme Gimme Disco: A Dance Party
Inspired by ABBA.....NOV 2

THIS WEDNESDAY!
Allie X w/ Violet Chachki.....NOV 6

THIS THURSDAY!
Melt w/ MARIS.....NOV 7

The Taylor Party: Taylor Swift Night...NOV 8

Hot In Herre: 2000s Dance Party...NOV 9

Amigo The Devil w/ TK & The Holy Know-
Nothings & Rattlesnake Milk.....NOV 10

ALLEYCVT
w/ sharlitz web & Capochino.....NOV 15

Haley Heynderickx
w/ Kalia Vandever.....NOV 16

Pond w/ Fazerdaze.....NOV 16

Destroy Boys w/ SASAMI
& chokecherry.....NOV 17

Real Friends w/ Can't Swim,
Carly Cosgrove & Slow Joy.....NOV 20

Kill Lincoln: 'No Normal' Record Release
w/ Catbite, The Max Levine Ensemble
& Bad OperationNOV 21

Wolves of Glendale w/ Mekki Leeper...NOV 22

U STREET MUSIC HALL PRESENTS
Ship Wrek w/ No Thanks.....NOV 22

MALINDA.....NOV 23

White Ford Bronco: DC's All
'90s Band.....NOV 23

Ocie Elliott w/ William Prince.....NOV 24

FIRST TWO NIGHTS SOLD OUT! THIRD AND FINAL NIGHT ADDED!
U STREET MUSIC HALL PRESENTS
Marc Rebillet.....NOV 27

U STREET MUSIC HALL PRESENTS
Broadway Rave.....NOV 29

U STREET MUSIC HALL PRESENTS
the charli parti.....NOV 30

Marc Roberge of O.A.R.
w/ Andrew Poliakoff.....DEC 4

Ride w/ Rocket.....DEC 5

Matt Rogers: The Prince of
Christmas Tour.....DEC 6

ALL GOOD PRESENTS
Pigeons Playing Ping Pong
w/ Kendall Street Company.....DEC 13

U STREET MUSIC HALL PRESENTS
LAYZ w/ Calcium, Benda, Kliptic
& Sabritaz.....DEC 26

ALL GOOD PRESENTS
The Elovaters.....JAN 10

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LINCOLN THEATRE • WASHINGTON, D.C.

NEW YEAR'S EVE AT LINCOLN!
WHITE FORD BRONCO
DC'S ALL '90S BAND
CHAMPAGNE TOAST AT MIDNIGHT!
DECEMBER 31

JORDAN RAKEI w/ Katie Tuper.....NOV 1
AEG PRESENTS
HAIRY SITUATION: A New Comedy show by ALOK.....NOV 2
1DKHOW w/ ALEXSUCKS.....NOV 11
WHO? WEEKLY LIVE.....NOV 14
Tinder Live with Lane Moore - 10th Anniversary Show.....NOV 15
Max Fosh.....NOV 17

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NEW YEAR'S EVE AT THE ATLANTIS!
Gimme Gimme Disco:
A Dance Party
Inspired by ABBA
CHAMPAGNE TOAST AT MIDNIGHT!
DECEMBER 31



Zach Seabaugh w/ Noah Rinker.....NOV 1
Fcuers.....NOV 2
NewDad w/ Jeff Draco.....NOV 6
King Buffalo w/ Ben Katzman's Degreaser.....NOV 8
Ashley Kutcher w/ Savanna Leigh.....NOV 10
Lady Lamb w/ Humbird.....NOV 13
The Hellp.....NOV 15

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INSIDE



Music
The visceral
electro sounds
of Anno. **8**



Exhibits
Some of the
most politically
caustic art ever
produced. **10**



Stage
Caregiving is at
the heart of two
new theatrical
productions. **13**



Movies
“Anora” is a
tough, terrific
working-girl
saga. **20**

WEEKEND

• **Email:**
goingoutguide@washpost.com
• **Telephone:** 202-334-6808
• **Advertising:** Ron Ulrich,
ronald.ulrich@washpost.com,
202-334-5289



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mi Vida marks Día de los Muertos at its D.C. restaurants with activities like sugar skull painting.

Día de los Muertos

The Mexican Day of the Dead is celebrated across D.C. with feasts, altars that remember friends and loved ones, and chances to explore art and music. Find more ideas on [goingoutguide.com](#).

All three of D.C.’s **Mi Vida** restaurants — 14th Street NW, Penn Quarter and the Wharf — will be decorated with altars through Sunday, but there are special events, too, including skull painting on 14th Street on Friday evening, with \$45 tickets covering food and two cocktails. (*Times and prices vary. [mividamexico.com](#).*) Union Market’s **La Cosecha** Latin American market is teaming with the **Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Latino** for a two-day celebration with live music, dance lessons, sugar skulls, cocktails, food and hands-on activities. (*Friday from 7 to 11 p.m. and Saturday from 4 to 11 p.m. [lacosechadc.com](#). Free.*) “One of the **National Portrait Gallery**’s biggest events of the year” is a family-friendly festival in the spacious Kogod Courtyard, with live traditional music and folk dancing. All ages can make calaveras (decorative skulls) or papel picado (intricate designs cut from paper) to leave on the museum’s altars, or get faces painted like the skeleton figure La Catrina. Don’t forget to go outside, where video artists MasPaz and Guache project works onto the building’s facade. (*Saturday from 5 to 8:30 p.m. [npg.si.edu](#). Free; registration encouraged.*) An afternoon-long party at **the Wharf** features live music from the Mexican-Irish band La Unica, large altars and sugar skulls, an area where children can decorate sugar skulls or get their faces painted, a Modelo beer garden, a best-dressed competition and face painting for adults at Mi Vida, and a sunset procession with candles and lanterns. (*Saturday from 4 to 7 p.m. [wharfdc.com](#). Free.*)

‘The Negro Motorist Green Book’ Opening Weekend Celebration

“The Negro Motorist Green Book” was an indispensable guide for African American travelers in the early and mid-20th century, directing them toward friendly diners, hotels, service stations and other essential businesses required while touring America, whether on vacation or just driving to see family. A new exhibition at the D.C. Public Library’s main branch explores the Green Book through artifacts and images, and it’s opening with a two-day public festival. Hear a panel discussion with Virginia Ali of Ben’s Chili Bowl and other business owners; have a snack

in a reproduction diner; show off your moves at a 1960s “Teenarama” dance party, inspired by the local TV show; or see vintage cars parked outside the library.

When: Saturday and Sunday from 1 to 4 p.m.
Where: Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, 901 G St. NW. [dclibrary.org](#).
Admission: Free.

Adams Morgan PorchFest

Porches, parks and front yards turn into stages during Adams Morgan’s annual PorchFest, a neighborhood-wide celebration of music that also shuts down 18th Street NW between

Columbia and Kalorama roads to create a giant block party with three stages of bands — and plenty of room to boogie on the pavement, if you’re not just listening from the closest streater. Main attractions include Huntley (the winner of “The Voice”) and the Americana rock of Justin Trawick, but there are more than 80 bands on the PorchFest schedule, from punk to old-time fiddle music and synth-pop to soul. Grab your friends and wander the blocks, stopping when something catches your ear — but don’t forget to pick up a PorchFest wristband good for deals at neighborhood businesses, like \$5 beers at Grand Duchess, Roofers Union or Code Red, or

discounted barbecue at Federalist Pig.
When: Saturday from 2 to 6 p.m.
Where: Adams Morgan, centered on 18th Street NW between Columbia and Kalorama roads. [admodc.org/porchfest](#).
Admission: Free.

A Magical Night of Wizardry

Halloween may be past, but the magic doesn’t have to end. Fans of a certain boy wizard and his world should don their best robes, climb on their brooms and head to Watkins Regional Park for an evening that includes costume contests, a “mythical bird show,” the chance to customize a wand, movie screenings and surprises.
When: Saturday from 6 to 9 p.m.
Where: Watkins Regional Park, 301 Watkins Park Dr., Upper Marlboro. [pgparks.com](#).
Tickets: \$10 Prince George’s County residents; \$12 nonresidents.

Double Exposure Film Festival

D.C. is home to the country’s only film festival devoted solely to investigative reporting. Now in its 10th year, the Double Exposure Film Festival screens documentaries at venues across the city, including host Johns Hopkins University Bloomberg Center, the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library and the Naval Heritage Center. The festival, for which The Washington Post is a sponsor, includes a symposium for working journalists and filmmakers, as well as four days of screenings open to the public. The lineup of docs includes titles like “Mistress Dispeller,” which zeroes in on the rise of a cottage industry in modern-day China helping married couples stay together after infidelity, and “Dust to Dust,” a study of designer Yuima Nakazato’s attempts to create sustainable haute couture garments for Paris Fashion Week.
When: Thursday through Nov. 10.
Where: Various times and locations around D.C. [dxfest.com](#).
Tickets: \$15 per ticket for film screenings; \$65-\$275 for passes.

On the cover: The eggplant tower at Daru, an inventive Indian restaurant in the District.

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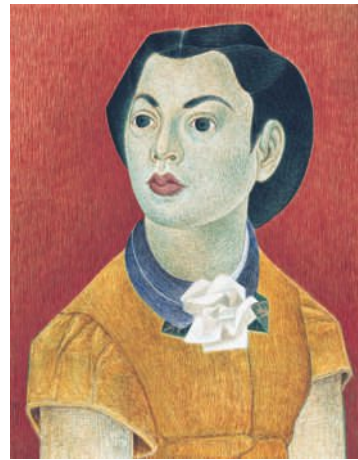
Plan Ahead

Noteworthy events over the next few weeks



NEW MEXICO MUSEUM OF ART, SANTA FE

"Pictures of Belonging" at the Smithsonian American Art Museum includes Miki Hayakawa's "One Afternoon" (circa 1935), left, oil on canvas, and Miné Okubo's "Portrait Study" (circa 1937), below, tempera on hardboard.



LUCIA RM MARTINO/SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM

Nov. 12 20 years of 'Letras Latinas'

Letras Latinas, a literary initiative of the Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre Dame, celebrates its 20th anniversary with a poetry reading at the newly renovated Folger Library. The hour-long event spotlights writing from the soon-to-be-released anthology "Latino Poetry: Places We Call Home," with a book sale and signing afterward. Hear from poets Blas Falconer, Valerie Martínez and Dan Vera, while visual artist and poet Sami Miranda serves as a moderator for a conversation following the readings. 7:30 p.m. Folger Shakespeare Library, 201 East Capitol St. SE. folger.edu. \$20 for in-person tickets, \$10 and up for "pay what you will" virtual streaming tickets.

Nov. 15-Aug. 17 'Pictures of Belonging: Miki Hayakawa, Hisako Hibi and Miné Okubo'

The Smithsonian American Art Museum's upcoming exhibit traces the careers of three female artists of Japanese descent, all of whom were active in the art world before World War II and deserve wider recognition today. "Pictures of Belonging: Miki Hayakawa, Hisako Hibi and Miné Okubo" includes works from the artists that reflect on their experiences during the mass incarceration and displacement of Japanese Americans during World War II, as well as later paintings that show their ever-evolving artistic expression and stories of resilience. Opening day of the exhibition features a free gallery talk from guest curator ShiPu Wang, a professor at the University

of California at Merced. Talk at 11:45 a.m. Nov. 15. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Eighth and G streets NW. americanart.si.edu. Free; online registration required for gallery talk.

Nov. 16 Sounds of US

A new music festival with nearly 40 world premieres debuts at the Kennedy Center in November, including a mix of free and ticketed performances. Sounds of US is created and curated by Jennifer Koh, violinist and artistic director of the Kennedy Center's Fortas Chamber Music Concerts. The festival is themed around what Koh describes as "a musician's journey," with sections on the main stage titled "To Begin" alongside "To Believe" and "To Become," showcasing students and early-career musicians alongside established composers and performers. The final ticketed show is called "To Be," inspired by the life of a working musician and featuring premieres of works by Vijay Iyer, Carlos Simon and Jeff Scott. Between ticketed shows, head over to "Free for US" performances in the Peace Corps Gallery at the Reach. 1 to 9 p.m. Kennedy Center, 2700 F St. NW. kennedy-center.org. Some events free; ticketed events \$20-\$45.

Nov. 16-17 DMV Chocolate and Coffee Festival

This festival focuses entirely on two of life's finer pleasures: coffee and chocolate. More than 150 small businesses, including local and regional chocolate makers, coffee roasters and gourmet food vendors, visit the Dulles Expo Center to sell treats perfect for

holiday gifts — or just a treat for yourself. Beyond shopping, you can check out a chocolate fountain by the Chocolate Chick, participate in coffee cuppings hosted by Falls Church's Rare Bird Coffee Roasters or take in a session at the Coffee Education Lab led by Manassas-based coffee roaster Cafe Kreyol. Kids can make art at a craft table and learn how chocolate is made in a class for little ones from Chantilly's River-Sea Chocolates. Saturday from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and Sunday from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Dulles Expo Center, 4320 Chantilly Shopping Center, Chantilly. dmvchocolateandcoffee.com. \$20-\$40. Get \$2 off at-the-door pricing by bringing a canned food item for a food drive.

Nov. 23 'Believe: The Untold Story Behind Ted Lasso'

Fans of Coach Beard, Dani Rojas, Rebecca Welton and Theodore "Ted" Lasso will be intrigued by New York Times television editor Jeremy Egner's new "Believe," a behind-the-scenes oral history about the making of the hit Apple TV Plus show. Egner visits indie Takoma Park bookstore People's Book to chat about his book, which covers the show's initial pitch meeting before getting into season-by-season tidbits, shared through interviews from cast members and creators. People's Book has a 50-seat capacity (plus more standing room), so AFC Richmond fanatics should definitely RSVP. 3 to 4 p.m. People's Book, 7014-A Westmoreland Ave., Takoma Park. peoplesbooktakoma.com. Free; RSVP online.

— Adele Chapin

Share the anxiety at these election watch parties at D.C. bars

BY FRITZ HAHN,
WARREN ROJAS AND
SOPHIA SOLANO

On Tuesday night, bars throughout D.C. will be packed with anxious crowds watching election results roll across giant projection screens while talking heads echo through sound systems. Meanwhile, bars offer drink specials, trivia, bingo and other activities to keep everyone engaged as state and congressional races are called.

Too nervous to watch in public? Some restaurants are offering election-night packages for you to enjoy from your couch.

Here's a sampling of events happening around town on Tuesday. You'll find an updated list on goingoutguide.com.

Watch parties

Busboys and Poets

All eight branches of the liberal bookstore/coffeehouse/restaurant Busboys and Poets are hosting election viewing parties with all-night drink specials, vowing to stay open until a winner is declared. The flagship 14th and V location features a set by folk duo Emma's Revolution, performing songs like "Our People Gonna Rise" and "Keep Moving Forward" before the results begin rolling in. *Most parties begin at 6 p.m., but see website for details.* busboysandpoets.com. Free.

Clouding Memories at Blue-jacket

Navy Yard's dedicated brewery aims to "remember yesterday & celebrate tomorrow, today!" with some boozy Election Day deals. The two discounted drafts (\$5 each) are bitter IPA Yesterdays and fruited sour Tomorrow, Today. Specialty drinks target a range of electoral vibes, including woeful (\$3 Malort), pensive (\$9 Last Word), festive (\$9 Hugo spritz) and stiff (\$9 old-fashioned). *11 a.m. to midnight.* blue-jacketdc.com. Free.

Election Night Viewing Party at Boundary Stone

This Bloomingdale mainstay is running its happy hour deals all night (\$5 to \$8.25 beer, wine, cocktail and food specials) while broadcasting the election returns. Boundary Stone is also reviving a debate night offering, Kamala's Coconut Daiquiri, which features flavored rum from local distillery Cotton & Reed, and drowning sorrows with its vodka-based Palate Cleanser Shot. *8 to 11:30 p.m.* boundarystonedc.com. Free.

Election Day Cocktail Battle at Cucina Morini

This buzzy Mount Vernon Triangle restaurant is streaming the election results live and shaking



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Capitol Hill's Union Pub, known for its lively debate viewing parties, opens at 11 a.m. on Election Day, with drinks flowing into the wee hours. Food specials include the Kamala Is Brat sausage sandwich.

up dueling discount martinis (\$7 each) to help take the edge off. The first features grapefruit-spiked El Tequileño Blanco tequila, Ramazzotti Aperitivo Rosato and dry vermouth. The second mixes tequila with pepper brine and sweet vermouth. Customers can vote for their favorite, with the most popular pour winning a permanent spot on the house drink list. *5 to 10 p.m.* cucinamorini.com. Free.

Election Day Comedy Jam & Watch Party at DC Comedy Clubhouse

Organizers of this laugh fest at Red Lounge hope their slate of featured comedians (taking the stage from 7:30 to 9 p.m.), discounted food deals (\$4 tacos),

election-themed cocktails (one for each candidate), live DJs and by-request hookah will help election results watchers make it through the night without losing their minds. *7 to 11:30 p.m.* eventbrite.com. \$15.

Dew Drop Inn

Like a lot of other bars, the Dew Drop Inn will have election-themed cocktails — but where else is offering a free hot dog bar or letting you feed your anxiety with free cheese balls? Keep an eye on the Edgewood bar's social media for more details. *7 p.m.* dewdropinnndc.com. Free.

Dirty Water

H Street's Boston-themed sports bar has been a home for D.C. Young Republicans during

this election cycle, thanks to spirited open-bar viewing parties with debates on big screens, and the formula continues on election night. "We're rooting for Trump, and we plan on spraying champagne when we win," the bar says, though champagne's not included in the ticket price: \$30 gets unlimited Bud Light drafts, Rolling Rock, Busch Light, Shock Top Blueberry Wheat and rail mixed drinks from 6:30 p.m. "until either a national news network or campaign declares a winner."

6:30 p.m. instagram.com/dirtywaterdc1. \$30.

Election Watch Party at Madhatter

Determined to close down Dupont Circle on election night? This happy hour go-to is right there with you, offering up discounted food (\$10 smash burger and fries) and drink specials (\$6 drafts, \$24 pitchers of margaritas, \$30 bottles of wine) while the nationwide results keep trickling in. *5 p.m. to 2 a.m.* madhatterdc.com. Free.

Election Night Watch Party at Immigrant Food

The Ballston branch of this self-described "gastroadvocacy" restaurant is running half-price wine deals throughout Election Day and applying the 50 percent discount to the two dozen reds, whites, rosés and sparklers gathered from around the world. Standing happy hour deals (\$7 to \$13 select appetizers, \$10 house cocktails) will also be honored from 3 to 6 p.m. *11 a.m. to 9 p.m.* immigrantfood.com. Free.

Lulu's Winegarden

The Tuesday night trivia at Lulu's Winegarden usually covers fluffy topics like "Vanderpump Rules" or "Love Is Blind." This night, though, is much more important. Watch the results come in on the U Street wine bar's TVs while answering questions about politics and previous elections. Discounted sparkling wine, beer and spritzes are available while you play. *7 p.m.* luluswinegarden.com. Free.

Profs and Pints: Your Prep for the 2024 Election Results at Penn Social

If you'd prefer to skip the

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HAL ASHBY

Touché Amoré singer won't 'go out quiet'

BY CHRIS KELLY

I was scheduled to speak with Jeremy Bolm, lead singer of post-hardcore mainstay Touché Amoré, as he made the high-plains drift from Denver to Minneapolis. But Bolm was on “super vocal rest” to preserve his instrument for the rest of the gigs, seemingly living up to lyrics he sang back on the band’s first album: “I was not born with a strong voice/ It’s never been one to boom/ But I’ll be damned to go out quiet/ If it’s the only thing I’ll lose.”

It’s with that voice — which usually erupts as a throat-flaying scream — that Bolm has eviscerated the flaws and failings of self and others and stared into the void of loss and legacy for his nearly two decades in Touché Amoré. The band’s latest album, “Spiral in a Straight Line,” is imbued with a sense of Sisyphean struggle that is shared not just by touring musicians but by anyone gripped by the malaise of the period since covid.

“I think we’re all collectively exhausted. Whether it was purposeful or not, I can see how the album reflects in that kind of way,” Bolm says via email. “There’s a stress and anxiety that is the baseline of the context. Existential dread.”

“A line I say that felt like almost too bleak but kept it ‘cause it felt poignant ... is, ‘When waking up starts to feel like more of an expense,’” he continues. “I imagine that’s sadly relatable to most everyone these days.”

Perhaps it is that relatability that has helped Touché Amoré exist and evolve across the span of its six albums, even as the post-hardcore scene is awash in waves of new bands and new fans.

Post-hardcore band Touché Amoré reflects a widespread sense of “existential dread” on its latest album, “Spiral in a Straight Line,” says lead singer Jeremy Bolm — communicating via email to save his voice for screaming.

“I take such extreme pride in our audience because we somehow and some way managed to cultivate this incredible listener base that has been kind enough to give each album its due,” Bolm says. “Playing to people who scream along to songs from our first album and songs from the fifth. It’s unreal, and we don’t take it for granted. They’ve grown with us, and we’ve grown with them.”

Bolm has grown, not just as a person, but as a singer and songwriter, during the band’s tenure. He has learned to be respectful and considerate about how he approaches speaking on and singing about deeply personal topics. Such is the case with Touché Amoré’s “Stage Four,” a 2016 album Bolm wrote about his mother, who died of cancer. Last month marked the 10-year anniversary of her death.

