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Democracy Dies in Darkness

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2024 • \$3

Lawmakers move to investigate Jack Smith

Push by Trump's allies in House sets up first test of his vow for retribution

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, PERRY STEIN, JOSH DAWSEY AND SPENCER S. HSU

Even as Jack Smith moved to wind down his federal election interference case against Donald Trump on Friday, House Republicans took an initial step toward investigating the special counsel, setting up an early test of how the president-elect's calls for retribution will play out.

House Judiciary Chairman Jim Jordan (R-Ohio) and Rep. Barry Loudermilk (R-Georgia), chairman of a House Administration subcommittee on oversight, asked Smith's office to preserve all records of the historic classified document and election interference probes, a routine first step in congressional inquiries, law enforcement investigations and litigation. Elon Musk, the X owner who spent more than \$100 million boosting Trump's campaign, responded to the House Republicans' letter by posting, "Jack Smith's abuse of the justice system cannot go unpunished."

Trump vowed repeatedly on the campaign trail to stop Smith's prosecutions and use a return to power to turn federal law enforcement against President Joe Biden and other critics, Democrats and former advisers. He argued without evidence that the federal indictments he faced were politically motivated. In the final weeks of the campaign, Trump said he would quickly remove Smith and suggested deporting him.

"He should be thrown out of the" SEE SMITH ON A4



EVA MARIE UZCATEGUI/GETTY IMAGES

The Coast Guard patrols Friday near Mar-a-Lago, Donald Trump's Florida estate. His campaign was briefed this summer on what officials believed was an active Iranian plot to assassinate him, adding to worry about his safety.

Plot tied to Iran targeted Trump

U.S. CHARGES 3 MEN IN WIDER OPERATION

Afghan national allegedly tasked with assassination

BY SHAYNA JACOBS AND JOSH DAWSEY

NEW YORK — Three men have been charged in connection with an alleged Iranian plot to kill people in the United States that included an apparent effort to assassinate Donald Trump while he campaigned for a second term in office, according to a criminal complaint unsealed Friday in the Southern District of New York.

The complaint is based on a sworn account by an FBI agent that includes details from what are described as voluntary phone interviews with Farhad Shakeri, an Afghan national and alleged operative for the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.

While the most concrete aspects of the plot involved efforts to stalk and kill an Iranian dissident and target others, Shakeri — who is one of the three men charged — also allegedly told investigators he was assigned in September to try to find a way to surveil and kill Trump.

On Oct. 7, the anniversary of the Hamas massacre of Israelis last year in southern Israel, Shakeri was given a deadline to devise an assassination plan, the filing says. He told investigators that his Revolutionary Guard contacts paused the effort to try to kill Trump when Shakeri failed to come up with a solid plan of action. Shakeri said his handlers believed Trump SEE IRAN ON A2

Musk, at Trump's side, joins him on Zelensky call

BY JOHN HUDSON AND SIOBHÁN O'GRADY

Billionaire's involvement is latest sign he'll have big role in administration

Elon Musk joined a Wednesday call between President-elect Donald Trump and Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, said four people familiar with the matter, in the latest sign that the tech billionaire intends to intertwine himself with Trump's governing apparatus.

The call began with a conversation between Trump and Zelensky, who remarked how the

call was possible because of Musk's Starlink internet service, which connected the two leaders while Zelensky was on a train to Budapest, said two of the people familiar with their conversation. Trump said Starlink had provided

internet access to recent hurricane victims in the United States, noted that Musk was with him, and then put him on the call.

"It was very pleasant," said a Ukrainian official, who like others spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the private conversation.

Zelensky "thanked" Musk for the Starlink terminals Ukraine relies on for much of its military communications amid Russia's ongoing invasion of the country,

the official added.

Trump's campaign did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Friday.

Axios first reported Musk's involvement in the call.

Ukrainian officials came away from the call feeling that Musk, one of Trump's largest donors, would join additional calls between the president-elect and world leaders as U.S. allies and adversaries scramble to prepare for a change of leadership in SEE MUSK ON A9

Springfield, Ohio: Haitians worry after being a campaign target. A3

'A new consortium': Tech leaders seek to shape Trump agenda. A12

Sentenced: Jan. 6 rioter gets eight years but could be pardoned. B1

TikTok: Why Harris's viral videos did not translate to a win. C1

Russia's N. Korean allies loom large for Ukraine

Ahead of widespread combat, this nascent foe has already infiltrated the psyche of Kyiv's fighters

BY SIOBHÁN O'GRADY AND SERHII KOROLCHUK IN SUMY, UKRAINE

Ukrainian troops fighting inside Russia are bracing for clashes with North Korean forces as officials in Kyiv warn that combat with Russia's new allies has already begun, marking a dangerous new phase of the war as Donald Trump's election adds to further uncertainty over Ukraine's future.

Ukrainian forces are already struggling inside Russia's Kursk region, where they seized hundreds of square miles in a surprise August offensive but have since lost nearly half that territory. U.S. intelligence agencies have reported that there are now at least 10,000 North Korean troops in the Kursk region, probably to buoy the Russian attempt to retake the final Ukrainian foothold that has irritated Russian President Vladimir Putin even as he tries to brush it off as insignificant.

Yuriy Fedorenko, commander of the Achilles battalion in Ukraine's 92nd Brigade, based in Ukraine's northeastern Kharkiv region, said he has reviewed intelligence — including intercepted communications — confirming that North Korean troops are not only in Kursk but also in Russia's neighboring Belgorod region.

For nearly three years, Russia has staged attacks on Ukraine

from Belgorod, including one surprise offensive in the spring aimed at encircling the city of Kharkiv. Ukraine sent troops across the border into the Belgorod region in August, but they failed to take land as they did in Kursk.

Fedorenko said he believes the North Korean troops in Belgorod will be used to reinforce Russia's second lines of defense, freeing up Russian soldiers to press forward for new assaults on northeastern Ukraine, in what he described as "a massive threat."

"Having the North Koreans here is a bold political signal to the rest of the world. And if the world can swallow this presence right now, it will be very hard to go back to the situation where we had leverage to win this war on Ukrainian terms," Fedorenko said. "Currently we are falling into a situation where we will end this war on Russia's terms, and it may even result in the dissolution of the Ukrainian state."

The new threat comes amid a period of great uncertainty for Ukraine and the vital military support it receives from the United States, with Donald Trump's SEE UKRAINE ON A9

Russian barrage: Cities across Ukraine pummeled in onslaught. A8



VLN NIEUWS/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Amsterdam police form a cordon around a bus after a soccer match between Ajax and Maccabi Tel Aviv.

Dutch soccer mob attacks Israeli fans

BY LOVEDAY MORRIS, JINTAK HAN AND ALON ROM

Mobs of assailants, including men on scooters, chased Israeli soccer fans through the streets of Amsterdam after a match in the capital's main stadium, Dutch authorities said Friday, beating them in attacks that Mayor Femke Halsema described as a "black night" for the city. The violence, which Dutch and

Tensions boil over into 'black night' in streets of Amsterdam, mayor says

Israeli officials condemned as antisemitic, sent five people to the hospital, police said. Authorities arrested dozens more, they added, and 10 suspects remained in custody late Friday.

The unrest followed Thursday's Europa League game between Maccabi Tel Aviv and the Dutch club, Ajax, at the Johan Cruyff Arena in the capital's southeast. But tensions had already flared the night before the match, police said, after Maccabi fans vandalized a taxi and set fire to a Palestinian flag.

Videos posted online showed groups of Israeli fans chanting anti-Arab slogans as they made SEE AMSTERDAM ON A10

In reversal of trend, voters this time say no to drugs

State-level results point to concerns that policies have drifted too far left

BY DAVID OVALLE

In three red states, voters opted not to legalize recreational marijuana.

In blue Massachusetts, residents rejected a plan making therapeutic use of psychedelics plants legal.

And in liberal California, voters embraced stiffer penalties for certain drug crimes.

The state ballot decisions Tuesday signal voter concerns that drug policies across the United States have drifted too far to the left, according to some policy experts and political analysts. Each ballot question featured nuances specific to their states.

But amid political rhetoric tying Democratic policies to supposed spikes in crime and rampant drug use in liberal communities, the votes came as part of a rightward shift by an electorate that returned Donald Trump to the White House in resounding fashion.

"Whether it is fair or not, SEE DRUGS ON A4

IN THE NEWS

Wall Street's vote of confidence Donald Trump's election victory gave rise to the stock market's best week in a year, with major indexes all rising more than 4 percent. A4

'I'm positive' Yves Kaduli, who emigrated from Congo, advocated for refugees before himself. Then he told his powerful story. B1

THE NATION A judge ruled that 9/11 plea deals can proceed despite having been tossed by Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin. A3
The White House is racing to Trump-proof its climate policies. A5

THE WORLD Australia is extolling its American ties amid fears that Donald Trump could disrupt a defense partnership it has forged with the United States and Britain. A10

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Elon Musk's vision of a future with self-driving cars could get a significant boost from the election of Donald Trump. A12

THE REGION Twelve students charged with a hate crime beat a man over his sexual orientation, police say. B1
Angela Alsobrooks's rise to the U.S. Senate has prompted a competitive race to fill her post as Prince George's County executive. B1

STYLE The president-elect was able to sidestep traditional media and find a microphone with podcasters. C1
SPORTS The Orioles have made the playoffs the past two seasons but have yet to win a game. They're rethinking everything. D1

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CORRECTIONS



STUART WEST

• A photo caption with a Nov. 8 Metro article about the arrest of a suspect in an attack on a gay model in D.C. misidentified victim Sebastian Thomas Robles Lascarro. He is on the right, accompanied by his husband, Stuart West.

• A Nov. 7 Style article about Brian Williams's live election coverage misidentified Kristin Davison as a former Donald Trump aide. Davison is a Republican strategist and former aide to Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R).

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Feds fear Trump's impact on workforce and the public in second term



Federal Insider

JOE DAVIDSON

During his first presidential term, Donald Trump waged war on federal employees, unsettled agencies and disrupted government unions while creating a chaotic

scene for the American people.

Now we'll be at it again, this time on steroids, after he is inaugurated for a second stint in January.

Trump's self-declared aggression against federal workforce protections is raising fear among employees who know what Trump did in his first term, what he's promised during a second, and what that could mean for the public.

"A lot of people have been threatened at DOJ recently," said one Justice Department employee, who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retaliation, citing "a huge amount of fear" among her colleagues.

This is no idle concern.

Last week, the DOJ Gender Equality Network (DOJ GEN) wrote to top Justice officials and urged them to protect the department's workforce, citing "an uptick in doxing against government officials" since the Jan. 6, 2021, Trump-inspired insurrection at the U.S. Capitol. "Experts believe the election could exacerbate the problem exponentially," the letter said, as it pleaded with Justice administrators "to do every reasonable thing in your power to protect our safety and health in the face of unprecedented threats."

While many online threats are anonymous, the "DHS Bureaucrat Watch List," funded by the right-wing Heritage Foundation, proudly announced

it "is dedicated to exposing the career staff who have outside influence on efforts to secure the southern border." That exposure includes posting the names, titles and photographs of the list's "Top 10 Targets" at the Department of Homeland Security.

Especially notable and alarming is that the list puts the bull's eye not on Biden administration political appointees who will leave office by January, but on career civil servants, who swear an oath to the Constitution, not to any president, and carry out the policies of presidents no matter which party they represent.

Efforts like this are "a kind of 'enemies list' on a scale and depth we've never seen before," said Don Kettl, professor emeritus and former dean of the University of Maryland School of Public Policy. With a Trump victory, he added, "the anxiety level will be off the charts among federal employees."

Trump's intention to impose a plan that would make it easier to fire civil servants and replace them with loyalists, Kettl said, "is sure to set off the deepest wave of worry the feds have ever seen."

With good reason. Trump created that plan, called Schedule F, with a 2020 executive order that was never fully implemented, then was quickly revoked by President Joe Biden. The workforce category would deny certain federal employees the appeals process that protects them from unfair disciplinary actions, such as termination for political reasons.

The executive order is a key element in Trump's "Agenda47" "plan to dismantle the deep state" by "restoring the President's authority to remove rogue bureaucrats," which Trump and many other Republicans blame for thwarting parts of his agenda in his first

term.

"I will wield that power very aggressively," Trump promised.

Furthermore, JD Vance, the vice president-elect, put federal employees on notice when he was running for his Senate seat from Ohio, advising Trump to "fire every single mid-level bureaucrat, every civil servant in the administrative state. Replace them with our people."

But overlooked, or perhaps unknown, by Trump and Vance are the reasons for civil service protections. The rules are designed to protect not only feds from unfair bosses, but also, more importantly, to protect the public from undue partisan bias in the implementation of government programs.

Replacing civil servants with "our people," as Vance said, is the antithesis of a nonpartisan workforce that is loyal to the Constitution and not a political party. Would "our people" have greater access to government grants and contracts? Would health, education, small business and other federal programs benefit "our people" more than those who did not vote for Trump? Does "our people" mean they would not be subjected to the same level of federal investigations as others?

A centerpiece of Trump's first-term labor relations was his aggressive targeting of federal labor organizations with three 2018 executive orders. They slashed the unions' ability to represent workers, before Biden revoked the directives. National Treasury Employees Union President Doreen Greenwald said her organization will "fight any and all actions taken by his [Trump's] administration that would harm front-line federal workers, our ability to represent them or their ability to serve the American people."

Trump's campaign office did not reply to requests for

comment.

Federal scientists also have reason to worry because of policies leading to staff departures in the months after Trump's first inauguration. "I was at EPA [Environmental Protection Agency] during his first term and saw firsthand his tactics to use fear and intimidation to politicize science and remove from their posts leaders who help protect our communities, families, and the planet," said Chitra Kumar, now a managing director at the Union of Concerned Scientists.

Kumar pointed to "more than 200 attacks on science by the administration," reported by her organization during Trump's first term. "Ideology rather than science fact will rule the day," she said of his second term. "The real effect will be borne on the backs of the public, with ... severe pollution to our water and air."

Max Stier, president and CEO of the nonpartisan Partnership for Public Service, which studies federal employee and agency issues, said a central tenet of Trump's campaign is "using the government to pursue his private agenda. ... That is deeply problematic because it is going to lead to not better government, but much worse government. And there's going to be weaker democracy."

Stier doesn't overstate the impact of a Trump presidency on federal workers, saying many "will continue to do their job and still make a difference for the public." But he worries about the "important subgroup that will be put in harm's way and caught between their duty of public service and the direction they're receiving from the president and or political appointees who are pushing for that private agenda in ways that are contrary to law, to ethics, to the ... oath that the civil servants swear."

Simply reinstating Schedule F,

however, would be more complicated this time because of a Biden administration regulation designed to thwart its implementation.

Yet, just the fear of a reimposed Schedule F could be sufficient "to scare feds enough to make them compliant" with legally or ethically dubious orders, Kettl said. "Back in Henry VIII's time, the king didn't have to have all of his opponents executed. He just put enough heads on pikes outside the Tower of London to get his message across."

Moreover, Stier said Schedule F is just a tactic in a broader Trump effort to advance a spoils system in which government resources are used to advance the prerogatives of "the individual leader rather than the public good."

"This is not simply campaign rhetoric," he warned, calling plans to undermine the civil service "a prime objective" of Trump's second term.

That means federal employees "are fearful of their jobs. They're fearful of the future of the Department of Justice. They're fearful of the future of our democracy," said the Justice staffer. "I think tens of millions of Americans are fearful today. And that fear is particularly acute for federal civil servants."

The staffer worries about Trump weaponizing the department as a tool for his promised retribution against his political opponents, including his call for the prosecutions of Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris, whom Trump defeated en route to his second term.

"People were scared after the last time Trump won," the Justice Department employee added. "This is different because we know who he is. We know what he does, and we know what his plans are this time."

Three charged in broad plot tied to Iran to kill people in the U.S.

IRAN FROM AI

would lose the election and that it would be easier to go after him once he had been defeated, according to the filing.

"President-Elect Trump is aware of the attempted assassination plot by the Iranian terrorist regime," said Steven Cheung, communications director for Trump. "Nothing will deter President Trump from returning to the White House and restoring peace around the world."

Shakeri's co-defendants, Carlisle Rivera and Jonathan Loadholt, both New York City residents, are being held without bail after appearing before a magistrate judge in U.S. District Court in Manhattan on Thursday.

They were allegedly paid by Iran to pursue the Iranian dissident, an effort that involved stalking her at her home and a speaking

event at Fairfield University, the criminal complaint says.

Shakeri is believed to be in Iran and remains at large.

A press official at the Iranian U.N. mission in New York declined to comment on the case.

Masih Alinejad, a prominent Iranian defector and journalist, identified herself on X as one of the victims cited in the indictment. Alinejad, who lives in Brooklyn, has been targeted for assassination by Iran multiple times on U.S. soil, according to investigators. Others have been previously charged in connection with those efforts.

Justice Department officials said Iran has been engaged in a widespread effort to get even for the January 2020 death of Maj. Gen. Qasem Soleimani, the leader of an elite Revolutionary Guard force who was killed in a U.S. drone strike in Baghdad. The targets were said to include Americans and U.S. allies.

Shakeri developed a network of criminal associates in the United States while serving a 14-year prison term here for robbery, according to the complaint, and investigators said he tapped into that group to assist Iran.

"There are few actors in the world that pose as grave a threat to the national security of the United States as does Iran," Attorney General Merrick Garland said in a statement. Shakeri "was tasked by the regime to direct a network of criminal associates to further Iran's assassination plots against its targets, including President-



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump, surrounded by bulletproof glass, leaves a rally on Sunday. His safety was a big concern in the final campaign stretch.

elect Donald J. Trump," he said.

The complaint does not say that Rivera and Loadholt were part of the alleged effort to kill Trump; nor does it say that plot ever developed into a firm plan. Their attorneys did not reply to requests for comment.

Shakeri told the FBI he did not intend to formulate a scheme to carry out an assassination, the criminal complaint says.

He claimed that an Iranian official had told him that "we have already spent a lot of money ... [S]o the money's not an issue," the complaint says.

Based on that, Shakeri allegedly told investigators that he believed there were previous efforts by the Iranian government to target the president-elect before Tuesday's election, and that resources had already been devoted to trying to

execute the strategy.

A pair of Jewish American businesspeople residing in New York, who showed support for Israel, and Israeli tourists in Sri Lanka were also targeted for killing, according to Shakeri.

Shakeri told investigators he was offered \$500,000 each to kill the Americans but did not do so. He claimed his Iranian government contact also asked him to commit a mass shooting targeting Israeli tourists in October in Sri Lanka, according to the complaint. That effort was ultimately thwarted after a travel warning by the United States and Israel, U.S. officials said; an associate of Shakeri was arrested by Sri Lankan authorities.

Investigators noted in the court filing that some elements of Shakeri's narratives were false, or that he

omitted or lied about certain details. He was motivated to cooperate because he wanted to try to help free someone who is imprisoned in the United States, officials said.

Trump's safety became a major concern in the final months of his campaign, after a July 14 attempt on his life at a rally in Butler, Pennsylvania, in which his ear was grazed by a bullet. The gunman, a 20-year-old Pennsylvania man, was killed at the scene. The shooting prompted major concerns about the Secret Service's ability to effectively protect Trump, and other candidates and officials.

Separately, a man taken into custody outside Trump's West Palm Beach, Florida, golf course in mid-September is charged with attempting to assassinate Trump.

Neither incident is believed to be connected to the Iranians' indictment. But the campaign was briefed this summer on what officials believed to be an active plot by Iranians to assassinate him, further heightening safety concerns among Trump and his aides, and increasing tension between their team and the Secret Service even as his precautions and levels of protection increased.

The Washington Post reported last month that after campaign advisers were told of Iran's alleged efforts, his campaign requested military aircraft for his travel, expanded flight restrictions over his residences and rallies, and other security measures that would have been unprecedented for former presidents or political candidates.

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ILLINOIS

Federal judge tosses assault weapons ban

A federal judge has overturned Illinois' ban on semiautomatic weapons, leaning on recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings that strictly interpret the Second Amendment right to keep and bear firearms.

U.S. District Judge Stephen P. McGlynn said his Friday decision applied universally, not just to the lawsuit's plaintiffs.

The Protect Illinois Communities Act, signed into law in January 2023 by Democratic Gov. JB Pritzker, took effect Jan. 1.

It bans AR-15 rifles and similar guns, large-capacity magazines and an assortment of attachments largely in response to the 2022 Independence Day shooting at a parade in the Chicago suburb of Highland Park.

McGlynn's order doesn't take

effect for 30 days.

—Associated Press

CALIFORNIA

Slowing winds aid fight against wildfire

Southern California firefighters made progress against a wildfire that was fanned by fierce wind gusts that began easing Friday, allowing some people to return to sort through the charred remains of their homes. The fire destroyed 132 structures, mostly homes.

The Mountain Fire started Wednesday morning in Ventura County and had grown to 32 square miles. It was 7 percent contained Friday morning.

Some 10,000 people remained under evacuation orders Friday morning as the fire continued to threaten about 3,500 structures in suburban neighborhoods, ranches and agricultural areas around Camarillo, 50 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

At least 88 additional structures were damaged.

Ten people suffered smoke inhalation or other non-life-threatening injuries, Ventura County Sheriff James Fryhoff said.

—Associated Press

NEW MEXICO

Retired chimps to be moved to sanctuary

The National Institutes of Health decided to relocate nearly two dozen retired research chimpanzees from a facility in New Mexico to a sanctuary in Louisiana, a move celebrated Friday by animal advocates who have been fighting for years to get the animals moved.

NIH representatives confirmed in an email that the transfer of the 23 chimps from the Alamogordo Primate Facility at Holloman Air Force Base in southern New Mexico will happen in the coming months.

Staffing issues, namely the planned retirement of the chimps' caretakers, prompted the decision to move the chimps, the agency said. The animals have not been used as test subjects since 2015, when NIH retired chimpanzees from invasive research.

More than 200 were previously moved to the federally supported sanctuary, but NIH said it was decided in 2019 that some were too frail to be relocated.

NIH spokeswoman Amanda Fine said relocating chimpanzees is a complex, time-consuming process and that the federal sanctuary at Chimp Haven will work with NIH and the facility in Alamogordo to ensure the health and safety of each animal during the move.

The Humane Society of the United States, Animal Protection New Mexico, Humane Society Legislative Fund and three individual plaintiffs sued NIH in 2021.

—Associated Press

POLITICS & THE NATION

Judge rules 9/11 pleas can proceed despite Austin's halt

Defense chief lacked the power to void deals, he says; appeal looks likely

BY MISSY RYAN

The Pentagon is considering next steps after a military judge ruled this week that Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin did not have the power to throw out plea deals reached earlier this year in the long-stalled cases against the accused planners of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

In a Nov. 6 ruling, Air Force Col. Matthew McCall found that agreements finalized this summer enabling three of the alleged plotters to admit guilt in exchange for being spared the death penalty remained valid because Austin lacked the power to void them after the fact.

The Pentagon chief abruptly canceled the agreements in August amid outcry from some 9/11

families, New York firefighters and Republican lawmakers, citing authority granted to him under the 2009 Military Commissions Act.

Following McCall's ruling Wednesday, Austin said his position remained unchanged, suggesting that Pentagon may appeal the decision.

"I thought at that point in time that it was important enough that I should be the person to make the decision on this," Austin told reporters of the decision on Thursday. "And I still feel that same way."

McCall's findings, first reported by the New York Times and website Lawdragon, are the latest twist in the ill-fated 9/11 cases, which have been stuck in pretrial proceedings for more than a decade, underscoring the larger failure of the military court system set up after the attacks to deliver meaningful justice.

It also deepens an unusual internal standoff surrounding the fates of three central 9/11

defendants: alleged mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, Walid bin Attash and Mustafa al-Hawsawi. They are among the most prominent among the 30 remaining inmates at the high-security facility at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

In his Aug. 2 memo, Austin also stripped retired Brig. Gen. Susan Escallier, who he appointed in 2023 as the official overseeing the military trials, of her authority over those cases, saying the "significance" of the plea deals meant the decision should rest with him as defense secretary.

But McCall found that Austin's move came too late.

"The timing of the SECDEF memo is fatal to its enforceability," the judge ruled. "Assuming the secretary of defense had the authority to withhold Ms. Escallier's authority to enter into [plea deals] as a matter of law, the secretary's new power would only be effective prospectively, not retroactively."

Pentagon press secretary Maj. Gen. Patrick Ryder said the department was now "reviewing the decision." He declined to say whether the department would appeal the ruling.

Looming over the dispute is President-elect Donald Trump, who during his first term signed an order to keep Guantánamo open indefinitely and once threatened to fill it with new extremist inmates. While the facility remained in operation, it ultimately did not house new prisoners.

Given the outrage over the plea deals voiced by Republicans in Congress, including Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Kentucky) and House Armed Services Committee chair Rep. Mike D. Rogers (R-Alabama), a Trump-run Pentagon may also seek to quash the plea deals, which critics said let terrorists off the hook.

But legal experts point out that, without a pretrial agreement, the 9/11 cases may never conclude because of legal impediments rooted in defendants' tor-

ture, which defense lawyers have described as the system's "original sin." Without a conclusion, the three defendants, like other remaining Guantánamo inmates — many of whom have never been charged with a crime — could face lifetime detention without conviction or even trial.

Ian Moss, a former State Department official and Guantánamo defense attorney who is now an attorney at Jenner & Block, called McCall's ruling "a victory for the rule of law."

"What it says is that despite the well-documented challenges of the military commission system, this decision, which again I think is right on its merits, really presents an opportunity to move us closer to closing this chapter," Moss said.

The families of 9/11 victims and their advocates are divided over the plea deals. Some have advocated for an agreement that would conclude years of legal wrangling that prevented even the start of a trial; others remain firm that they want to see the

death penalty remain as a possible sentencing option.

In the plea deals, the defendants agreed to plead guilty to the killing of 2,976 people and to respond to written questions from victims and their survivors.

If Pentagon leaders choose to appeal, the dispute could go the U.S. Court of Military Commissions Review, made up of military judges, or later to the U.S. Court of Appeals D.C. Circuit.

Eugene Fidell, who teaches military law at Yale Law School, suggested that President Joe Biden could use his status as a lame-duck president, freed from potential political consequences, to let the plea deals stand and ensure that a case with global resonance does not drag on indefinitely.

"You could argue that this is the most liberated administration in the history of Guantánamo," Fidell said, urging Biden to "bring it in for a landing." Otherwise, he added, "what is his legacy if he passes this on to the next administration?"

Targeted by Trump, Ohio city's Haitians brace for what's next

Many in Springfield community are worried after deportation threats

BY DANIELLE PAQUETTE

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO — This was the worst-case scenario for Yvena Jean François, but she willed herself to thank God.

That's what the Haitian immigrant did on her toughest days. That's what she did when one of her friends was shot and killed back home in Port-au-Prince. As a Christian, she said, she had to trust the Lord's plan.

"Even when it hurts," she said early Wednesday, right after opening her eyes to see that Donald Trump had easily won back the presidency.

And it stung. Trump had berated immigrants living in this predominantly White corner of southwestern Ohio throughout his campaign. During the presidential debate, he'd regurgitated a debunked rumor that they were eating dogs and cats. Then he'd pledged to launch "the largest deportation in the history of our country," starting with the Haitians of Springfield.

Most are in the United States legally, city officials have reiterated. But they are not citizens, so they could not vote. Instead, the roughly 12,000 Haitians who live here headed to work or stayed home, many glued to election coverage, as their American neighbors cast ballots that could shape their fate.

They knew that some residents see them as a threat, despite city officials recruiting immigrants to help resuscitate a sagging economy. Some believed they'd taken jobs, crowded hospitals and drove dangerously. Others, though, had been unfailingly kind, stopping by Haitian support offices to donate clothing and electronics.

Election results showed that Trump won Springfield, but by a narrow margin of fewer than 150 votes of the roughly 20,000 cast.

François, 39, had settled in the city three years ago. The driveway to the polling place near her duplex had been lined with Harris-Walz signs.

She'd worked as a television journalist in Haiti, documenting the country's harrowing gang takeover — the kidnapping, rape and murder. Seeking safer ground, she fled to the United States and eventually found work at an Amazon warehouse. The \$19-an-hour checks covered her rent and gradually funded her own podcast studio, from which she proudly broadcast U.S. news to listeners in her Caribbean nation.

Now she didn't know what to tell them.

"I don't know," she said, "if I can continue to pursue my dreams."

Throughout American history, plenty of leaders have bashed immigrants. But never before has a presidential candidate — let alone a victorious one — vowed to banish a specific group from a specific city.

Decades ago, Springfield's reputation glowed. Newsweek heralded it as the epitome of the American Dream in a 1983 edition that depicted families washing fancy cars and enjoying the county fair. But the population dwindled as factories shuttered. Victorian mansions downtown crumbled. Young couples packed up.

City commissioners launched an effort to court immigrants in 2014, and by this year, the mayor estimated that Springfield's population had climbed by about 25 percent, mainly because of Haitian newcomers.

By all accounts, though, the government has struggled to keep up with the growth. Irritation exploded into outrage in August 2023 when a Haitian driver without a valid license struck a school bus, injuring 23 children and killing an 11-year-old boy. Despite pleas from the boy's parents not to politicize his death, Trump joined conservative politicians and pundits in lambasting Haitians as proof of the Biden administration's immigration failings.

Viles Dorsainvil had been optimistic that the fury would dissipate. So optimistic that his organization — the Haitian Community Help & Support Center — had recently made an offer on a larger building for their growing community, the now-defunct Fire Station 8.

Sure, some council members had pushed back, asking why the red-brick property couldn't be converted into a homeless shelter. But Springfield ultimately authorized the sale. Soon, they'd host English classes and driving lessons there.

Yet the hostility raged on. He'd lost count of how many Haitians have reported harassment to his group — like drivers lowering their windows to yell "Go home!" Over the weekend, one shaken young woman told him that she'd been walking down Selma Road to an employment agency when a truck skidded to a stop. A door flung open. The man inside yelled "Get in!"

"Maybe an attempted kidnapping," Dorsainvil, 38, reckoned. He thought of his cousin back in Port-au-Prince. After she'd been abducted, he'd paid \$500 for her release.

As signs began pointing to a Trump comeback, Dorsainvil and his team consulted with immigration lawyers. Nobody could be deported overnight, they reasoned. Plus, Trump had sought and failed to revoke protections for Haitians back in 2018. (Temporary protected status benefits for Haitians aren't due to expire for another 14 months and three weeks.)

"This is still the land of law and order," Dorsainvil said.

Still, fearing unrest, his organization locked down through Thursday.

Americans here are split. Some insist that they aren't prejudiced — that the government is to blame for failing to accommodate a population surge. The language barrier has vexed many, they said, and the "Make America Great Again" vitriol made some feel



PHOTOS BY MATTHEW CHASNEY FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

FROM TOP: First-time voter Selena Greene, who has worked with and become friends with Haitians, watches election coverage at home in Springfield, Ohio. The polling station at Covenant United Methodist Church. Haitian community center founder Viles Dorsainvil.



seen.

"As people started to move in, the city wasn't prepared," said Julie Spencer, 63, who was born and raised here, "and there lies the problem."

The retired trauma nurse voted for Trump, but she didn't believe that her candidate would actually deport the Haitians. He'd be more

likely to launch a stronger vetting process, she thought, dismissing his vow to remove the city's foreigners as campaign talk.

Hours before the polls closed, two first-time voters emerged from Covenant United Methodist Church with "Oh/No Voted" stickers on their T-shirts and conflicting hopes for their Haitian neigh-

bors.

Selena Greene, 20, had labored at an Amazon warehouse with several of the immigrants. She loved that some could speak French, one of the dominant languages in Haiti.

"That was so cool to me — I had no idea," said Greene, who has lived here on and off since eighth grade. "My dream vacation is Paris."

Haitians were her friends and across-the-street neighbors. She'd enjoyed learning about their culture. More impressive was their commitment to the job — "The hardest workers," Greene said. She'd opted to support Vice President Kamala Harris, hoping they could stay.

Gage Jenkins, 18, voted for what he saw as a better path.

Trump, he trusted, would reduce the strain on Springfield's resources by guiding some of the immigrants elsewhere.

"Not deport them back to Haiti," the technology student at a career-training school clarified, "but help more evenly spread them across the country."

He'd just traveled an hour to

take the exam for his driver's license, he said. The wait to book that test in Springfield had stretched five weeks long. Back in 2018, his sister had been able to schedule one with a couple of days' notice.

"We're overwhelmed here," Jenkins said.

Across town Tuesday night at a Haitian eatery, the television on a pink wall was switched off. No election broadcasts here. Digging into a bowl of vegetable stew, Mia Perez said she needed a break anyway.

The 33-year-old immigration attorney had been scrolling TikTok in bed — "with a blanket over my head," she joked, poking at her anxiety.

Her father was Cuban, and like that side of her family, she normally supported Republicans. Her mother was Haitian, so this time Perez had worn a blue dress to vote for Harris.

She hated the way Trump spoke about her community — "attacking people based on made-up rumors," she said. Perez planned to put up a fight if he pushed forward with his plan to deport them.

"I'll be ready to represent them," she said.

The screens stayed on at François's duplex. NBC anchors chattered on the 85-inch television in her podcast studio. "It's an incredibly tight race," reported one — hours before it suddenly wasn't.

As her future hung in the balance, François stayed home. She'd seen the Trump signs around town. Freedom of speech, she'd thought, brushing them off. But she couldn't understand how anyone could approve of a leader who said he "wouldn't mind" if someone fired at the news media at his rallies.

That remark scared her. The friend who'd been killed in Haiti was a journalist. She dreaded worrying about that kind of violence in America. It was stressful enough not knowing if she could stay.

Adriana Navarro contributed to this report.

House GOP members ask Smith to preserve records from Trump investigations

SMITH FROM A1

country,” Trump said Oct. 24 on “Cats & Cosby,” a conservative radio talk show.

A Trump adviser, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to detail the thinking of the president-elect and his team, said Trump and his team would react extremely poorly if Smith tries to do anything else publicly. The next Justice Department will look “critically” at what Smith’s team did over the past couple of years to “make sure nothing like this ever happens again,” the person said.

The adviser said that Trump has shown a particular interest in who becomes attorney general because of the cases, and he wants “vindication” on all of them. The person said that it would be unlikely a Trump Justice Department would want to employ prosecutors from Smith’s office who investigated Trump.

Smith’s team included veteran national security prosecutors who had spent years at the Justice Department. They secured grand jury indictments charging Trump with hoarding classified documents after leaving the White House and obstructing government efforts to retrieve them, and illegally trying to overturn Biden’s 2020 election victory.

Spokesmen for Musk and Trump did not respond to requests for comment.

Since the election, Smith has signaled that he plans to wind down the cases against Trump and focus on completing a final report to Attorney General Merrick Garland, rather than pushing ahead with the prosecutions until the inauguration and forcing a confrontation with the incoming administration.

Smith is assessing how he wants to proceed with the case now that Trump is expected to be sworn in as president on Jan. 20, the special counsel and his team told a federal judge in a filing Friday. Justice Department policy

would not allow for the prosecution of a sitting president. U.S. District Judge Tanya S. Chutkan responded by granting Smith’s request to suspend all remaining deadlines in the case Friday.

Jordan and Loudermilk’s letter to Smith suggested that Smith’s office might respond to the election by purging records, warning, “The Office of Special Counsel is not immune from transparency or above accountability for its actions.” The lawmakers, both staunch Trump supporters, repeated an earlier request for Smith to turn over records about his communications with Garland, his hiring decisions and the court-approved search of Trump’s Mar-a-Lago estate in August 2022.

Trump’s attorneys have criticized Smith’s prosecutions as unjustified and political in legal filings, but have not alleged that he committed a crime.

A spokesman for Smith declined to comment.

The pressure on Smith resembles Trump’s and his allies’ previous drives to retaliate against criminal and congressional investigations of Trump.

The GOP has largely followed the playbook of examining and interrogating investigators’ methods over the past two years to discredit and undermine prosecutors who have brought charges against Trump. House Republicans also demanded recordings from the district attorneys in Manhattan and Atlanta who separately prosecuted Trump, and from former special counsel Robert S. Mueller III’s investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election.

When Republicans won the House in 2022, Trump wanted them to reopen the work of the bipartisan House committee that investigated the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol. Then-Speaker Kevin McCarthy shared additional surveillance footage with a documentary team led by right-wing host Tucker Carlson.



Jack Smith on June 9, 2023, a day after Donald Trump was indicted in a classified documents probe.

The threat to Smith is different, however, because the Trump administration is likely to cooperate with undermining him, said Philip Allen Lacovara, a former deputy solicitor general and special counsel to the Watergate special prosecutor. Historically, Lacovara said, the Justice Department has resisted congressional second-guessing of its investigations, arguing that the agency has to protect the executive branch’s independence and the secrecy of grand jury materials.

“This administration, however, I suspect will be quite willing to disregard the traditional Justice Department protections for the integrity of investigations and will basically pull down their trousers and expose everything Smith did as part of their effort to blacken the investigation,” he said. “The gloves are off in Congress, and I suspect whoever is appointed attorney general by President

Trump will not have the same institutional commitment to the autonomy and integrity of the Justice Department as even the leadership during Trump I.”

But Democrats in Congress on Friday welcomed Jordan’s misstep, arguing that laying bare Smith’s work will only highlight wrongdoing by Trump. Democratic staffers involved with congressional investigations said it’s likely that Jordan and committee investigators will call on Smith to testify, as they have in the past, as a part of the investigation — a prospect they welcome.

“That’s exactly the hearing Democrats would have had in the majority,” one of the staffers said. “Why would you call in Jack Smith to do the trial of the century but in Congress? It’s a gift to Democrats. ... Call him in three times. That seems great.”

In its filing to Chutkan on Friday, Smith’s team said it needed to

assess how to proceed with the case, which accused Trump of trying to interfere with the 2020 election results, now that he is returning to the White House.

Chutkan quickly granted that request and ordered prosecutors to file a report by Dec. 2 explaining how they want to proceed.

The case is still far from a potential trial, and Chutkan is determining what allegations in the superseding indictment may still be prosecuted after the Supreme Court ruled this summer that presidents enjoy broad immunity.

Smith also indicted Trump in Florida for allegedly mishandling classified documents and thwarting officials’ attempts to retrieve them. That case was dismissed by a Trump-appointed federal judge, who broke with legal precedent to find that Smith was unlawfully appointed.

Smith is appealing that ruling, but Trump’s return to power could

affect that effort as well.

Smith’s options include preparing a final report for public disclosure or dismissing both cases so that they can be revived after Trump’s second term ends, said Barbara McQuade, a law professor at the University of Michigan and a former federal prosecutor.

If he terminates the criminal cases soon enough, Smith could deliver a final report detailing the findings of his two probes to Garland before Trump becomes the next president. A final report would allow Smith to “share with the public his evidence of Trump’s crimes,” McQuade said. “Members of Congress should be careful what they ask for.”

Smith could then resign as special counsel before Trump has a chance to make good on his promises to fire him. Garland has previously said that he would make special counsel reports public if they reached his desk, though he has not indicated specifically what he would do if Smith gave him such a report now.

Were Smith to press forward into a new administration, Trump or his attorney general could fire him and order the Justice Department to drop the prosecution.

Trump also faces two criminal cases in state courts in New York and Georgia. In May, a New York jury convicted Trump of 34 felony counts of falsifying business records to conceal a hush money payment to an adult-film actress. He is appealing that conviction and attempting to get his sentencing postponed. In Georgia, Trump faces charges related to his attempts to overturn the 2020 presidential election results in the state.

The Justice Department has long held that the constitution’s separation-of-powers principle bars a president from being prosecuted while in office. Legal experts say those guidelines would probably extend to state cases.

Jacqueline Alemany contributed to this report.

Post-election, markets have best week in a year

S&P 500, Nasdaq and Dow Jones have been rising since Tuesday

BY HANNAH ZIEGLER

U.S. markets capped off their best week in a year on Friday, with all three major indexes rising each day since President-elect Donald Trump’s election victory.

Days after Trump defeated Vice President Kamala Harris, the Dow Jones Industrial Average and the broader S&P 500 both closed Friday with gains of more than 4.5 percent on the week, while the Nasdaq composite index rose 5.7 percent, making it the best week for U.S. stock markets since November 2023. Many investors expect that Trump’s return to the

White House will bring less regulation, more merger and acquisition activity, and lower taxes compared with a Harris administration.

The Russell 2000 index of small-cap stocks added more than 8 percent for the week, as some analysts suggested that small businesses could benefit from Trump’s proposed tariffs.

The S&P 500 gained almost 4 percent in the week of Trump’s victory over Hillary Clinton.

“The reason that the market did so much better this time around is because Trump is a known quantity, whereas he was an unknown quantity back in 2016,” said Sam Stovall, chief investment strategist for CFRA Research.

The first year of a presidential cycle has generally been good for markets across the last 20 years, said Michael Farr of the investment firm Farr, Miller and Wash-

ington. The market saw a “relief rally” this week, he added.

After strong gains Wednesday immediately following the election, stock indexes extended their winning streak on Thursday, when the Federal Reserve trimmed interest rates by a quarter of a percentage point as inflation continues to cool. It was the Fed’s second consecutive cut after four years of rate hikes that aimed to combat inflation.

Paul Christopher, global head of investment strategy at Wells Fargo, urged caution around this week’s rally in a Friday note. Investors have been “picking and choosing” which of Trump’s policy possibilities to respond to, and those narrow reactions haven’t historically made for good investment opportunities, Christopher said.

Some individual stocks that observers see as benefiting from a second term also rose this week.

Tesla rose more than 14 percent on Wednesday and climbed 29 percent this week. Trump on the campaign trail this year spoke positively about electric vehicles in general, and Tesla’s in particular. The company’s CEO is Elon Musk, who has emerged as one of the president-elect’s strongest supporters in the business world.

Bank stocks climbed immediately after Trump’s victory and finished the week with moderate gains through the week. Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley each rose more than 10 percent across the last five trading sessions, while Wells Fargo and JPMorgan Chase added 8 percent and 6 percent, respectively. Expectations for relaxed regulation under Trump has fueled hope for more merger and acquisition activity, especially compared with the Biden administration, which cracked down on large mergers.



Trader William Lovesick, left, and specialist James Denaro work on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange on Friday.

Trump Media & Technology Group, the Truth Social parent company whose stock has been very volatile in recent weeks, surged more than 15 percent dur-

ing Friday trading. The one-day jump came after the president-elect posted on Truth Social that he had no intention of selling his shares in the company.

Votes on marijuana, psychedelics signal drug policy worries

DRUGS FROM A1

places like San Francisco and Oregon have become poster children for failed drug policies,” said Keith Humphreys, a Stanford University professor of psychiatry and former White House drug policy adviser. “That’s made people nervous about liberalizing drug policies.”

Throughout the campaign, Trump and the GOP raised the specter of drugs as part of larger fears about public safety and illegal immigration. Trump advocated using the U.S. military to target Mexican cartels manufacturing the dangerous opioid fentanyl and called for the death penalty for dealers. He and allies also claimed marijuana is being laced with fentanyl even though little evidence exists that is happening.

Regina LaBelle, director of the Addiction and Public Policy Initiative at Georgetown University Law Center, said voters — particularly in California — were sending a message about social disruption that they perceive from public drug use.

In California, voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 36, undoing aspects of a decade-old initiative that reduced sentences for nonviolent crimes and was part of a wider progressive push for criminal justice reform. The vote came after lawmakers in Oregon rolled back a pioneering voter initiative that decriminalized possession of drugs but led to outrage because of perceptions of rampant public

drug use.