“I wrote that album while everything was an open wound and have been told it’s too hard to listen to for some people. The way people approach me to talk about the album has been a learning lesson,” he says. “I try not to pull my punches, but if I do, it’s for my own self-preservation.”

Friday at 8 p.m. at the Black Cat, 1811 14th St. NW. blackcatdc.com. \$25-\$30.

Hear the many facets of R&B at November shows

BY CHRIS KELLY

Even as young listeners increasingly file their music by vibe and mood, genre gatekeeping continues to be a time-honored tradition. Is Beyoncé’s “Cowboy Carter” a country album? Is song-of-the-year singer Tommy Richman a rap artist?

No genre descriptor is more divisive or has a more loaded legacy than R&B, a catchall for countless sounds and styles that came into fashion in the middle of the 20th century.

While R&B is a big tent that has been home to music drawn from blues, gospel, soul, funk and eventually hip-hop traditions, the term too often serves as a shorthand for music made by Black artists — no matter what they actually make. Despite that, R&B continues to evolve, finding enough seats at the table for soulful classicists, electronic experimenters and, in one case, a proponent of “trap house jazz.”

Tinashe’s decade-long career has typified the mutability of R&B, from smoked-out quiet storms to club music and dance-pop tunes. While she wasn’t quite able to replicate the success of the slinky, viral hit “Nasty” on her most recent album, the singer is a showbiz veteran at only 31 years old and is a natural-born performer. (Friday at 8 p.m. at the Anthem. theanthemdc.com. \$39.50-\$99.50.)

A major proponent of the line-blurring in R&B, hip-hop and electronic music, **Soulection** is a musical collective that has re-

leased dozens of projects and served as a touring entity and broadcast platform on Apple Music radio. One of its most prominent collaborators is **Sango**, a DJ-producer who has worked with everyone from Tinashe to Frank Ocean. He’ll be joined by collaborator **Rochelle Jordan**, a singer-songwriter who has gone even farther down the clubland rabbit hole in her own music: Her excellent 2021 album “Play With the Changes” paired her luscious voice with ravey tracks powered by the beats of house and drum-and-bass. (Thursday at 8 p.m. at the Howard Theatre. unionstagepresents.com. \$27.50-\$50.)

One of Sango’s most-streamed songs is a woozy two-minute interlude featuring **Masego**, a Jamaican American artist who brings saxophone-playing and inflections from hip-hop and jazz to a style he calls trap house jazz. Songs like “Silver Tongue Devil” pay homage to his Caribbean heritage, but he’s equally adept at crooning, as he does all over his silky-smooth self-titled album. (Sunday at 8 p.m. at the Kennedy Center. kennedy-center.org. \$59-\$149.)

Still need more Soulection? Keep your eyes (and ears) trained on **Xavier Omär**, a strong-voiced singer who helped kick off a new wave of quiet storm with his 2016 single “Blind Man.” His vocal style and that of Sango’s productions were a natural fit on a pair of collaborative projects, “Hours Spent Loving You” and “Moments Spent Loving You,” that got lost in

SEE MUSIC ON 7



KYLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Tinashe, who released the album “Quantum Baby” in August and is known for viral hit “Nasty,” will perform at the Anthem on Friday.

MUSIC FROM 6

the haze of love and lust. (Nov. 21 at 8 p.m. at the Howard Theatre. unionstagepresents.com. \$30-\$60.)

The dimensions of love remain a natural lyrical fixation for R&B artists. That's the case with **Orion Sun**, a New Jersey-born talent who cites legends Billie Holiday, Stevie Wonder and Bill Withers among her influences. "This album, like all of my albums, is about love," she has said of her latest album, "Orion." "It's about the pain love brings whether you are with or without love." Her woozy work finds the liminal space where a slow song can feel like the outpouring of a full heart or the mending of a broken one. (Nov. 9 at 6 p.m. at 9:30 Club. 930.com. Sold out.)

Leon Thomas grew up on the stages of Broadway and the shows of Nickelodeon but has spent the past few years focused on his music career, both in front of the mic and behind the boards. Thomas has written and produced for the likes of Drake, Ariana Grande and Ty Dolla Sign, the last of whom made him the first signing to his Motown imprint. His new album, "Mutt," sniffs out the dating misadventures of the situationship generation. (Nov. 19 at 8 p.m. at Union Stage. unionstagepresents.com. Sold out.)

Robert Glasper is an accomplished jazz pianist with several releases on the influential imprint Blue Note, but his most exciting work has seen him stoke the flames between jazz, R&B and hip-hop, whether through his "Black Radio" series; collaborations with like-minded talents Terrace Martin, Kamasi Washington and 9th Wonder; or contributions to Kendrick Lamar's "To Pimp a Butterfly." There's no word on who the "special guests" will be at this performance, but he has a deep Rolodex to draw from. (Nov. 24 at 8 p.m. at the Howard Theatre. unionstagepresents.com. \$55.)

For **Fousheé**, R&B is but one tradition from which the singer-songwriter draws. Her earliest releases offered her takes on everything from Depeche Mode's "Enjoy the Silence" to a reimagining of Carole King's "It's Too Late" that sounded like Minnie Riperton was singing it. Her debut album, "Softcore," looked to punk and metal for inspiration, but her latest, "Pointy Heights," mixes breezy soul, spacey post-punk and Jamaican rhythms. (Nov. 27 at 8 p.m. at Union Stage. unionstagepresents.com. \$35-\$50.)

After an on-set injury inspired her to change careers from wardrobe stylist to musician, **Teedra Moses** had a relatively late start in the R&B chanteuse game — but the wait was worth it. After penning hits for Nivea and Christina

Orion Sun says her new album "Orion" deals with "the pain love brings whether you are with or without love." She performs Nov. 9 at 9:30 Club.



LINUS JOHNSON



D'ANGELO ISAAC

Musician and model Hayden Pedigo, from Amarillo, Texas, brings his instrumental guitar sounds to Songbyrd on Nov. 20.



BOBBI RICH

Nikka Costa, whose songs have often appeared in TV and film, plays Union Stage on Nov. 8.

Milian, the singer released "Complex Simplicity," a standout album at an interesting moment in R&B's evolution and a cult classic in its own right. This tour celebrates the 20th anniversary of the album, which spawned the breezy single "Be Your Girl." (Nov. 27 at 8 p.m. at the Howard Theatre. unionstagepresents.com. \$35-\$60.)

As the self-described "Love King of RnB," **Raheem DeVaughn** has been singing about the intricacies of sex and romance for nearly two decades. Despite his tenure in the business, the D.C.-raised talent stays busy, releasing three new albums in 2023. Backed by a full band, DeVaughn promises to end a month full of R&B with a bang. (Nov. 29 at 8 p.m. at the Howard Theatre. unionstagepresents.com. \$35-\$75.)

Three other shows to catch

Nikka Costa

After a career as a child singer, Nikka Costa reemerged in the early 2000s delivering a fiery mix of funk-soul-pop-rock somewhere between Betty Davis and Janis Joplin. Thanks to placements on TV and film, funky ditties like "Like a Feather" and "Everybody Got Their Something" and spaced-out ballads like "So Have I For You" have lived on. Now, after a few hiatuses from the business, Costa has returned again with "Dirty Disco," adding the rubbery grooves of its titular genre to the mix. (Nov. 8 at 7 p.m. at Union Stage. unionstagepresents.com. \$25-\$100.)

Alma Laprida

Alma Laprida is a master of the tromba marina, a bowed instrument from the medieval ages. Now based in D.C., the Argentine improviser and sound artist pushed the instrument beyond its original limit, cranking it through an 18-inch subwoofer and a bunch of effects pedals to turn its usually light sounds into something ominous. Celebrating the release of her album "Pitch Dark and Trembling," Laprida will be joined by Animal Collective member Geologist, who will improvise on another medieval instrument, the hurdy-gurdy. (Nov. 15 at 7 p.m. at Tonal Park. rhizomede.org. \$15-\$35.)

Hayden Pedigo

When he's not walking the runway for Gucci or running an absurd, quixotic campaign for a city council seat in his hometown of Amarillo, Texas, Hayden Pedigo is a prodigy of instrumental guitar music, uniting the new age riffing of American primitive guitar with the post-rock ambiance where every bittersweet melody and uneasy silence gives listeners the chance to fill in the blanks in their own mind. (Nov. 20 at 8 p.m. at Songbyrd. songbyrddc.com. \$15-\$18.)

On Anno's new album, the singer-producer embraces slowness

BY CHRIS RICHARDS

As sensations go, anticipation can feel something like impatience, anxiety, excitement, fear, yearning, frustration, or various mix-and-match combinations of each of those feelings, all of which simultaneously reside inside the visceral electro music that appears on the excellent new self-titled debut album from D.C.-based singer-producer-performance-artist Anno, which isn't exactly a debut album considering Anno used to make astonishing music under different names, most notably as Olivia Neutron-John, until a cease and desist order from the actual Olivia Newton-John precipitated a name change roughly five years ago, and if you're wondering when or how this sentence will end, you might be getting a sense for how an Anno song feels, but then again, maybe not.

This new album opens with "Moving Slow," a declaration of purpose that begins with a synthesizer throbbing like a broken alarm, followed by an electric bass line slithering across a drum machine grid. "I've been moving

slow, not what you think you know," Anno groans in a voice that originates deep within, then slips outside of time.

"Those lyrics are kind of my core," Anno says during a recent backyard interview on a gusty Friday morning, "accepting that I'm slow in a fast world." And at that moment, the wind surges, and the autumn foliage overhead goes whoosh, as if it were saying, *Ah, I see.*

I still don't totally get it, though, so Anno gets specific about how the pandemic changed everyone's sense of time, working musicians' in particular. "I got the cease and desist in 2019, but I feel like it was just a head start on what everyone faced in 2020. A lot of us took the opportunity to remove ourselves from this cycle of 'play another show, make another thing,'" Anno says (and here, the leaves start whooshing again). "I release music criminally slow. I'm a slow processor, and I learned to really embrace that, and not feel bad about it, and trust my own process."

That process involves "discipline" — a strict daily regimen of 15-minute music-making ses-



JEN DESSINGER

sions where, if something good materializes, terrific, keep going; if not, no stress, try again tomorrow — which Anno says ended up infusing this new album with its overall sense of "hope." But hope might be a surprising word to attach to Anno's music, which can

feel tense and ominous, especially if you've experienced it live anywhere in D.C.'s DIY scene in recent months.

At the omni-rave Initialize back in February, and during a stunning performance inside the Joint Custody record shop on U

Anno — who formerly performed as Olivia Neutron-John — will mark a new era of music making with an album release party at Bar 618.

Street NW in May, Anno's songs leaned hard into all of that aforementioned anxiety-excitement-fear-yearning, but perhaps in ways that felt more expansive than anything else. Maybe your mind got stretched. Maybe hope started to feel like another form of anticipation.

"People interpret me as being confrontational and scary," Anno says, but "my music [involves] sitting with your feelings, bringing light to your feelings. That *is* really scary for some people. So people might think it's this terrifying thing. But maybe it's not." Whoosh.

Anno performs Friday with NappyNappa, Dee Clark, DJ Land Reform, Peter Kaufmann, Sam Park and Graham Hatke at Bar 618, 618 H St. NW. Show starts at 8 p.m. [instagram.com/618.dc](https://www.instagram.com/618.dc). \$15-\$20.

Inspired by the butterfly, Raveena finds solace in meditation

BY ZOE GLASSER

In making her most recent album, Raveena returned to nature. Despite the success of her 2022 release "Asha's Awakening," the 31-year-old R&B singer had a challenging year; \$40,000 of her equipment was stolen on tour, and she was assaulted while in Europe. So on this new record, she needed a change of pace. She lived what she describes as a "monastic" lifestyle of discipline, practicing her instruments for hours, writing and taking long walks in the mountains near Los Angeles.

"I was thinking a lot about the role earth and spirit play in our lives, and the quiet backdrop that it has," she says via Zoom from her hotel room in Dallas. "The place that I was making this record from was one of deep connection with elements, with meditation, with magic."

The product of this experience was "Where the Butterflies Go in the Rain," her third full-length record, which she released in June. The album's name is inspired by the natural phenomenon in which butterflies hide from storms to protect their fragile wings. Raveena says that she,



POYENCHEN

R&B singer Raveena says she needed to "recalibrate" and turn off distractions after a difficult year ahead of her third album.

too, was at a time when she needed protection to weather storms in her life.

"I needed to be like the butterfly and go into a state of deep rest," she says. "Turn off my

phone, turn off distractions, turn off all the noise, because I thought that I was much farther along on my spiritual journey than I was. All of those things really knocked me off my feet, and I needed to

recalibrate."

Like butterfly wings, the record's soundscape is delicate and glossy. Raveena's voice soars over the R&B tracks, peppered as always with Indian instruments hailing from her Punjabi heritage. Lyrically, the music is loaded with imagery about the beauty of the natural world, including references to the titular insect on lead single "Pluto."

Meditation became the core of her artistic process. She sought to get in touch with her impetus to create, she says, and sitting helped her achieve that. "I was [meditating] sometimes for eight to 10 hours a day. ... What does my spirit want for music, beyond what the industry or what people around me want? I was trying to open up my body so that I could get to that really pure place when you're so in flow with music."

Raveena has hosted meditation meetups with fans nationwide as she opens for Tinashe's Match My Freak World Tour. She's enjoyed connecting with her longtime supporters and participating in a healing activity together.

"Incorporating meditation [on the tour] has been powerful because it gives me an opportunity

to meet some of my most dedicated fans and provide them with something, and create community spaces. I want people to walk away from that and find new friends, which I've seen people doing."

Raveena has pushed herself in her live performances, too. She reignited her childhood passion for piano playing during the album writing process and also has been performing a cover of "Keh-na Hi Kya," a Hindi song featured in the Bollywood film "Bombay." She says she practiced the vocal techniques for almost a year and a half to get them correct, and she practiced a dance to accompany the song. Though the pace of touring is far more chaotic than her album writing process, she is excited to connect with fans and share what she's learned.

"Touring is doing the impossible. You're sleeping less, you're constantly on the road, on a plane, on a bus, paying so much every day. It's a massive undertaking, but it's beautiful. That 40 minutes when you're onstage, everything is worth it."

Friday at 8 p.m. at the Anthem, 901 Wharf St. SW. [theanthemdc.com](https://www.theanthemdc.com). \$39.50-\$99.50.



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The D.C. Young Republicans, who watched presidential debates at Dirty Water, will return to the Boston-themed bar for election night. For \$30, get unlimited select beers and rail mixed drinks.

ELECTION FROM 5

televised talking-heads commentary on the horse race, look instead to Profs and Pints' election night lecture with Georgetown University professor Michael Bailey. The government academic and author of "Polling at a Crossroads: Rethinking Modern Survey Research" will discuss what to really expect from polls, how much faith we should put in them and how to prepare ourselves for a lengthy night (or many nights) waiting for results. Grab a seasonal craft beer, cocktail or wine while you listen. *6 to 8:30 p.m. profsandpints.ticketleap.com. \$13.50 in advance; \$17 at the door; \$15 with a student ID.*

Red Derby

"If you're going to watch, it'll feel better to watch together" is the message from the Red Derby, a bar that knows a thing or two about building community. But let's be honest: The real message here is that nothing, not even an election, can stop the Derby's Tendie Tuesday specials. All night long, while you watch results roll in on the Columbia Heights bar's projection screens, the bartenders are serving \$3 Tecates, \$6.50 Tecate-and-tequila shot combos, \$7 margaritas, and \$6 baskets of chicken tenders and fries. The all-the-time bartender's pick specials — a \$3.50 "lucky pick" beer and \$3.50 house shots — remain in effect. *5 p.m. redderby.com. Free.*

Shaw's Tavern

One of D.C.'s more politically minded bars — it opens for early-morning congressional hearings as well as debate parties — is all in on election night. The \$99 ticket includes four hours of unlimited drinks, a dinner buffet and passed appetizers. If the election hasn't been called by 11 p.m., the party

becomes a cash bar. *7 to 11 p.m. shawstavern.com. \$99.*

Union Pub

Specials at Union Pub start hours before the polls close, but the Capitol Hill watering hole will be busy throughout the day — and packed inside and out after work. Expect pun-laden cocktails like Orange Drink (\$10) and the Diet-Mountain-Dew-fueled Dirty Walz (\$12), as well as food specials including the Kamala Is Brat sausage sandwich (\$12) and They're Eating the Dogs, which is literally a dog bowl full of mini corn dogs (\$13). Attendees can express their preferences through a trio of blue, red and purple drinks (\$10 each after 5 p.m.), and the entire bar receives a free shot when the tally of drinks sold crosses the magic 270. *11 a.m. unionpubdc.com. Free.*

Takeout specials

Pizza for President Election Night Special at All-Purpose Pizza

Cast your ballot in AP's all-star pie competition by ordering for takeout your favorite of three options: the Standard (tomatoes, mozzarella, oregano and grana padano), the Buona (tomato, mozzarella, pepperoni, grana, Calabrian chile honey and basil) or the Sedgewick (whipped ricotta, mozzarella, taleggio, parmesan, black truffle honey and chives). The "winning" pie is the one with the most orders by the end of the night, and patrons who ordered one receive a drink ticket on their next visit to use on DC Brau and All-Purpose Pils collaborations, house cocktails, or nonalcoholic drinks. Order through the All-Purpose Shaw, All-Purpose Pizzeria or AP Pizza Shop websites for your "vote" to count. *5 to 10 p.m. allpurposedc.com. Pizzas \$18-\$22.*

Election Night Dinner for Two at Centrolina

The upscale CityCenterDC spot is closed for Election Day to give its staff time to get to the polls, but it's still offering an Italian dinner for two for takeout. The ready-to-cook meal includes antipasti options, a lasagna with pumpkin and kale, roasted snapper with cauliflower and shishito peppers, squash pie with raisins and almonds, a half bottle of prosecco, and the sommelier's selection of red or white vino — plus instructions on how to prepare it all. Preorders end Saturday at 11:59 p.m. *Pickup Monday from 5 to 9 p.m. or Tuesday from 9 a.m. to noon. centrolinadc.com. \$150.*

Election Day Comfort Food Package at Chang Chang

Chef Peter Chang's only D.C. eatery knows comfort food is a balm for election anxiety. That's why its takeout package, which feeds up to four people, offers creative spins on Chinese culinary staples: pan-fried pork dumplings, dry-fried cauliflower, Wagyu beef lo mein and matcha cake. A vegetarian menu (featuring veggie lo mein and kung pao vegetables) is also available. Order via Tock by Friday at 10 p.m. *Pickup Monday or Tuesday from 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. or 4 to 9 p.m. changchangdc.com. \$120.*

Watch party goody bags from Le Diplomate

The French staple's election night offerings include more than just food. Inside a Le Dip-branded tote bag, you'll find an imprinted cheese board — plus a pack of tissues for tears of joy, fear, despair, relief, etc. It also has party (or stress eating) snacks such as salami soppressata, marinated olives, gougères and mixed nuts. The goody bag is available the day of the election on DoorDash. *11:30 a.m. to 11 p.m. lediplomatedc.com. \$125.*

Q: Tom, what's your favorite comfort food as we enter these chillier months?

A: I love a great roast chicken, bibimbap, chili, a real German brat with tangy sauerkraut — lots of dishes!

Q: Thank you for your recommendation of Centrolina; we ate there last week while visiting friends, and it was perfect. Great food, great wine, great atmosphere, and the service was outstanding. It was the first restaurant we've been to in a while that seemed staffed well enough that we never felt neglected. Our best dining out experience in some time, and we can't wait to return.

A: So glad to hear you second my recent selection of Amy Brandwein's restaurant as No. 3 (of the Top 5) best restaurants in my annual dining guide. I'd be a regular at **Centrolina** if I didn't have a job that keeps me hopping from table to table every week.

Q: Tom, just a note to say thanks for keeping your reviews, comments and especially this weekly discussion politics-free. I understand most/all Post staff are unhappy the paper is not endorsing the vice president — but there is something to be said for a wall between Food and State, and many of us appreciate you maintaining that focus here.

A: At this point, a lot of us are EXHAUSTED by politics and gloomy news — important as they are to making good decisions. I want this chat to be enlightening, helpful and entertaining, as much as outside events allow.

Q: Field report — Stable on H Street is back and is as good as ever.

A: This news makes my day. Over summer, **Stable**, the city's only Swiss restaurant, was doing just steak frites. Now, fondue, raclette and other rib-sticking specialties are back. Fall is officially HERE.

Q: Good morning! I am looking for a Friday a.m. breakfast spot with good food and mimosas in North Arlington, Old Town Alexandria or Falls Church. It seems like most places don't open until lunchtime. I

appreciate the help!

A: Thanks for the excuse to mention the charming, Southern-leaning **Ruthie's All-Day** in Arlington, which serves breakfast Monday through Friday starting at 7 a.m.

Q: I'm sure I'm not the only person with this message, but I wanted to let you know we are canceling our subscription to The Washington Post and the thing that gave me the most pause was you. I will miss you, your reviews and this chat, the most of all.