The new California measure increases possible penalties for repeat drug offenders caught with substances such as fentanyl, heroin and methamphetamine.

“Voters wanted more law and order,” LaBelle said.

In Florida, opponents of recreational marijuana cited concerns about crime and addiction — echoing decades of exaggerated war-on-drugs rhetoric — about weed potentially acting as a “gateway” to harder substances.

D.C. and 24 states, including Republican-led Missouri and Ohio, have legalized the use of recreational marijuana by adults.

Advocates from both parties had hoped to make Florida the largest red state to legalize marijuana, ending decades of prosecutions for minor pot possession. And the cannabis industry had eyed the state as potentially the largest marijuana market in the nation, worth billions of dollars in sales to Floridians, tourists and residents from neighboring Southern states where the drug is prohibited.

The cannabis company Trulieve, which operates more than 150 medical marijuana dispensaries in Florida, donated nearly \$145 million to the campaign to legalize marijuana. But Gov. Ron DeSantis (R) and allies hammered the measure as benefiting only a few companies. He warned that Florida could resemble California and Colorado, clouded in marijuana smoke and battling an illicit marijuana market that has “led to more dangerous drugs

coming in” — echoing frequent GOP attack lines that turned liberal states into foils to be feared.

The stark imagery employed by opponents of recreational marijuana in conservative states is a far cry from how medical marijuana is portrayed, said Daniel J. Mallinson, an associate professor at Penn State Harrisburg’s School of Public Affairs who studies cannabis legalization efforts.

“It’s different than a glaucoma patient going and getting some marijuana that they consume at

“It’s different than a glaucoma patient going and getting some marijuana that they consume at home. ... [Critics employ] that bigger narrative that ‘We don’t want to be like California.’”

Daniel J. Mallinson, an associate professor at Penn State Harrisburg’s School of Public Affairs who studies cannabis legalization efforts

home,” Mallinson said. Marijuana opponents, he said, employ “that bigger narrative that ‘We don’t want to be like California.’” Underscoring his thesis, Mallinson pointed to ruby-red Nebraska, where voters this week overwhelmingly approved the use of medical marijuana. (The results could be undone by a legal challenge.)

For cannabis activists, the defeat of recreational marijuana amendments did not prove a total surprise.

Similar ballot measures in

deeply conservative North and South Dakota failed in years past. While more than half of Floridians supported Amendment 3, the state failed to clear the 60 percent threshold required by Florida law to enshrine an initiative in the state’s constitution. Trump, a Florida resident, endorsed the measure and a Biden administration push to loosen federal restrictions on marijuana.

Cannabis activists pointed out that Florida’s medical marijuana program failed its first go-around before voters approved it in 2016.

The National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws — widely known as NORML — said public support for legalizing marijuana has increased significantly during the past decade, with nearly 180 million Americans living in a place where marijuana is legally regulated.

“Every movement suffers temporary difficulties and disappointments. But our consistent upward trajectory is undeniable,” Paul Armentano, NORML’s deputy director, said in a statement.

But Kevin Sabet, president of

Smart Approaches to Marijuana, which opposes legalization, called the Tuesday votes “monumental for the antidrug movement.” He said the results underscore that voters are pushing back on rapid legalization of substances that opponents view as harmful for public health.

“This sends a message to both parties — this is not the winning issue you were sold,” Sabet said.

The vote on psychedelics in Massachusetts proved significant, Sabet said, because the state was home to psychedelics pioneer Timothy Leary.

Psychedelics have enjoyed a cultural renaissance — earning support from right-leaning tech figures, military veterans groups and some Republican lawmakers.

But concerns have mounted that states and cities are allowing psychedelics to proliferate before their benefits have been scientifically established. Separately, the Food and Drug Administration this year rejected an application to approve MDMA, a euphoria-inducing compound better known as ecstasy, for treating post-traumatic stress disorder.

The Massachusetts ballot question regarded legalizing psilocybin, a substance found in certain mushrooms, which is increasingly being studied for its potential to treat mental health conditions. The measure also would have legalized the use of mind-altering substances found in plants including ibogaine, which has been hailed for helping military veterans with traumatic

brain injuries but also carries heart risks.

The law would have established therapeutic centers for administering the drugs, similar to programs created under measures passed in Colorado and Oregon. Mason Marks, a visiting law professor at Harvard University who studies psychedelics regulation, said a long and complicated ballot may have left voters confused and uncomfortable with how the program would be administered.

The measure also would have allowed people to grow the mushrooms and other plants and give them away, raising concerns about the proliferation of mind-bending drugs.

“In the view of the public, these are not casual drugs,” said Caroline Alcock Cunningham, campaign manager for the coalition that opposed the measure.

Tuesday’s votes will not mark the end of ballot measures addressing drug policies, said Beau Kilmer, co-director of the Rand Drug Policy Research Center.

But future measures may account for the growing belief that public health is taking a back seat to private companies seeking to sell drugs such as marijuana, Kilmer said. Initiatives might offer voters the establishment of state-run dispensaries or the legalization of only marijuana flower and products with lower levels of THC, not potent concentrates such as waxes, he said.

“You may see pushes for policy changes that aren’t as extreme,” Kilmer said.

Biden's team races to Trump-proof a legacy of historic climate gains

EPA locking in policies as oil and gas industry preps counterattacks

BY MAXINE JOSELOW

On the morning after Election Day, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Michael Regan convened several of his top officials for a somber meeting.

Most officials had woken up Wednesday to the news that Donald Trump, who once vowed to eliminate the EPA in "almost every form," would return to the White House in January. Regan sought to reassure employees that their achievements under President Joe Biden would "stand the test of time," and he encouraged staffers to "run through the tape" and continue making progress during the 76-day lame-duck period between Election Day and Inauguration Day, EPA spokesman Nick Conger said.

In just the past two days, the administration has finalized plans to limit oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and to save an imperiled bird — the greater sage grouse — by restricting drilling, mining and livestock grazing across nearly 65 million acres of its habitat in 10 Western states. Officials have met behind closed doors to wrap up work on a study justifying the administration's pause on approvals of new liquefied natural gas exports — a pause that Trump has promised to end on his "very first day back." And they are hustling to issue at least a half-dozen other significant policies, affecting toxic chemicals as well as California's push to phase out gas-powered cars and trucks by 2035.

Across the federal government, Trump's election has set off a scramble among political appointees and career bureaucrats alike to lock in Biden's landmark environmental initiatives. Some staffers say they learned a lesson in 2017, when Trump swiftly dismantled some of President Barack Obama's signature environmental achievements.

Some Trump allies said these actions could slow — but ultimately not stop — the former president's energy agenda.

"It's unfortunate but expected



ANNA ROSE LAYDEN/GETTY IMAGES

The EPA has emerged as the center of President Joe Biden's ambitious climate agenda, which includes action on ports, EVs, and chemicals.

that [Biden officials] will try to throw as many roadblocks at what President-elect Trump has pledged to do with respect to energy," said Tom Pyle, president of the American Energy Alliance and the former head of Trump's Energy Department transition team. "But I suspect those will be minor blips in the road towards achieving his goals."

The Trump transition team is already considering and vetting Andrew Wheeler, a former coal lobbyist who led the EPA during Trump's first term, to reprise that role, according to two people familiar with the matter. The transition team and Wheeler did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Perhaps no agency embodies the Biden administration's lame-duck environmental strategy better than the EPA, which has emerged as a center of the president's ambitious climate agenda. Environmentalists said they expect the agency to take major actions in the coming weeks touching everything from electric vehicles

to toxic chemicals.

At the top of the list: Trump-proofing California's transition to EVs. Under the Clean Air Act, California can receive a waiver from the EPA to set tougher vehicle emissions rules than those of the federal government. More than a dozen other states follow California's stricter rules, collectively accounting for about 40 percent of the U.S. auto market.

Before Trump takes office, the EPA plans to grant California a waiver to enforce its rule aimed at banning sales of new gasoline-powered cars in the state by 2035, according to a person familiar with the matter who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the plans are not yet public.

"This is by far the most significant rule in the United States setting the pace for vehicle electrification," said Craig Segall, senior vice president at the advocacy group Evergreen Action and former assistant chief counsel at the California Air Resources Board. "It helps lock in the progress of the American automobile industry."

Asked for comment on the waiver, Conger said in an email that the EPA "follows a prescribed process under the Clean Air Act" to review such requests and holds a public comment period, after which the administrator "determines whether the requirements for obtaining a waiver have been met."

Environmentalists said they also expect the agency to finalize three rules restricting the release of toxic chemicals. One rule will ban most uses of perchloroethylene, a solvent widely used in dry cleaning that can damage the central nervous system. Another will limit the use of trichloroethylene, a chemical linked to kidney cancer that is used to make refrigerants and some household cleaning products.

The EPA's enforcement office, for its part, is pressing to impose penalties and reach settlements with companies accused of violating the nation's bedrock environmental laws. But some companies are stalling in the hopes of negoti-

ating with more lenient Trump officials instead, according to an EPA enforcement employee who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the matter.

"The regulated community is dragging their feet," the staffer said. "They want to see if they can get a better deal from the next administration."

At the Energy Department, meanwhile, experts are working to finish a study on whether continued U.S. exports of liquefied natural gas (LNG) are "consistent with the public interest," as required by the Natural Gas Act. A draft of the study will be released before the end of the year, an administration official confirmed.

Lyson Slocum, director of the energy program at the advocacy group Public Citizen, said he expects the draft to say these exports are not in the public interest because of their climate consequences, as well as their harm to public health in disadvantaged communities along the Gulf Coast. That

finding could help environmentalists challenge the Trump administration's approvals of LNG projects in court — and potentially block billions of dollars worth of LNG infrastructure that could increase U.S. greenhouse gas emissions for decades to come.

"Biden's decision on LNG is the most consequential thing he can do on climate and fossil fuels before Trump takes office," Cassidy DiPaola, a spokeswoman for Fossil Free Media, a group that opposes fossil fuels, said in a statement.

The oil and gas industry, a frequent foe of the Biden administration, is preparing to scrutinize all of its lame-duck actions — and potentially challenge them in court.

"It's no secret that we've had our share of disagreement with the Biden administration on energy policy over the last three-and-a-half years, and some of these policies that could be proposed in the next couple of months could be concerning," said Dustin Meyer, senior vice president of policy, economics and regulatory affairs at the American Petroleum Institute, an industry group. "We really won't know much until we actually see the policies, but we always keep our options open."

The administration also moved this week to restrict fossil fuel exploration on Alaska's North Slope, by narrowing the scope of an oil and gas lease sale in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge scheduled for December. On Wednesday, hours after Trump's election, the Interior Department issued a plan for the auction, which was mandated by a 2017 tax bill under Trump.

Asked about the department's plans for the coming months, an Interior spokeswoman referred all questions to the White House, which declined to comment.

With the exception of a plan to accelerate solar energy development on public lands, Interior has largely accomplished what it set out to achieve in Biden's first term, said Aaron Weiss, deputy director of the Center for Western Priorities, a conservation group.

"From what we can tell, they've done a very good job lining this stuff up, so there's not a whole lot at risk of getting punted into the next administration," he said. "I think everyone learned that lesson in 2016."

LGBTQ+ crisis hotlines report big spike in calls after Trump's win

BY MAHAM JAVAID

The call to the Rainbow Youth Project's crisis hotline came in three days before the election. On the line was a nonbinary teen. The 16-year-old had made a pact with three other queer youths: If Donald Trump won the presidency, they would commit a "group suicide."

A case manager chatted with the teen. The high-schooler didn't want to follow through, and the nonprofit was able to help mitigate the situation, said Lance Preston, executive director of the Indianapolis-based network.

Across the country, organizations and crisis hotlines catering to LGBTQ+ youths and adults have reported a staggering spike in calls in the run-up to the election and since Trump's resounding victory.

The Rainbow Youth Project said it has received more than 3,810 calls so far this month, surpassing its monthly average of 3,765 in just six days. The Trevor Project, a group focused on suicide prevention among LGBTQ+ youths, said it registered a nearly 700 percent increase in calls, texts and chat messages on Wednesday compared with the weeks prior. Other groups that work with the LGBTQ+ community, such as OneIowa, said they have seen an increase in emails and messages.

Community leaders said those reaching out expressed a growing sense of loneliness and isolation, worry about losing access to gender-affirming care, and fear of being physically harmed by someone because of their gender or sexual identity. About a quarter of the calls to the Rainbow Youth Project came from worried parents and grandparents, an increase from the 8 percent the organization usually sees.

"We are receiving these calls out of fear," Preston said. "Fear that we will lose our children to suicide and fear of the challenges this new administration will set up for us."

For many LGBTQ+ youths and adults, life had already begun to change Wednesday.

Phoenix, a 17-year-old transgender youth who spoke on the condition of anonymity for fear of being targeted over their gender identity, said they began getting



SHEDRICK PELT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Supporters of Vice President Kamala Harris, an ally of the LGBTQ+ community, gather at D.C.'s Howard University on election night.

threats and comments from other high-schoolers as soon as they got on the bus Wednesday, mere hours after Trump made his victory speech.

"As soon as I got on, one kid said, 'Are you scared? You should be,'" said Phoenix, who lives in Raleigh, North Carolina. "Later I heard a classmate say, 'I find most gay people annoying, and I hope Trump coming to power will solve this problem.'"

Phoenix complained to their teacher but doesn't know whether anything will come out of it. Phoenix said many students told them that they were glad Trump won because it meant gas prices would decrease, which Phoenix understood to mean was more important than the physical and mental well-being of LGBTQ+ youths.

"At school, all year, kids have been threatening to hurt me when Trump wins, and now that moment is here," Phoenix said. "I'm feeling really overwhelmed

and worried about myself, my family and my country."

Other trans people said the election result has left them with no choice but to upend their lives and relocate. Throughout the campaign, Republicans spent at least \$215 million on network ads that painted trans people as a threat to society. The ads became a rallying cry for a number of candidates, including Trump, who made "Kamala is for they/them" a signature phrase.

Ash Orr, 34, a trans person who works as a press relations manager for Advocates for Trans Equality in Morgantown, West Virginia, said they will be leaving their state as soon as possible for their safety.

"It's very difficult to come to terms with this decision. I am leaving everything I have ever known," Orr said Wednesday. "The decision yesterday made it clear that I can't be safe here."

Orr, who is undergoing gender-affirming care, said a secondary

reason for moving is a fear that the state legislature will pass a bill banning such treatments for adults. Yet while Orr is able to relocate, they noted that many transgender people in West Virginia cannot. They spent Wednesday afternoon driving around Morgantown, putting up banners expressing support for transgender people to "try and keep our folks going."

"The overall vibe is that folks are scared and anxious," Orr said. "We have lived through one Trump presidency before, and we know a second term will impact our human rights and dignity."

Milo McBrayer, a high school senior who lives in Asheville, North Carolina, has had a tough few weeks, he told The Post on the eve of the election. Watching football with his family — an activity the 17-year-old really enjoys — had become unbearable because of the barrage of GOP-funded anti-trans ads that aired during the commercial breaks in the

run-up to the election.

"Seeing so much hatred for my community is hard," McBrayer, a transgender youth, said Monday. "They are portraying trans people as predators to win votes."

McBrayer said the hostility was especially troubling because as minors, trans youths have no power to voice their opposition at the ballot box. On Wednesday morning, McBrayer said he was too distressed to discuss the results.

Crisis hotlines had been prepping for a possible Trump win, but they still underestimated how dire the situation was, said Peterson, of the Rainbow Youth Project. Election night was the first time in the organization's history that a youth in crisis had been put on hold, because of an overwhelming number of calls.

The Trevor Project was also struggling to keep up with the number of people in crisis.

"TrevorText and TrevorChat are currently experiencing long

hold times due to the election," a banner on the group's site said Wednesday. "If you need immediate assistance, please call the TrevorLifeline at 1-866-488-7386."

Suicide is the second leading cause of death among 10-to-14-year-olds in the country and the third leading cause of death among 15-to-24-year-olds, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. LGBTQ+ young people are four times as likely as their peers to attempt suicide, according to the Trevor Project.

The organization estimates that more than 1.8 million LGBTQ+ people between the ages of 13 and 24 seriously consider suicide each year in the United States, a number that has been on the rise. In the fiscal year ending in July 2022, the Trevor Project was contacted by 230,000 LGBTQ+ people in crisis. In 2023, the number was more than 500,000.

Jaymes Black, the organization's chief executive officer, said the increase in emergency calls may last for some time. "We anticipate this number will be at least maintained and, potentially, only increase."

Preston said the trans community is especially scared because the president-elect has threatened to strip gender-affirming care for minors. Out of the almost 4,000 calls the Rainbow Youth Project has received this month, 67 percent were from transgender youths or their family members.

Still, he noted that the community is resilient and supportive; Preston said he had 800 emails in his inbox this morning — messages from allies, mental health providers and partner organizations offering support.

For now, teens like Phoenix are leaning on their friends and family for support and remembering to report all threats to their parents, class teachers and school Title IX offices, so that a record can be maintained.

But the worry is constant. Preston said he hasn't been able to shake the call about the four teens who had made a suicide pact.

"I keep thinking," he said, "what if that one teenager had not called us?"

ELECTION 2024

Where President-elect Donald Trump stands on the issues

The Washington Post has collected stances of the incoming commander in chief on key matters — including abortion, economic policy and elections.

BY WASHINGTON POST STAFF



Where he stands on the economy

As president, Donald Trump lowered the tax rate for the richest Americans and corporations.

Do you support raising the retirement age? What should the retirement age be? What, if anything, needs to be done to control the costs of entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare?

Trump has promised to protect Social Security and Medicare, which are the biggest drivers of the national debt. “Under no circumstances should Republicans vote to cut a single penny from Medicare or Social Security,” Trump said in a January 2023 video message distributed by his campaign. The national debt increased by \$7.8 trillion during Trump’s presidency, the third-biggest increase relative to the U.S. economy’s size, ProPublica reported.

What should the top federal personal income tax rate be, and at what income level should it hit? What should the top corporate tax rate be?

The 2017 Trump tax law lowered the top personal tax rate from 39.6 percent to 37 percent and the top corporate tax rate from 35 percent to 21 percent. Trump has proposed slashing the corporate tax rate for companies that make their products inside the United States.

Do you support cutting the defense budget from its current levels?

As president in 2018, Trump signed the largest Pentagon budget ever, at \$700 billion, a 15.5 percent increase from the previous year. There’s no public evidence he would support a decrease in military spending even as he has called for deep cuts to domestic outlays because the government is “spending money like drunken sailors.”

Should anything be done by the federal government to defray the costs of student loans?

Trump has opposed widespread student loan debt cancellation but backed measures to consolidate income-driven repayment plans.

Do you support continued public investment in American infrastructure such as was covered under the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law of 2021?

Trump campaigned on major infrastructure spending multiple times during the 2016 campaign. However, negotiations with congressional Democrats broke down while he was in office and he was never able to sign a bill that matches the scale of the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law passed under President Biden.

Do you support a ban on ESG (environmental, social and governance investing) for retirement funds?

Trump’s administration took several actions to limit ESGs while he was president.

What is your tariff policy?

Trump has vowed to impose a 10 percent tariff on all goods imported into the United States and a 60 percent one on goods coming from China. He pledged in September to lower the corporate tax rate to 15 percent for companies that make their goods inside the United States, part of his aggressive “America First” pitch to bring manufacturing back and stop companies from moving their business overseas.



Where he stands on crimes and guns

Trump opposes requiring background checks and restricting access to guns for people who might harm themselves or others.

Do you support the 2018 First Step Act? If not, would you seek its repeal?

The Trump administration approved the First Step Act in 2018, which reduced some prison sentences and allowed some prisoners an early release, after it passed Congress, and the former president has repeatedly played up his role in the legislation.

Do you support the federal legalization of recreational marijuana? If not, do you support states’ right to decide?

In September, Trump posted on social media that he would support a Florida ballot measure legalizing recreational marijuana use. He added he would “end needless arrests and incarcerations” for people who use “small amounts of marijuana for personal use.” He also stated his support for federal research to “unlock the medical uses of marijuana” and the right of states to hold ballot referendums on its use. The September social media posting put Trump in rare alignment with Vice President Kamala Harris on the issue.

Should the United States require a background check for every gun purchase, including at gun shows and online purchases?

After the Parkland, Fla., mass killing in 2018, Trump held a meeting with members of Congress at the White House and said “[W]e have to keep the guns out of the hands of those that pose the threat. And this really includes background checks.” Later that year, the White House distanced itself from many of the background check proposals amid backlash from the National Rifle Association. In February, Trump told NRA members that he would undo Biden’s actions on guns and told them “no one will lay a finger on your firearms.”

Should access to guns be restricted for individuals who might harm themselves or others, also known as a red-flag law?

In 2019, Trump said he supported red-flag laws after the mass shootings in Dayton, Ohio, and El Paso. His administration abandoned the effort later that year under pressure from the NRA.

Do you support restrictions on concealed carry of guns in schools and universities?

At an NRA event in April 2023, Trump proposed a tax credit for teachers who want a concealed carry weapon on school grounds and who want training. During a 2018 discussion about school shootings Trump also dismissed gun-free zones and touted concealed carry of guns for teachers and “people of talent” on school grounds. He later tweeted that he only meant a small percentage of teachers should be armed.

Do you support a repeal of immunity for gun manufacturers so they can be sued in court?

Trump has shown support for gunmakers on social media, and his administration also changed rules in 2020 to allow gun manufacturers to sell arms to foreign buyers more easily. In his February speech to NRA members, he said “every single Biden attack on gun owners and manufacturers will be terminated my very first week back in office.”

Do you own a firearm? If yes, how many firearms do you own and what types? How do you store your gun(s)?