A: Wow. Thank you. (But you know, the BETTER way to make your voice heard is by unsubscribing from Amazon, not a source of news information that has a proven track record over a very long time.)

Q: Hi, Tom! Some friends and I are looking to do a special lunch somewhere roughly between the Glover Park/Van Ness areas, though we'd travel farther if need be. We're looking for something that feels fun and special but doesn't have to be fancy or stuffy. Something ... distracting in these crazy times. No food restrictions, but shouldn't be super expensive.

A: I'm always happy to find myself at **Bistrot Lepic** in Glover Park, which offers two- and three-course lunch deals for \$36 and \$43, respectively. Looking at the current menu, I'd spring for salmon tartare, grilled lamb sausage and floating island for dessert.

Q: I go to Washington a couple of times a year to look at art. I used to meet with cousins at Kramers for dinner, but it's become a pizza place now — and soggy pizza at that. Can you recommend a restaurant near Dupont Circle that's moderately priced and relatively quiet?

A: Try **Alfreda** for consistently good pizza — and salads and drinks — in the neighborhood, or **Amparo Fondita** for very good Mexican. (There are other good spots in Dupont, but they're noisier or pricier.)

● Tom Sietsema hosts a weekly Q&A on Wednesdays at 11 a.m. at live.washingtonpost.com.



SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Chef and owner Amy Brandwein at Centrolina in CityCenterDC. "Any list of top chefs in Washington has to include Amy Brandwein," Tom Sietsema wrote in a recent roundup of best restaurants.



WILL KIRK/JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The combustible art of interwar Europe

Frery Gallery's first exhibit is a sampler of visual movements

BY KRISTON CAPPS

The art featured in the Irene and Richard Frery Gallery's first exhibition — a survey of explosive graphic media responding to the convulsions of pre-World War II Europe — is some of the most politically caustic ever produced.

So it was a little surprising that the Oct. 22 inauguration of the gallery, a new art venue at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg Center, felt so flat.

At a panel convened to debate art and democracy, Shakespeare Theater Company dramaturge Drew Lichtenberg spoke about the historical links between democracy and tragedy dating back to the 6th century B.C. Kaywin Feldman and Asma Naeem, respective directors of the National Gallery of Art and Baltimore Museum of Art, traded lines about the role of a museum in shoring up freedom. No one mentioned any politician by name or called

out the party putting democracy at risk. The dialogue ended with a planted question from the audience by arts persona and Agora Institute fellow Philippa Pham Hughes, which triggered a flash one-act play onstage: a micro-adaptation of Aeschylus's tale of law and order, "The Oresteia."

Art and Democracy Day went off with a bang, at least as far as lukewarm panel discussions go. But the event barely registered as a whimper compared with the message of the exhibit, "Art and Graphic Design of the European Avant-Gardes." None of the artists in this continental sampler of futurism, suprematism and other -isms was ever polite, pragmatic or remotely interested in realism — political or otherwise.

"Art and Graphic Design of the European Avant-Gardes" compiles works on paper by the likes of Kurt Schwitters, El Lissitzky and Kazimir Malevich — all of

SEE DESIGN ON 11



BRUCE SCHWARZ/COLLECTION OF IRENE AND RICHARD FRERY

If you go
ART AND GRAPHIC DESIGN OF THE EUROPEAN AVANT-GARDES
 Irene and Richard Frery Gallery, Hopkins Bloomberg Center, 555 Pennsylvania Ave. NW.
washingtondc.jhu.edu/arts-culture/irene-and-richard-frery-gallery.
Dates: Through Feb. 21.
Prices: Free.

TOP: "Art and Graphic Design of the European Avant-Gardes," at the Irene and Richard Frery Gallery, covers the many -isms that spread in Europe's interwar period. **LEFT:** Hungarian artist Lajos Kassák's "Bildarchitektur (Picture Architecture)," 1925, multicolor gouache on paper.



WILL KIRK/JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

DESIGN FROM 10

them combustible artists working at the front lines of creative revolutions across Europe. Pamphlets, prints and other graphic materials (some of them reproductions) tell the story of a continent reeling from industrial-scale war yet stimulated by the creative potential of destruction. In a swell of radical dissatisfaction, artists from across the continent rose up to reject the orthodoxies of tradition. Their experiments in form refused to abide by so much as the rules of grammar.

Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's "Zang Tumb Tumb" (1914) might be the starting point in this exhibition — although it's hardly futurist to think in such fixed terms of time and place. A string of words arranged haphazardly on a page, the piece is a sound poem, the artist's singsong response to the Siege of Adrianople during the First Balkan War in 1912. Nonsensical words aligned in an arc evoke the sound and trajectory of the falling bombs that Marinetti witnessed as a wartime reporter in what is present-day Turkey. With his concrete poetry, the author of the Futurist Manifesto sought to disrupt every hierarchy associated with printed media.

The exhibition groups together artists from different European locations who advanced similar ideas such as Dada or surrealism, although these categories were always porous. A 1924 ink drawing by Victor Brauner for Punct, a journal that he edited in Bucharest, shows how Romania translated the constructivist ideas coming out of Moscow; Brauner's drawing has a lot more bounce than anything by Lissitzky. The show shines a light on many lesser-known artists working outside the major capitals and flicks



BRUCE SCHWARZ



BRUCE SCHWARZ/COLLECTION OF IRENE AND RICHARD FRARY



WILL KIRK/JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

at how ideas crossed borders. "Caucasus Spectacle," a 1924 play by Armenian poet Yeghishe Charents, features a handsome constructivist cover by Karo Halabyan, an Armenian artist and architect who studied at VKhUTEMAS, a Soviet school of design in Moscow.

There are only a handful of pure artworks in the exhibit: that is, artifacts that aren't linked to journals or other propaganda.

The exhibit compiles works on paper by artists who were operating at the front lines of creative revolutions across Europe. Featured works include a two-page spread by designer Henryk Berlew, "Prospekt Biura Reklama Mechano (promotional leaflet for the Mechano advertising agency)" (1924), center left, and Karel Teige's untitled 1941 photo collage, center right.

These include a 1922 gouache painting by Jos Léonard, a Belgian artist associated with the de Stijl movement. A painting by Aleksandr Rodchenko served as the source for a gorgeous lithograph printed by students of the Bauhaus in 1924 as part of a portfolio of 40 modernist prints on color (organized by Adolf Behne). The most curious object on view is a 1920s sculpture by Dutch artist Louise (Lou) Loeber

— or, rather, a painting that takes the form of a rectangular prism, like a brick of brightly colored shipping containers.

Curated by rare-books scholar Philipp Penka, "Art and Graphic Design of the European Avant-Gardes" looks at the fertile cross-pollination of concepts by this diffuse group of interwar designers, writers, artists and editors. What the exhibit lacks is a working theory for how all the pieces fit together. There are so many ways to connect the lines of discourse that the show might benefit from a map. Were the experiments associated with Dada or suprematism primarily linked by form or geography? At a certain distance, the ideas coming from the European left all blend together, like one language with many dialects — although that isn't an explicit argument on view.

One thing is certain: The artists of Europe's avant-gardes weren't advancing democracy or anything like it. Ideologues such as Marinetti promoted a totalitarian project at the horseshoe where communism and fascism meet. It's easy to mistake the corrosive nature of these ideas a century later. Especially in such a rarefied presentation: "Zang Tumb Tumb" and the more than 75 other works on view hail from the collection of Irene and Richard Frary, the founder of the real estate investment firm Tallwood Associates and the gallery's namesake. For so many revolutionary spirits to be bound together by corporate philanthropy could be a detail out of Nikolai Gogol's sardonic novel "Dead Souls."

To their credit, the Frarys' zealous collecting has made it possible to study this turbulent chapter of design history. Under director Caitlin Berry, who previously oversaw D.C.'s Rubell Museum, the Frary Gallery promises exhibitions that further explore the links between art and democracy, drawing works from the Frary collection as well as by artists in D.C. and Baltimore (and beyond). Its position kitty-corner to the Capitol makes it more prominent than any other academic gallery in town.

Yet the inauguration of the Frary Gallery reveals that the intersection of art and democracy is a blind spot. The blinkered panel dialogue showcased how hard it is for our leading institutions to identify and condemn the threat of extremist politics today by name. The Hungarian artist László Moholy-Nagy, whose work appears on view, described his own time as "an epoch which creates simultaneously the fury of despair and the flaming pillar of positive fight." A gallery full of dynamite should cause a lot more alarm.

MUSEUMS

The following special exhibitions are on view at area museums. For a complete list of all permanent, indefinite and long-term exhibitions, please consult individual museum websites. Museums marked with an * are free. Note: The National Geographic Museum and the Smithsonian's Arts and Industries Building are temporarily closed for renovations.

***AMERICAN UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AT THE KATZEN ARTS CENTER**
Eight exhibitions are on view through Dec. 8: “Ralph Steadman: And Another Thing,” “Joseph Holston: Call and Response,” “Endless Transformations: The Alchemy of Connie Imboden,” “Faces of the Republican Party,” “New American Landscapes,” “Mira Hecht: In the Center Thereof Rose a Fountain,” “Pegan Brooke: Flux II, Light on Water,” and “A Sight to Behold: The Corcoran Legacy Collection of Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century American Landscape Paintings.” 4400 Massachusetts Ave. NW. american.edu/cas/museum

***ANACOSTIA COMMUNITY MUSEUM** “A Bold and Beautiful Vision: A Century of Black Arts Education in Washington, DC, 1900-2000,” through March 2. Artifacts and original artworks highlight this exhibition honoring African American artist-educators. 1901 Fort Pl. SE. anacostia.si.edu

CAPITAL JEWISH MUSEUM “JewCE: The Jewish Comics Experience,” through March 23. This exhibition highlights comic book superheroes who came from the minds of Jewish creators, writers and artists, as well as contemporary graphic novels that explore Jewish themes. The museum features two ongoing exhibitions about Jewish history, from 1790 to today, and how to build a better future in the National Capital Region: “What Is Jewish Washington?” and “Connect. Reflect. Act.” 575 Third St. NW. capitaljewishmuseum.org

***DUMBARTON OAKS** “Striking Designs: Communicating Through Coins,” through May 31. An exploration of how the Roman and Byzantine Empire used money to spread ideology. “The White House,” through June. This installation by Colombian artist Santiago Montoya features 12 houses of varying sizes — 11 made of coal and one made of white chocolate. 1703 32nd St. NW. doaks.org

***FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY** “Imprints in Time,” through Jan. 5. This display features rare books and manuscripts from the eclectic collection of Stuart and Mimi Rose. 201 East Capitol St. SE. folger.edu

***GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AND TEXTILE MUSEUM** “Irresistible: The Global Patterns of Ikat,” through Dec. 21. Ikat textiles from nations around the world are on display in this celebration of the ancient resist-dyeing technique. “Art Uncovered: Visionary Textile Scholars and Their Archives,” through April 5. A global selection of letters, photos and more from the Arthur D. Jenkins Library’s archives. “A Tale of Two Houses,” through May 17. An exploration of two houses central to D.C. history: the Woodhull House in Foggy Bottom and George Hewitt Myers’s Kalorama residence. 701 21st St. NW. museum.gwu.edu

***HIRSHHORN MUSEUM AND SCULPTURE GARDEN** “Revolutions: Art From the Hirshhorn Collection, 1860-1960,” through April 20. This collection presents 208 artworks made during a period defined by evolutions in science, philosophy and mechanization. “Osgemeos: Endless Story,” through Aug. 3. This full-floor presentation tracks the collaboration and artistic trajectory of Brazilian identical twins Gustavo and Otavio Pandolfo. “Basquiat × Banksy,” through Oct. 26, 2025. The exhibition of two paintings, one by Jean-Michel Basquiat and one by Banksy, marks the first time either artist’s work has been presented at the museum. Seventh Street and Independence Avenue SW. hirshhorn.si.edu

HILLWOOD ESTATE, MUSEUM AND GARDENS “Fragile Beauty: Art of the Ocean,”



COLLEEN J. DUGAN/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ASIAN ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, ARTHUR M. SACKLER COLLECTION

Detail of “Folio From a Shahnama (Book of Kings) by Firdawsī; Ardashir With His Wife Throwing Down the Cup of Poison.” The detached manuscript folio, from the Ilkhanid dynasty, circa 1330-1340, is part of “An Epic of Kings: The Great Mongol Shahnama” at the National Museum of Asian Art.

through Jan. 5. This exhibition includes works that evoke the water, as well as pieces created with oceanic materials. 4155 Linnean Ave. NW. hillwoodmuseum.org

***LIBRARY OF CONGRESS** “Collecting Memories: Treasures From the Library of Congress,” through December 2025. The David M. Rubenstein Treasures Gallery’s first exhibition examines the ways in which cultures preserve memory. Thomas Jefferson Building, 10 First St. SE. loc.gov

MUSEUM OF THE BIBLE “Sacred Words: Revealing the Earliest Hebrew Book,” through Jan. 12. The oldest known Hebrew book, featuring Sabbath morning prayers and liturgical poems, is on display. “Billy Graham’s Canvas Cathedral,” through Jan. 26. A reflection on Billy Graham’s evangelistic campaigns in the late 1940s. “The Megiddo Mosaic: Foundations of Faith,” through July 6. This interactive exhibit showcases an ancient mosaic floor discovered by archaeologists in 2005. 400 Fourth St. SW. museumofthebible.org

***NATIONAL ARCHIVES MUSEUM** “Power & Light: Russell Lee’s Coal Survey,” through Dec. 7, 2025. A display of more than 200 images of coal communities from American documentary photographer Russell Lee. 701 Constitution Ave. NW. museum.archives.gov

NATIONAL BUILDING MUSEUM “Capital Brutalism,” through Feb. 17. An exploration of the Metro system and seven D.C. buildings designed in the polarizing brutalist style. “Frank Lloyd Wright’s Southwestern Pennsylvania,” through March 17. This exhibition shines a light on projects the architect designed for the region from the 1930s through the 1950s. “Brick City,” through spring. U.K.-based artist Warren Elsmore uses Lego pieces to re-create destinations from all seven continents, including New Orleans during Mardi Gras and medieval Japanese castles. “Mini Memories: Souvenir Buildings From the David Weingarten Collection,” through 2025. A showcase of 400 miniature building souvenirs from nearly 70 countries. “House & Home,” ongoing. A collection of photographs, models, films and objects that examine American homes both familiar and unconventional. “Building Stories,” ongoing. This immersive exhibition dives into the world of

architecture, engineering, construction and design as depicted in children’s books. 401 F St. NW. nbm.org

***NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART** “Gordon Parks: Camera Portraits From the Corcoran Collection,” through Jan. 12. A display of 25 portraits taken by groundbreaking photographer Gordon Parks between 1941 and 1970. “In the Library: Life in the Impressionists’ Paris,” through Jan. 17. A selection of some 40 photographs and prints capturing the art scene in late 19th-century Paris. “Paris 1874: The Impressionist Moment,” through Jan. 19. A presentation of 130 works, including paintings from Paul Cézanne, Claude Monet and Camille Pissarro, examines impressionism’s origins. “Spirit & Strength: Modern Art From Haiti,” through March 9. Haiti’s significance to the African diaspora is put on display in this exhibition featuring 21 recently gifted works. Sixth Street and Constitution Avenue NW. nga.gov

***NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE** “Reclaiming My Time,” through February. An exhibition highlighting work by contemporary Black designers about issues of cultural heritage, bodies at rest, labor and leisure. “Reckoning: Protest. Defiance. Resilience,” ongoing. The exhibition focuses on the Black Lives Matter movement and art that depicts resistance and protest. 14th Street and Constitution Avenue NW. nmaahc.si.edu

***NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART** “From the Deep: In the Wake of Drexciya With Ayana V. Jackson,” through Jan. 6. Artist Ayana V. Jackson uses animation, immersive video, installation, sound and scent in an exhibition inspired by the 1990s techno band Drexciya, whose albums imagined a mythical aquatopia populated by descendants of pregnant African women thrown (or who jumped) overboard into the Atlantic during the Middle Passage. “Bruce Onobrakpeya: The Mask and the Cross,” through Jan. 21. A showcase of Nigerian sculptor and printmaker Bruce Onobrakpeya’s earliest commissions from the late 1960s. “John Akomfrah: Five Murmurations,” on long-term view. The Ghanaian-born, London-based artist and filmmaker addresses the covid-19 pandemic, the murder of George

Floyd and the worldwide protests in support of Black Lives Matter in this visual essay of our times. 950 Independence Ave. SW. africa.si.edu

***NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY** “Forensic Science on Trial,” through June. An exhibition breaking down how forensic science has been used in more than 150 years of trials. “Presente! A Latino History of the United States.” The Molina Family Latino Gallery is the first gallery space of the new National Museum of the American Latino; it tells U.S. history from the perspective of members of the diverse Latino community and covers themes such as immigration, identity and legacy. Constitution Avenue NW, between 12th and 14th streets. americanhistory.si.edu

***NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN** “Sublime Light: Tapestry Art of DY Begay,” through July 13. The first retrospective of the Navajo fiber artist’s career features 48 tapestries spanning three decades of work. “Unbound: Narrative Art of the Plains,” through Jan. 20, 2026. Historical hides, muslins and ledger books from the Great Plains are presented alongside 50 contemporary works commissioned by the museum. Fourth Street and Independence Avenue SW. americanindian.si.edu

***NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ASIAN ART** “An Epic of Kings: The Great Mongol Shahnama,” through Jan. 12. An exhibition featuring 25 folios from the Shahnama, the celebrated medieval Persian manuscript. “Striking Objects: Contemporary Japanese Metalwork,” through Jan. 11, 2026. Works from the collection of Shirley Z. Johnson highlight the ways in which modern Japanese metalworking is used in traditional methods. 1050 Independence Ave. SW. asia.si.edu

***NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY** “Lights Out: Recovering Our Night Sky,” through December 2025. Photographs, objects, models and interactive elements are used to explore the effects of light pollution. “Dazzling Diversity,” through Dec. 16, 2025. Early natural history books from the Smithsonian Libraries and Archives put scientific knowledge of the insect world on display. “Cellphone: Unseen Connections,” through

2026. This exhibition, about the way phones connect us to the natural world, features multimedia installations, a sprawling graphic novel and more than 750 objects. 10th Street and Constitution Avenue NW. naturalhistory.si.edu

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WOMEN IN THE ARTS “Suchitra Mattai: Myth From Matter,” through Jan. 12. An exhibition pairing the Guyanese-born artist’s recent work, including mixed media and sculpture, with objects sourced from D.C. collections. “In Focus: Artists at Work,” through April 20. Video documentaries explore the creative processes of eight contemporary artists. 1250 New York Ave. NW. nmwa.org

***NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY** “Brilliant Exiles: American Women in Paris, 1900-1939,” through Feb. 23. An exhibition highlighting the feats of 60 American women who traversed the Atlantic in the early 20th century in pursuit of creative freedom. “This Morning, This Evening. So Soon: James Baldwin and the Voices of Queer Resistance,” through April 20. Curated by Pulitzer Prize-winning writer Hilton Als, this collection explores the interconnected lives of Baldwin, Lorraine Hansberry, Bayard Rustin and other queer civil rights activists. “Picturing the Presidents: Daguerreotypes and Ambrotypes from the National Portrait Gallery’s Collection,” through June 8. This exhibition features photographs of 11 U.S. presidents. “Felix Gonzalez-Torres: Always to Return,” through July 6. The artist’s work is presented in D.C. for the first time in more than 30 years, with a focus on his groundbreaking portraiture. “Recent Acquisitions,” through Oct. 26, 2025. This display showcases 21 additions to the museum’s collection, all representing female subjects or made by women. Subjects include singer Beyoncé Knowles-Carter, Supreme Court justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, writer Octavia Butler and actress Greta Garbo. “Star Power: Photographs From Hollywood’s Golden Age by George Hurrell,” through Jan. 4, 2026. This exhibition highlights the work of Hurrell, a Hollywood photographer whose portraits captured the likes of Clark Gable, Spencer Tracy and Joan Crawford. Eighth and F streets NW. npg.si.edu

***NATIONAL POSTAL MUSEUM** “Baseball: America’s Home Run,” through Jan. 5. This exhibition dives into the surprising ways baseball and postal history have intersected since the early 20th century. “Voting by Mail: Civil War to Covid-19,” through Feb. 23. This election-year exhibition features objects spanning three centuries that have been used to help U.S. citizens vote by mail. 2 Massachusetts Ave. NE. postalmuseum.si.edu

PHILLIPS COLLECTION “Where We Meet,” through Nov. 10. An installation unifying works from the Phillips Collection and the Howard University Gallery of Art. 1600 21st St. NW. phillipscollection.org

***RENWICK GALLERY** “Subversive, Skilled, Sublime: Fiber Art by Women,” through Jan. 5. Works of cotton, wool, polyester and silk are presented in an exhibition that considers an alternative history of American art. “Contemporary Craft at the Renwick Gallery,” ongoing. More than 100 works composed of fiber, ceramics, glass, metal, wood and other materials showcase handmade art of the 21st century. “Janet Echelman’s 1.8 Renwick,” ongoing. The American sculptor’s fiber and lighting installation projects shadow drawings in colors that move from wall to wall. Pennsylvania Avenue and 17th Street NW. americanart.si.edu

***SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM** “Artist to Artist,” through May 18. This rotating exhibition highlights eight artist pairings, each of which features two figures whose trajectories intersected at a key moment. “Sightlines: Chinatown and Beyond,” through Nov. 30, 2025. This gallery overlooking D.C.’s Chinatown neighborhood highlights Asian Americans’ cultural impact on the nation’s capital. “Isaac Julien: Lessons of the Hour — Frederick Douglass,” through 2026. A joint purchase by the Portrait Gallery and the Smithsonian American Art Museum, this five-screen video installation uses period reenactments to create a portrait of the activist, writer, orator and philosopher Frederick Douglass. G and Eighth streets NW. americanart.si.edu



CHRIS BANKS

Two shows honor ‘our capacity to care’

BY CELIA WREN

War. Fear. Illness and death. These crises twine through the braided narratives in Mosaic Theater Company’s “The Art of Care.” But the emphasis in this world premiere is less on trauma than on empathetic human responses to it. A passerby’s offer of first aid to an injured stranger. A refugee mother’s tender cradling of her baby during a dangerous ocean escape. A musician playing a hammered dulcimer for hospital patients.

The show “is not focused on all the terrible things we do to one another — which so many stories are, right?” director Derek Goldman observes. Instead, “this piece is actually a celebration of something that connects us in a time where so many things divide and polarize us: elementally, as human beings, our capacity to care.”

Conceived by Goldman, and produced in partnership with the Laboratory for Global Performance and Politics at Georgetown University, “The Art of Care”

At the heart of the new productions: the intimate, often arduous act of supporting those we love

(through Nov. 24) draws on the personal experiences of its performers, who include Raghad Makhoulf, Tuyet Thi Pham, Susan Rome and Tom Story. Rounding out their memories of care given and received — including Makhoulf’s account of surviving exile from her native Syria — are reflections from medical professionals, musings on history, and original music played live by percussionist Jabari Exum, who worked on the “Black Panther” movies.

The Mosaic production is not the only stage work foregrounding care and caregiving this season. Washington’s Voices Festival Productions is prepping “Who Cares: The Caregiver Interview Project,” which will air in two November readings before a January world premiere. “The Remember Balloons,” a dance theater work about Alzheimer’s disease and family, directed and

choreographed by Dominic Moore-Dunson, is touring the country following a world premiere in McLean, Virginia, in October. Farther afield, Philadelphia Theatre Company and Massachusetts’s American Repertory Theater are gearing up for “Night Side Songs,” an exploration of illness, mortality and caregiving, in early 2025.

The prevalence of the motif may not be surprising. The pandemic highlighted the work of medical professionals and nursing home staff. Public conversation has increasingly raised alarms that America does not have the infrastructure or culture to meet the needs of an aging population. To tend to the elderly, as well as the young and other vulnerable groups, America relies on unpaid (read, family and friend) caregiving valued at an annual \$1 trillion.

“The Art of Care” takes these

large-scale developments into account: for instance, quoting from Ai-jen Poo, author of “The Age of Dignity: Preparing for the Elder Boom in a Changing America.” But Goldman says the performers’ personal narratives seemed more powerful than any data-driven overview. “This topic actually taps our most intimate, core, vulnerable and elemental aspects” as human beings, he says.

Rome, a local actor with many stage and screen credits, confesses to being an introvert who values privacy. But she was willing to talk in the play about experiences like her mother’s recent death. “If I have the courage to unzip, it might give other people the courage to be more forthcoming, to trust more,” she says. She also interviewed her sister Laurie, a pediatric oncology nurse, for the show.

“The Art of Care” employs an expansive definition of care — anything from lifesaving medical intervention to a friend’s encouraging remark. By contrast, “Who Cares” focuses specifically on

SEE CARE ON 18

If you go

THE ART OF CARE
Atlas Performing Arts Center, 1333 H St. NE, (202) 399-7993.
mosaictheater.org.

Dates: Through Nov. 24.

Prices: \$42-\$70.

WHO CARES: THE CAREGIVER INTERVIEW PROJECT

Universalist National Memorial Church, 1810 16th St. NW.
voicesfestivalproductions.com.

Dates: Workshop readings, Nov. 17-18; roundtable, Nov. 19; world-premiere run, Jan. 9-Feb. 2.

Prices: Readings and roundtable free; 2025 run \$22-\$50.

William T. Newman Jr., Raghad Makhoulf, Tuyet Thi Pham, Susan Rome, Billie Krishawn, Jabari Exum and Tom Story in Mosaic Theater Company’s “The Art of Care,” a production that draws on its performers’ own experiences.

Tom’s Top 8 destinations for Indian cuisine

Washington is lucky to have such a range and quality of flavors

BY TOM SIETSEMA

One of the best-known restaurateurs in Washington is responsible for some of the most prized Indian dining establishments in the country.

Just ask one of his competitors. “We have to give credit to Ashok,” as in Ashok Bajaj, says Sachin Mahajan, owner of Karma Modern Indian and Karizma in Chinatown.

Bajaj, who opened the upscale Bombay Club near the White House in 1988 and went on to introduce the more contemporary Rasika in Penn Quarter and then Rasika West End, created a market for a cuisine that had been more or less relegated to takeout or budget meals, says Mahajan.

The road to opening Bombay Club was bumpy, Bajaj shared on the occasion of the restaurant’s 30th anniversary. Some commercial landlords “did not want an Indian restaurant in an A-class building,” said Bajaj, who recalled being offered basements and other substandard spaces. “Our lobbies will smell,” more than one agent told him.

The past decade has seen better Indian choices, and at all levels. Look no further than Bind-aas, Bajaj’s toast to Indian street food; midtier draws including Amber Spice in Laurel, Md., named for turmeric, and the flame-throwing Agni South Indian Cuisine in Sterling, Va.; and

the fast-casual, locally owned Rasa, which I think of favorably as the Sweetgreen of Indian concepts. Indeed, while New York is making inroads with examples including Indian Accent and the buzzy Bungalow, no other market in the country enjoys the range and quality of Indian food on offer in Washington.

In celebration of a cuisine I could eat every day, here are my top picks in the area.

Bombay Club

A stroll from the White House, the dining room is a roll call of niceties — linens on the tables, low lighting, carpet to muffle sound — while the hospitality honors the old-school, anything-for-the-guest philosophy.

Cone-shaped samosas stuffed with squash and sweetened with banana-raisin chutney make a lovely start. “I had them for dinner last night,” owner Ashok Bajaj might offer if he sees you with the upgraded street food snack. (Amazingly, the host visits all his restaurants every day.) His most senior restaurant, guided by chef Nilesh Singhvi, a native of the state of Rajasthan in northwestern India, is useful to know about regardless of the occasion or appetite. I come here for date night and business meals, striped bass in an electric paste of herbs, and duck breast fanned around fragrant rice and dappled in a creamy sauce sweetened with apricots.

The chef’s pride and joy is his dal makhani, cooked over low heat for up to a day with cream, tomatoes, garlic and ghee. Every spoonful is a little luxury. Fire eaters should gravitate to the ten-



Laccha aloo chaat with white pea ragda and sorrel chutney at Rania, a poshly decorated restaurant downtown with a four-course menu and multiple selections that let diners create their own adventure.

der chicken paved with pureed green chiles, cilantro and onion, the favorite dish of spice-loving Hillary Clinton.

815 Connecticut Ave. NW. 202-659-3727. bombayclubdc.com. Entrees \$18 to \$38.

Celebration by Rupa Vira

The name rings true. The details amount to a party at the younger of two restaurants watched over by lead chef Rupa Vira and her son and co-owner, Priyank. Pani puri is served atop dry ice, to which hot water is added at the table, shrouding the elegant snack, “mango mirage,” in fog. Colorful murals of Indian dancers and carnival celebrants animate the main dining room, decorated in shades of purple. And flowers add flourish to many dishes, including butternut squash kofta: thumbs of mashed, fried squash and potatoes in a creamy onion gravy, red and a touch sweet with goji berries.

This is the rare restaurant where a server might take an entire table’s order and actually

remember it. The successes from Celebration’s early days remain prizes. Great beginnings include minced lamb patties seasoned with star anise, perched on pieces of flaky paratha and finished on the platter with a green comet of mint mousse. Even the more traditional dishes come with something to make them stand out. Chicken draped in onion gravy is presented in a tiffin, or metal lunch box.

Specials keep cooks, including co-chef Raif Khan, engaged — and customers returning. I’m thinking (dreaming?) now of cubed potatoes stained with tomato sauce and tossed with smoky shishito peppers, curry leaves and grated coconut.

Early next year, the owners plan to introduce a chef’s table and a tasting menu showcasing the range of Indian cuisine, probably Bombay street food to start. This diner can’t wait to RSVP.

44260 Ice Rink Plaza, Ashburn, Virginia. 571-281-2233. celebrationva.com. Entrees \$16 to \$33.



PHOTOS BY DEB LINDSEY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



TOP RIGHT: The shrikhand mousse dessert comes under a see-through sugar cover at Rania, whose name translates to “queen” in Hindi and Sanskrit. ABOVE: From left, Allison Feeney, Elise Carey, Harry Martinez and Josie Hosein at the ornate bar. Much of Rania’s design was imported from India.

Chennai Hoppers

Order the “family” dosa, and everyone whips out their phones when it glides down the center of multiple tables. Four feet of savory crepe is a sight to behold. A seat removed, I watched a stiff business meeting devolve into laughs as the golden log, made of fermented rice and lentils and stuffed with mashed potatoes, got introduced and recipients took turns tearing in. Tomato and coconut chutneys and sambar lend sauciness to the spectacle.

Icebreakers abound on the pages-long Indian menu created by chef-owner John Rajoo. The fried seafood in my Manchurian shrimp is the color of candied apples and crackles when its glassy exterior, red with chili oil, is pierced. The size of my chicken kothu parotta suggests a two-some will be feasting on the mountain of chopped paratha, chicken and scrambled egg, a comfort lifted with fresh cilantro, onion and tomato. Any meal is better washed back with the roadside drink nannari sarbath, served in a chilled brass mug and tasting like root beer crossed with

ginger ale.

The owner says he went for a rustic look in the dining room, painting it yellow and gracing the walls with images of Chennai in the 19th century. The napkins are flimsy paper, but the tables sport linens. A pleasant patio lets guests enjoy biryani and a glorious dish of three kinds of lentils, warm with cumin and rich with butter, outside.

Rajoo doesn’t pull punches in the kitchen. He wants customers to enjoy the level of spice they might experience in southern India. (Chennai refers to the capital of Tamil Nadu, the southern state the chef calls home; hoppers is the Anglicized word for appam, the pancake based on fermented rice batter and fresh coconut.) Rajoo adjusts the heat with a combination of roasted black peppercorns and dried red chiles. He says his response to timid diners is a time-honored coolant: “mango lassi.”

136 Paramount Park Dr., Gaithersburg, Maryland. 240-813-0061. chennaihoppers.com. Entrees \$15 to \$29.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



PHOTOS BY SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Daru

There's guacamole in the delicate pani puri and blue cheese in the flame-licked chicken kebabs. Daru is one of the least traditional Indian restaurants in Washington.

It's also one of the District's more exciting expressions of the cuisine. The pani puri's chickpea shells, sheer as wafers, become electric when a splash of Thai green chile water meets the avocado filling. Diners are coached to eat the snack in a single bite, for maximum impact and minimal mess.

This is food that keeps you ordering and asking, "What's next?" of your server.

"Are you lamb curious?" she asks. We are! The reward is lamb chops seasoned with pink peppercorns and black garlic and accompanied by spiced potatoes and a vivid green brushstroke of "chimichurri chutney." Chef Suresh Sundas, who co-owns the charmer with Dante Datta, is a native of Nepal who shines a light on local and seasonal ingredients. A summer visit starred Maryland crab in ruffled momo, or dumplings, and a tower of roasted eggplant alternating with scrambled paneer was finished with tart rhubarb sauce (now apple-sauce). The best way to describe



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Chef Vikram Sunderam at Rasika; server Javier Molina talks with patrons in the dining room; and the restaurant's famous, much-imitated palak chaat, consisting of fried spinach tossed with tomato, tamarind and yogurt.

the owners' style is to use their word: "Indian-ish." Thrilling would work, too.

Since my original visit, the merry rule-breakers have expanded their seating to include a comfortable covered patio (more room for more fans) and announced a second restaurant. Look for Taporí — Indian street food and tropical cocktails in the former Fancy Radish spot — by year's end.

1451 Maryland Ave. NE. 202-

388-1848. darudc.com. Entrees \$16 to \$30.

Jodhpur

One of my favorite ways to eat Indian food is on a thali, a round metal platter filled with little bowls of a variety of dishes — basically, a buffet delivered to the table. And one of the best places to experience it is Jodhpur in Herndon, which offers nothing but a bottomless thali every day of the week save Tuesday, when it's

closed.

A visit on a Sunday found a mash of eggplant speckled with mustard seeds, chopped okra in spicy tomato sauce, creamy paneer, hearty chickpea curry, spiced spinach kebabs and lacy onion fritters arranged in a circle with (unfasten your belts, folks!) cumin-scented rice, shards of crackery papadum, cucumber salad, bright mint chutney, mouth-puckering pickles and desserts including syrup-soaked doughnut holes. Did I miss something? The thali called Purani Dilli (Hindi for "Old Delhi"), also offered on Thursday, is a lot to absorb.

Don't count on leftovers. There are none, at least to pack up and take home. While you're at Jodhpur, though, you're free to ask for more of anything. Actually, the servers are one step ahead of you. "More rice? More bread?" they ask, proffering hot whole-wheat roti and puffed-up bedmi puri — plus extras of anything else. The feast is switched up throughout the week to encourage return guests.

The setting proves as memorable as the cooking. Diners enter a foyer whose pink neon sign lets them know "This must be the place" and whose display cases tempts them with colorful Indian sweets before they've had their first bite of lunch or dinner. Chan-

deliers and flowers dress up the ceiling; shiny gold chairs and blue walls add a regal touch to the expansive dining room. (Jodhpur, in northwest India, is known as the Blue City.)

There's no alcohol or meat. But a mango lassi, luscious vegetables and bread that don't stop until you do are draws aplenty. So is Jodhpur's location, a convenient five miles from Dulles International Airport. Think of it as a possible trip before a trip.

1114 Herndon Pkwy., Herndon, Virginia. 571-382-0909. jodhpurusa.com. Thali of the day \$23 to \$25.

Karma Modern Indian and Karizma

Since early October, diners can find two great tastes under one roof.

Customers who want to order a la carte do so in the front dining room and bar, called Karizma. Patrons who prefer tasting menus — take your pick of four, six or nine courses — are ushered into the more intimate Karma. The food all comes from the same exhibition kitchen guided by chef Ajay Kumar, a painter in his off hours who treats every dish as if it were a canvas and is also behind the script at the neighborly Kismet Modern Indian in Alexandria.

The signature at Karizma is

Nirvana 37, so named for the number of ingredients that go into the vivid salad and the joy it brings. Picture a colorful alp of food — crisp chickpea-rice noodles, mango, mashed potatoes and mustard seed oil are just the tip of the berg — that's knocked down with a spoon and tossed in its big bowl by a server. A joint production from chef-owner Sachin Mahajan, the riotous, sweet-tangy heap was inspired by three different dishes and designed to show off the vastness of India. Another display of color and texture: spiced spinach molded around paneer and staged on a biting tomato bisque. And I love the bowl of golden spiced ground chicken flanked by broad strips of flaky paratha and pickled onions.

The tasting menus embrace ingredients you might not see in everyday Indian spots. Venison, for instance, is a hat tip to Rajasthan, a hunting capital, says Mahajan, while grilled octopus paired with hibiscus chutney and mango jelly represents the coastal area of Puducherry as well as a more global approach to cooking. Kumar says he wants to raise the profile of the food of his homeland. Eating here demonstrates a mission greatly accomplished.

611 I St. NW. 202-898-0393. karmamodernindian.com. Entrees \$22 to \$59; tasting menus \$95 to \$165.

Rania

Downtown's most regal bar seduces diners with a sea of mother of pearl, while the main dining room, a vision in gold and soft greens, comes dressed in booths whose silhouettes suggest temples. Rania translates to "queen" in Hindi and Sanskrit, a detail the posh design, much imported from India, trumpets.

Same for the kitchen, under the helm of Peter Boboris, who helped open the class act two years ago as a consultant and pastry chef and became the executive chef when Chetan Shetty left last year. As before, the menu comprises four courses and multiple selections that allow diners to create their own adventure. Unlike so many tasting menus these days, this one is sensible; the portions are appetizer size, leaving you sated rather than stuffed.

Not that you might not crave more spicy ground lamb stuffed inside a crisp chickpea crepe and cooled with buttermilk mousse, or kofta split open to reveal quail eggs and served with shaved truffles atop a ginger-lit cream sauce. The entree I return to again and again is aged pork, grilled over charcoal and arranged atop a



PHOTOS BY SCOTT SUCHMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Galouti kebab (lamb patties) with an old-fashioned cocktail at Celebration by Rupa Vira, a restaurant in Ashburn that lives up to its name.

complex vindaloo. Its warmth comes from cinnamon and clove, its heat and sting from Kashmiri chile, vinegar and (surprise!) gochujang.

Holdovers from the opening days include a welcoming rice-flour crisp in the shape of a flower, suave service, and cocktails that you remember after their glasses are empty — prepare

for a smoke show with the rye-based Make Me Famous. Keep in mind Boboris started here as the sweets guy, and close dinner with shrikkhand mousse: tapioca, gooseberries and tea-steeped basil seeds under a see-through sugar cover that you crack like crème brûlée to access the treasure.

427 11th St. NW. 202-804-6434. raniadc.com. Tasting menu \$90.



The dining room at Daru, a thrilling destination for "Indian-ish" cuisine that keeps you asking your server, "What's next?"

Rasika

The most popular dish at one of the most prized restaurants in town is also one of the most copied recipes around. Spear the palak chaat — fried spinach tossed with tomato, tamarind and yogurt — from Vikram Sunderam and see why the chef can't take it off the menu. A lot of places now carry the crisp/sweet/creamy salad; no one serves a superior version. "It's all in the frying," the chef says; the oil has to be properly hot.

Unveiled by prolific restaurateur Ashok Bajaj in 2005, Rasika tastes as contemporary as ever. Among the new ideas are a stinging vindaloo that swaps in roasted duck for the traditional pork and a black rice dosa filled with mashed potatoes scented with truffles, a high-end accent slipped into a common Indian street food. Desserts are lavished with attention, too, evinced by a pink mousse flavored with rose petals.

The kitchen never cooks in place. India is a vast country — the world's seventh biggest — and Sunderam likes to explore its range. A fish lover's fancy, sea bass is slathered with a paste of

cilantro, green chiles, mint and more, then bundled in a banana leaf for a proper steam. A vegetarian delight, shredded cabbage fritters shot through with ginger show up in a sauce of cooked yogurt and warm spices including cinnamon and cloves, a turban tip to Gujarat, a state along the western coast of India. The lovely sauces throughout the menu — and the insanely rich, labor-intensive black lentils — are best dispatched with some of the area's best breads.

Service is polished, and fine wines are poured; the dining room in champagne colors is louder than you might expect for such luxury, but that's because it's always fully booked. Part of that is because of all the nearby theaters and arenas in Penn Quarter, but I suspect Rasika, which has a similar-tasting sibling in the West End, would be bustling even if it were in a desert.

633 D St. NW. 202-637-1222. rasikarestaurant.com. Entrees \$18 to \$38; tasting menus \$65 to \$90.

1190 New Hampshire Ave. NW. 202-466-2500. rasikarestaurant.com. Entrees \$18 to \$38; tasting menus \$70 to \$80.



PHOTOS BY CHRIS BANKS



Scenes from “The Art of Care”: Susan Rome and Billie Krishawn (top), Raghad Makhoul and Tom Story (above left), and Jabari Exum and William T. Newman Jr. (above right). Among other reflections, the Mosaic Theater Company show incorporates Makhoul’s account of surviving exile from her native Syria, as well as original music played live by Exum, a percussionist who worked on the “Black Panther” movies.

CARE FROM 13

support for people with memory loss. Cowritten by Ari Roth, A. Lorraine Robinson and Vanessa Gilbert and directed by Kathryn Chase Bryer, the play began germinating after Robinson found herself attending to her sister, who was diagnosed with ALS with frontotemporal dementia.

Assisting another person through a health crisis can be “such a life-altering, overwhelming experience that can come upon someone completely unprepared. It is very dramatic,” says Robinson, VFP’s artistic producing partner. Yet the challenge is to some extent universal, given that we all age. “Everyone at some point is going to experience something of this,” Robinson observes.

VFP founding artistic producing partner Roth has also been a family caregiver. Inspired by the shared experience, he and Robinson (with help from cowriter Gilbert) interviewed people who had looked after individuals coping with memory loss. The interview material surfaces in the play’s plotline about a caregiver-support group.







Also in the mix throughout “Who Cares” are excerpts from the work of elder justice activist Marie-Therese Connolly and — adding levity — interlarded stand-up comedy material by Jim Meyer.