Trump told the Washington Times in 2012 that he owned “a couple of different guns” under a concealed carry permit in New York.



Where he stands on abortion

Trump’s position on a federal ban on abortion is unclear, including at what point in pregnancy he thinks a ban should take effect.

Do you support a federal ban on abortion?

While he calls himself the most “pro-life president” in history, Trump has also waffled considerably over the years on abortion policy. His latest position is that abortion policy should be set by the states, and Vice President-elect JD Vance has said he would veto a national abortion ban, though Trump disavowed having talked to Vance about it (and has not clarified if he would veto a national ban). He promised his administration would be “great for women and their reproductive rights” and called for the government or private insurers to pay for IVF treatment.

At what point in a pregnancy do you believe abortion should be banned? At all points? At 6 weeks gestation? 15 weeks? Some other time?

Trump ignited a firestorm in the antiabortion community in September when he called a Florida abortion ban at six weeks too strict and suggested he might vote for a ballot referendum allowing abortion in Florida until fetal viability. One day later, he backed off that stance and said he would vote against the ballot amendment, allowing the six-week measure to remain. Broadly, he has said abortion limits should be left up to the states.

Do you support exceptions to abortion bans in cases of rape, incest, threat to the life of the mother and/or health of the mother? If not, do you support any exceptions?

Yes. “President Trump supports exceptions for rape, incest and life of the mother,” Cheung said in a statement to The Post.

Should the FDA approval of mifepristone be revoked? How, if at all, would you seek to restrict abortion pills flowing into states where abortion is illegal?

In August, Trump suggested at a news conference he was open to using federal regulatory power as president to restrict access to mifepristone. He had previously praised a Supreme Court decision that maintained access to the drug and his spokeswoman said following that decision, and the news conference, that the court had decided and the matter is “settled.”



Where he stands on elections

Trump does not recognize Joe Biden as the legitimate winner of the 2020 election, and before his victory he had not committed to accepting the certified results of the 2024 election.

Is President Biden the legitimate winner of the 2020 election?

Trump has long said he does not believe Joe Biden is the legitimate winner of the 2020 election and waged attempts to overturn his defeat. In response to questions from The Washington Post, Trump campaign spokesman Steven Cheung referred to a May 2023 CNN town hall, in which Trump repeated his false claim of “a rigged election.”

Do you support changes to the Supreme Court?

Trump has said changes proposed by President Biden to the Supreme Court — including term limits for justices and an ethics code — are “going nowhere.”

What is your stance on voting rights and ballot access?

Trump has repeatedly asserted, without evidence, that there is rampant fraud in the U.S. election system. In September, he urged congressional Republicans to oppose an election security bill called the SAVE Act, even if it meant shutting down the government. That legislation

would require documentary proof of U.S. citizenship in order to vote, despite the fact it is already illegal and rare for noncitizens to vote. Republicans have worked to restrict the rules around mail-in ballots. When he installed a new Republican National Committee chair, Trump made clear he wanted an increased focus on poll watchers and election-related lawsuits.

As president, would you pardon or consider pardoning people convicted in connection with the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol?

Trump has often championed the cause of people convicted or charged in connection with the Jan. 6 attack. At the same CNN town hall Trump said, “I am inclined to pardon many of them. I can’t say for every single one because a couple of them, probably, they got out of control.” In September 2022 he told a radio host he would give convicted Jan. 6 rioters “full pardons with an apology to many.” Then, in a video released in December, Trump told viewers, “People have been treated unconstitutionally, in my opinion, and very, very unfairly, and we’re going to get to the bottom of it!”



ILLUSTRATION BY BEN KIRCHNER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; ICONS BY TIM BOELARS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



Where he stands on education

Trump has opposed canceling student loan debt, but he backs income-based repayment plans.

Should the government take any action to relieve student debt?

At the June 2023 convention for the right-wing group Moms for Liberty, Trump praised the Supreme Court for halting Biden's student loan debt forgiveness plan, saying it would have been "very, very unfair to the millions and millions of people who have paid their debt through hard work." Trump spent much of his tenure in the White House trying to weaken a 1995 law known as "borrower defense to repayment." The law called for the federal government to forgive loans of students who attended schools that deceived them to entice enrollment — for example, lying about how many graduates had jobs. However, in March 2020, Trump waived interest on all federal student loans to reduce the financial burden on borrowers during the coronavirus pandemic.

At what age is it appropriate to teach students about sexuality and gender?

Trump has not specified an age at which students should learn about sexuality or gender. He pledged at a Wisconsin rally this summer to pull federal funding from any schools he deemed as promoting "transgender insanity," repeating a 2023 pledge that he would sign an executive order on his first day in office cutting the funding. (He also included schools teaching "inappropriate" lessons on race or politics.) But he has weighed in on what K-12 students should learn. In a January 2023 video posted on Truth Social, Trump said he wants schools to teach traditional gender roles, promoting "positive education about the nuclear family, the roles of mothers and fathers and celebrating rather than erasing the things that make men and women different and unique." In the same video, he said he would revoke federal funding from any school that taught a child that they "could be trapped in the wrong body."

Should students be permitted to use bathrooms and play on sports teams that match their gender identity?

Trump, while in office, rolled back protections for transgender students that permitted them to use school bathrooms that align with their gender identity. At a campaign rally in 2022, he said he would "ban men" from participating in women's

sports, an apparent reference to barring transgender women from competing in women's sports. "I will keep men out of women's sports," he said in June. "We're going to get rid of that immediately."

Should teachers and administrators forfeit their jobs or licenses for teaching about systemic racism?

Unclear. It's unclear whether Trump has ever said teachers or administrators should lose their jobs or licenses. But he has been clear he would take extreme measures to purge schools of what he calls "critical race theory," an intellectual movement that examines the way policies and laws perpetuate systemic racism. The onetime academic term has been weaponized by conservatives who oppose the discussion of racism in the classroom. He called on Americans to "lay down their very lives" in the fight against it. While in office, Trump spearheaded opposition to critical race theory, threatening to cut federal funding to any school that taught it. He also banned federal agencies from giving employee trainings on systemic racism. In a 2023 video posted to social media, Trump went further, pledging to "create a new credentialing body that will ... certify teachers who embrace patriotic values [and] support our way of life."

Should states be allowed to ban puberty blockers and hormone therapy for transgender kids?

Trump has never spoken specifically about whether states have the authority to ban hormone therapy. However, in a January 2023 video posted to Truth Social, Trump said if he is reelected, he would cut Medicaid and Medicare funding from doctors and hospitals treating youth with "gender-affirming care," an umbrella term that encompasses hormone therapy, psychotherapy and surgery — though it is rarely performed on minors. These treatments are endorsed by the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Pediatrics, which say they can be lifesaving for those with gender dysphoria. He also said he would work with Congress to enact a national ban on what he called "child sexual mutilation."



Where he stands on immigration

Trump has said he would conduct mass deportations of undocumented immigrants and end birthright citizenship.

Should all undocumented immigrants in the U.S. be deported?

Trump stated in September 2023 that if reelected, he intends to implement the largest mass deportation of undocumented immigrants in American history, referencing a 1950s operation to deport undocumented immigrants under President Eisenhower known as "Operation Wetback." According to the New York Times, he would round up undocumented immigrants in mass migrant camps and employ a speedier way to deport them known as "expedited removal," though that could face legal challenges. At the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in March 2023, Trump said he would hire more officers and agents to carry out mass deportations. "Under my leadership, we will use all necessary state, local, federal and military resources to carry out the largest domestic deportation operation in American history," he said. In his 2024 campaign Trump has promised mass deportations in his second term and has indicated that he could deploy the military as part of the effort.

Should the U.S. open a new pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants? What should that pathway look like?

Stephen Miller, the architect of Trump's immigration policies, said that Trump would again try to end DACA, according to the New York Times. In June 2020, Trump lost a SCOTUS case to end DACA protections, and he said he would try again. Before that case was filed in September 2017, he floated a compromise to allow them to stay. In 2018 Trump suggested U.S. citizenship for up to 1.8 million "Dreamers," undocumented immigrants brought to the

United States as children, in exchange for increased immigration enforcement and lower levels of legal immigration.

Should migrant families apprehended at the border be detained together or separately?

Trump signaled at a CNN town hall in 2023 that he could restore migrant family separations. "When you say to a family that if you come we're going to break you up, they don't come," Trump said.

Should the U.S. revoke the right for immigrants fleeing persecution in their home countries to seek refuge in this country? If not, how would you define who qualifies for asylum protections? How many refugees should the U.S. accept annually?

Trump plans to suspend the refugee program and bar entry from Muslim-majority countries as president, the New York Times reported. Trump also has said he would restore his "Migrant Protection Protocols," known as the "Remain in Mexico program," which required asylum seekers to wait in Mexico during their immigration proceedings, as well as try to divert would-be U.S. asylum seekers to third countries willing to accept them. He would also reinstate the Title 42 border policy, which refuses entry to migrants based on infectious diseases like tuberculosis. While in the White House, Trump lowered the number of refugees the United States accepted each year to historic lows, expelled asylum seekers without a hearing and attempted to bar asylum seekers who crossed the border illegally or traveled through another country on their way to the United States.



Where he stands on foreign policy

Trump has said that support of Ukraine should be conditional on the country's investigation of the Biden family.

What single country do you believe presents the greatest geopolitical threat to the U.S.?

At a rally in March 2023, Trump told a crowd that U.S. politicians are the greatest threat to the United States, as opposed to geopolitical adversaries like China and Russia. He has also said that nuclear weapons present the single biggest threat to the United States, rather than one particular country. In the weeks before Election Day, Trump ratcheted up his rhetoric against his political foes, specifically, who he called "the enemy from within" and said the military or National Guard could handle them. The "enemy from within," Trump argued in an October interview, "is more dangerous than China, Russia and all these countries."

Do you support continued military aid for Israel? What conditions or limits would you place on that funding?

Trump chastised Biden for threatening to withhold certain offensive U.S. weapons from Israel, but he has not directly said what his policy toward military aid would be. His campaign has suggested that military aid will continue. "When President Trump is back in the Oval Office, Israel will once again be protected, Iran will go back to being broke, terrorists will be hunted down, and the bloodshed will end," Karoline Leavitt, the campaign's national press secretary, wrote in an email to The Post in May, without answering specific questions on their planned policy.

Do you support sending U.S. troops to defend Taiwan?

Trump said in September 2023 that there is "zero" chance China will invade Taiwan if he is president again. He added: "There are other things you can do without going into a nuclear holocaust."

Do you support continued funding for weapons in Ukraine? What conditions or limits would you place on that funding?

Trump was impeached in 2019 during his presidency on a charge of abuse of power related to his attempts to withhold aid from Ukraine and pressure its government to investigate Biden, albeit before Russia's invasion in February 2022. In July 2023, he told an audience at a rally that Republicans in Congress should withhold military aid in exchange for the Biden administration's cooperation in a GOP investigation into Biden and his family. He claims he will have the Ukraine war "settled" before being inaugurated and has considered a plan to end the war by pressuring Ukraine to cede territory to Russia.



Where he stands on climate

Trump has said that human activity is only one cause of climate change and that he doesn't believe climate change is making extreme weather events worse.

Do you believe that climate change is largely driven by human activity, including the burning of fossil fuels? If not, is there a different cause you would cite?

Trump believes human activity is just one cause of climate change, not necessarily the dominant factor. Pressed in a 2020 debate about whether human pollution contributes to warming, Trump said, "I think a lot of things do, but I think to an extent, yes." Trump told The Post's editorial board in 2016 that he is "not a great believer in man-made climate change." He has also long rejected climate science, sometimes calling global warming a "hoax."

Do you support clean-energy tax credits such as those for electric vehicles?

In a 2023 campaign ad, Trump promised to roll back Biden's electric vehicle policies and subsidies. "Biden is spending billions and billions of taxpayer dollars subsidizing electric cars for rich people while normal Americans can't afford to use one, nor do they even want to," Trump said. "I saved the American auto industry once and now I will save it again."

Do you believe climate change is making disasters such as hurricanes, wildfires and heat waves more intense?

At a rally in March 2022, Trump mocked the threat posed by sea-level rise and the nation's concern with combating climate change. "And yet you have people like John Kerry worrying about the climate! The climate!" Trump said. "Oh, I heard that the other day. Here we are, [Russian President Vladimir Putin is] threatening us [and] he's worried about the ocean will rise one-hundredth of one percent over the next 300 f---in' years." In 2019, Trump also exclusively blamed forest mismanagement for more destructive and deadly wildfires, rather than climate change. Scientists have said that no amount of forest management can stop wildfires in a more flammable world.

Should climate change be addressed through government action or market forces?

During his four years in office, Trump aggressively targeted and rolled back more than 125 rules and policies meant to protect the environment and lower planet-warming emissions.

THE WORLD



SERGEY KOZLOV/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Rescuers work at the site of a glide bomb attack on a residential building in Kharkiv, in Ukraine's northeast. Cities in Ukraine's east, south and center were hit with missiles, glide bombs and waves of drones.

Russia unleashes 24-hour barrage against Ukrainian cities

At least 14 killed, nearly 100 injured; building of Estonian ambassador hit by drone in Kyiv

BY DAVID L. STERN,
SERHIY MORGUNOV
AND KOSTIANTYN KHUDOV

KYIV — Russia launched a barrage of attacks over 24 hours from Thursday morning into Friday, pummeling cities in Ukraine's east, south and center with missiles, glide bombs and waves of drones — the latest onslaught in a deadly aerial campaign that intensified two months ago.

The building where the Estonian ambassador to Ukraine lives in the capital, Kyiv, was also hit and left burning by a drone.

In the night, Russian glide bombs struck a building in the northeastern city of Kharkiv, wounding more than 20 people, while drones struck the southern city of Odessa, killing one person and injuring nine, officials said.

On Thursday, glide bombs hammered five locations in Zaporizhzhia in eastern Ukraine, injuring at least 40 people and killing 10, including a 1-year-old child, officials said Friday.

In total, at least 14 people were killed and close to 100 injured in the attacks.

After the assault in Zaporizhzhia, President Volodymyr Zel-

ensky repeated calls for Ukraine's Western allies to provide more air defense systems and allow Kyiv's forces to conduct long-range strikes into Russian territory.

"Each such Russian attack not only kills people and destroys lives, but also destroys the meaning of any words about the alleged lack of talks with Russia or calls to the Kremlin," Zelensky said in a post on Telegram.

Photos posted on social media by Ukraine Emergency Services showed a heavily damaged residential building in Kharkiv and the rubble of a building that was leveled in Zaporizhzhia. Officials also said that a cancer clinic was struck in Zaporizhzhia.

Altogether during the night, Moscow's forces launched one ballistic missile, four guided missiles and 92 drones, with Ukrainian air defenses shooting down all four guided missiles and 62 drones, Ukraine's air force said Friday on Telegram.

In Kyiv, an air-raid alert lasted eight hours, with debris causing damage in five city districts, officials said.

Large-scale drone attacks have been an almost daily occurrence since the beginning of September; officials said there were assaults every day from then until Oct. 14.

Zelensky said in Telegram posts this week that Russia launched some 2,000 drones against Ukraine in October and "now uses about 10 times more self-destruct-



OKSANA PARAFENIUK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Police and others look at the remains of a drone that struck Tuesday in Kharkiv. Russia's aerial campaign intensified two months ago, and Ukraine has asked the West for more air defense systems.

ing drones than the previous fall." But the recent days have been particularly intense.

Overnight from Wednesday into Thursday, Russian forces launched about 106 drones against Ukraine, of which 74 were shot down by air defenses, Ukrainian officials said.

In Kyiv, a "massive attack" that lasted about eight hours sparked fires and damaged "residential and nonresidential buildings" in six districts, with "more than 30 drones" shot down, the head of

the Kyiv military administration, Serhiy Popko, said Thursday on Telegram.

"Enemy drones entered Kyiv both singly and in groups," Popko wrote. "The attack took place in waves, from different directions, drones entered the city at different heights — both very low and high."

Early Thursday, a drone struck an apartment building where Estonia's ambassador, Anneli Kolk, lives, Estonian Foreign Minister Margus Tsahkna said in a post on

X. Estonian media showed video footage of the heavily damaged upper floor of the building.

"She was lucky not to be harmed," Tsahkna said. "No one is safe in Ukraine until Russia stops its aggression. Ukraine needs more air defense to protect its residents. We must not get used to this."

Russian drone attacks, which rely heavily on Iranian-made Shahed self-destructing drones, have been a regular characteristic of the war, now more than 2½ years old.

Earlier this year, Moscow's forces launched similar mass assaults against Ukrainian cities and especially the country's energy infrastructure, before switching to targeting the country's power stations with guided and ballistic missiles — with devastating effectiveness.

For their part, Ukrainian forces this week struck two locations inside Russia with long-range drones, Ukrainian media reported, citing sources in the intelligence services: an oil refinery in the southwestern region of Saratov and a naval base in the city of Kaspiysk on the Caspian Sea, almost 1,000 miles from the Ukrainian border.

Andriy Kovalenko of Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council said Russia was using drones, "a low-cost method of aerial assault," while it preserved its missiles.

"Purely as military tools, their effectiveness is low, yet they do achieve some hits, which is evident in publicly reported incidents, such as in Sumy and recently in Zhytomyr, where energy infrastructure was struck," Kovalenko told The Washington Post.

In addition to targeting Ukraine's energy system, Kovalenko said, the drones do reconnaissance throughout Ukraine and pressure the population.

The drones "can loiter ... along varied flight paths for extended periods, making them difficult to intercept," he said. Sending them in waves "triggers prolonged air-raid alerts, creating sustained psychological pressure on civilians."

Some drones have been equipped with thermobaric explosives, which increase their ability to cause fires, Kovalenko said.

In the meantime, Kovalenko said, Russian forces have accumulated 117 Kh-101 guided missiles — "enough missiles for two large-scale attacks."

"The question is how they plan to proceed," he said. "They might continue stockpiling to extend the frequency of large missile strikes throughout the winter."

He also suggested that with the U.S. presidential inauguration coming in January, "Putin could be preparing for a scenario where a missile stockpile serves as a strategic bargaining chip."

DIGEST

IRELAND Parliament dissolved ahead of election

Ireland's President Michael Higgins dissolved Parliament on Friday, clearing the way for a Nov. 29 election that will determine who controls the government. Prime Minister Simon Harris, who had until March to call an election, had announced the date Wednesday.

A historic coalition government led by Harris's center-right Fine Gael party and its center-left rival Fianna Fail has been in power since the 2020 race ended in a virtual dead heat.

Fine Gael and Fianna Fail, which arose from opposing sides of Ireland's 1920s civil war, shared a broadly centrist outlook and had alternated holding power to govern Ireland over the

decades. The two set aside their differences in 2020 to work together, bringing the Green Party along as a junior partner.

The left-wing nationalist Sinn Fein party had won the largest share of votes in the election but was shut out of government because it couldn't assemble enough support to govern. Sinn Fein has been shunned by centrist parties because of its historic links to the separatist militants of the Irish Republican Army and decades of violence in Northern Ireland.

— Associated Press

GREECE Turkey's foreign minister to mend ties

Recent efforts to smooth the frequently volatile ties between neighbors and regional rivals

Greece and Turkey are bearing fruit, their foreign ministers said Friday, as the two countries seek ways to prevent spats from escalating dangerously.

Despite both being members of NATO, Greece and Turkey have been at loggerheads for decades over a long series of issues, including complex maritime boundary disputes that led them to the brink of war in 1987 and in 1996.

Over the past 16 months, the two sides have made concerted efforts to reduce tensions, with the Greek and Turkish leaders meeting six times. Last December, the two countries signed more than a dozen cooperation deals during a meeting in Athens between Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis.

— Associated Press

ALBANIA Italy sends migrants for processing

An Italian navy ship docked Friday at the Albanian port of Shengjin with eight migrants who will be processed there after they were intercepted in international waters, a month after another group was turned away for failing the vetting process.

It is only the second transfer of migrants since two migrant processing centers started operating in October under a deal sealed between Italy and Albania.

The agreement allows up to 3,000 migrants intercepted by the Italian coast guard in international waters each month to be sheltered in Albania, and vetted for possible asylum in

Italy or be sent back to their countries.

— Associated Press

A self-described Nazi became the first person in Australia to be sentenced to prison for performing an outlawed salute when he was ordered by a magistrate on Friday to spend one month behind bars. Jacob Hersant, 25, is also the first person in Victoria state to be convicted of performing the Nazi salute. The gesture has been outlawed nationwide since he committed the offense. He was convicted in the Melbourne Magistrates Court last month of performing the salute before news cameras outside the Victoria County Court on Oct. 27, 2023. Hersant had just avoided a prison sentence on a conviction for causing violent disorder. Performing a Nazi salute had

been outlawed by the state parliament days earlier.

Mozambique's largest hospital said on Friday that at least three people were killed and 66 injured during clashes between police and protesters the previous day over a disputed election. The fatalities add to at least 18 people killed in earlier protests since the Oct. 9 poll, which the opposition claims was rigged. Some groups have given a higher toll, with Mozambique's Centre for Democracy and Human Rights reporting 34 deaths overall. Thursday's protests were the biggest Mozambique has ever seen against Frelimo, the party that has ruled the southern African state since 1975 and was declared winner of last month's election by a landslide.

— From news services

Zelensky call may hint at how dialed in Musk is with Trump

MUSK FROM AI

Washington following this week's election.

Earlier in the week, Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, said his call with Trump occurred while the president-elect was having dinner with Musk and the tech mogul's child.

Trump's inclusion of the world's richest person on leader-level phone calls demonstrates Musk's extraordinary accumulation of political and economic power.

Musk, who donated well over \$75 million to Trump's campaign, provided logistic support for its voter-turnout efforts and extolled the GOP candidate on his social media platform X, has much to gain from his newfound political kinship.

His companies, which include SpaceX and Tesla, receive billions of dollars in government contracts across more than a dozen federal agencies, including the Pentagon, which relies on Musk to launch its military satellites into orbit.

Musk's relationships with federal agencies have been contentious in several instances, however, with some of them the subject of investigation and review.

The phone call between the three powerful men also underscored how important Musk's sprawling portfolio of properties is to foreign countries.

Ukraine depends heavily on Starlink to provide secure communication among front-line troops and to allow constant battlefield monitoring in command centers, where internet access may otherwise be spotty or nonexistent.



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Elon Musk walks out to speak during the Donald Trump campaign rally at Madison Square Garden in New York on Oct. 27.

Tens of thousands of Starlink devices, many spray-painted in camouflage colors to avoid detection from Russian drones, dot Ukraine's front lines and are often attached to the roofs of soldiers' vehicles.

They also allow soldiers to put their phones on airplane mode to

use the internet, reducing the likelihood that Russian troops will detect Ukrainian positions through the presence of active phones pinging off cell towers. Starlink services were initially provided to Ukraine free after the war began in 2022, but Musk later threatened to cut the service

off entirely.

He then billed the Pentagon for Ukraine's usage of the system.

Ukrainian troops say that despite Starlink being banned in Russia, Russian troops have managed to obtain some terminals, fueling their advance on the battlefield. Ukrainian troops op-

erating inside Russia's Kursk region, where they control a large swath of territory, have felt firsthand the threat of disconnection from satellite internet. They have had to learn to operate without consistent communications, and have dug into positions in areas where they can trick Starlink

into thinking they are still in Ukraine, troops say.

The call between Trump and Zelensky was amicable, say people familiar with it, but it comes at a time of nervousness for Kyiv about what a Trump presidency might mean for the country's war effort.

Ukraine requires billions of dollars in economic and military support every month to continue to fend off its bigger and better-equipped foe.

Trump has complained about U.S. financial support for Kyiv and has pledged to quickly end the war, but he has not outlined any plan to do so.

His past praise of Russian President Vladimir Putin has raised fears he will cut U.S. aid to Ukraine and pressure Kyiv to cede its sovereign territory.

The Wall Street Journal reported last month that Musk has had regular conversations with Putin since the Ukraine war began.

Some Ukrainians have expressed cautious optimism that Trump, while unpredictable, may prove more helpful than the Biden administration, which lagged on some weapons requests while never seriously exploring a diplomatic solution to end the conflict.

Zelensky met Trump in person in September, on a U.S. visit where he held separate meetings to present his "victory plan" to President Joe Biden, Vice President Kamala Harris and Trump. The Trump meeting, Zelensky later told reporters, was "maximally positive."

Kareem Fahim in Beirut and Beril Eski in Istanbul contributed to this report.

Ukrainians obsess over location of N. Korean forces

UKRAINE FROM AI

election victory this week. The president-elect has been critical of the billions given to Ukraine and may push for peace closer to Russia's terms.

Speaking to European leaders in Budapest on Thursday, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky described the North Korean deployment as a test to see how the West reacts.

"I don't know how many more soldiers will arrive from North Korea or Iran. There could be more. ... What will we do if 100,000 North Korean soldiers come? If they come to our territory, what will we do?" he said. "What will the West do? What will the United States do? Many questions, much rhetoric, and few decisive steps from leaders."

Searching for the new threat

Even before large-scale combat with the new arrivals has begun, the deployment of North Korean troops is infiltrating the psyche of Ukrainian soldiers — probably one of Putin's goals in the new partnership with Pyongyang. In conversations with more than a dozen Ukrainian troops fighting in Kursk, soldiers described obsessing over the whereabouts of the North Koreans.

Several claimed they had seen reliable photos of North Koreans in the region, and one said he had seen six of them from a drone near his position in Kursk this week. Another said he had personally seen a North Korean, a fact disputed by his fellow soldiers who interrupted him to say they believed that the person he saw was actually a Russian soldier from the Siberian Buryat ethnic minority.

Ukrainian and South Korean intelligence agencies have reported that Russia planned to deploy the North Korean troops under the guise of Buryat soldiers, in part to hide their identity.

Oleksandr, 39, a Ukrainian soldier who works in intelligence for Ukraine's 82nd Brigade in the Kursk region, said he has reviewed transcripts of intercepted conversations between Russian troops where they appear to refer to the arrival of North Koreans, calling them "the yellow ones" or "our allies." He spoke on the condition that he be identified only by his first name because he was not authorized to speak to the media.

He was quick to note that the Russians might have known the Ukrainians were listening in and were just trying to spook them with these comments.

As Ukraine prepares for North Koreans to deploy to multiple fronts, "everyone will expect them, so everyone will hear them," Oleksandr said. "I will be sure only if I see them on the battlefield."

Andrii Kovalenko from Ukraine's National Security and Defense Council said that North Korean troops have been deployed to areas near the front line in Kursk to be "trained in actual combat conditions to use FPV drones."

Within three months, he said, the North Koreans would be ready to replace a Russian combat soldier, but meanwhile, Ukraine has identified locations where they are located.

"We know that there are North Koreans in these positions, and those positions have been hit," he said. "I cannot comment on casualties."

In the context of such a long and exhausting struggle, Fedorenko, the Ukrainian commander, said any new and motivated soldier poses a threat to Ukraine regardless of their country of origin.

"If we see a new soldier who is fresh, who has arms, who has a rifle, who can fight Ukrainian soldiers, we don't see the color of his skin or his nationality," he said. "It doesn't matter where they came from. They came here to fight against Ukraine."

Regaining lost ground

Inside Kursk, Ukrainian soldiers are trying to push back into positions they lost last month, despite the threat of North Korean reinforcements.

Valentyn Levada, 36, and Andrii Vavilov, 41, who work for a drone unit attached to the 82nd Brigade, were among the first soldiers to cross into the Kursk region in August.

They quickly established control of the territory, passing through a largely unfortified border to seize Russian positions and take unsuspecting conscripts as prisoners of war.

But when they left for a rotation back inside Ukraine at the end of September, they watched in disbelief as online maps showed how Russian forces were retaking territory they had just fought for. The troops sent in to relieve them, they said, had failed to hold the line.

Within two weeks of their departure from Kursk, their unit was abruptly sent back in to stabilize the situation, they said. The Russians "exploited this time when brigades were rotating," Levada said.

Their second stint into Kursk



PHOTOS BY OKSANA PARAFENIUK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A trench built to create a defensive line around Sumy, Ukraine, where a hospital treats Ukrainians wounded in fighting inside Russia.



Ukrainian commander Yuriy Fedorenko said he has reviewed intelligence showing that North Korean troops are in Russia.

was much more difficult than the first, they said. They were long past the element of surprise that

helped make the August advance possible, and areas they had controlled that were once out of range

of Russian weapons were vulnerable once again.

"We had to start from scratch," Levada said.

The Ukrainian troops' primary fear, they said, is that the North Korean soldiers will free up Russian troops for new assaults. "We might engage with [North Koreans] directly if there's a rapid breakthrough," Levada said. "Taking them hostage, I assume, will be hard."

Oleksandr, the soldier responsible for monitoring intelligence in Ukraine's 82nd Brigade, said that despite the loss of some Ukrainian positions, Russian soldiers are still under immense pressure in Kursk, and in some cases severely struggling to resupply.

Ukrainian troops have established fire control over a key supply route to the town of Liubimovka, destroying dozens of Russian vehicles that attempt to deliver supplies, he said. Ukrainian control of the road has forced Russians into resupplying or evacuating the wounded by foot, demoralizing them on their own land.

"It's really the road of death for them," Oleksandr said.

Brutal combat in Kursk

But the fight for Kursk remains intense, and at times downright terrifying for Ukrainians as well.

In a hospital in the Sumy region, men evacuated in recent days lay in beds with their legs and arms bandaged, describing hellish conditions inside Kursk.

The wounded included a group of soldiers from Ukraine's 225th Assault Battalion, who said they

had been drafted to serve this summer, sent abroad for training and then deployed to Kursk in recent days — their first time in active combat.

Pavlo, 39, said both of the commanders in their unit died almost immediately upon arrival. The rest of the men were then left to fend for themselves and try to organize their own evacuation as they came under relentless Russian artillery and drone attacks. "It's hard to describe with words," he said. "You wouldn't wish this on your worst enemy."

The men spoke on the condition that only their first names be used, in keeping with Ukrainian military protocol.

All of the men appeared shell-shocked and in disbelief that they had survived.

One, Taras, 27, was a bit scratched but was visibly stressed, his eyes bulging as he described how he and Pavlo had escaped from the trench together into an evacuation vehicle, which probably saved their lives.

He knew the other men in the group, suffering from broken limbs and shrapnel wounds, would soon leave Sumy for surgeries and rehabilitation elsewhere, but that he would probably be sent right back to the front.

When asked what they had done for work before they were mobilized, the men said they were all construction workers.

"I was a welder," he said, staring blankly across the room. "It was a beautiful job."

Tetiana Burianova in Krakow, Poland, and Serhiy Morgunov in Potsdam, Germany, contributed to this report.

Trump victory has Australia worried about defense pact

Deal with U.S., Britain for submarines could be disrupted, officials fear

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER

CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA — Australian political leaders are extolling their alliance with the United States and its importance in maintaining the “stability and security of the Indo-Pacific” amid fears that Donald Trump could disrupt the AUKUS defense partnership after he takes office as president next year.

The imminent return of an American president known for needing allies and renegeing on agreements has raised blood pressures in Australia, which has already spent billions to make good on a deal that could cost it up to \$250 billion to acquire at least eight nuclear-powered but conventionally armed submarines.

Australian officials call AUKUS — a trilateral defense partnership in which the United States and the United Kingdom are providing the submarines to Australia in a bid to push back on growing Chinese naval power in the region — the biggest industrial endeavor in their nation’s history.

Prime Minister Anthony Albanese told Parliament this week that he had used his first phone call with Trump to talk about the security agreement.

“We affirmed the strong relationship between our two nations and committed to working together for the benefit of our people, including through AUKUS,” he said.

The United States and Australia have been close allies since World War II but have deepened defense ties and interoperability in recent years in response to China’s growing military assertiveness. In addition to AUKUS, the United States is also expanding its military footprint in Australia to create what one American official has called “a central base of operations from which to project power.”

Even as the two countries increase military cooperation from the oceans to space, some defense analysts say Trump’s mercurial and transactional style of politics

could disrupt that broader effort.

“Under Trump, there is a significant risk that he’ll scrap AUKUS, not because he’s advised to by his military but just because he doesn’t like allies,” said Hugh White, a defense analyst at the Australian National University and a prominent critic of AUKUS.

He’s not alone. John Bolton, who served as Trump’s national security adviser, said before the election that AUKUS “could be in jeopardy” if his former boss won because “all Trump looks at is the balance sheet.”

A more likely outcome is that Trump imposes new demands on Australia, other analysts said.

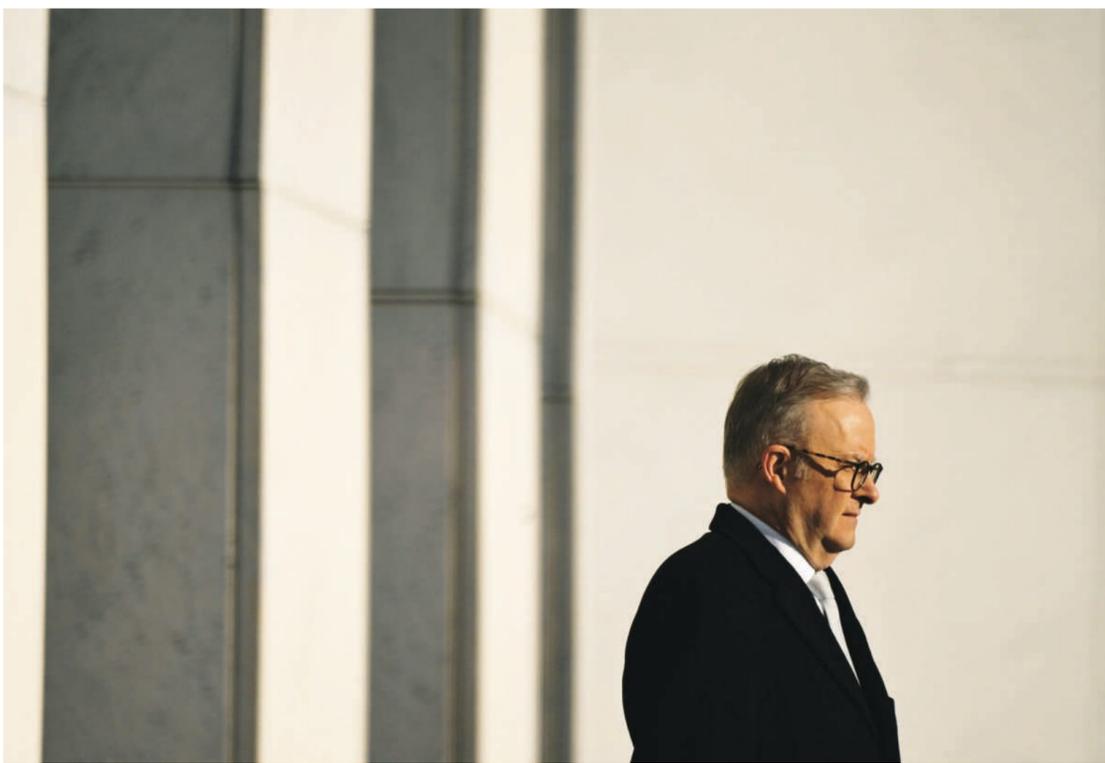
“Trump will inevitably want Australia to do more, to pump up its defense spending,” said Charles Edel, a senior adviser and the inaugural Australia Chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. But it is hard to say how Trump will treat AUKUS, he added, since the former president has been silent on the issue since it was announced in 2021 by President Joe Biden.

“Despite what supporters of AUKUS in Australia and the United States might say, I don’t think it’s a guarantee that Trump will be automatically supportive of AUKUS,” Edel said. “The reason for that is that Trump has never said anything publicly about AUKUS to date, and we know that he is transactional in his view of deals and agreements with other countries.”

Scott Morrison, the Australian prime minister who struck the AUKUS deal with Biden, has said it received a “warm reception” when he discussed it with Trump in New York in May. Morrison told Australian media Wednesday that he was “quite confident” the Trump administration would support the agreement.

“It is true that President Trump has a reputation for being transactional, but that doesn’t mean he likes bad deals. He likes good deals. AUKUS is a good deal,” the former prime minister told Sky News. “Australia carries its weight in that deal; you won’t find another defense agreement anywhere in the world where your ally is actually paying to support the industrial base in your own country, in the United States.”

Australian officials have said they expect to pay up to \$250 billion for the submarines, the first



LUKAS COCH/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Australian Prime Minister Anthony Albanese said he used his first call with President-elect Donald Trump to talk about the AUKUS pact.

of which will be new or used American Virginia-class submarines delivered early next decade, followed by a new design with Britain that will be built in Australia in the early 2040s.

Australia is already investing \$3 billion in U.S. shipyards over the next few years as part of the deal, and it is building more than \$5 billion worth of new infrastructure at a naval base in Perth in anticipation of a rotation of U.S. and British submarines that will begin in 2027.

Defense Minister Richard Marles told The Washington Post shortly before the election results came in that he was confident AUKUS would go ahead no matter who won given the strong bipartisan support for the defense partnership in all three countries.

“The three countries are trying to do a big thing, a very big thing,” he said. “In a sense, it is biggest for us because we are the ones who are going through this transformation in terms of all that technology.”

Marles said the massive project was an “everyday sprint” for decades that would inevitably come under criticism.

“We are demanding of scrutiny from others, meaning our partners in the U.S. and the U.K.,” he said. “We’re not going to get this done unless there is constant

scrutiny on every aspect of this.”

The inception of the AUKUS deal involved the jilting of another U.S. ally. The Biden administration’s surprise move to share sensitive nuclear-powered submarine technology with Australia effectively canceled a \$66 billion agreement to buy submarines from France. The episode was a low point in relations between Biden and Europe, with French officials charging that the about-face was reminiscent of the way Trump approached international dealings.

While AUKUS was reached under Morrison, who is a conservative, Albanese and his center-left Labor Party quickly adopted the idea and have embraced it since coming to power in 2022. But conservative opposition leader Peter Dutton has accused Albanese of underfunding defense. And on Wednesday, Dutton cited AUKUS in a series of congratulatory social media messages to Trump.

“May the years ahead be some of the most defining for our Alliance in which, driven by tests of our times, the necessity of deterrence, and the cause of securing peace through strength, we unleash the defense, industrial and economic opportunities of AUKUS at speed and scale,” he wrote.

Peter Jennings, a former senior

defense official in conservative governments, welcomed the idea that Trump’s transactional approach could force Australia to increase its defense spending, now 2 percent of gross domestic product.

Jennings, who has called on the government to increase defense spending to 3 percent of GDP, as it was during the Cold War, said Trump could demand more visible, short-term defense spending, adding that such a demand would be difficult to refuse for Albanese, who faces an election next year.

Some in the Trump administration are likely to argue that it doesn’t make sense for the United States to transfer submarines to Australia at a time of growing tension with China over Taiwan and the South China Sea, he said.

“It’s up to us to make the case that AUKUS is a good deal for the United States,” Jennings said.

How well Australia makes that case may depend on the personal rapport between Trump and Albanese, Edel said.

Albanese has had a good relationship with Biden, which began on the Australian’s first full day in office in 2022 when he flew to Japan to meet the American president and other leaders.

His relationship with Trump got off to a rockier start, however, when a video emerged this week

of Albanese saying in 2017 that he would deal with Trump “with trepidation.”

“I think it’s of concern the leader of the Free World thinks that you can conduct politics through 140 characters on Twitter overnight,” Albanese said at the time.

On Thursday, it was Albanese who took to Twitter, now known as X, to say that he and Trump had spoken by phone “about the importance of the Alliance, and the strength of the Australia-US relationship in security, AUKUS, trade and investment.”

Albanese’s ambassador to the United States, former prime minister Kevin Rudd, has also been busy on X deleting past comments critical of Trump, including calling him “a traitor to the West” and the “most destructive president in history.” Albanese has resisted calls from some in the opposition to replace Rudd.

The election has shown that Trump can warm to those who have criticized him in the past, such as his soon-to-be-vice-president, Edel said.

“There is going to be more uncertainty associated with a Trump White House in general because it will be more personalistic,” said one former Pentagon official, speaking on the condition of anonymity to speak freely about the incoming president. “That’s just the reality of it.”

‘No excuse’ for antisemitic attacks on soccer fans, Amsterdam mayor says

AMSTERDAM FROM A1

their way around Amsterdam ahead of the game. “Let the IDF win, and [expletive] the Arabs,” the fans chanted, referring to the Israeli military, the Israel Defense Forces.

The Netherlands and its capital, Amsterdam, are home to sizable Arab and Muslim populations, most of whom have origins in Morocco and Turkey, according to Dutch government statistics.

Israel has come under harsh scrutiny worldwide over its year-long war in Gaza, where more than 43,000 people have been killed, according to the Gaza Health Ministry, which does not distinguish between civilians and combatants but says the majority of the dead are women and children. Last month, the Israeli military also invaded Lebanon, where it is waging a campaign to weaken the Hezbollah militant group.

But Halsema said at a news conference Friday that there was

“no excuse” for the attacks on Israeli spectators, describing them as “unbearable.” Dutch Prime Minister Dick Schoof also criticized what he said were the “completely unacceptable antisemitic attacks on Israelis,” adding that he assured Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in a phone call that the perpetrators would be tracked down and prosecuted.

Israel is doing “everything possible to ensure the safety and security” of its citizens who were attacked and to return them home, Netanyahu’s office said in a statement. El Al, Israel’s national carrier, said it would operate a free rescue flight from Amsterdam, while the Foreign Ministry urged Israelis to stay inside their hotels until authorities could ensure their safe passage to the airport.

The Israeli military also said it was banning all of its personnel from visiting the Netherlands until further notice. It was unclear whether any Israeli soldiers or reservists were involved.

The details of how the violence unfolded remained unclear: Halsema said there were no concrete threats to any of the players or fans ahead of time but that the city had deployed extra police as a precaution.

Dutch police said that there were “tensions” between locals and the soccer fans in a number of areas around the city Wednesday night. Amsterdam Police Chief Peter Holla told reporters that law enforcement had to intervene at a casino Wednesday night after Israeli spectators vandalized a taxi, prompting some of the city’s cabdrivers to mobilize and confront the fans.

Clashes and scuffles continued into the early hours of Thursday morning, he said. At the game, a video verified by The Washington Post showed Maccabi fans jeering and whistling while the rest of the stadium held a minute of silence for the victims of recent flooding in Valencia, Spain, where more than 200 people were killed.

Holla said that he was

“shocked” by the violence that broke out after the match, adding that police were overwhelmed by the large number of assailants. One compilation of videos, which included clips that appeared to have been posted by the perpetrators, was shared by the Israeli Embassy in Washington. It showed men being beaten in the street and a car ramming into a person. In part of the video, a person off camera can be heard screaming “For the children!” and “Free Palestine now!” at a man who is shown cowering as he is hit.

“The days of chasing Jews down European city streets should remain in the dark annals of history,” the Embassy said.

The Union of European Football Associations, the governing body of European soccer, said in a statement that it “strongly condemns the incidents and acts of violence” before and after the match, and that it would gather available evidence and evaluate any further course of action.

Since the war started, Israeli teams have played most of their home games in Hungary.

Belgium declined to host an Israel match in September, saying that the “dramatic situation in Gaza” could provoke demonstrations that could compromise the security of fans and residents.

France on Friday said it would continue with plans to host a national league game against Israel next week. Interior Minister Bruno Retailleau said that if France decided not to host the match, that it would be giving in to antisemitism.