Even beyond the Meyer humor, Robinson says, the show will reflect that caring for people with memory loss isn’t all sadness. “It certainly was a challenging thing to see, my sister’s illness, but we also had times of remarkable joy, humor, absurdity,” she recalls. (VFP spearheads a community roundtable about caregiving on Nov. 19.)

Discussing the upbeat aspects of “The Art of Care,” Goldman notes that bringing caregiving stories into the open can be a relief to people who have struggled to support loved ones on their own. “To come into a communal space and feel like there’s laughter, there’s connection, that those things can be shared and offered, feels really joyous,” he says.

Performer Rome believes the show’s portrait of kindness could radiate beyond the audience. “If there’s just 1 percent more tenderness in somebody’s life that they then pass on to somebody else, then we will have done our job,” she says.

the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME		DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
THEATRE						
 Shear Madness The Kennedy Center Theater Lab		Regular Schedule: Tuesday–Friday at 8 Saturday at 5 & 8 Sunday at 3 & 7	Shear Madness is a laugh-out-loud side splitting sharp-as-a-tack whodunit. Don't wait too long to get a ticket. This is a sell out show! "Shrieks of laughter night after night." (Washington Post)	The Kennedy Center Theater Lab Student Rush Tickets Available Tickets: 202-467-4600 Groups: 202-416-8400 www.shearmadness.com	Tickets Available at the Box Office	Great Group Rates for 15 or More
MUSIC - CONCERTS						
 2024 American Holiday Festival LET IT SNOW! December 6-8		FREE ONLINE TICKET DISTRO BEGINS: FRIDAY November 1 10:30 AM	FREE tickets for The 2024 U.S. Army American Holiday Festival will be available online beginning on Friday, November 1 at 10:30AM and while supplies last. Visit USARMYBAND.COM for details and links to get free tickets.	Performances in December at DAR Constitution Hall FRI, DEC 6 at 8PM SAT, DEC 7 at 3 and 8PM SUN, DEC 8 at 3PM USARMYBAND.COM	FREE TICKETS	Links at usarmyband.com
 MYSTERY OF ROMANCE Svetlana Nikonova, Conductor		Sat. Nov. 23, 8 pm, F. Scott Fitzgerald Theater, Rockville, Md. Sun. Nov. 24, 3 pm, St. Stephen's Church, Burke, Va.	Concerts will feature Andrei Saveliev on the balalaika and baritone Isaiah Trofimenko. Musical selections: Tchaikovsky's familiar "None but the Lonely Heart," "Adagio in G" attributed to Albinoni, Rachmaninov's "Harvest of Sorrow," Ukrainian dance, "Hopak," and Dvorak's "Slavonic Dance #8."	The Washington Balalaika Society is the largest orchestra of its kind in America. It supports Ukraine and the people of Ukraine. www.balalaika.org	Adults: \$35. Srs./Mil. \$30. Students: \$15. Child 12 & under: \$5.	
 Salute to Veterans GET DAY OF SHOW TIX!		THURSDAY November 7 7:30PM Doors open at 7PM More tix available on 11/7	Designed for audiences of all ages, this concert features a diverse repertoire that spans classical, contemporary, and patriotic genres. From stirring anthems to beloved classics, there's something for everyone to enjoy! Additional tickets will be released on the day of the show.	Hylton Performing Arts Center 10960 George Mason Circle, Manassas, VA usarmyband.com	FREE TIX LINK on website	Future concert info at: usarmyband.com
MUSIC - CHAMBER						
 Hungarian Musical Masterpieces Guest Host Yolonda Kerney, US State Dept		Sat Nov 9, 2024 7:30PM	Great works by Bartok, Dohnanyi, Brahms, Liszt and more. Enjoy the musical flavor of the old world and folk song with a very distinctive timeless virtuoso style that has captivated audiences for centuries, performed by Leonid Sushansky (violin), Steven Honigberg (cello), & Carlos Cesar Rodriguez (piano).	Gunston Arts Center - Theater 1 2700 South Lang Street Arlington, VA(Free parking) www.nationalchamberensemble.org	Gen Adm \$40, Student \$20	We are honored to welcome Hungarian Ambassador Takács. For info only (703)685-7590
MUSIC - ORCHESTRAL						
Symphony of the Potomac Orch Joel Lazar, Cond.		Sunday, Nov. 3,2024 3:00 - 5:15 pm	ALL BEETHOVEN CONCERT - Eugene Drucker will perform <i>Violin Concerto. Also Pastoral Symphony, No 6 and Romance</i>	Cultural Arts Center 7995 Georgia Ave Silver Spring, MD symphonypotomac.org	\$25	Free parking in rear lot
OPERA						
 Puccini's MANON LESCAUT		Sun., Nov. 24, 2024 6:00p.m.	The work that established Puccini as a notable figure in the opera world will star acclaimed soprano Corinne Winters as the title role in her WCO debut, with tenor Joshua Guerrero and baritone Levi Hernandez . Presented in the newly renovated Lisner.	The Lisner 730 21st Street NW Washington, D.C. (202) 364-5826 concertopera.org	Starting at \$44	Save with a season subscription!
DANCE						
 FUEGO FLAMENCO XX International Festival		Nov 7 – 9 at 8 pm Nov 10 at 2 pm Nov 15 – 16 at 8 pm Nov 17 at 2 pm Nov 22 – 23 at 8 pm Nov 24 at 2 pm	SER.RANA Sonia Franco Lo Mejor de Edwin Aparicio Flamenco Dance Company Intimate Friends of Flamenco Marc Lopez & Montserrat Martinez	GALA Theatre 3333 14th Street NW Washington, DC 202-234-7 174 www.galatheatre.org	\$35 - \$50	

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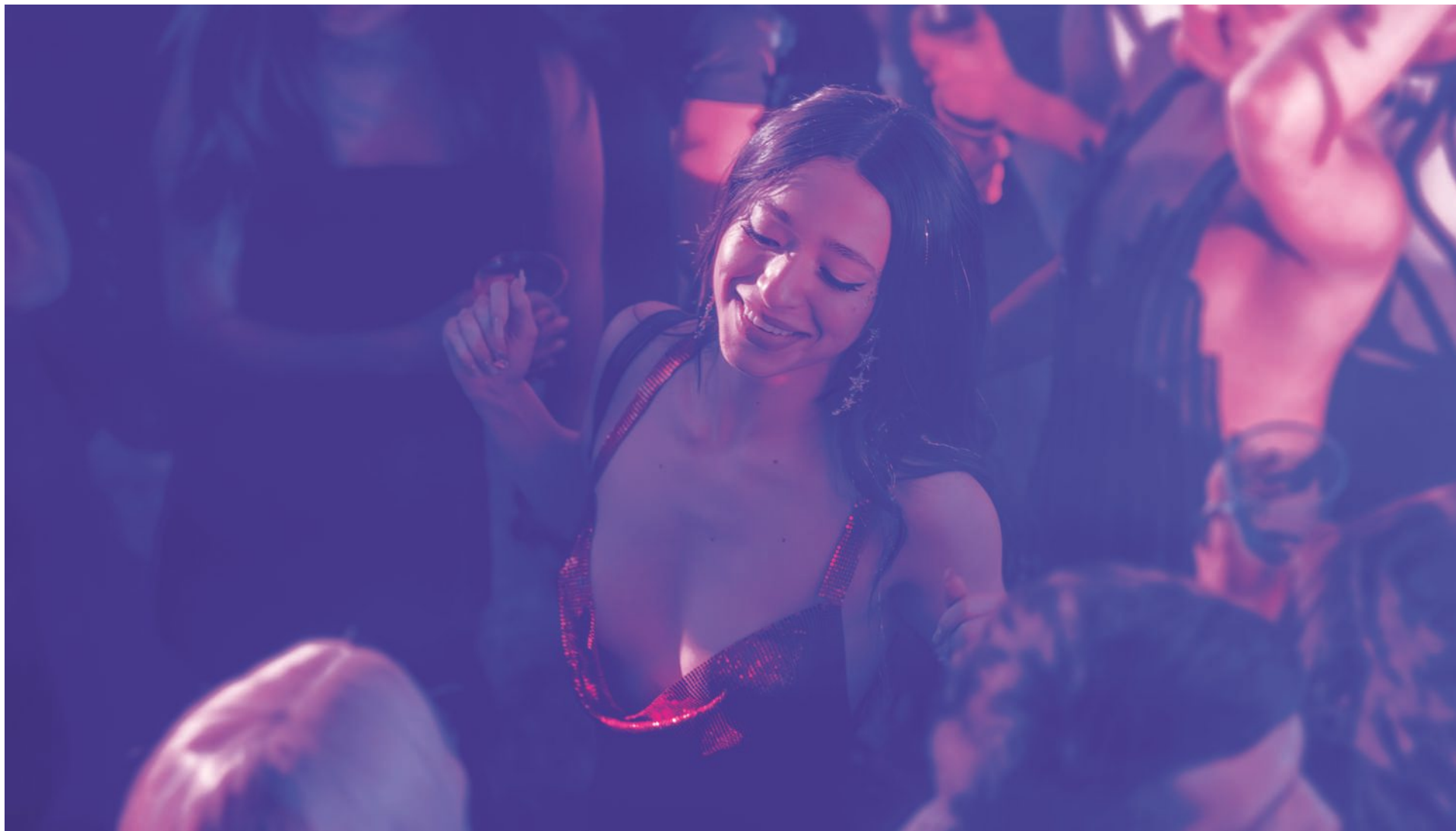
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Anora ★★★★★



NEON

More than just another pretty woman

Mikey Madison stars in this crowd-pleaser about a headstrong stripper

BY TY BURR

Who can turn the world on with her smile? Who can take a nothing day and suddenly make it all seem worthwhile? In the 1970s, it was Mary Richards, as played by Mary Tyler Moore, who was America's sweetheart. In the 1990s, Julia Roberts took pop culture by storm as the happy hooker of "Pretty Woman," a fable of Wall Street princes and conspicuous consumption.

We live in a different and darker landscape in the 21st century, an America where you are what you're paid — 'twas ever thus, but it's impossible to deny it now without looking like a mark — and there may be no more fitting sweetheart for our moment than Ani (Mikey Madison), the foul-mouthed, bighearted New York

stripper of Sean Baker's phenomenal crowd-pleaser "Anora."

The movie, a top prizewinner at Cannes in May and a sensation on the fall festival circuit, is the latest Baker opus to look at the tragicomedy of this country's daily life through the lens of sex work, which the writer-director perceives and portrays without glamour but with a level, empathetic gaze for the realities of the gig economy. Baker's breakthrough was the shot-on-a-cellphone "Tangerine" (2015), about a pair of transgender sex workers, and his follow-up was "The Florida Project" (2017), about a little girl with a trick-turning mother living in the shadow of Disney World. The illusory promises of our magic kingdom are very much the subject of all Baker's work.

That includes the farcical "Red Rocket" (2021), whose hustling horndog of a male porn star scraped a lot of people's last nerve. "Anora" finds the director back in what only *seems* like more comfortable territory, with its realistic take on its title character's 9-to-5

life (p.m. to a.m. instead of the usual way around). The movie is superficially a comedy — and ultimately a love story, just not the one we think — but there's a great deal of striving and sadness beneath its layers of glitter and soot and, beyond that, the exhaustion that comes from slowly admitting to yourself that the doors of the kingdom will almost certainly never open for you.

Ani — her real name is Anora, and she's the grandchild of Russian immigrants — lives in Brooklyn's Brighton Beach and takes the long B-train ride to Midtown Manhattan, where she works at a club called Headquarters and gives lap dances to businessmen and stag-party bros, plying them with overpriced, watered-down champagne. It's a job, no more and no less, and, as a wise woman once sang, she works hard for the money. When a gangly Russian college-age kid named Vanya (Mark Eydelshteyn) comes in with a thick wad of bills to spend, Ani — who speaks enough of the language to get by — is assigned to

babysit him.

Out of this a romance grows, or something like it, because Ani is still young and naive enough to believe that even if you can't fall in love, you can at least buy into it, and because Vanya is a sweet-natured idiot with the entitlement and gaudy, absurd wealth of an oligarch's son. The early scenes of "Anora" are charming and sex-besotted, as Vanya purchases Ani's favors for a week — hey, just like Richard Gere did in "Pretty Woman"! — and installs her in an airy mansion in the Five Towns principality of Long Island.

It's not spoiling anything to say that the two get along like kids on a hormone-soaked playdate, that Vanya's luxe lifestyle *is* romance to a young woman who still lives in a run-down house with roommates, and that an impulsive trip on Dad's private jet to Las Vegas results in a situation that sounds like the alarm klaxons back in Moscow. At which point "Anora" becomes an edgy, slapstick comedy of outrage, and the outrage is Ani's at seeing her paradise so

Sean Baker's "Anora" features Mikey Madison as Ani, a working girl who captures the attention of a Russian oligarch's son and gets swept into a luxe lifestyle — until the oligarch's tough guys show up.

abruptly dismantled.

The oligarch has stateside minders keeping an eye on his son, a trio of supposed tough guys led by Vanya's godfather, an Armenian priest named Toros (Karen Karagulyan), who has to interrupt a baptism to tend to this new emergency. Toros has a burly brother named Garnick (Vache Tovmasyan), and just to make sure that Vanya is brought to heel and his presumed gold digger dispensed with, they've brought along some Russian muscle named Igor (Yura Borisov). But these three have never met anyone like Hurricane Ani, the stripper scorned, and the centerpiece

SEE ANORA ON 24

Emilia Pérez ★★★★★

A dazzling but hollow musical crime melodrama

The bold film is less than meets the eye, except for its stellar performances

BY TY BURR

“Emilia Pérez” is an opera. “Emilia Pérez” is a comic book. “Emilia Pérez” is a telenovela. “Emilia Pérez” is a women’s weepie. “Emilia Pérez” is a crime thriller. “Emilia Pérez” is a musical. “Emilia Pérez” is one of the damndest things you’ll ever see, and I’m still not convinced it’s enough.

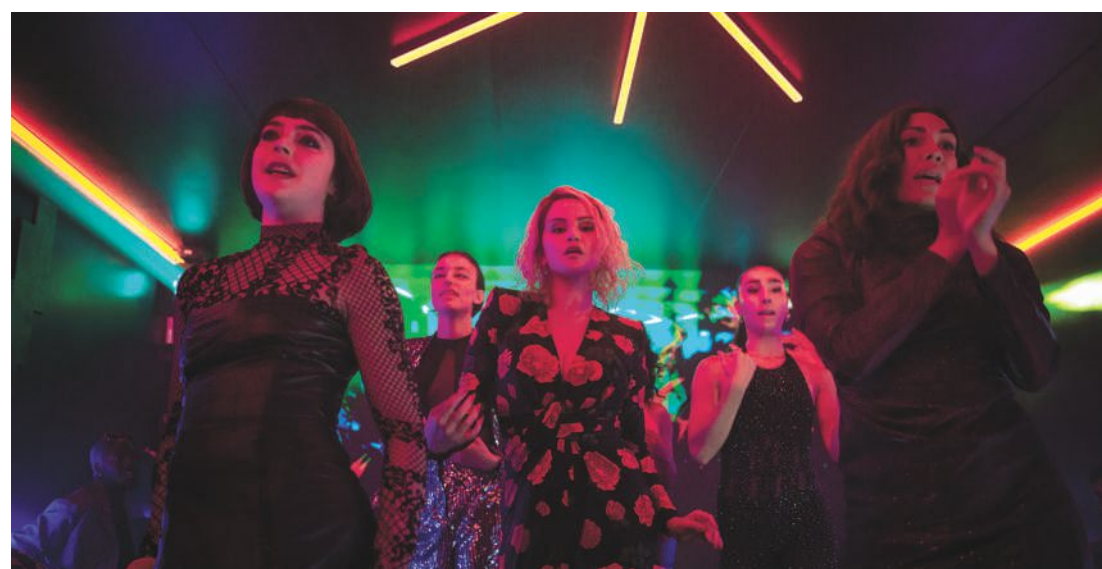
The movie is France’s entry for this season’s Oscars; takes place in Mexico, London, Tel Aviv and Switzerland; and features three of the most bravura female performances of the year, all of which won the best actress award at Cannes in May — a rare capitulation to the seismic force of actresses when they set their collective phasers on stun.

What’s “Emilia Pérez” about? Oh, man, I wish I could tell you. There’s a reveal in the first 20 minutes that I’ll do my best to dance around, if only because writer-director Jacques Audiard asks us to swallow this flaming baked Alaska whole or not at all. Zoe Saldña, a star of “Avatar” and the Guardians of the Galaxy franchise, gets to inhabit her own skin as Rita Moro Castro, a Mexico City lawyer in a dead-end job defending wealthy criminals. Early in the movie, Rita storms through the nighttime streets along with an army of the discontented and downtrodden, singing and dancing their class rage. Just so you know what you’re in for.

Rita is kidnapped by Manitas Del Monte, the meanest and most murderous drug kingpin in all Mexico, who has her flown to his mountain hideout to ask her to take on an assignment. About which I can say no more, but it does involve the lawyer jet-setting about the globe, a couple of what can only be called all-singing/all-dancing business consultations, the relocation of the kingpin’s wife and children to a Swiss safe house, and a multimillion-dollar payday in Rita’s new bank account in the Cayman Islands.



NETFLIX



PAGE 114/WHY NOT PRODUCTIONS/PATHÉ FILMS/France 2 CINÉMA/NETFLIX

TOP: Zoe Saldña, left, plays Rita Moro Castro, a Mexico City lawyer, and Karla Sofia Gascón is the bighearted title character in “Emilia Pérez.” **ABOVE:** Yet another bravura performance comes from Selena Gomez, center, as the neglected wife of a murderous drug kingpin in Mexico.

Flash forward four years and the title character at last strides onto the screen and into Rita’s life: Emilia Pérez (Karla Sofia Gascón), a bighearted whirlwind who says she’s Manitas’s cousin and arranges for the cartel head’s wife, Jessi (Selena Gomez), and two sons to be brought back to Mexico City to live with her. Here is where “Emilia Pérez” ascends to a pitch of old-school/new-age melodrama, with passions wor-

thy of a 1940s Bette Davis barnstormer filtered through mid-period Pedro Almodóvar.

Gomez especially picks up the slack as the neglected wife, a bottle blonde singing her fury into satin pillowcases and eyeing the hot machito (Edgar Ramírez) on her late husband’s payroll. There’s more than a touch of the late, great Barbara Stanwyck to what Gomez is doing — a sentence I never thought I’d be typ-

ing about a former Disney TV princess.

“Emilia Pérez” aspires to topicality when the unstoppable Emilia takes it upon herself to atone for her cousin’s sins by launching an NGO dedicated to recovering the bodies of those killed by the cartels, with Rita as chief administrator and a new girlfriend in Epifanía (Adriana Paz), whose abusive husband is one of the dead. The scenes and

duets between Emilia and Epifanía are especially touching, the former revealing a tenderness beneath her dreadnought exterior and the latter blooming in the light of unexpected romance. It’s an island of brief calm before the movie rockets to a violent emotional climax.

Audiard is a changeling filmmaker who here tries to recapture the highs of his first two movies, the 2005 crime thriller “The Beat That My Heart Skipped” and the brilliant prison drama “A Prophet” (2009). (I reserve a soft spot for his wayward 2018 western “The Sisters Brothers.”) “Emilia Pérez” is his bid to remind us he can do it all, in this case adapting Boris Razon’s 2018 novel “Écoute” into a four-act opera that was never produced and that, with songs written by the French avant-pop star Camille Dalmás, has become a movie musical with shout-outs to Busby Berkeley overhead shots and the floating heads of “The Gang’s All Here” (1943). (The movie will be on Netflix in a few weeks, but it was made for the big screen.)

“Emilia Pérez” is a big, bulging bag of eye candy, in other words, and like a lot of candy, it can give you a sugar high without much genuine sustenance and perhaps an attendant headache. Dalmás’s songs are propulsive and percussive but not very memorable — you come out singing the plot instead. Damien Jalet’s choreography is all interesting angles, but there’s not enough of it. And while Audiard tries to tackle a current social-issue hot topic, he adds nothing to the conversation other than how that topic might alter the emotional surface and temperature of a classic Hollywood women’s drama.

Aside from the fine, full-bodied performances, there’s ultimately less than meets the eye here — just the hollow fascination of style wrestling with the truth of human emotions until it comes out on top. That’s more than enough for a Saturday night at the movies (or, if you must, a night at home with the remote), but for genuine meaning, move on.

Ty Burr is the author of the movie recommendation newsletter Ty Burr’s Watch List at tyburrrwatchlist.com.

R. At area theaters. Contains language, some violent content and sexual material. In English and Spanish with English subtitles. 132 minutes.

Ratings guide

Masterpiece ★★★★★

Very good ★★★★☆

Okay ★★★☆☆

Poor ★☆☆☆☆

Juror #2 ★★☆☆☆

Clint Eastwood turns in another intentionally muddy moral tale

BY TY BURR

Remember when Clint Eastwood made what everyone assumed was his autumnal masterpiece, 1992's "Unforgiven"? He was 62, and he was actually just getting started. Then, in 2008, he made what everyone assumed was *really* his farewell to filmmaking, "Gran Torino." He was 78, and he kept on going. Now, 11 films after that, comes Eastwood's latest as a director, "Juror #2." He's 94. Want to bet he has a few more in him?

It's not a great movie, but it's pretty good, and it's interesting in the way a lot of late-period Eastwood is, with odd thematic subcurrents banging up against functional and at times bland filmmaking. Like his generational colleague Francis Ford Coppola, but in a very different way, he seems to have thrown the rule book away — at his age, why not? — to tell the stories he wants the way he wants. For the past decade and a half, most of those stories have obsessed over heroism and its discontents.

"American Sniper," "Sully," "The 15:17 to Paris" and "Richard



CLAIRE FOLGER/WARNER BROS. PICTURES

Nicholas Hoult, center left, stars in "Juror #2" as a family man who gets called for jury duty, only to find that his role in the case goes deeper. It's the latest film from Clint Eastwood, still working at 94.

Jewell" all ponder the costs of being perceived as an American hero — what it does to a man's reputation, sanity and soul. And "Juror #2," a fictional movie and a lesser one, muddies the water still further, because its hero is both a family man and a murder-

er. (Spoilers, by necessity, ensue.)

Imagine a version of "12 Angry Men" where the juror played by Henry Fonda turns out to be the guy who did it. That's the opening gambit of Jonathan Abrams's script, in which Justin Kemp (Nicholas Hoult) is an average

Joe who gets called to serve on a jury to deliberate whether a young roughneck (Gabriel Basso) killed his girlfriend (Francesca Eastwood, the director's daughter) on a rainy nighttime road outside a roadhouse bar. Twist No. 1: As he hears the facts of the

case, Justin realizes that he, too, was driving on that road that same dark and stormy night, and that the deer he thought he hit may not have been a deer.

"Juror #2" prompts us to sympathize with Justin's plight only to yank our feelings and assumptions around. Hoult is good at playing handsome, decent young men with spines that turn out to be made of Jell-O, and the more we learn about Justin, the more unsure we are whether we're meant to root for him. He has a doting wife (Zoey Deutch) at home in her third trimester of a high-risk pregnancy and an understanding Alcoholics Anonymous sponsor (Kiefer Sutherland) who's conveniently an attorney and who warns Justin that the only way to ease his conscience without facing life in prison is to get his fellow jurors to find the accused not guilty.

Thus the movie mostly takes place in two arenas, the courtroom and the jury room. In the former, a fire-breathing prosecutor (Toni Collette) sees convicting the roughneck as her fastest ticket to getting elected district

SEE **JUROR** ON 23**Memoir of a Snail** ★★★★★

Grubby stop-motion charmer crawls its way into your psyche

BY AMY NICHOLSON

"Memoir of a Snail," by the Oscar-winning Australian animator Adam Elliot, is a grubby delight, a stop-motion charmer that feels like falling into a dumpster and discovering an orchid.

It opens with trash — cans, shoes, broken TVs, each dutifully molded from clay — and cuts to an elderly Alzheimer's patient named Pinky (Jacki Weaver) in her final moments alive. Pinky's skin is as gnarled as tree bark. "The potatoes!" she gasps, confounding the woman weeping at her side, Grace (Sarah Snook), a dour hoarder and snail enthusiast wearing a childish hat with knitted eye stalks. Cue Pinky's death.

For the rest of the film's 94 minutes, Grace narrates her own grim life story from childhood to her present. This is finely calibrated feel-bad cinema, a movie where the characters' circumstances are so dire, you come to love its losers for soldiering on.

Of course, a frame-by-frame obsessive like Elliot would be



ARENAMEDIA PTY LTD. / IFC FILMS

Sarah Snook voices Grace, a dour hoarder and snail enthusiast, in Adam Elliot's R-rated stop-motion film "Memoir of a Snail."

drawn to a story about snails, the only animal able to appreciate his craft in real time. Elliot moves slowly even compared with other stop-motion artists. His last feature, "Mary and Max," was released in 2009, a pace due in part to his refusal to use digital effects. Here, the fires are cellophane; the

tears, sexual lubricant. When one of Elliot's assistants accidentally chopped off her fingertip during production, they put the flap of human skin in a jar and sneaked it into the background as a prop.

Grace's life intersects with other kooks, including her hardier twin brother, Gilbert (Kodi Smit-

McPhee); a disgraced judge named James (Eric Bana); and a blink-and-you'll-miss-him character, voiced by Nick Cave, who is promptly eaten by a crocodile. Each stands roughly palm-size with hair like a caveman's toothbrush and just four fingers of their own on each hand. This doesn't prevent them from flipping the bird. Neither are they restrained from such adult pleasures as roller-skating on a nude cruise or enjoying a one-night stand with John Denver.

This twee grotesquerie won't corrupt any children undeterred by the film's R rating. Those kids will have already wandered off, dismayed by a cartoon told in shades of gray, black and Vegemite brown. One of the more beautiful sights in the film is simply a very shiny cabbage.

Yet Elliot has taken the time to stitch a bit of black comedy into every scene — layering each frame with jokes designed to be excavated on a rewatch. My favorite is a glimpse of Pinky dancing at a topless German restaurant called Schnitz n' ... uh, well, think

of a lady part that rhymes. (I've since learned it's a real place in Melbourne — try the veal.)

The film's metaphors spiral together too tightly, especially its insistence that vulnerable Grace is trapped inside her shell, a husk that comes to mean her shyness, her hobbies, her home and her size. I found myself empathizing more with her brother, a pyromaniac who looks like a stereotypical heshier but becomes the heart of the movie — he's the one willing to risk getting hurt to protect them.

As Grace and Gilbert's bond weakens, Elliot has written some lovely thoughts on loss that he scores to urgent violins, thundering organs and, in one scene, the screams of a snail named Sylvia (as in Plath), whose gradual slitherings over the course of the film urge us to creep onward at whatever speed we can.

R. At AMC Georgetown 14, Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema and Landmark E Street Cinema.

Contains adult themes and Claymation nudity. 94 minutes.

Here ★★☆☆

Robert Zemeckis works the room in fixed-perspective drama

BY CHRIS KLIMEK

Robert Zemeckis's golden touch has faded since the prior century, when his hit streak stretched from 1984's "Romancing the Stone" through 2000's "Cast Away." Along the way, he won an Oscar for directing "Forrest Gump" (1994), the best picture winner that became one of the weirdest blockbusters in history and enshrined him as our national boomer laureate either in spite or because of its indecipherable politics.

But his more recent, less-beloved pictures have continued to combine digital experimentation with strong organizing ideas. Both elements are front and center in "Here," an ambitious drama tracing the events that occur in a single room — and, before that, the land on which the room will be built — over eons.

He's borrowed the premise from the eponymous 2014 graphic novel by Richard McGuire. Otherwise, the project is a "Gump" reunion of screenwriter Eric Roth, cinematographer Don Burgess, composer Alan Silvestri, and, most crucially, stars Tom Hanks and Robin Wright. The story unfolds out of sequence, beginning millions of years before and continuing at least a few more after the seven-decade span in which two generations of the Young family occupy this house, somewhere in one of the 13 former British colonies in the New World. (There's a flashback to a Continental Army messenger announcing the British surrender in 1783, to which a soldier replies, "Now what?") But it's the prosaic, sad saga of Richard and



SONY PICTURES ENTERTAINMENT

Tom Hanks and Robin Wright star in "Here" as Richard and Margaret Young, whose family occupies the house through multiple generations. The film uses makeup and AI to age the actors up and down.

Margaret Young — Hanks and Wright — that occupies most of the film's surprisingly pithy 104 minutes, from an unplanned pregnancy in their teen years on through all the joys and trials of parenthood, eldercare and the indignities of their own superannuation.

Broadening the time frame of any story can be a counterintuitive shortcut to profundity. The gimmick here is the way Zemeckis denies himself most of the superpowers that film editing affords a storyteller. In "Here," he anchors his camera in one spot and lets events play out in front of it. The surface of the Earth cools, the dinosaurs get obliterated, an

Indigenous couple makes love. Then, in 1945, World War II veteran Al Young (Paul Bettany), having learned that his wife, Rose (Kelly Reilly), is expecting, stretches their budget to buy a house for \$3,400. By this point, we've already overheard a real estate agent standing in the same room eight decades later chirp, "\$1 million is a steal these days!"

This kind of fixed-perspective, multigenerational chronicle is more oft-attempted in theater than in movies. Thornton Wilder's "Our Town," with its veneration of American ordinariness, is the obvious lodestar, but living playwrights like Bruce Norris ("Clybourne Park") and Ella

Hickson ("Oil") have told stories of this ilk, too. Ironically, it's Zemeckis's reluctance to embrace theatrical artifice over attempted photorealism that prevents "Here" from hitting as powerfully as it might. He uses traditional prosthetic makeup along with an artificial-intelligence thingy called Metaphysic Live to try to sell the illusion of Hanks and Wright — 68 and 58, respectively — as teenagers, octogenarians and so on. Bettany and Reilly, 53 and 47, age up and down, too. Twenty years after Zemeckis crept us all out with his dead-eyed Hanks avatar in "The Polar Express," his army of mouse-clickers *still* haven't bridged the

uncanny valley that makes us recoil from the sight of digitally futzed-with human faces. The eerily frictionless illusions Zemeckis's VFX team dials up just make it harder for us to suspend our disbelief.

Worse, he underlines these shortcomings by periodically filling the frame with meaningless CGI filigree, cutesy animated squirrels and hummingbirds that would seem more at home in "Kung Fu Panda 5" than in a tear-jerker for grown-ups. (Because truth is forever stranger than fiction, a little-seen 2013 science fiction film called "The Congress" starred Wright as a version of herself who sells her digital likeness to an entertainment conglomerate in perpetuity and retires from "live" acting.)

"Here's" other big flaw is a weak batch of scenes involving two cartoonish couples who occupy the house circa 1900-1945, including an aviation enthusiast who declares to his spouse, "The future is the only direction we're headed!" (This triggers another detour into the past, naturally.) A section involving a Black family that moves in during the 2010s is just as thinly imagined, if more justifiable. Zemeckis shows us these parents gravely advising their teenage son how to survive being pulled over by a cop. He doesn't give these characters the time or nuance he affords to Hanks and Wright, but their presence at least acknowledges he understands the era of boomer hegemony will end. Eventually.

PG-13. At area theaters. Contains cursing, boozing, teen pregnancy and existential ennui. 104 minutes.

JUROR FROM 22

attorney, while the defense attorney (Chris Messina) pleads the innocence of a client who, for once, he believes didn't do it. Eastwood uses flashbacks to the night in question to portray the couple as a pair of trashy sleaze-balls, while Justin and his wife are never less than middle-class attractive, but then "Juror #2" starts mixing its signals, class and otherwise. (Unfortunately, the movie may be read by some as an apology for domestic abusers, but "not all men" doesn't really seem high on Eastwood's agenda here.)

In the jury room, Justin takes on the classic Fonda role of trying to convince the others to vote not guilty, only with the



CLAIRE FOLGER/WARNER BROS. PICTURES

Nicholas Hoult on set with director Clint Eastwood, who sets up a complicated moral scenario in "Juror #2" and watches it unfold.

added moral murkiness of trying to save his own guilt. The jurors are a demographically mixed bunch with a few wild cards, including Marcus (Cedric Yarbrough), a no-nonsense man who's sure the accused did it but also thinks Justin is up to *something*, and Harold (J.K. Simmons), a retired Chicago detective who decides to do some sleuthing on his own. There's more than a bit of Hitchcock to "Juror #2" — it might as well be called "The Right Man" — or there would be if its maker were interested in making a conventional suspense thriller.

He's not. In fact — and, again, this is typical of Eastwood's late work — "Juror #2" seems content to set up a complicated moral scenario and then simply sit back

to watch it unfold. (The curiously abrupt ending confirms that resolving the plot isn't high on the director's agenda either.)

Eastwood was never much of a cinematic stylist to begin with, and this film in particular has the dull, proficient sheen of a TV movie. Still, "Juror #2" contains the lived wisdom of an artist turning from contemplating how society fails the people we choose to call heroes to wondering about the ways in which a man might simply fail himself.

Ty Burr is the author of the movie recommendation newsletter Ty Burr's Watch List at tyburrswatchlist.com.

PG-13. At AMC Tysons Corner 16. Contains some violent images and strong language. 113 minutes.

ANORA FROM 20

of "Anora," an extended funny/scary living-room siege, is staged for maximum screwball even as we're asked to consider what it looks like from a terrified woman's point of view.
A word about Mikey Madison in this movie: wonderful. Okay, a few more words about her portrayal of Ani: Heartsore. Headstrong. Self-possessed. Nobody's victim. The comedy of the back half of "Anora" — which ambles around Brooklyn for much too long and too noisily in search of AWOL Vanya — is that Ani is as furious at herself for buying into the dream as she is at these three stooges whom she berates, bloodies and abuses into exasperation and awe.
Madison first came to attention as Pamela Adlon's oldest daughter, Max, in "Better Things" and had small roles in "Once Upon a Time ... in Hollywood" (2019) and "Scream" (2022), both of which dispatched her characters with extreme prejudice. One of the greater satisfactions of "Anora" is seeing Ani take charge of a situation in which she's supposed to be



NEON

Mikey Madison, right, as Ani and Mark Eydelshteyn as Vanya in "Anora." It's the latest Sean Baker opus to look at the tragicomedy of this country's daily life through the lens of sex work.

collateral damage. Madison uses her liquid eyes and wary, rubbery smile not to win us over a la Julia Roberts but to show how Ani sheds her illusions and comes to understand both her own power and the larger powerlessness of a working woman in a world run by

men and boys and money. That revelation fills Ani with righteous comic fury, the kind an audience is prompted to cheer. But Baker, as ever, is playing a more complicated game, and only as "Anora" rolls on do she and we acknowledge she's being crushed

as well. Before the final scene — a moment as emotionally wrenching and multilayered as any you'll see on a screen this year — it's clear that Ani's ferocity, a sex worker's insistence that she matters as a human being, has won her grudging admirers. If that

only serves to increase her value in the marketplace for a day or two, she'll take it. You are what you're paid.
I said "Anora" is a love story, though, and I'll save you the pleasure of discovering what I mean by that. It involves a character and a performance that constitute a slowly dawning act of graciousness, but it could also be just another illusion, this one of romance and the kind of happy endings found in fairy tales rather than Ani's usual line of work. "Anora" is a movie to argue over — the post-film conversations among couples are going to be fierce — but Baker leaves the most important questions for us to hash out. What's the price of a pretty woman? What are the prices paid by her? And what would a world look like if there were no prices at all?
Ty Burr is the author of the movie recommendation newsletter Ty Burr's Watch List at tyburrswatchlist.com.
R. At area theaters. Contains strong sexual content throughout, graphic nudity, pervasive language and drug use. 139 minutes.

New movies and shows to stream



SOPHIE GIRAUD/NETFLIX

Devale Ellis, left, plays Teddy and Christina Milian is Layla in "Meet Me Next Christmas," a Netflix holiday rom-com.

Music by John Williams
This documentary about the life and career of film composer John Williams — known for "Jaws," "Star Wars," "Indiana Jones," "Schindler's List" and many more — features interviews with cinematic and musical luminaries including Steven Spielberg, George Lucas and Yo-Yo Ma.
Where to watch: Disney Plus

Meet Me Next Christmas
Do you know what every hastily created Netflix holiday rom-com is missing? The a cappella group Pentatonix, which won the third season of NBC's "The Sing-Off" in 2011. Luckily for you, this film's got them: A hopelessly romantic young woman searching for the man of her dreams races around New York City to find a ticket to Pentatonix's sold-out Christmas concert.
Where to watch: Wednesday on Netflix

ALSO PLAYING

- Star ratings are from Post reviews; go to washingtonpost.com/goingoutguide/movies for the full-length reviews. For showtimes and directories, see the Movie Directory.
★★★★☆ THE APPRENTICE
Sebastian Stan and Jeremy Strong star as the young Donald Trump and his soulless mentor, Roy Cohn. (R, 120 minutes.)
★★★★☆ BEETLEJUICE BEETLEJUICE
Michael Keaton, Winona Ryder and Tim Burton return in an overstuffed ghost story. (PG-13, 104 minutes.)
★★★★☆ BETWEEN THE TEMPLES
Carol Kane and Jason Schwartzman star in an unorthodox generational comedy that gets it right. (R, 111 minutes)
★★★★☆ CONCLAVE
Ralph Fiennes and a gallery of scene-stealers make for 12 angry cardinals. (PG, 120 minutes)
★★★★☆ JOKER: FOLIE À DEUX
Joaquin Phoenix and Lady Gaga star in a sequel that's most interesting for ideas that are buried in grim entertainment. (R, 138 minutes.)
★★★★☆ MY NAME IS ALFRED HITCHCOCK
Director Mark Cousins brings the master back from the dead for a



UNIVERSAL PICTURES/DREAMWORKS ANIMATION

- Kit Connor voices Brightbill and Lupita Nyong'o is Roz the robot in "The Wild Robot," based on a best-selling children's book.
poetic documentary essay. (Unrated, 120 minutes)
★★★★☆ PIECE BY PIECE
Director Morgan Neville delivers a Pharrell Williams block party in the world's first Lego music documentary. (PG, 93 minutes)
★★★★☆ SATURDAY NIGHT
Entertainingly pointless, Jason Reitman's movie is still more fun than the current SNL. (R, 109 minutes)
★★★★☆ SPEAK NO EVIL
James McAvoy rampages through a wicked and witty Grand Guignol of manners. (R, 110 minutes)
★★★★☆ THE SUBSTANCE
Demi Moore plays an aging, egocentric star in this gonzo horror-comedy. (R, 140 minutes)
★★★★☆ TRANSFORMERS ONE
This star-studded cartoon prequel has more stylish soul than Michael Bay's live-action version. (PG, 103 minutes)
★★★★☆ WE LIVE IN TIME
Andrew Garfield and Florence Pugh can't overcome this film's timid, time-hopping marriage story. (R, 107 minutes)
★★★★☆ THE WILD ROBOT
From DreamWorks Animation, based on a best-selling children's book, a tale of high tech gone AWOL. (PG, 101 minutes.)

Common Sense Media What parents need to know

Here (PG-13)

Age 13+
Tom Hanks, Robin Wright reunite for tepid time-passage drama.

Based on Richard McGuire's graphic novel, "Here" reunites the "Forrest Gump" team: director Robert Zemeckis, writer Eric Roth, and actors Tom Hanks and Robin Wright. The film focuses on events that unfold in a single location, from the distant past to the present, as a way of exploring the full scope of humanity. The patch of land starts as a romantic trysting spot for an Indigenous couple, later becomes a respite for Revolutionary War soldiers and eventually turns into a house's living room. Time jumps occur every few minutes, so the story could be confusing for some. Violence isn't an issue, but there's heavy drinking, especially by a character implied to have an alcohol dependency (and who doesn't suffer consequences). Adults smoke in the 1950s-set scenes. A couple kisses passionately, with the implication it leads to sex, and a wife playfully poses half-nude (sensitive areas covered) for her husband's camera. Strong language includes "s---," "goddamn" and one "get the f--- out." While some of the movie's messaging may be lost on kids, they'll understand the idea that time marches on — with and without us — so enjoy it while you can and don't sweat the small stuff. (104 minutes)

Available in theaters.

Wizards Beyond Waverly Place (TV-G)

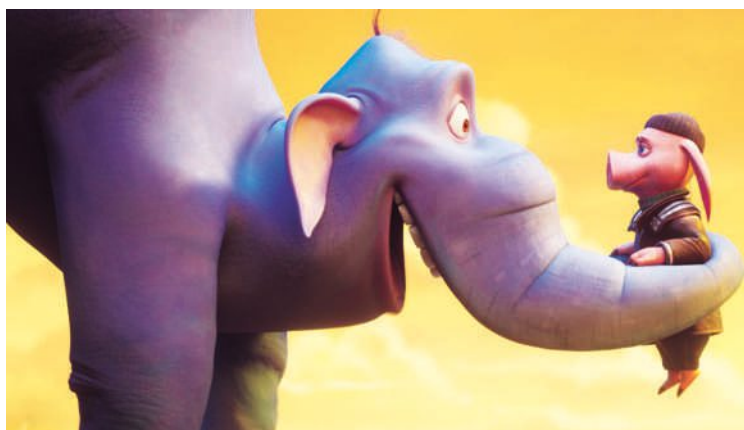
STREAMING
Age 6+
Wizards return with more magic, mischief and life lessons.

A follow-up to the 2007 Disney Channel sitcom "Wizards of Waverly Place," this sequel series features the returns of original stars Selena Gomez — in a minor role this time around — and David Henrie. Expect moderate scariness as the wizards encounter (mostly silly) monsters and sometimes end up in peril, though the comedic tone makes it feel like the characters will always be okay. There's mild language, including "dumb" and "freaking," and some innuendo — like "get a room" — that will go over many kids' heads. Adult partnered characters flirt and kiss on the cheek. The protagonist Billie (Janice LeAnn Brown), a powerful teen wizard, is a complicated role model with good intentions but a strong rebellious streak. (10 episodes) Available on Disney Plus.



ERIC MCCANDLESS/DISNEY

From left, Mimi Gianopulos, David Henrie, Max Matenko and Alkaio Thiele in "Wizards Beyond Waverly Place," a follow-up to the 2007 Disney Channel sitcom "Wizards of Waverly Place."