Europe is experiencing a surge in antisemitic attacks, in part driven by the war in Gaza, the European Union’s Fundamental Rights Agency reported this summer. In September, a gunman was shot dead in Germany after opening fire near the Israeli consulate in Munich, an attack authorities said they thought had antisemitic motives.

In October last year, in the

early days of the war, hundreds of rioters stormed a Russian airport in the North Caucasus republic of Dagestan and ran onto the tarmac after calls on social media to block a flight from Tel Aviv.

Israel’s newly appointed foreign minister, Gideon Saar, said Friday that he would immediately visit the Netherlands, his first trip in the role. “Barbaric anti-Semitism is once again raising its ugly head on European soil,” he wrote on X.

Steffen Seibert, Germany’s ambassador to Israel, wrote on social media that, as a European, he was “ashamed to see such scenes in one of our great cities.”

“Chasing and beating up Israeli soccer fans is not anti-war protest. It is criminal and intolerable and we must all stand against it,” he wrote.

Morris reported from Berlin, Han from Seoul and Rom from Tel Aviv. Lior Soroka and Heidi Levine in Tel Aviv, and Imogen Piper and Adela Suliman in London contributed.

Prince William says he had his ‘hardest year’ following family cancer diagnoses

BY KARLA ADAM

LONDON — Prince William has opened up about his own annus horribilis in coping with the illnesses of his wife, Catherine, Princess of Wales, and his father, King Charles III, who is still undergoing treatment for cancer.

“It’s been dreadful. It’s probably been the hardest year in my life,” he told reporters at the end of a visit to South Africa, when asked about how his year has been. “So trying to get through everything else and keep everything on track has been really difficult,” he added, according to the BBC.

In February, the palace revealed that Charles was diagnosed with cancer, and a month

later, Catherine said that she was in the early stages of treatment for the disease. In September, Catherine said she had finished chemotherapy and was seeking to “stay cancer free.”

“I’m so proud of my wife, I’m proud of my father, for handling the things that they have done,” William told reporters. “But from a personal family point of view, it’s been brutal.”

While William’s estranged brother, Prince Harry, has been open about his feelings on various matters, it’s unusual to hear Prince William open up about his personal life.

His remarks have been compared to his late grandmother, Queen Elizabeth II, who referred

to 1992 as her “annus horribilis” — the Latin phrase for horrible year — after a fire at Windsor Castle, the separation of three of her children from their spouses and tabloid scandals involving the royal family.

William was in South Africa for the annual awards ceremony for the Earthshot prize, the environmental initiative he launched in 2020. On Wednesday, the prize awarded \$1.2 million grants to five businesses to help them develop eco-friendly innovations.

He was also asked by reporters about his role as Prince of Wales, heir to the throne, and the responsibility that came with it.

“Do I like more responsibility? No,” William told reporters,

though he said he liked the freedom that allowed him to “build something like Earthshot.”

“And that’s the future for me. It’s very important with my role and my platform, that I’m doing something for good,” he said.

William’s role as Prince of Wales also comes with additional scrutiny. Earlier this month, Channel 4 and the Sunday Times published an extensive investigation into the huge property portfolios owned by Charles and William.

Catherine has started to return to some public duties. On Friday, the palace said she will attend a Remembrance service in London on the weekend to honor war dead, a key date in the royal diary.



VICTORIA JONES/REUTERS

William, Prince of Wales, in Cape Town, South Africa, on Nov. 7.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

AI didn't sway election, but it's eroding voters' grip on reality

New tool has created a 'fundamentally polluted information ecosystem'

BY PRANSHU VERMA, WILL OREMUS AND CAT ZAKRZEWSKI

This was the year that artificial intelligence was expected to wreak havoc on elections.

For two years, experts from D.C. to Silicon Valley warned that rapid advances in the technology would turbocharge misinformation, propaganda and hate speech. That, they worried, could undermine the democratic process and possibly skew the outcome of the presidential election.

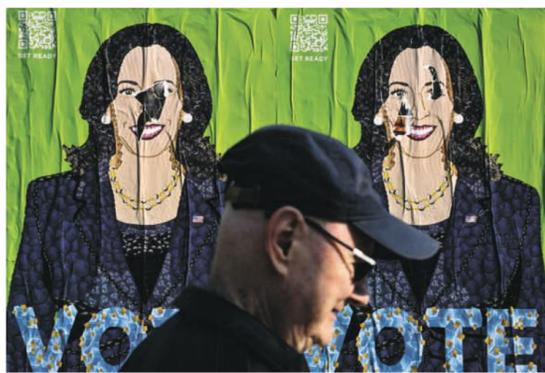
Those worst fears haven't been realized — but other fears have been. AI seems to have done less to shape how people voted and far more to erode their faith in reality. The new tool of partisan propaganda amplified satire, false political narratives and hate speech to entrench partisan beliefs rather than change minds, according to interviews and data from misinformation analysts and AI experts.

"Did AI change the election? No," said Hany Farid, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley who studies digital propaganda and misinformation. "But as a society now, we're living in an alternate reality. ... We're disagreeing on if two-plus-two is four."

In a report shared with The Washington Post ahead of its publication Saturday, researchers at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) found that the rapid increase in AI-generated content has created "a fundamentally polluted information ecosystem" in which voters increasingly struggle to distinguish what's artificial from what's real.

The social media platform X, whose owner Elon Musk went all-in in backing Donald Trump's campaign, also cemented its role as a place where AI content can circulate without guardrails.

As Trump prepares to enter office, experts said that AI, especially on X, may provide his supporters with a creative medium to foster community and an accep-



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: A manipulated image of President Joe Biden in a MAGA hat at a Trump event in June in West Palm Beach, Florida. **ABOVE:** Defaced images of Kamala Harris last month in Philadelphia.

tance of controversial policy positions, such as mass deportations or abortion bans. AI-generated fakes, they said, will probably help influencers spread false narratives on loosely regulated social media platforms and bolster the partisan beliefs of millions.

"This is the playbook," Farid said. "If you don't like something, just lie and then get it amplified."

X did not respond to a request for comment.

Deepfakes emerged early in the election cycle, notably when President Joe Biden's voice was spoofed in January to discourage New Hampshire voters from voting in the state's primary. The Democratic operative behind it, who claimed he sought to raise awareness about the dangers of AI, was fined \$6 million by the Federal Communications Commission, which cited violations of telecommunications regulations.

In July, Musk shared on X an AI-generated fake audio clip of Vice President Kamala Harris celebrating Biden's decision to drop out of the race and calling herself a "diversity hire." The post was viewed over 100 million times, according to X's public metrics, and it appears on the platform without a label or fact-check.

Cartoonish AI images portrayed Trump in Nazi garb and Harris in sexually suggestive and racially offensive ways. In March, the BBC unearthed dozens of AI-generated fake photos of Black

people supporting Trump, a voting demographic courted by both campaigns.

While more than a dozen states have laws penalizing people who use AI to make deceptive videos about politicians, such content went largely unmoderated, exposing gaps in how those laws and social media policies are enforced. The array of software created to debunk AI deepfakes fell short of its promise, leaving a haphazard system of mainstream-media fact-checkers and researchers to flag fake images and audio as they proliferated across social media.

Foreign influence actors used AI up to the closing hours of the election, spreading baseless allegations of voter fraud in battleground states such as Arizona and spreading fake images of world leaders such as Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky urging people to vote for Harris.

Despite AI's prevalence, however, there was no evidence that the malicious activity had a "material impact" on the voting process, Jen Easterly, director of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, the federal government's lead department on election infrastructure security, said in a statement Wednesday.

Researchers identified only a handful of cases in which AI was used to generate disinformation about the voting process, Kate Starbird, co-founder of the Uni-

versity of Washington's Center for an Informed Public, said in a media briefing Wednesday. "For the most part, the rumors we see are usually based on misinterpretations of real evidence rather than fabricated evidence," she said. "That held through on Election Day."

This mirrors trends in elections abroad. AI did not impact elections in Britain and the European Union, according to a September research report by the Alan Turing Institute, Britain's national center for data science and artificial intelligence. Researchers found only 16 confirmed viral instances of AI disinformation or deepfakes during the British general election, they said. Only 11 viral cases were identified in the E.U. and French elections combined.

"There remains no evidence AI has impacted the result of an election," said Sam Stockwell, lead author of the report and research associate at the Alan Turing Institute. "But we remain concerned about the persistent erosion of confidence in what is real and what is fake across our online spaces."

Similarly, that AI didn't produce an election-changing "October surprise" doesn't mean it had no impact on American voters.

Far-right actors created a deluge of AI-generated misinformation on X. It included viral AI-generated images of distraught children in the aftermath of Hurricane Helene, which fueled conspiracy theories and antisemitic attacks on Biden administration officials and others, complicating the response to the disaster. Shortly after Trump was elected, Farid said, deepfake audio surfaced of the president-elect's voice falsely claiming he would kill Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Going forward, Farid said, X will be a powder keg of AI-generated misinformation, with its loose moderation and potential to reach large audiences making it a laboratory for people to quickly test which types of deepfakes and propaganda could go viral.

"Now the ability to create AI bots, large language models, images, audio, video to support all of this nonsense is absolutely poi-

soning the minds of people who get the majority of their information from social media" Farid said. "It's getting easier and easier to lie to 350 million people in a country where it shouldn't be that easy."

Trump and his allies seized on AI at several points in the cycle, at times prompting backlash — although it's unclear whether the effort ultimately helped or damaged his campaign.

In August, he shared AI-generated images of Taylor Swift fans seeming to endorse him — a move that Swift said prompted her to publicly endorse Harris. That same month, the Republican candidate falsely claimed that photos of Harris greeting a large crowd at a rally in Detroit were AI-generated. That many supporters believed him, experts say, is an example of a phenomenon known as the "liar's dividend," in which public awareness of the possibility of AI fakes allows dishonest actors to cast doubt on truthful claims or genuine images.

In an analysis of 582 political fakes that emerged during the presidential election cycle, Purdue University researchers found that 33 percent were about Trump, while roughly 16 percent focused on Harris and 16 percent on Biden. These included content that cast the candidates in both positive and negative lights.

Roughly 40 percent of these AI fakes were shared for satirical reasons, the data showed. About 35 percent were shared by "random users" who had minimal social media followings, while roughly 8 percent were shared by figures who had more than 100,000 followers on the social media platform where they shared it.

These AI-generated memes allowed people to latch onto popular current events and fads — such as Trump supporters seeing a prime example of government overreach in the case of "Peanut the Squirrel," an allegedly illegal pet seized and euthanized right before Election Day — to foster a sense of community and shared identity, said Kaylyn Jackson Schiff, an assistant professor of political science at Purdue University.

AI helps voters "develop positive attitudes or an understanding of current events around those deepfakes they are sharing, even if they don't think that the image itself is actually real," she said.

But some of AI's most lasting damage has been in muddying the waters of reality, experts said, causing people to more broadly question what is true.

Researchers at ISD compiled more than a million social media posts involving AI and the election on X, YouTube and Reddit — which together amassed billions of views — and then analyzed a random sample of 300 of them. They found that platforms regularly fail to label or remove AI-generated content even when it has been debunked. They also concluded that users who made claims about whether a given piece of content was AI-generated got it wrong 52 percent of the time.

Interestingly, the researchers found that users far more often saw authentic content as AI-generated than the reverse.

While platforms have sought to bolster their processes to detect false content, said Isabelle Frances-Wright, ISD's director of technology and society, "what we're now really seeing is a crisis when content is true."

Many of the mistaken assessments relied on outdated assumptions about how to spot AI-generated content, with users often overestimating their ability to do so, ISD found. AI detection tools didn't seem to help, with some widely viewed posts using or misrepresenting these tools to draw false conclusions.

On top of that, many of the posts involving the use of AI in the election — 44.8 percent — suggested that the other side was using AI habitually and therefore nothing it said could be trusted. Some users expressed concern that AI was leading them to be suspicious of just about everything.

Sowing that suspicion, which people apply in line with their own beliefs, is a key impact of AI, Frances-Wright said. "It's just giving people one more mechanism they can use to further entrench their own confirmation biases."

DIGEST

TARIFFS

Shoe brand to reduce its Chinese imports

The shoe brand Steve Madden will be cutting the goods that it imports from China by as much as 45 percent next year as it prepares for President-elect Donald Trump's pledge to slap steep and sweeping tariffs on imports from other countries. The company, known for its trendy footwear for teens, announced the moves during its

earnings call Thursday and said it had been developing a factory network in Cambodia, Vietnam, Mexico and Brazil for several years.

The National Retail Federation, the nation's largest retail trade group, has been critical of Trump's proposal and said last week that proposed tariffs on six product categories alone would reduce American consumers' spending power by \$46 billion to \$78 billion every year the tariffs are in place.

— Associated Press

CANADA

Unemployment stays around 6.5 percent

Canada added 14,500 jobs in October, and the wages of permanent employees rose as the economy struggled to absorb the slack built up due to an increasing population amid rising wages. The unemployment rate stayed unchanged from September but hovered around a 34-month high of 6.5 percent.

— Reuters

FOOD SUPPLY

Global prices reach an 18-month high

World food prices rose in October to an 18-month high as vegetable oils led increases seen in most food staples, U.N. data showed Friday.

A price index compiled by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization to track the most globally traded food commodities increased to 127.4 points last month, up 2 percent

from a revised 124.9 points in September.

— Reuters

ALSO IN BUSINESS

Sony's profit rose 69 percent in July-September from a year earlier on the back of strong sales of its image sensors, games, music and network services, the Japanese electronics and entertainment company said Friday.

The union that represents

thousands of Philadelphia mass transit workers has agreed to delay a strike that could have started Friday, saying progress was being made in contract

talks. Transport Workers Union Local 234 members voted last week to authorize a strike once their one-year contract with the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority expired at 12:01 a.m. Friday. The two sides agreed late Thursday to continue talks Friday afternoon.

— From news services

Silicon Valley crowd tied to Musk looks to steer Trump agenda

Tech leaders on right see chance to inject start-up ethos into Washington

BY ELIZABETH DWOSKIN

After a night of partying and euphoria in West Palm Beach, Florida, the name-shuffling began.

A coterie of business leaders surrounded a blissed-out Donald Trump early Wednesday at his Mar-a-Lago residence, passing the names of executives and donors who could shape the future administration's approach to the economy and regulated industries, from Big Oil to tech, according to three people familiar with the efforts who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe them.

Tech entrepreneur Auren Hoffman channeled the enthusiasm into a joking X post, announcing Trump's "All-Tech Cabinet," including vocal isolationist David Sacks at the State Department and cryptocurrency and payments executive David Marcus at Treasury.

"The list is part joke," Hoffman told The Washington Post. "But don't be surprised if a lot of it turns true."

Elon Musk's ascension as a "new star" in Trump's orbit has given a crop of Silicon Valley players deep access to the creation of the new administration, leaving them optimistic that they are positioned to impose a start-up ethos on Washington and bring sometimes-radical policy ideas to life.

In his first administration, Trump turned to Wall Street executive Steven Mnuchin and son-in-law Jared Kushner, a real estate scion, to serve as his top liaisons to the business world. As treasury secretary, Mnuchin focused on a fairly traditional Republican agenda of lower taxes and sanctions on Iran.

This time, Musk's Silicon Valley crowd has distinct and often unorthodox visions for shaping Washington, including slashing regulations on cryptocurrency, ousting Biden administration appointees seen as hostile to the tech industry, and promoting a radical embrace of the private sector, with start-ups eyeing federal contracts in the space and defense sectors.

"Basically a new consortium is being created," said Shervin Pi-

shevar, a tech investor and longtime Musk friend who attended the Trump victory party. "This is a new consortium of American innovation, American dynamism and American optimism."

Pishevar, who told The Post that Trump understands the Silicon Valley ethos of "building," said he would be honored to serve in the new administration if Trump asked.

This is not the first time a tech leader has tried to influence the shape of a Trump presidency. In 2016, tech billionaire Peter Thiel donated \$1.25 million to Trump's first campaign and then advised his first transition team to staff the government with technology industry leaders, some of whom had unconventional views.

To head the Food and Drug Administration, for example, Thiel put forth a biotech entrepreneur who had spent years posting rants on the social media platform then known as Twitter, arguing the agency stymied innovation and suggesting that a Yelp-like site featuring public reviews would do a better job of determining which drugs were effective and safe.

But Thiel was one donor among many whispering in Trump's ear, and his picks largely failed to catch fire.

Musk, by contrast, has used his singular wealth to pump more than \$100 million into a political action committee devoted to Trump's election, emerging as one of the most prolific donors of the 2024 cycle. Meanwhile, Musk's status as a celebrity entrepreneur and his enormous following on Twitter — which he purchased in 2022, renamed X and turned into megaphone for pro-Trump content — have made him Trump's most visible backer, potentially earning him authority that Thiel sought.

Trump signaled his close ties to Musk by inviting the billionaire and his 4-year-old son to pose with his own children and grandchildren for a post-election portrait at Mar-a-Lago, which was posted on X by Trump's granddaughter Kai.

Musk also has built a relationship with Wall Street CEO Howard Lutnick, a longtime friend of Trump's who is co-chairing his transition team and is in charge of vetting personnel. The two have talked several times about curtailing spending through a government efficiency commission, which Musk has called the "Department of Government Efficiency," or DOGE, after a meme-



MELISSA SUE GERRITS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

World Wrestling Entertainment executive Linda McMahon joins Donald Trump during his Oct. 21 visit to Swannanoa, North Carolina.

based cryptocurrency.

In the DOGE, Musk is eager to align his slash-and-burn approach to business with a vision for running government like a lean start-up. He has bragged that it would shave \$2 trillion off the federal budget — the government currently spends about \$6 trillion a year — and cut thousands of government employees.

Several of Trump's tech world backers are longtime friends of Vice President-elect JD Vance, a former Silicon Valley investor and Thiel acolyte who is now seen as a key ally of tech interests in Washington. (Thiel, who sat out from donating this cycle, hosted a big election night party for Trump supporters at his home in Los Angeles.) Musk was the most forceful among a cohort of influential business leaders lobbying behind the scenes for Trump to pick Vance.

Some in Musk's social set, including Sacks and Palantir adviser Jacob Helberg, converged on the Palm Beach Convention Center to watch election returns Tuesday night.

Sacks, a libertarian-leaning isolationist and podcast host, has insisted that the United States pull support for Ukraine as it defends itself against Russia. Helberg, a strident China hawk, led an effort to write bills banning TikTok, the popular video app owned by the Chinese company ByteDance, and runs a forum that strengthens ties between Silicon Valley defense



ILYA S. SAVENOK/GETTY IMAGES

Tech adviser and China hawk Jacob Helberg, right, and JD Vance at the Trump 47 Jewish Leadership Event on Sept. 12 in New York.

start-ups and the Pentagon.

Helberg, who two of the people said was in consideration for a role in the new administration, said in an interview that the evening was "more electric than a wedding."

The business world in general has reacted positively to Trump's victory, particularly industries that could be helped by it. Cryptocurrency prices surged on Wednesday, as did stocks for Tesla, Musk's car company. The stock market briefly rallied. And a wave of tributes poured in from CEOs, including Amazon founder and Post owner Jeff Bezos and Meta CEO Mark Zuckerberg —

both of whom had a more antagonistic relationship with Trump in his first term.

As the transition begins, a donor who attended the election-night festivities said Trump aides are "already doubling down" on efforts to staff the government. "We have 4,000 slots to fill, so we have to figure out who are our people," the donor said. "That work is going to go into overdrive."

Wealthy business allies reportedly in contention for Cabinet positions include World Wrestling Entertainment executive Linda McMahon, economic adviser Scott Bessent, former phar-

maceutical executive and presidential candidate Vivek Ramaswamy, and hedge fund billionaire John Paulson. McMahon, who also serves as co-chair with Lutnick on the transition team, led the U.S. Small Business Administration during Trump's first term.

"It's time to build," posted Marc Andreessen, co-founder of Silicon Valley firm Andreessen Horowitz, echoing a Musk post that said, "America is a nation of builders. Soon, you will be free to build."

As donors and allies jockey for attention from Trump and Lutnick, who is acting as a gatekeeper, many acknowledge the vetting process could play out in unforeseen ways. Trump is known to make off-the-cuff decisions and to change his mind, the people said, and it's unclear how much influence any individual might have.

"The beauty of the Trump-world is that Trump actually listens to everyone, and no one really knows who he's ultimately going to listen to the most," said one of the people.

But Musk's status appeared secure. In his victory speech early Wednesday, Trump heaped praise on his fellow celebrity businessman, who this week vowed to stay involved in politics for the long haul.

"A star is born: Elon!" Trump said, adding: "We have to protect our geniuses. We don't have that many of them."

Trump's victory could pave way for Musk's vision for robot vehicles

BY IAN DUNCAN AND TRISHA THADANI

The political alliance between Elon Musk and President-elect Donald Trump could deliver a significant boost to the technology mogul and Tesla CEO's bet on a future where people ride in robot cars without anyone behind the wheel.

Musk often expresses his vision of American roads dominated by fully self-driving vehicles, saying he sees autonomy as the major source of his company's value, despite multiple investigations and spotty safety records of his company's technology.

Last month, Musk announced plans for the Tesla Cybercab, a new vehicle that wouldn't have a steering wheel at all, describing it as a \$30,000 lounge on wheels that would whisk people comfortably to their destinations when it launches sometime in the next few years.

At the moment, there is a major obstacle to Musk's self-driving ambitions: Federal regulators at the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration have been hesitant to lay out a path for approving the next generation of robotic vehicles. But with Musk now firmly in Trump's inner circle, the billionaire is in a stronger position to influence development of federal rules that would put more of the cars on the road — an approach he proposed in a recent call with financial analysts.

A Trump presidency allows the regulatory path to "be more manageable," said Gene Munster, a managing partner at Deepwater Asset Management. "Where before, it was just a total roadblock."