ANIVENTURE

Based loosely on the book "Pete & Pickles," "Hitpig!" follows a pig voiced by Jason Sudeikis and an elephant voiced by Lilly Singh.



SONY PICTURES ENTERTAINMENT

Robin Wright and Tom Hanks star in "Here," directed by Robert Zemeckis, which focuses on events that unfold in a single location.

maintains an underlying optimism. Separated from her twin brother, the central character Grace (voiced by Sarah Snook) deals with her depression by hoarding. Despite her flaws (she shoplifts), Grace is resilient and kind and demonstrates compassion, especially toward an eccentric woman named Pinky (Jacki Weaver). Other characters are cruel and abusive, and two gay characters are subjected to electroshock "therapy." Grace's wheelchair-using father struggles with alcohol as a coping mechanism. The film has some graphic content, including injuries (broken and severed fingers), death and arson. One character contemplates suicide but doesn't go through with it. Characters have sex, and a judge is fired for masturbating in court. Language includes "s---," "wanker" and a homophobic slur. Characters smoke and bake pot-infused cookies. (94 minutes)

Available in theaters.

Hitpig! (PG)

Age 6+
Amusing animal adventure is full of slapstick high jinks.

"Hitpig!" is an animated adventure based loosely on "Pete & Pickles," cartoonist Berkeley Breathed's book about the relationship between a pig and a circus elephant. In the movie, the pig (voiced by Jason Sudeikis) is a bounty hunter who tracks down high-value animals for money. Expect lots of slapstick action and physical comedy, including slips, falls and broken furniture. It's all played for humor, but there are some treacherous near misses, as well as the offscreen killing of a human by a crocodile and the loss of two characters who float away in space. In one scene, the pig and an animal rights activist trade tranquilizer darts until they're both slurring their speech, sluggish and drooling. Mild language includes "shut up," "losers," "dang," "son of a beechnut" and "heck." Although the movie isn't meant to be educational, its themes include perseverance, empathy and teamwork, plus the value of chosen family and pursuing your dreams. (86 minutes)

Available in theaters.



ARENAMEDIA PTY LTD. / IFC FILMS

Grace (voice of Sarah Snook), left, and Pinky (Jacki Weaver) in "Memoir of a Snail," a darkly comic stop-motion drama. The film from Adam Elliot tackles tough topics but maintains an underlying optimism.

Memoir of a Snail (R)

Age 14+
Adult themes in moving and darkly comic animated drama.

"Memoir of a Snail" is an exceptional Australian stop-motion animated drama that tackles tough topics but

common sense Common Sense Media helps families make smart media choices. Go to commonsensemedia.org for age-based and educational ratings and reviews for movies, games, apps, TV shows, websites and books.

DISTRICT

Hore (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:05-2:00; 4:35-7:10; 9:40; Sat. 11:30-1:50; 4:25-7:10; 10:25
Absolution (R) CC: Fri. 2:15-5:05; 7:45-10:30; Sat. 2:25-5:05; 7:45-10:35
725 (R) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:45; 7:25-8:00; 9:00; Sat. 1:30-4:45; 7:25-8:00; 9:25-10:00
The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 2:10-4:50; 7:05-9:50; Sat. 2:10-4:50; 6:40-7:35-9:55
Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri. 3:35
Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 1:20-3:35; 4:20-7:15-9:35; Sat. 1:15-4:10; 6:40-7:35-9:55
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:00-3:45; 6:30-9:15
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:30-8:00-10:35; Sat. 12:00-2:30-8:00-10:35
Saturday Night (R) CC: Fri. 2:25; Sat. 11:45-9:50
The Substance (R) CC: Fri. 1:10-1:45; Sat. 3:30
Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 2:40-5:35-8:30-10:30; Sat. 4:40-7:40-10:20
The Apprentice (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:45
Memoir of a Snail (R) CC: Fri. 1:15-5:10-7:30-9:55; Sat. 2:45-5:10-7:30-10:30
We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 2:20-5:00-7:40-10:15; Sat. 2:20-5:00-7:10-8:15-9:40
Bhoot Bhulaiyya 3 (NR) Fri. 6:00; Sat. 12:10
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX 3D Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 5:15
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 7:20; Sat. 5:10
Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 10:25; Sat. 2:00
The Wild Robot (PG) OC: Sat. 11:40AM
Piece By Piece (PG) OC: Sat. 11:30AM
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 4:30
Saturday Night (R) OC: Fri. 6:20
The Substance (R) OC: Sat. 12:50
Smile 2 (R) OC: Sat. 1:35
Memoir of a Snail (R) OC: Sat. 12:20
We Live In Time (R) OC: Sat. 11:45AM

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - DC Bryant Street
630 Rhode Island Avenue NE
The Wizard of Oz (1939) (PG)
Sat. 12:30
Breakfast of Champions (R)
Sat. 9:15
The Texas Chain Saw Massacre (1974) (R) Fri. 9:30
Anora (R) Fri. 11:30-12:00
3:00-3:30-6:10-7:00-7:45-9:40-10:30; Sat. 12:00-3:30-6:00-7:00-7:45-9:30-10:30
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 10:50-12:30-1:40-3:20-6:30; Sat. 10:50-3:10-6:25
Conclave (PG) Fri. 12:45-4:00-4:30-7:15-10:45; Sat. 12:00-3:30-4:30-6:45-10:00
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:00-2:00-5:00-8:00-11:00
Smile 2 (R) Fri. 1:00-4:15-7:30-10:45; Sat. 4:15-7:30-10:45
Emilia Perez (R) Fri. 11:25-2:50-6:15-9:35; Sat. 11:30-2:50-6:15-9:35
We Live In Time (R) Fri. 12:45-3:45-6:45-9:50; Sat. 11:45-4:15-7:15-10:20

Angelika
Pop-Up at Union Market
550 Penn St. NE - Unit E

Psycho (1998) (R) Sat. 1:15-4:20-7:00-9:30

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 1:45-4:20-6:45-9:45; Sat. 1:30-4:00-6:45-9:20

Carville: Winning Is Everything, Stupid! (R) Fri. 7:00

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 12:30-3:35-9:30; Sat. 12:30-3:30-6:30-9:30

Psycho (1998) (R) Fri. 2:00-4:30-9:45

Avalon Theatre
5612 Connecticut Avenue

The Goldman Case (Le Procès Goldman) (R) Sat. 11:15-1:50-4:25-7:15

Conclave (PG) Fri. 11:00-1:45-4:35-7:30; Sat. 1:45-4:35-7:30; Sat. 11:00AM

Landmark
Atlantic Plumbing Cinema
807 V Street Northwest

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:10-6:30-9:00

Saturday Night (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:50-4:40-7:30-10:10

The Substance (R) Fri. 1:00-3:50-7:00-9:50; Sat. 3:50-7:00-9:50

Smile 2 (R) Fri. 1:20-4:20-7:20-10:00; Sat. 4:20-7:20-10:00

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 1:40-4:30-7:10-9:30; Sat. 4:30-7:10-9:30

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:10-4:00-6:45-9:40

Smile 2 (R) Sat. 1:20

We Live In Time (R) Sat. 1:40

Landmark E Street Cinema
555 11th Street NW

Anora (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:30-1:30-5:00-7:00-8:00-10:00

Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:00-1:00-4:15-5:30-7:30-8:30-9:00-10:25

The Substance (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:15-7:25-10:10

Emilia Perez (R) Sat. 12:45

Memoir of a Snail (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:15-6:45-10:15

We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:25-7:45-10:30

Anora (R) Fri.-Sat. 4:00

Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 3:00

The Substance (R) Fri.-Sat. 3:15

Emilia Perez (R) Fri. 12:45-3:45-7:15; Sat. 3:45-7:15

Memoir of a Snail (R) Fri.-Sat. 3:35

We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 3:30

Regal Gallery Place
701 Seventh Street NW

Here (PG-13) Fri. 1:20-4:20-7:10-10:10; Sat. 11:40-1:20-4:20-7:10-10:10

Joker: Folie à deux (R) Fri.-Sat. 9:40

Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:40-4:50-7:40-10:40

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:50-6:50

Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 12:40-3:50-8:00-11:00; Sat. 12:00-8:00-11:00

The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 12:10-3:10-6:10-9:10; Sat. 3:10-6:10-9:10

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 11:30-12:30-1:00-2:30-3:00-3:30-4:00-5:30-6:30-7:00-8:30-9:00-9:30-10:00; Sat. 11:30-12:30-1:00-2:30-2:50-3:30-4:00-5:30-6:00-6:30-7:00-8:30-9:00-9:30-10:00

Smile 2 (R) Fri. 12:20-3:40-6:40-9:50; Sat. 3:40-6:40-9:50

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 12:00-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:20; Sat. 11:00-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:20

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Fri. 11:40-2:15-5:00-7:50-10:50; Sat. 11:10-1:50-7:50-10:50

Brandon Lake & Phil Wickham present: For the One Fri. 3:20; Sat. 3:00

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) Fri. 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30; Sat. 10:50-1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:20-2:40-6:20-9:35

Terrifier 3 (NR) Sat. 3:50

The Wild Robot (PG) Sat. 12:10

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 6:00

Smile 2 (R) Sat. 12:20

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Sat. 5:00

MARYLAND

AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center
8633 Colesville Road

Sherlock Jr. (1924) (NR)
Sat. 7:15

Peter Pan (1924) (NR)
Sat. 2:00

Drifting (1923) Sat. 4:45

The Bat (1926) Fri. 7:00

Conclave (PG) OC: Fri. 1:15; Sat. 1:30

Emilia Perez (R) OC: Fri. 12:50; Sat. 11:05AM

Rushmore (R) Fri. 2:15; Sat. 1:45

Cruel Intentions (R) Fri. 4:20

Fight Club (R) Fri. 9:15

Audition Sat. 9:15

Conclave (PG) Fri. 3:45-6:15-8:45; Sat. 11:00-4:00-6:30-9:00

Emilia Perez (R) Fri. 3:35-6:20-9:00; Sat. 3:50-6:30-9:15

Election (Hak se wui) Fri. 12:00; Sat. 11:15AM

AMC Academy 8
6198 Greenbelt Road

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri. 4:30-9:30; Sat. 7:40-10:10

Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:45-4:40-7:40-9:40

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 2:10-4:50-7:30-10:10

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:20-4:00-6:40-9:15-10:00; Sat. 12:20-2:30-4:00-5:10-6:40-7:50-9:15-10:00-10:30

Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 4:15-7:00-10:20; Sat. 1:00-4:15-7:00-10:20

We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:10-6:50-10:40; Sat. 1:30-6:50-10:40

Hitpig (PG) Fri. 2:00-7:20; Sat. 1:00-3:15-5:30

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:30-5:10-7:50-10:30

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 4:00; Sat. 1:10-7:10

Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 1:10-7:10; Sat. 4:00

Smile 2 (R) OC: Fri. 1:00

We Live In Time (R) OC: Sat. 4:10

AMC Annapolis Mall 11
1020 Annapolis Mall Road

Here (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 11:00-1:40-4:20-7:00-9:35

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 12:00-2:30-5:10-7:50-10:20

Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri. 4:10-7:40-10:40; Sat. 12:40-4:10-7:40-9:40

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 11:00-1:20-4:00-6:40-9:15; Sat. 11:10-1:45-4:15-6:40-9:20

Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 3:10-5:30

Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 11:00-1:00-3:50-6:50-9:40; Sat. 1:10-4:00-6:50-9:00

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 11:20-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:00

Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 4:10-1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30; Sat. 4:30-7:30-10:30

We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 12:50-3:40-6:30-9:10; Sat. 12:30-3:50-6:30-9:45

Hitpig (PG) Fri. 11:05-1:50; Sat. 11:15-1:50

The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) Fri. 2:40-5:20-8:00-10:45; Sat. 9:10

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 10:15

Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 7:10; Sat. 12:50-7:10

Terrifier 3 (NR) OC: Fri. 12:10

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 12:45-6:20-9:00; Sat. 1:00-3:40-6:20-10:40

Conclave (PG) OC: Sat. 11:00AM

Smile 2 (R) OC: Sat. 1:30

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) OC: Fri. 3:30

AMC Center Park 8
4001 Powder Mill Road

Absolution (R) CC: Fri. 4:15-7:00-9:45; Sat. 1:30-4:15-7:00-9:45

Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri. 3:45-6:45-9:45; Sat. 12:45-3:45-6:45-9:45

Exhibiting Forgiveness (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 8:15

The Forge (PG) CC: Fri. 4:45

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 4:00-6:30-9:00; Sat. 1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 7:30-10:00; Sat. 12:00-2:30-5:00-7:30-10:00

Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 4:15-7:15-10:15; Sat. 1:15-4:15-7:15-10:15

We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 5:15-7:45-10:15; Sat. 12:15-2:45-5:15-7:45-10:15

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 6:15-8:45; Sat. 1:15-3:45-6:15-8:45

Hitpig (PG) Fri. 3:30-5:45; Sat. 12:30-5:45

Exhibiting Forgiveness (R) Sat. 3:00

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) OC: Fri. 3:45

AMC Columbia 14
10300 Little Patuxent Pkwy.

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:00-5:00-8:00; Sat. 2:00-5:00-6:30-8:00

Smile 2 (R) OC: Sat. 1:00

We Live In Time (R) OC: Sat. 1:10

White Bird (PG-13) CC: Fri. 3:30-6:40; Sat. 6:40

Here (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:00-6:30-9:15; Sat. 1:15-4:00-6:45-9:20

Absolution (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:20-4:10-7:00-9:45

Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri. 6:45-9:45; Sat. 9:30

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 4:00-6:45-9:30; Sat. 1:15-4:00-6:45-9:30

Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri. 1:00; Sat. 1:00-4:35

Conclave (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:10-4:05-7:00-9:55

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 3:00-6:00-9:00; Sat. 12:00-3:00-6:00-9:00

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:00-7:00-10:00

Saturday Night (R) CC: Fri. 9:30; Sat. 9:35
Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00; Sat. 4:00-7:00-10:00
We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 1:40-4:25-7:05-9:50; Sat. 3:50-6:35-9:50
Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 5:00-7:30
Singham Again (NR) Fri. 1:15-8:00; Sat. 12:15-9:15
Bhooh Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri. 7:15; Sat. 1:00-7:15
Hitpig (PG) Fri.-Sat. 1:45-4:15
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:30; Sat. 12:30
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX 3D Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 4:00
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 10:00; Sat. 6:30
Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 4:15; Sat. 3:15-9:45
White Bird (PG-13) OC: Sat. 3:30
Here (PG-13) OC: Fri. 3:45
The Wild Robot (PG) OC: Fri. 1:15
Piece By Piece (PG) OC: Fri. 4:35

AMC
DINE-IN Rio Cinemas 18
 9811 Washington Ctr.

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 12:00
Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 12:45-3:00-4:00-7:15-9:35-10:30; Sat. 12:45-4:00-7:15-9:30-10:30
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:00-4:00-7:00-9:45
White Bird (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:00-4:00-7:00
Here (PG-13) CC: Fri. 4:15-7:00-9:15; Sat. 1:15-4:15-7:00-9:45
Abolition (R) CC: Fri. 1:45-4:45-7:30-10:30; Sat. 1:45-4:45-7:45-10:45
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:00-3:35-6:30-9:45; Sat. 1:00-3:45-6:45-10:00
Transformers One (PG) CC: Fri. 12:10-1:45; Sat. 12:00-1:45
Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri. 12:00-5:50-8:45-10:15; Sat. 12:45-2:45-5:45-8:45-10:15
The Carpenter (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:30-7:15-10:45; Sat. 1:30-4:30-7:15-10:15
The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 1:15-4:00-9:30; Sat. 1:15-9:30
Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri. 4:35; Sat. 12:10-3:40
Lucky Baskhar (Telugu) (NR) Fri. 2:45; Sat. 12:00
The Wild Robot 3D (PG) CC: Fri. 6:45; Sat. 4:00-6:45
Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 12:15-3:15-6:15-9:15; Sat. 12:30-3:45-7:00-9:45
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 3:00-6:00-8:45-10:15; Sat. 12:00-3:00-6:00-8:45-10:15
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 2:00-8:00-10:45
We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 12:45-2:35-5:15-8:00-10:15
Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 5:00-7:45
Singham Again (NR) Fri. 6:15-10:00; Sat. 6:00-9:15
Bhooh Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 6:30-10:00
KA Fri. 2:45; Sat. 2:35
Hitpig (PG) Fri. 12:15-2:40; Sat. 12:15-3:30
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00

Enom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 4:30-7:30
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX 3D Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 5:00
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 9:30
Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 6:15; Sat. 6:00
Here (PG-13) OC: Fri. 1:15

AMC Capital Johnson
Magical Center 12
800 Shoppers Way

White Bird (PG-13) CC: Fri. Sat. 1:20-4:15-7:10-10:10
Absolution (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 2:30-5:15-8:00-10:45
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 2:10-4:45-7:30-10:30
Transformers One (PG) CC: Fri. 1:30; Sat. 1:30-4:30
Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30
Exhibiting Forgiveness (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 7:00-10:00
The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:40-4:20-7:00-9:45
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:15-4:00-6:45-9:30; Sat. 1:15-6:45-9:30
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 5:00-7:45
Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 1:00-4:15-7:15-10:15; Sat. 1:15-7:15-10:15
We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 2:30-5:15-8:00-10:45
Hitpig (PG) Fri.-Sat. 2:00-4:30
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:45-4:30-7:15-10:00
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX 3D Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 2:15-10:30
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 4:10-7:20; Sat. 7:20
Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri.-Sat. 10:10
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) OC: Sat. 4:00
Smile 2 (R) OC: Sat. 1:00

AMC Montgomery 16
7101 Democracy Boulevard

White Bird (PG-13) CC: Fri. 7:15; Sat. 1:15-7:15
Here (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:15-7:00-10:00
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri. 4:30-10:30; Sat. 5:00-10:30
Absolution (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:45-4:30-7:15-10:15
Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri.-Sat. 7:30-9:45
Chasing Chasing Amy Fri. 2:15-4:45; Sat. 12:10-2:30
The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 1:15-4:00-6:45-9:30; Sat. 12:00-2:15-4:45-7:15-9:45
Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 4:30-10:15
Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 1:00-4:00-6:00-7:00-10:00; Sat. 12:30-3:30-6:30-9:30
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:00-3:45-6:30-9:15
Saturday Night (R) CC: Sat. 10:30
Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00; Sat. 1:00-4:15-7:30-10:00
We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 2:00-4:45-7:30-10:15; Sat. 2:35-5:10-7:50-10:30
Hitpig (PG) Fri. 1:30-3:45; Sat. 12:00-5:15
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 7:00; Sat. 1:15

Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 1:15; Sat. 7:00
White Bird (PG-13) OC: Fri. 1:30
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:15-3:00; 5:00-5:45; 7:45-8:30-10:30; Sat. 12:15-3:00-5:00-5:45; 7:45-8:30-10:30
Conclave (PG) OC: Sat. 2:30
Saturday Night (R) OC: Fri. 9:00
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) OC: Sat. 2:15
We Live In Time (R) OC: Sat. 12:00

AMC St. Charles Town Ctr 9
11115 Mail Circle

Here (PG-13) CC: Fri. 4:30-7:00-9:30; Sat. 1:15-4:00-6:45-9:30
Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:15-4:15-7:15-10:00
The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:15-4:00-6:30-9:00
Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri. 4:30; Sat. 9:45
Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 3:45-6:30-9:30; Sat. 1:00-3:45-6:30-9:30
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 5:00-7:45-10:30; Sat. 2:15-5:00-7:45-10:30
Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 3:45-6:45-9:45; Sat. 1:00-3:45-6:45-9:45
We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 4:40-7:15-10:15; Sat. 2:00-4:40-7:15-10:15
Httipg (Fri) Fri. 1:00-9:30; Sat. 1:15
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever After Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:30-7:00-9:45
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 3:15
Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 6:20; Sat. 3:45
Here (PG-13) OC: Fri. 2:00
Conclave (PG) OC: Fri. 1:00
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) OC: Fri. 2:15
Smile 2 (R) OC: Fri. 1:30
We Live In Time (R) OC: Fri. 2:00

Cinemark
Egyptian 24 and XD
7000 Arundel Mills Circle

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) XD: Fri.-Sat. 10:30-4:10-7:00-9:50; Fri.-Sat. 1:10-11:30-11:45-2:25-2:30-4:40-5:00-5:15-7:30-7:45-8:00-10:20-10:30-10:45
Singham Again (NR) XD: Fri.-Sat. 11:25-6:45
Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) XD: Fri.-Sat. 2:55-10:15
The Nightmare Before Christmas (2024 Re-Release) (PG) Fri. 10:20-12:35; Sat. 10:05-12:40
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:50
Here (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 10:40-1:30-4:20-7:10-10:10
Speak No Evil (R) Fri. 9:25; Sat. 7:25-10:15
Absolution (R) Fri. 11:25-2:15-5:05-7:55-10:45; Sat. 10:20-11:00-9:40
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 10:55-1:35-4:15-6:55-9:35
Transformers One (PG) Fri.-Sat. 10:30-1:15
Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 10:10-1:25-4:30-7:35-10:40
The Carpenter Fri.-Sat. 10:35-1:25-4:15-7:05-9:55
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 10:20-10:40-1:00-1:20-4:00; Sat. 10:00-11:25-12:20-2:05-4:45