Musk, who celebrated Trump's victory at Mar-a-Lago with other wealthy donors Tuesday night, was a prominent surrogate for Trump on the campaign trail, and is now poised to be an influential

GOP figure who has the ear — and admiration — of the president elect. Trump has promised Musk, one of his biggest donors, a role in his administration to lead a new "efficiency" task force to slash spending and overhaul the federal government.

Musk has made no secret of how the commission could help his business: "There should be a federal approval process for autonomous vehicles," Musk said on an Oct. 23 Tesla earnings call. "If there's a Department of Government Efficiency, I'll try to help make that happen."

Tesla's stock price jumped after Trump's victory, a sign that investors agree that the new president will be good for the company. The company's stock is a major source of Musk's \$290 billion wealth — a sum Forbes estimated climbed more than \$20 billion this week.

The exact plans for the proposed Department of Government Efficiency are unclear, and Musk's involvement could create a conflict of interest given the contracts his companies have with the federal government's space and defense agencies. His companies are also overseen by other agencies including the Federal Aviation Administration, which has proposed fining SpaceX for violations related to its rocket business, and are facing multiple investigations by the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

"He's a character, he's a special guy, he's a super genius," Trump said during his Wednesday morning victory speech, during which he spent several minutes fawning over two of Musk's companies, SpaceX and Starlink. "We have to protect our geniuses."

Musk and Tesla did not respond to requests for comment. Trump campaign spokeswoman Karoline Leavitt said details about Musk's role in the adminis-



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Elon Musk's influence in President-elect Donald Trump's orbit could ease the way for approval of Tesla's proposed driverless taxis.

tration would be announced once a "decision is formalized."

"Elon Musk is a once in a generation business leader, and our federal bureaucracy will certainly benefit from his ideas and efficiency," Leavitt said in an email.

Any renewed push for self-driving technology would come amid outstanding questions about safety. Under Biden, NHTSA began requiring manufacturers to submit data on crashes involving the technology. In recent months NHTSA has drawn on that information to launch an investigation into Tesla's most sophisticated driver assistance feature, citing a string of crashes in poor visibility, and crashes involving fully autonomous vehicles operated by Zoox and Waymo. (Zoox is a subsidiary of Amazon, whose founder Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

Musk's focus on autonomy is essential to the future of Tesla, analysts say, as the company faces increased competition from established automakers and Chi-

nese manufacturers. At the same time, he has backed away from plans to make a relatively affordable \$25,000 conventional car, calling the idea "pointless."

As Musk races to put a robotaxi on the road, safety advocates say they're concerned that the agency will now return to a more hands-off approach that marked the first Trump administration.

NHTSA does not have the power to review the safety of vehicle designs up front, which has allowed private companies to deploy autonomous vehicles with limited oversight.

But there is one caveat: The vehicles must adhere to existing safety requirements that were written with human drivers in mind like steering wheels, mirrors and pedals. The more advanced purpose-built designs that the industry is seeking to use need waivers from regulators.

A new system for approving self-driving cars like the one Musk is calling for could include safety standards but the degree of rigor

remains an open question. Safety advocates fear that efforts to probe new vehicle technologies for safety flaws generally will be pared back under the new administration.

Missy Cummings, a former NHTSA adviser, said she expects existing safety investigations into Tesla and other autonomous vehicle manufacturers to be curtailed.

"NHTSA is about to be significantly handicapped," she said in an email. "What will be left is an agency that just politely reminds everyone to wear their seat belts."

Matthew Wansley, a professor at the Cardozo School of Law in New York who specializes in emerging automotive technologies, said Musk's influence on the incoming administration could impact the neutrality of its investigations.

"Will they still be able to exercise the same amount of independent judgment of whether a driver assistance system or autonomous system is creating an unreasonable risk?" he said. "If those decisions start being made by politics rather than the engineering merits that we'll know that something has changed."

Asked whether new agency leaders could shut down investigations, NHTSA said it follows the law and uses "data-driven, risk-based investigation processes."

Officials in the first Trump administration were generally optimistic about the potential for robot cars to revolutionize transportation, and cautious about regulating an infant technology they said needed time to mature before being subject to strict rules.

In 2020 they began to lay plans for overseeing the safety of autonomous vehicles without laying down binding regulations. The idea was set aside once Biden took office but the approach was endorsed by Project 2025, a policy guidebook written by former

Trump administration officials and conservative advocates and has the backing of some outside experts. Trump's choice to lead the agency could shape its approach.

"I believe it is a good starting point," said Philip Koopman, an expert on autonomous vehicles at Carnegie Mellon University. "The new administration should reactivate the process for moving that proposal forward."

Current Tesla models feature the driver assistance systems Autopilot and Full Self-Driving that require human supervision, and experts say there is a vast jump in complexity from those technologies to a vehicle truly capable of guiding itself. Tesla has lagged behind competitors like Waymo, which is part of Google parent company Alphabet.

It's unclear when Musk's Cybercab will be available to the public: The entrepreneur said last month that the vehicle would "probably" enter production "before 2027," but he has made such predictions before around self-driving technology only to miss the forecasts.

Tesla will also have to contend with individual states, such as California, which has a rigorous permitting process to test and deploy autonomous vehicles for public use.

Nonetheless, Musk asserted in July that NHTSA would be "morally obligated" to issue any permits a robotic vehicle needed if it proved to be safer than a human driver.

Laura Chace, the chief executive of Intelligent Transportation Society of America, said Trump's election and Musk's voice could help deliver the kind of reset among federal regulators the industry needs to continue to grow, without jettisoning safety.

"It's well past time for all of us to come together and hammer this out," Chace said.

FREE FOR ALL

There are still things we can all agree on, right? Like, um ...

The Nov. 3 online article "Harris voters are anxious about the election. Here's how four are coping," noted, "The Washington Post asked more than a dozen people who expressed support for Trump for interviews about election anxiety, but none agreed." Even though I strongly support Kamala Harris, I wish The Post had asked Trump voters how they planned to take time out from the angst of the election. For some, the word "anxiety" is laden with negative societal connotations.

The sources of the angst felt by Harris voters and Trump voters might be quite different. It would still have been interesting to learn about coping strategies that are similar across the political spectrum.

Harris supporters are worried about the volatility and unpredictability of another four years of Donald Trump. This fits the classic definition of anxiety mentioned in the article: "the stakes are high, the outcome is uncertain [and people] don't feel like they have much control."

Trump supporters, however, are fearful of another four years of policies under which they feel boxed out of economic growth. Many of them welcome a disrupter in the White House even if it means some unpredictability. It's the status quo they feel they can't live with.

I wish both sides would realize that worrying doesn't change the outcome of an election — and that, when the country chooses a leader from the other side, life will go on.

Steven Lutzer, Los Angeles

... sports?

I, like many, was saddened that The Post did not endorse a candidate in the presidential election. Then I read Kevin B. Blackstone's Oct. 29 Sports column, "As Butker is taking a stand, where are the other athletes?" I like The Post and Blackstone, but his call for ballplayers to stand up and be a voice for either side caused me to chuckle. Maybe we Americans need a humorous timeout in this high-stakes matchup.

Ken Cooper, Washington

Uh, let's try sports again

Opening up yet another game day spread about the Commanders game, I'm regaled with the opposing team's supporters on how their team is going to blow the Commanders out and, my particular favorite, food and drink suggestions for the game. Please bring back the roster!

Dottie Jacobsen, Arlington

Last chance, sports

"Keeping people alive in the hottest place on Earth," published above the fold on the front page of the Nov. 3 Sports section, is a fascinating article that has nothing to do with sports. The article, about Death Valley and the park staff who work to protect visitors from deadly heat, could be considered a climate change story and printed in the A section or a travel story and printed in the Travel section. Then, perhaps, I would have found myself thinking about the place and people after reading it instead of the peculiar choice to print it prominently in the Sports section.

Jamison Donovan, Silver Spring



VALERIE FLESCHE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Taking stalk of a tough row to mow.

Ummm, panda food?

The Oct. 19 Metro article "From farm to table," about the National Zoo's harvesting of bamboo for the newly arrived giant pandas (as well as other animals, including red pandas, which are actual pandas, not bears), showed that a botany lesson is in order. To harvest bamboo at its full height, the article stated, "a team that usually consists of about two people cut down the 20-to-25-foot-tall trees."

But bamboo is not a tree; it's a grass. The bamboo stem, or culm, doesn't have the vascular cambium layer and meristematic cells that allow trees to increase their diameters as they age. Bamboo reaches its maximum height in one season and does not continue to expand. A tough lawn to mow but easier to cut down than a tree.

Frank Kohn, Fairfax City

How about good ol' Arnie? Surely he's never, say, hosted 'The Apprentice.' (Drat!)

The Oct. 30 online article "Arnold Schwarzenegger says he'll reluctantly vote for Kamala Harris" reported that "before entering politics, Schwarzenegger was one of Hollywood's most successful action stars. Like many politicians, he tried on a lot of different personas: He was the Mr. Olympia bodybuilder before he acted as 'Conan the Barbarian' and then 'The Terminator,' and later opposite Batman as the villainous Mr. Freeze."

These successes, first as a bodybuilder and then as a lead actor in action films, are not personas; they are hard-won goals Schwarzenegger set for himself as a young man. To refer to them as personas suggests they are ephemeral at best and false at worst. Rather, they are the building blocks on which Schwarzenegger built his current status as American statesman.

Josh Doty, San Antonio

Ahhh, at last, universal agreement

Thank you very much for the improved sudoku size as of Nov. 4. Your sudden diminution of the puzzle when the daily comics were colorized was disturbing, and the new version is very helpful to older individuals with visual limitations.

John Urbanetti, Fulton



CRAIG HUDSON/REUTERS

President Joe Biden helps a woman in a wheelchair in New Castle, Delaware, on Oct. 28.

A strongman and a strong man

In the Oct. 31 letters package, "Vulgar and 'below the belt,' this election is not kid-safe," Eliot Daley recounted a recent exchange he had with his seatmate on a flight. He told his seatmate that he had produced and co-written on "Mister Rogers' Neighborhood." His seatmate then said, "Oh, I made certain my sons spent lots of time with Mr. Rogers because I wanted them to see what real manhood looked like. It's so hard today to find models of men who are strong because they are kind and thoughtful and curious, and who are unafraid to live out the full spectrum of the male and female qualities that all of us are endowed with.

Mr. Rogers showed us all."

Last week, the news showed President Joe Biden voting in Delaware. He stood patiently in line with other voters and helped push the wheelchair of the lady in front of him. This is the president of the United States! He did not expect to be shown preference and put at the front of the line. He showed kindness and thoughtfulness toward his fellow voters. Sure, Biden is physically diminished, but that has not diminished his humanity. Unlike a certain supposed paragon of masculinity, this is a strong man we can be proud to call our president.

Lois Ross, Annapolis



ANN TELNAES/THE WASHINGTON POST

The imperial march

Kudos to the immensely talented Ann Telnaes. Not only are her cartoons exquisitely drawn, but her commentary is always on point, too. Her Oct. 24 cartoon, "Elon Musk, Mr. Trump's fellow con man," summed up so much of what is wrong with our election process. Her Oct. 9 cartoon on the Supreme Court's new term was amazing.

Please keep Telnaes front and center.

Debra McDonald, Washington

Please make Ann Telnaes the daily editorial cartoonist for The Post. Her work is timely, pithy,

amusing and reflective of the traditional slant of the newspaper (unlike Michael Ramirez's work). She is the heir apparent to Herblock and Tom Toles. You can put all the others in The Drawing Board on Saturday, where they used to be. Edith Pritchett's work, which now takes up that space, seems better suited to the Style section than the Opinion pages.

Miriam R. Miller, Arlington

I had to smile when I saw Edith Pritchett's Oct. 21 cartoon, "The false memories of 'the father of IVF.'" She included Rosalind Franklin along with James Watson and Francis Crick in the discovery of DNA's structure. Way to go, girl!

Carol D'Arezzo, Haymarket

The impeccable march

Regarding "Lawyer at Justice fought for justice," the Oct. 24 obituary for Robert Bernstein [Metro]: When I came out in the 1980s in Texas, Bernstein's 1988 op-ed "My Daughter Is a Lesbian" was one of the first things I shared with my parents. The powerful words of a loving father were meaningful then and remain so today. It's such an effective appeal to the heart that I can't count how many photocopies I've given others over the years. That piece alone is deserving of enormous admiration; that he devoted so much of his life after that to advocating family acceptance of lesbian and gay people gives him a special place in my heart. I'm only sorry I didn't know until this obituary that he was a longtime resident of Bethesda, or I would have reached out to thank him in person.

Steve Taravella, Bethesda



NANCY ANDREWS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Robert Bernstein marches with his daughter Bobbi in a gay pride parade in D.C. in 1990.



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A tufted titmouse nips at the ornithologist banding it at the National Zoo on Oct. 12.

We've got the whole world in our hands

Gratitude is here expressed for the photo caption identifying the tufted titmouse helping the National Zoo evaluate the 30 percent decline in the North American bird population ("Banding together with birders," Metro, Oct. 15). Captions in The Post typically refer only to a "bird" or "bug" and rarely to the specific species that are our cosmically rare cousins.

Life forms are precious, and we are the only seat of them that we know of in the entire cosmos. Treating any of them in a cavalier fashion is at our own peril. It is notable that NASA's current "\$5 billion mission, decades in the making, is designed to see whether Europa has the critical features considered necessary for life" ("NASA's Europa Clipper blasts off on 5-year journey to icy Jupiter moon," Politics & The Nation, Oct. 15). We have those "critical features" right here and now, but instead of reliably prioritizing their preservation, we commit our energy to

what is new and shiny: life potential far away.

The Smithsonian research and the NASA mission are both particularly interesting in light of the recent SpaceX upright rocket landing ("Catch caps successful SpaceX launch," front page, Oct. 14). After the test flight, SpaceX founder Elon Musk posted on his social media platform, X, that a "big step toward making life multiplanetary was made today." He misses that we are making a big step toward ending life on this planet.

It is ironic, tragic and alarming that we are measurably eliminating the bird-in-the-hand miracle life forms already gifted to us here on Earth. And instead of devoting our resources to perpetuate these unique life forms, we are pledging ourselves to worlds far removed from our own. It might be misguided. It certainly should be discussed.

Rocky Semmes, Alexandria

The Post motto: Grab 'em by the eyeballs

On Oct. 30, Donald Trump echoed his history of sexual abuse by promising his voters that he will "protect" women "whether the women like it or not." Meanwhile, House Speaker Mike Johnson was boasting about the GOP's plan to do away with the Affordable Care Act, and Trump transition co-chair Howard Lutnick enthusiastically suggested that a second Trump administration would imperil vaccine approvals.

Post editors chose to lead the next day's paper with "Biden's 'garbage' remark has Harris seeking distance," a ridiculous article about the president's inconsequential one-liner. Is this supposed to be news judgment?

Liz Altmaier, Arlington

Worst. Column. Ever.

Leave it to George F. Will to pen the most erudite, fancy-word-laden sanewash of Donald Trump.

In his Nov. 3 op-ed, "Worst. Election. Ever.," he weighed both candidates in the balance and found them equally wanting. It seems that for Will, spouting Nazi rhetoric, fantasizing about guns being trained on Liz Cheney and proposing to deploy the military against "the enemy within" are equivalent to changing one's positions on some issues, or giving a rambling answer to a question. We're forced to assume such, even though he never actually mentions Trump's most egregious words and actions. To call the former president "a volcano of stray thoughts and tantrums" is about the strongest condemnation Will can muster. He also equates Trump's traitorous coddling of Vladimir Putin with Kamala Harris not giving Israel a green light to unleash unlimited violence on Gaza.

The Post's non-endorsement of a presidential candidate showed a deplorable lack of spine — yet somehow you found the gall to print this op-ed, presumably with a straight face.

Jonathan Jensen, Baltimore

Best. Column. Ever.

George F. Will alone has consistently pointed out that this election represented the lowest rhetorical and political levels across the major parties of any U.S. presidential contest, which is an extraordinary high or low bar, depending on how one looks at it.

Both major parties implied that the unacceptable specter of their opponents' winning the presidency warranted their lack of scrutiny of their own candidates.

Can one imagine silence from Republican Howard Baker, the "Great Conciliator," or Democrat Philip Hart, the "Conscience of the Senate," during the selection of such inferior nominees?

Can one imagine, years ago, only one major columnist speaking out against the presidential tickets and what they have and will have wrought?

Thank goodness Will is on the job. How ominous that he is virtually alone.

Richard E. Vatz, Towson, Maryland

The writer is professor emeritus of political communication at Towson University.

'Stone Soup,' retold for 2024

The Oct. 31 online article "How to use AI to help plan your vote" had a misleading headline and an even more misleading secondary headline: "Stumped by a long, complicated ballot? An AI chatbot might be able to help with the research." The truth revealed in the article was that artificial intelligence is unreliable and manipulative. Nevertheless, the article made the breathtakingly impractical recommendation that readers "collect your own primary sources and upload as many as possible." In other words, voters should do the work that the headline promises AI can do for them.

I can speak from many years of experience helping prepare the Voters' Guide for the League of Women Voters of Montgomery County that it takes enormous effort to comb through the races in a single county and organize candidate information into an accessible format. No sane person will take the time to do this work for themselves, yet the article gave no examples of trustworthy voter guides that have already completed this task. For those who want to be told how to vote, there are "voter guides" that endorse candidates or summarize positions to ensure voters are steered in the "right" direction. For those who want to make up their own minds, the Voters' Guide and VOTE411 from the League of Women Voters provide candidates' statements in their own words plus links to their websites and social media.

Ralph Watkins, Silver Spring

'The Legend of the Stanford Prison Experiment,' retold for accuracy

I was troubled that the Oct. 20 obituary for Philip Zimbardo, "Psychologist led prison experiment at Stanford" [Metro], made no mention of the fundamental flaws of his legendary 1971 experiment, cited over the years as evidence of how easily ordinary people can choose to act in an evil manner. Subsequent investigations have shown that the supposedly disinterested researchers encouraged the "prison guards" to mistreat their "prisoners," an element that has largely been ignored. It raises the question: What purpose has been served in leaving out such central information? Do we really need more evidence that confirms the worst of human nature, especially when that evidence turns out to have been concocted?

Barbara Elisse Najjar, Potomac

'My First Tattoo,' retold for mirth

The Oct. 22 Health & Science article "Some women get tattoos to reclaim their bodies and heal from trauma" reminded me of my first tattoo, almost 50 years ago. The artist had copied a Celtic knot from a stained glass panel I had done. Years later, I came across a booth at a craft fair featuring Celtic designs. When I showed the man at the booth my tattoo, he told me it was a Trinity Knot. I was horrified — I'm Jewish!

Sandy Wagner, Henrico

Help us get inked: letters@washpost.com

OPINION

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Trust fall

VICE PRESIDENT Kamala Harris didn't just call special counsel Robert K. Hur's report "gratuitous, inaccurate and inappropriate" when it came out in February. She claimed he was "clearly politically motivated" and impugned his integrity.

EDITORIAL Mr. Hur has been repeatedly vindicated during the intervening nine months. The interview transcripts, when they came out, bolstered his conclusions. If anything, the truth was worse than what Mr. Hur described.

It's now acknowledged almost universally that Mr. Biden should not have sought a second term, but the Democratic establishment denied the obvious and propped him up politically, even as evidence of his decline mounted.

cratic politicians changed their tune only after a disastrous debate performance in June made it impossible to conceal Mr. Biden's frailty from the public any longer — and forced them to confront the possibility of electoral disaster in November.

The credibility problems that Ms. Harris's repeated defense of Mr. Biden's sharpness illustrated were part of the reason Democrats met defeat.

Make no mistake: As dissemblers go, President-elect Donald Trump has no equal, and his dishonesty is a continual disgrace. Even his strongest supporters acknowledge he exaggerates for effect and plays fast and loose with facts.

Democrats tried to make fidelity to science, facts and truth their distinguishing characteristic as a party. The White House's aggressive coverup of Mr. Biden's decline undermined that claim. Rep. Dean Phillips (D-Minnesota) was the only lawmaker willing to challenge Mr. Biden for the Democratic presidential nomination.

cheapening the term. When a few journalists reported accurately on Mr. Biden's decline, the White House fed critical talking points about their stories to others in the media.

How the Democrats spun their way to defeat.

The harder they spun, the less believable they became. White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre said days after the June 27 debate that Mr. Biden was "as sharp as ever." Eventually, Mr. Biden bowed to reality and stepped aside.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Pot reform: Licensed lounges. Clearer labels. FDA regulation.

Post Opinions asked readers of Leana S. Wen's Oct. 17 op-ed, "Seeding common sense into pot policy," to tell us what regulatory regimes or cultural norms would improve the state of marijuana policy and use in the United States. This is what they told us:

I am and always have been an advocate of legal marijuana use and expunging all convictions for marijuana offenses for anyone still alive.

That said, I think we need four things to change. First, actual research and data so we can have a debate over policy informed by something other than feelings, prejudices or axes to grind.

Second, customary rules of etiquette for consumers, much like those that evolved around tobacco use. It is considered rude to stand in front of somebody who is not a smoker and blow smoke in their face or to smoke in public places and buildings with no ventilation.

Third, marijuana advertising should be banned or controlled, much as the United States has done for cigarette and alcohol ads. And finally, growers and sellers should be kept small. The last thing we need is another tobacco industry.

Christopher Rose, Durham, North Carolina

Improve the packaging

Packaging and labeling need to be improved for marijuana gummies and edible products. They are designed to look like ordinary candy and cookies. It is obvious that adults and children binge on sweets. If there were appropriate warnings on labels or packaging designs that made it difficult to eat more than one gummy at a time, that would help.

Pierre Huggins, Herndon

A place to puff

I think regulations regarding quality and dosage are of the utmost importance. It is easier to establish norms around consumption if people know what they are smoking or eating, and have some baseline expectations about how intoxicating different products are.