Piece By Piece (PG) Fri.-Sat. 10:15-12:45
Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 10:40-1:40; 4:40-7:40; 10:40
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 10:45-1:35; 4:25-7:15-10:05
Smile 2 (R) Fri.-Sat. 10:05-1:10; 4:15-6:40; 7:20-9:45-10:25
We Live In Time (R) Fri. 11:20-2:20; 5:05-7:50-10:35; Sat. 10:00-12:30-2:20-5:05-7:50-10:35
Coraline 15th Anniversary (PG) Fri. 4:00
Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 7:00
Singham Again (NR) Fri.-Sat. 12:05-3:40; 7:15-10:50
Amaran (R) Fri. 2:50-6:35-10:20; Sat. 2:55-6:40-10:25
Baaghera Fri. 7:50; Sat. 3:05-6:50-10:35
Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 11:45-3:20-6:55-10:35
Brandon Lake & Phil Wickham present: For the One Sat. 3:00
Hitpig (PG) Fri. 10:25-12:45-3:05-5:25; Sat. 10:05-12:45
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Fri. 4:00-7:00
Brother Fri.-Sat. 4:00-7:25-10:55
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) XD: Fri.-Sat. 1:20
Bloody Beggar Fri.-Sat. 3:15-6:30-9:45
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 10:00-1:15-4:30-7:45-11:00
Cinepolis Gaithersburg 623 Center Point Way
Shrek (PG) Sat. 10:00AM
Here (PG-13) Fri. 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00; Sat. 12:20-3:20-6:20-9:20
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 7:45-10:45
Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 1:10-4:30; Sat. 1:10-10:15
The Ghost Trap Fri. 3:30-6:30-9:30; Sat. 12:40-3:40-6:40
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 12:45-3:45-6:45-9:45; Sat. 10:00-11:15-2:00-5:00-8:00-11:00
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 1:15-4:20-7:25-10:30; Sat. 10:15-1:20-4:25-7:30-9:40-10:35
Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:30-3:45-7:00-10:15
Smile 2 (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:05-4:30-7:45-11:00
We Live In Time (R) Fri. 2:45-5:00-8:50; Sat. 1:00-4:35-9:55
Singham Again (NR) Fri. 2:15-6:15-10:10; Sat. 10:30-2:25-6:25
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Fri. 4:00-7:00
Greenbelt Cinema 123 Centaway
It's Such a Beautiful Day Sat. 1:00
Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 5:00-7:45
We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 5:15-8:00
Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema 7235 Woodmont Avenue
Here (PG-13) Fri. 1:20-4:20-7:10-9:30; Sat. 4:20-7:10-9:30
Conclave (PG) Fri. 1:15-4:15-5:15-7:15-8:30-9:55; Sat. 1:15-2:30-4:15-5:15-7:15-8:30-9:55
Saturday Night (R) Fri. 5:00-10:05; Sat. 10:05
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 4:45-7:20-9:50; Sat. 1:45-4:45-7:20-9:50
The Apprentice (R) Fri.-Sat. 2:00-7:35-10:00
Memoir of a Snail (R) Fri. 1:40-4:40-7:40-10:10; Sat. 4:40-7:40-10:10

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 4:30-7:30-9:45; Sat. 1:30-4:30-7:30-9:45
Here (PG-13) Fri. 2:20
Conclave (PG) Fri. 3:12:30
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 1:45
Saturday Night (R) Sat. 5:00
Emilia Perez (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:00-4:00-7:00
Memoir of a Snail (R) Sat. 1:40
We Live In Time (R) Fri. 1:30

Landmark at Annapolis Harbour Centre
 2474 Solomons Island Rd. Unit H-1
Here (PG-13) Fri. 1:10-4:00-7:00; Sat. 1:10-4:00-6:55
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. Sat. 1:35-4:10-7:05
Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 1:00-2:00-3:40-4:40-6:20-7:20
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 2:10-4:45-7:10
Smile 2 (R) Fri. 3:55-6:50; Sat. 1:25-4:15-7:00
Emilia Perez (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:20-7:15
We Live In Time (R) Fri. 4:05-6:45; Sat. 1:20-4:05-6:45
Hitpig (PG) Fri. Sat. 1:15-3:20-5:20-7:25
Smile 2 (R) Fri. 1:10
We Live In Time (R) Fri. 1:20

Phoenix Theatres Marlowe
 3899 Branch Avenue
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri. Sat. 9:00
Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 3:45-6:35-9:35; Sat. 12:45-3:45-6:35-9:35
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 4:15-6:35; Sat. 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 4:00-5:30-6:45-8:00-9:30-10:30; Sat. 12:30-1:00-3:00-3:30-5:30-6:05-8:00-9:00-10:30
Smile 2 (R) Fri. 4:00-7:00-10:00; Sat. 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00
Hitpig (PG) Fri. 5:00-7:30-9:45; Sat. 11:05-1:35-4:05-6:35-9:00

Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 2D & IMAX
 900 Ellsworth Drive
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Sat. 3:30
Smile 2 (R) Fri. 5:20
White Bird (PG-13) Fri. 11:20-5:30; Sat. 12:30-6:30
Here (PG-13) Fri. 12:15-3:10-4:15-6:20-7:20-9:10-10:10; Sat. 12:15-1:20-3:10-4:15-6:20-7:20-9:10-10:10
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri. 12:35-3:25-6:25-9:25; Sat. 12:35-3:25-6:25-10:05
Transformers One (PG) Fri. 11:35-3:15; Sat. 11:35AM
Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 11:50-3:05-6:35-9:35; Sat. 11:55-3:15-6:35-9:35
Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 11:30-1:40-4:45-7:50-10:35
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 1:10-3:55-6:40-9:50; Sat. 1:10-3:55-6:50-9:50
Piece by Piece (PG) Fri.-Sat. 6:45
Conclave (PG) Fri.-Sat. 11:40-2:40-5:50-9:05
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 11:45-1:30-2:30-3:00-4:30-6:00-7:30-8:30-9:00-10:30; Sat. 11:45-1:30-3:30-4:30-6:00-7:30-9:00-9:30-10:30
Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) Fri. 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00; Sat. 1:00-3:50-7:10-10:00
Saturday Night (R) Fri.-Sat. 9:55
Smile 2 (R) Fri. 12:10-2:10-8:40; Sat. 11:50-2:10-5:20-8:40
We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 11:25-2:05-4:50-7:40-10:25
Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 3:35-6:50

Singham Again (NR) Fri.-Sat. 12:40-4:20-8:15
Amaran (NR) Fri. 12:20-4:10-8:10; Sat. 12:05-9:25
Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Fri. 12:00-2:50-5:40-8:20; Sat. 12:00-2:50-5:30-8:20
Brandon Lake & Phil Wickham present: For the One Sat. 3:00
Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 2:20-6:05-9:45
Hitpig (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:55-3:45
Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) Fri. 12:30-9:30; Sat. 2:00-5:00-8:00
The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) Sat. 4:00-7:00
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 6:10-9:40
Here (PG-13) Fri. 1:20

Regal Germantown
20000 Century Boulevard

Here (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:10-4:00-7:00-9:40
Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:20-7:20-10:20
Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 12:10-6:20-9:30
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:30-3:10-6:30-9:20
Lucky Baskhar (Telugu) (NR) Fri.-Sat. 3:50
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:50-12:50-1:20-3:30-4:10-5:10-6:10-6:50-7:50-8:50
Smile 2 (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:40-3:40-7:10-10:10
We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 2:00-4:40-7:40-10:30
Singham Again (NR) Fri.-Sat. 1:50-5:50-10:00
Amaran (NR) Fri.-Sat. 1:40-5:30-9:10
Bagheera Fri.-Sat. 1:00-4:50-8:30
Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 2:10-6:00-9:50
KA Fri.-Sat. 2:50-9:00
Lucky Baskhar (Telugu) (NR) Fri.-Sat. 12:00-8:10
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 2:30

Regal Hyattsville Royale
6505 America Boulevard

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 12:00-2:40-5:30-8:10
Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 12:50-4:10-7:10-10:10
Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:20-3:20-6:40-9:30
The Wild Robot (PG) Fri.-Sat. 1:00-3:40-6:30-9:20
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 12:10-12:40-1:20-3:00-3:30-4:00-5:10-6:10-6:50-7:50-8:50-9:50-10:30
Smile 2 (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:40
We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 2:00-4:40-7:20-10:00
The Great Warning Fri. 2:20-5:00-7:40-10:20; Sat. 11:50-2:20-5:00-7:40-10:20
Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Fri. 12:30-3:10-5:50-8:30; Sat. 3:10-5:50-8:30
Hitpig (PG) Fri.-Sat. 1:10-3:50-6:20-8:40
Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:40-4:50-8:00
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 5:40-8:20
Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Sat. 12:30
Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 2:30

(!) No Pass/No Discount Ticket

www.washingtonpost.com/movies

MOVIE DIRECTORY

Friday, November 1 & Saturday, November 2, 2024

(!) No Pass/No Discount Ticket

www.washingtonpost.com/movies

Regal Laurel Towne Centre

14716 Baltimore Avenue

Here (PG-13) Fri. 12:50-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:10; Sat. 12:50-2:00-4:45-10:15

Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 1:10-3:30-4:20-6:30-8:40-10:40; Sat. 1:10-3:30-4:10-6:30-7:30-10:30

The Forge (PG) Fri. 3:10-4:50; Sat. 12:00-2:45-5:30-8:10

The Wild Robot (PG) Fri. 12:30-3:20-6:10-7:30-9:30; Sat. 12:40-1:50-3:20-6:00-8:45-9:30

Piece By Piece (PG) Fri. 12:45-6:20-9:10; Sat. 12:10-3:00-5:45-8:30

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 12:35-1:20-2:10-3:00-4:10-5:00-6:00-7:00-8:00-8:50-9:50-10:20-10:45; Sat. 12:20-2:10-3:10-4:00-5:00-6:10-7:00-7:50-9:00-9:40-10:40

Smile 2 (R) Fri. 12:40-1:30-2:40-3:40-5:40-6:50-7:45-9:00-10:00; Sat. 12:30-3:40-4:30-6:50-7:40-10:00-10:35

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 1:00-3:50-6:40-9:40; Sat. 1:00-3:50-7:10-9:50

Here (PG-13) Sat. 7:20

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Sat. 1:20

Regal Rockville Center
199 E Montgomery Ave.

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Sat. 7:20

Regal Waugh Chapel
1419 South Main Chapel Way

Here (PG-13) Fri. 1:10-4:20-7:40-10:25; Sat. 11:15-1:20-4:20-7:10-10:10

Absolution (R) Fri. 12:30-3:40-7:00-9:50; Sat. 11:20-3:40-6:50-9:50

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri. 11:50-2:50-5:30-8:10-10:45; Sat. 1:00-10:00

Transformers One (PG) Fri. 12:30-3:20-6:20-9:00; Sat. 12:30-2:10-6:20-9:00

Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 4:10-10:40; Sat. 12:20-4:45-7:40-10:40

The Wild Robot (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:40-3:30-6:40-9:20

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 12:10-2:30-3:10-5:20-6:10-8:20-9:10-11:00; Sat. 12:10-3:10-5:20-6:10-8:20-9:10-11:00

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) Fri. 1:30-7:30-10:30; Sat. 1:30-4:30-7:30

Smile 2 (R) Fri. 4:50-7:50-10:50; Sat. 1:50-4:50-7:50-10:50

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 11:35-2:20-5:00-8:00-10:55; Sat. 11:35-2:20-8:00-10:55

Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 1:20-7:20

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Fri. 11:30-2:00-7:10-10:20; Sat. 11:30-2:00-4:40-7:20-10:20

Brandon Lake & Phil Wickham present: For the One Sat. 3:00

The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) Sat. 4:00-7:00

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:40AM

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX 3D Experience (PG-13) Fri. 4:30; Sat. 10:30

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Sat. 2:30

Smile 2 (R) Fri. 1:50

We Live In Time (R) Sat. 5:00

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) Fri. 4:40

Regal Westview

5243 Buckeystown Pike

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 8:20

Here (PG-13) Fri. 11:10-1:50-4:35-7:20-10:15; Sat. 11:10-1:50-7:20-10:15

Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri. 11:05-2:00-5:00-8:10; Sat. 11:05-8:10

Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:30-4:20-7:40-10:25

The Wild Robot (PG) Fri.-Sat. 11:35-2:10-4:45-7:30-10:05

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 11:40-2:40-5:30; Sat. 11:45-2:40-5:30-8:20

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) Fri. 1:00-4:00-7:00-9:55; Sat. 1:00-3:55-6:50-9:55

Smile 2 (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:10-3:30-6:40-9:40

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 1:20-4:15-10:00; Sat. 1:20-4:15-7:10-10:00

Singham Again (NR) Fri.-Sat. 12:30-4:05-7:45

Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri. 11:40-3:20-7:15; Sat. 11:40-9:50

Brandon Lake & Phil Wickham present: For the One Sat. 3:00

The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) Sat. 4:00-7:00

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:20-2:05-4:55-7:50-10:35

The Wild Robot (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:20-3:15-6:10-8:55

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:30-3:05-6:30-9:45

Here (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:50-2:30-5:10-8:00-10:40

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri. 11:00-12:40-1:45-3:25-4:30-6:20-7:25-9:05-10:10

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 7:10

Here (PG-13) Sat. 4:35

Xscape Theatres Brandywine 14
7710 Matapeake Business Dr.

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:30-1:55-4:25-6:55-9:25

Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:50-4:30-7:00-9:30

Terrifier 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 12:00-2:50-6:10-9:20

The Forge (PG) Fri.-Sat. 11:45-2:35-5:25-8:15

The Wild Robot (PG) Fri.-Sat. 12:15-3:25-6:15-8:45

Piece By Piece (PG) Fri. 12:25-2:45-5:05-7:25-9:55; Sat. 12:25-2:45-5:05-7:35

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 11:50-12:30-2:20-3:00-5:00-5:40-7:50-8:40

Smile 2 (R) Fri. 12:10-12:50-3:10-3:50-6:00-6:40-9:10-9:50; Sat. 12:10-3:10-3:50-6:00-6:40-9:10-10:00

We Live In Time (R) Fri. 1:45-4:15-7:05-9:35; Sat. 2:25-5:00-7:25-9:55

Singham Again (NR) Fri.-Sat. 3:05-9:45

Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri.-Sat. 11:35-6:25

Hitipig (PG) Fri.-Sat. 11:40-2:00-4:10-6:20-8:30

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:40-4:20-7:10-9:40

iPic Pike & Rose
11830 Grand Park Ave.

Here (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:15

Absolution (R) Fri.-Sat. 1:15-4:30-7:45-11:00

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 12:30-3:45-6:45-10:00

Smile 2 (R) Fri.-Sat. 11:00-2:30-6:00-9:45

We Live In Time (R) Fri.-Sat. 12:45-4:15-7:30-10:45

VIRGINIA

AMC Courthouse Plaza 8

2150 Clarendon Boulevard

Here (PG-13) CC: Fri. 11:35-2:10-4:50-7:30-10:30; Sat. 11:30-2:10-4:50-7:30-10:30

Absolution (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 11:50-2:30-5:10-7:50-10:40

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 11:00-1:30-4:00-6:30-10:05

Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 11:10-11:50-2:00-4:50-7:40-9:00; Sat. 11:10-2:00-4:50-7:40-9:00

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 11:00-2:40-5:20-8:00-10:40; Sat. 12:00-2:40-5:20-8:00

Saturday Night (R) CC: Fri. 4:20; Sat. 10:40

Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:10-4:10-7:10-10:15

We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 12:10-2:50-5:30-8:10-10:50

The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:40-10:10; Sat. 9:50

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri. 7:00; Sat. 12:50

AMC Hoffman Center 22
206 Hoffman Street

Here (PG-13) CC: Sat. 2:00

The Carpenter (PG-13) CC: Fri. 3:45

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:30-7:15-10:00; Fri. 4:30; Sat. 1:30-4:30-7:15-10:00

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) CC: Fri. 2:20

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:45-4:00-6:45-9:45; Sat. 1:00-4:00-6:45-9:45

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX 3D Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 5:00

Godzilla Minus One - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release (PG-13) Fri.-Sat. 7:30

Godzilla Minus One / Minus Color - Godzilla 70th Anniversary Re-Release Fri. 8:15; Sat. 9:30

White Bird (PG-13) CC: Fri. 4:40-7:10; Sat. 4:15-6:30

Here (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:00-4:30-7:00-9:30; Sat. 11:30-4:30-7:00-9:30

Joker: Folie à deux (R) CC: Fri. 10:15; Sat. 7:00

Absolution (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:45-4:30-7:15-10:00

Speak No Evil (R) CC: Fri.-Sat. 10:15

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:00; Sat. 11:30-1:30-4:00

Transformers One (PG) CC: Fri. 2:30-5:00; Sat. 1:30-4:00

Chasing Chasing Amy Fri. 1:30-5:15; Sat. 1:30-3:45

Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri. 2:00-4:45-7:35-10:30; Sat. 2:00-4:50-7:40-10:30

The Carpenter (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:00-6:30; Sat. 12:00-3:00-6:00

Exhibiting Forgiveness (R) CC: Fri. 2:15-7:30; Sat. 1:15-8:15

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:00-6:30-9:00; Sat. 11:30-4:15-6:15-9:00

Your Monster (R) CC: Fri. 9:15; Sat. 8:45

Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri. 2:15-4:45-7:10-9:30; Sat. 11:45-2:15-4:45-7:10-9:30

Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:15-6:15-7:00-9:45; Sat. 11:30-2:15-5:00-6:15-7:45-10:30

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 3:15-6:15-9:00; Sat. 12:30-3:15-6:15-9:00

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:15-7:45-10:30; Sat. 11:30-2:15-7:45-10:30

The Substance (R) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30; Sat. 12:45-4:00-7:15-10:30

Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:20-7:10-9:15-10:05; Sat. 1:00-4:00-7:00-9:00-10:00

We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 2:45-5:25-8:00-10:30; Sat. 12:00-2:45-5:25-8:00-10:30

Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 5:00-7:30

Singham Again (NR) Fri. 6:00-9:30; Sat. 6:45-10:15

Amaran (NR) Fri. 2:15; Sat. 11:30-3:05

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) CC: Fri. 4:45; Sat. 3:00-5:30

Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri. 6:30-9:45; Sat. 1:00-6:30-9:45

Hitipig (PG) Fri. 1:45-4:00; Sat. 2:00-4:00

The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00

Director's Cut (R) Fri. 10:15; Sat. 9:45

AMC Potomac Mills 18
2700 Potomac Mills Cir.

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:15; Fri. 5:00-7:45-10:30; Sat. 2:15-5:00-7:45-10:30

White Bird (PG-13) CC: Fri. 4:40; Sat. 4:50-7:40

Here (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:00-7:45-10:20; Sat. 2:00-4:40-6:45-9:30-10:30

Absolution (R) CC: Fri. 2:20-5:00-7:40-10:20; Sat. 1:40-4:20-7:10-9:50

Beetlejuice Beetlejuice (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:40-4:30-7:10-10:00; Sat. 12:10-2:50-5:30-8:10-10:45

Transformers One (PG) CC: Fri. 2:20; Sat. 3:30

Chasing Chasing Amy Fri. 5:30; Sat. 12:50-5:45

Terrifier 3 (NR) CC: Fri. 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30; Sat. 1:10-4:20-7:30-10:30

The Carpenter (PG-13) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:00-3:45-9:15

The Wild Robot (PG) CC: Fri. 1:45-4:20-7:00-9:40; Sat. 1:40-4:20-7:00-9:40

Piece By Piece (PG) CC: Fri. 3:10; Sat. 3:15

Conclave (PG) CC: Fri. 1:20-4:20-7:20-10:10; Sat. 1:20-2:00-4:15-7:10-10:10

Venom: The Last Dance (PG-13) CC: Fri. 1:00-3:45-6:30-9:15; Sat. 12:00-2:45-5:30-8:15-11:00

Venom: The Last Dance: The IMAX Experience (PG-13) CC: Fri. 2:00-7:30-10:15; Sat. 1:45-7:15-10:00

Smile 2 (R) CC: Fri. 1:00-4:00-7:15-10:30; Sat. 12:45-3:45-7:20-10:40

We Live In Time (R) CC: Fri. 1:10-3:50-6:45-9:30; Sat. 12:15-3:50-6:45-9:30-11:00

Coraline 15th Anniversary 3D (PG) Fri. 5:00

Singham Again (NR) Fri. 8:00; Sat. 8:10

Amaran (NR) Fri. 1:00-9:00; Sat. 6:10-9:45

Lost On A Mountain In Maine (PG) CC: Fri.-Sat. 1:15-3:40

Bhool Bhulaiyaa 3 (NR) Fri. 7:15-10:10; Sat. 7:15-10:15

Hitipig (PG) Fri. 2:30-4:50; Sat. 12:15-2:30-4:50

The Best Christmas Pageant Ever Early Access (PG) CC: Sat. 4:00-7:00

Venom: The Last Dance 3D (PG-13) CC: Fri. 7:00-9:45; Sat. 1:15-9:45



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