Second to that would be setting. The Netherlands has tried to concentrate decriminalized pot consumption to smaller coffee shops and limited them to Dutch citizens. In California, some cities, among them Palm Springs, license lounges where customers can partake on-site. This not only allows a socializing aspect but also lets the consumer gauge the potency and effects of the purchase before going out in public, where the effects may prove to be deleterious only after it's too late.

Alcohol laws and regulations should be mirrored for pot. It's at least a good starting place. Wallace Greenwell, Salt Lake City

Make it harder for kids to access

While I am generally libertarian regarding adult use of cannabis (i.e., adults are free to do what they want in private as long as they are not causing harm to others), from what I see as a parent, it is atrocious how little regulation has been directed at limiting access for minors. It's way easier now for minors to get their

MICHAEL RAMIREZ

The Founding Fathers are not happy

RAMIREZ LAS VEGAS REVIEW-JOURNAL for THE WASHINGTON POST 2024



hands on cannabis products and disguise their use. Edible products are often indistinguishable from and designed to mimic their normal counterparts.

Unlike the "old days" when one had to smoke plant leaves, which produce tremendous odor, today's vapes mask the scent of burning leaves with fruity smells. It's also difficult to visually distinguish between nicotine and cannabis vapes (not that minors should be using either product, but there are vastly different harms from those two substances).

Also, for the safety and sake of all users, we need to establish science-based dosing guidelines and rules. These are all extreme failures of the regulatory regime that should have been created alongside decriminalization and legalization. The harms of legalization were easily predicted and are now clear to see. There should be no further delay in implementing strong, sensible regulation on cannabis.

Lance Westerlund, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Improve the research

Researchers can comb hospital admission records for evidence of marijuana side effects, abuse and episodes of psychosis.

But researching the herb's multiple therapeutic effects involves navigating scowling Drug Enforcement Administration and Food and Drug Administration scrutiny. There are too many restrictions for proper scientific research protocols. The DEA is still shuffling around like Jacob Marley, shackled by the chains forged from reefer madness.

Secondly, high-potency marijuana is a blessing and an opportunity to limit the quantity users consume and how deeply they have to inhale. Why not teach new users to carefully take only one or two small, shallow inhalations and wait for a response?

Michael Shenk, Ukiah, California

Give the FDA jurisdiction

I smoked marijuana for over 40 years and am now experiencing several quality of life issues as a result. I started smoking at 15, and immediately my interest in my education disappeared.

I'd been a straight-A student all my life, but I struggled to finish high school and never went to college. I have chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and memory issues, both of which I attribute to my marijuana usage.

It is obvious to me that the rush to legalize recreational use completely ignores the many dangers associated with the drug. There needs to be much more research, and regulation by the FDA

To the bitter end, Mr. Biden's team has covered for him. In the last week of the campaign, White House press staff altered the official transcript of a public appearance in which Mr. Biden described Trump supporters as "garbage." The Associated Press reported that an apostrophe was added to the initial version prepared by the official White House stenographers so it would appear that he was referring only to a single supporter: the comedian who had joked that Puerto Rico is a "floating island of garbage."

All of this took a toll on believability. Polls showed more voters believed that Mr. Trump would actually implement his campaign promises than Ms. Harris would hers.

This is not to say that Ms. Harris's defense of Mr. Biden, or its effect on her credibility, was the decisive factor in this week's election. Any accounting must include the fact that incumbent parties across the world are losing in a tough post-covid-19 political environment, along with the damage the Democratic Party's leftward lurch, led by Sens. Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont) and Elizabeth Warren (D-Massachusetts), did to the Democratic label, particularly during the 2020 Democratic presidential primaries.

But the record does highlight one of the things Democrats must do to resuscitate their brand: live up to their billing as truth-tellers.

rather than the DEA. John Easdale, Whittier, California

Learn from the states

Recreational and medical cannabis sales have adequate control in states such as Colorado and Vermont. Adults enter the dispensaries and with IDs purchase products of their choice from knowledgeable and professional staff. Many customers purchase gummies or oils for chronic body pain or sleep aid.

The leaf products are sealed, and in Vermont the plants are also sold.

It's when partisan politicians and opponents exaggerate and distort facts about the use and distribution of this controlled substance that the media run with misinformation. The current controlled sale of cannabis is adequately and responsibly being administered by numerous states. If it ain't broke, don't fix it. Instead, learn from the examples that work.

Charlie Kuntz, Dublin, Ohio

Regulate, then educate

Protecting the public health is a major concern, but unfortunately you can't protect people from themselves very easily. For instance, there is no law that regulates how much alcohol you can buy if you're of legal age, but perhaps there ought to be.

Cannabis is similar. "Don't start too young" and "don't do too much of it" are sound rules, but they need to be reinforced over and over again in public education.

We've experienced Prohibition and decades of harmful criminalization of marijuana, so we know what doesn't work. We need both legal age requirements and a continuing program of public education. This seems to be the only acceptable path to minimizing the harm from these dangerous substances that also bring some pleasure.

Robert Benson, San Diego

Be honest about the risks

As someone who worked for many years in the criminal justice system, I saw firsthand the adverse effects of trying to manage substance abuse through criminalization. Many lives were irreparably limited by the ramifications of arrest, conviction and sentencing. The burden of treating marijuana possession as a crime was not borne equally by all communities.

Therefore, when states began to decriminalize cannabis, I was all in favor. Unfortunately, what has happened has gone far beyond simply choosing not to prosecute people for cannabis possession and use. Cannabis is now a lucrative product promoted with ubiquitous ads and billboards. The state also has a piece of the pie.

We long ago seemed to understand that although we couldn't stop people from using alcohol and tobacco, we could at least counter the adverse effects of their use by publicizing their potential harmful effects and limiting the marketing of these products.

What seems to be going on now is that generations of people who have regularly used cannabis products, together with entrepreneurs who see wealth to be made, have convinced the powers that be in many states that pot is not only harmless but also therapeutic. Regardless of what positive uses there may be for cannabis products, they are not risk-free. I know that from personal experience.

I have no desire to return to the days of considering pot users to be criminals. I also don't want pot to be thought of as no different from a cup of strong coffee.

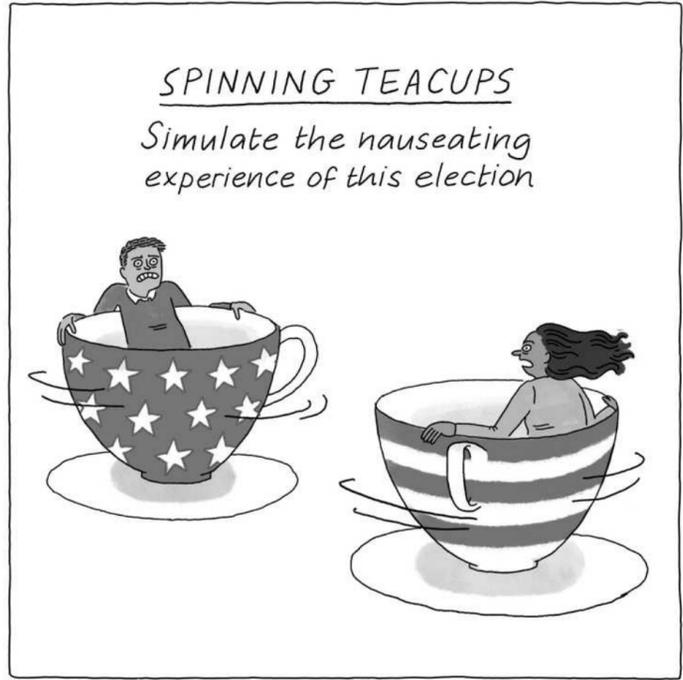
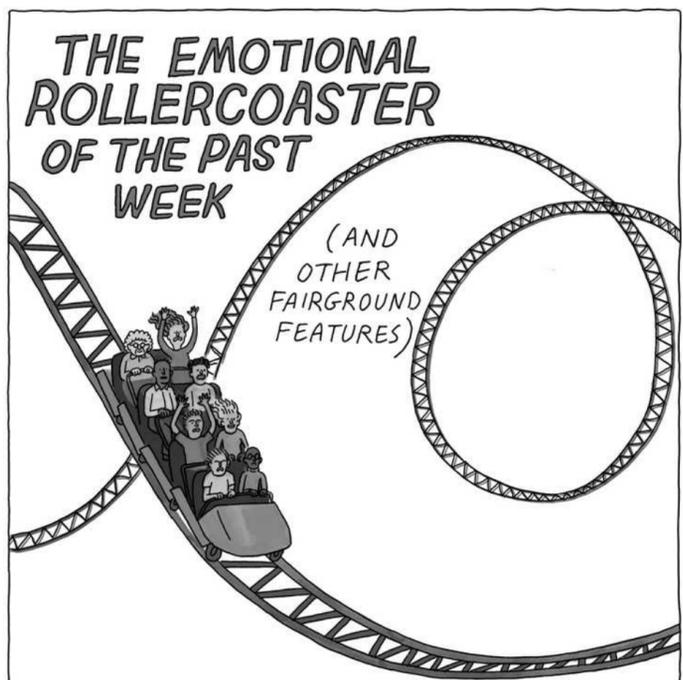
Michael Santese, Tolland, Connecticut

Letter submissions

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. We are unable to acknowledge submissions; writers whose letters are under consideration for publication will be contacted.

OPINION

EDITH PRITCHETT



COLBERT I. KING

Who are we? We're about to find out.

You aren't the only one who was praying. God answers all prayers. His answer to you was no. His answer to me was yes. Praise the Lord!"

The message was received in the spirit intended; the writer's malignant pleasure is herewith recognized.

But this is not the time or appropriate space in which to debate whether Donald Trump's election as the nation's 47th president is in accordance with God's will.

Suffice to say, Trump won big, and with what looks like an enormous popular vote and with a regained Republican Senate majority to show for it. If Republicans retain their control of the House, which seems likely, Trump will have hit an Election Day grand slam.

I'll leave it to political pundits and gurus to explain why and how Trump triumphed. They are free to tie themselves in knots trying to figure out what Vice President Kamala Harris and Democrats might have failed to do or got wrong. Harris, for my book, did the best she could with the hand she was given.

One thing is certain: Trump and Harris were not stealth candidates.

The presidential campaign didn't reveal anything we didn't already know about Trump. The ugliness was there for all to see. By the end of the campaign, Harris had shared enough of herself and her ideas that people went to the polls knowing what to make of her.

But what are we to make of an electorate that chose to return to the White House a twice-impeached, criminally convicted former president who inspired a deadly attack on the U.S. Capitol and stoked venom-filled rallies on the campaign trail?

What led so many first-time Trump voters to join with millions of others who signed on with him in his first presidential race in 2016 and never left his side?

Who are they?

A turn of phrase comes to mind.

In 2018, while out of office and weighing a presidential bid, Joe Biden weighed in against Trump's controversial handling of the border crisis with this Facebook statement: "This is not who we are. America is better than this." Biden's focus was on Trump's practice of separating children from their parents at the border.

But his words — "This is not who we are" — were also a catchphrase that I have heard former president Barack Obama and Harris use to refer to policies, programs and practices they — and, most assuredly, I — have found abhorrent.

Biden added another reiteration: The offending practice is "fundamentally at odds with everything this nation stands for and believes."

I think of the harsh treatment of migrants fleeing to this country in search of a better life. The revulsion against policies and programs that foster diversity and inclusion. Resentment at being confronted by people with different sexual orientations, racial identities or cultural perspectives. The smoldering anger at the thought of government giving too much attention and help to the "undeserving."

Is this who we are? It's a haunting question that has recurred most of my life.

Last Saturday, I moderated a discussion of "The Negro

Motorist Green Book," featured at a weekend exhibit and celebration at the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library in downtown D.C.

The Green Book was a guide published in 1936 by Victor Hugo Green, a Black postal employee, for travelers who journeyed through an America in which lodgings, businesses, gas stations were off-limits to Black people. It was also about the Jim Crow era, when trains and railroad stations prohibited White and Black people from using facilities and riding in cars that were not assigned to them by race — and the assigners were all White.

The Green Book was updated through the years with information about safe and accommodating facilities for Black travelers. It ceased after passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Revisiting the Green Book caused me to recall D.C., where I was born, raised, educated and came to Jesus eight decades ago.

It was a city that kept people who looked like me away from schools, department stores, movie theaters, restaurants because White people decided we weren't wanted.

What struck me about the Green Book life, and which stays with me even in the late autumn of life, is how a nation that stands for rights and liberties and dignity for all would not blink an eye at that little Black kid standing at the end of the drugstore lunch counter waiting to be served because his race prevented him from sitting at the counter. I did nothing to them. No one lifted a finger to help. They looked right through my problem.

Just as they weren't the least bit offended by "Whites Only" restrooms and job listings where Blacks need not apply.

What got me then, and still gets to me now, is how so many people can swear allegiance to America's core values and yet avert their gaze when what they profess to stand for gets tossed aside.

How can people hear someone who degrades and denigrates, who paints and demeans people as outsiders, and still turn around and elevate that divisive voice to symbolize what America stands for?

A Black acquaintance forwarded another post-election email message in wide circulation:

"Greetings Negro, Congratulations you have been selected as a SLAVE. We will pick you up at 10am sharp!

Please do not have any sharp or pointy items with you — failure to abide will result in a whipping.

You will be in Plantation E.

Your new name is Bessie from now on or Slave number #366. Make America Great Again. FYI cornbread will be served for lunch and breakfast."

Surely sent with malice afthought, whether by a true believer in the message or a troll, perhaps based in Russia, witnessing an opportunity to once again inflame American wounds that do not heal.

Polls showed nearly three-quarters of Americans had a negative view of the way things are happening in America. They turned to Donald Trump.

"This is not who we are." God only knows who we are.

At issue: How firm is the foundation laid for our struggle with the deepest distress that lies ahead. That will tell who we are.

Mexico's first woman president leans in to autocracy

BY ERNESTO ZEDILLO PONCE DE LEÓN

On Oct. 1, Mexico swore in a new president, and she is a presidenta — a woman. Mexicans can take pride in the fact that our country, which popularized the term "machismo" (for bad reasons), has elected its first female leader. In this regard, we have moved ahead of our neighbor and partner, the United States.

Unfortunately, our pride must be tempered. Claudia Sheinbaum won the June elections to lead a democratic country, something Mexico has only truly been for nearly 30 years. However, as president, she appears committed to following her predecessor's aim of reverting Mexico to a one-party autocracy, reminiscent of much of the 20th century, when competitive and fair elections were lacking and the judiciary was not independent.

During that period, Congress and the judiciary were subservient to the president. Reforms enacted from 1994 to 1996, which I promoted, ended these anomalies, enabling Mexico to become a multiparty democracy with regular power alternation and an independent judiciary that has, on many occasions, upheld constitutional principles against reckless moves by other branches of government.

In the final month of a presidency characterized by demagoguery, clientelism, incompetence and the abuse of power, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, often called AMLO, decided to dismantle the independent judiciary and the institutions responsible for organizing fair elections. By using an unconstitutional interpretation of the electoral rules for representation to boost his party's numbers in the lower house and appearing to buy the vote of a senator by promising him and his family impunity for serious crimes, AMLO's party, Morena, obtained the two-thirds majority necessary to pass constitutional amendments in Congress. The subsequent approval process in state legislatures was completed in just a few days.

As a result of these changes, all judges, magistrates and Supreme Court justices will purportedly be replaced by individuals who lack significant professional qualifications and owe their positions to the ruling party — or even worse, to other patrons and potentially criminal organizations. By design, the new judges will be neither independent nor competent.

The replacement of the judiciary is being framed as a democratic process, with judges to be elected by popular vote from lists of candidates. This argument is preposterous, as the lists will effectively be determined by the ruling party.

Additionally, it is widely accepted that electing judges by popular vote undermines judicial impartiality, independence and integrity — cornerstones of a fair and just legal system. Even in the United States, where this occurs at the state and local levels but never at the federal level or in all states, it has been criticized by legal scholars. Morena legislators relied on questionable U.S. precedent to justify their actions.

AMLO's changes also aim to eliminate the autonomy of the country's electoral institutions, subsuming them under the executive branch. This means that, as in Mexico's semiauthoritarian past, the ruling party will manage elections and resolve disputes arising from them, with predictable outcomes.

Similarly, formerly independent institutions responsible for enforcing competition laws; ensuring access to

information; protecting data and telecommunications; and regulating the energy production will also be brought under the authority of the executive branch. This shift would put an end to mechanisms designed to prevent the corrupt and abusive use of government power and facilitate the country's economic growth.

The constitution has also been amended to grant the armed forces control over the national police and the authority to engage in nonmilitary activities, including infrastructure projects and management of state-owned enterprises. This development suggests that the military might become a stakeholder in sustaining an authoritarian and corrupt system. (Think Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua.)

The intended judicial overhaul has been legally challenged. Numerous judges have ordered its suspension, citing violations of basic constitutional principles. The controversy has reached the Supreme Court, which has been asked to review the constitutionality of the amendments.

Morena partisans have argued that the Supreme Court should not have a say in what they claim is already part of the constitution, even when these changes were made through dubious means. Their arguments are self-refuting: One of the court's core missions is to verify the constitutionality of actions by other branches of government — a key purpose of the 1994 judicial reform.

Furthermore, many distinguished constitutional scholars have argued that the Supreme Court has the authority to rule on any changes passed single-handedly by a ruling party. The reasoning is straightforward: A ruling party may seek to change completely Mexico's political system — democracy, as specified in the constitution. And this is exactly what Morena would achieve by eliminating the division of powers.

On Monday, the Supreme Court published a draft opinion reaffirming its prerogative to scrutinize the constitutionality of the intended judicial reforms and indicated that parts of it should be invalidated. In response, Morena legislators on Wednesday pushed a bill through the lower house that aims to strip the court of its authority to review constitutional amendments passed by Congress.

This latest move has fully unmasked Morena: Its intent is to transform Mexico's political regime into an authoritarian one.

Regrettably, Sheinbaum has doubled down on her support for AMLO's antidemocratic scheme, even emulating his tactics of slandering, insulting and threatening both the judiciary as an institution and individual judges, as well as others who have criticized the amendments. She is also advocating that the government ignore court rulings.

The constitutional crisis she is fueling will not deliver the good and democratic governance she was elected to provide. She should instead use her mandate to halt the democratic regression orchestrated by AMLO — whatever his ultimate motive — and initiate a genuine and comprehensive process of reform to achieve true rule of law and citizens' security in Mexico.

She could then improve enormously upon her predecessor's poor performance. She must decide whether to honor her loyalty to AMLO or to the Mexican people's will to live in democracy.

The writer was president of Mexico from 1994 to 2000.

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Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) Former House Speaker

Second Row:

Adm. Lisa Franchetti Chief, Naval Operations
Chiney Ogumike ESPN Host & Analyst and 2x WNBA All-Star

Third Row:

Tina Brown Editor & Author
New York Gov. Kathy Hochul (D)
Fawn Weaver Founder & CEO, Uncle Nearest

Bottom Row:

Gov. Michelle Lujan Grisham New Mexico (D)
Negina Khalili Attorney & Human Rights Activist

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Salisbury students charged in hate crime

Group lured and beat a man due to his sexual orientation, police say

BY DAN ROSENZWEIG-ZIFF

Twelve Salisbury University students have been charged with a hate crime after police say one of them lured a man, targeted because of his sexual orientation, to an apartment where the group allegedly punched, kicked and spat on him.

The students range in age from 18 to 21. Several of them were members or associates of a fraternity at the university on Maryland's Eastern Shore, police said.

According to court records, one of the students posed as a 16-year-old on Grindr, a messaging app for LGBTQ+ people, and he and the man made plans to meet at an off-campus apartment building for a sexual encounter on Oct. 15.

When the man entered the apartment, the group surrounded him and forced him to sit in a chair in the middle of a living room, according to records. They allegedly called him derogatory names, made him read a weather report and threw him to the ground when he tried to flee. One hit the man in the head with a cooking sheet multiple times, according to charging documents.

The group allowed him to leave after several minutes, the records state, and the man later learned he had broken a rib after seeking medical care.

In addition to a hate crime, the 12 students were also charged with first-degree assault, false imprisonment and reckless endangerment. Each was processed and released.

Officials at Salisbury University, with a student body of about 7,000, said in a statement that it had suspended the students and the fraternity, Sigma Alpha Epsilon. The suspensions are the harshest penalties the university can enforce while the legal case moves forward, according to university president Carolyn Ringer Lepre.

"We are witnessing a campus filled with anguish that something so unspeakable could happen from within the community that we all love," Lepre wrote in a Thursday note to the university community. "We, Salisbury University, need to acknowledge the harm that hate and violence has brought to our community."

Lepre said a vigil organized by the LGBTQ+ community would be held on campus Monday afternoon and announced the formation of a task force on "LGBTQ+ inclusiveness."

SEE SALISBURY ON B3

Refugee from Congo had publicly advocated for fellow immigrants without sharing his own powerful story — and then he finally did



MORIAH RATNER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

An émigré who spoke for others before himself

BY ANTHONY J. RIVERA

Yves Kaduli paced along the dimly lit sidewalk. The sun had gone down and he was waiting for his ride to a theater in D.C., where he was about to tell dozens of strangers how he came to the United States.

Kaduli had spoken publicly before as an activist for refugees. But he hadn't yet spoken as someone who had been victimized himself.

There had been butterflies in his stomach all day. He was worried he would cry. Now it was time to go. He focused his mind.

"I can do it," Kaduli said before jumping into the car. "I can do it."

The night's event was being put on by the pro-immigrant groups KAMA DC, the Nigerian Center and African Communities Together. They brought immigrants in to tell their stories — many of them harrowing.

Kaduli, 38, is among hundreds of thousands of nationals from the Democratic Republic of Congo who have sought asylum over the past 10 years, according to the U.N. Refugee Agency. Layers of conflict and regional violence have squeezed the country and pushed it into crisis for generations as its resources have been plundered.

Residents of the country have been brutally raped, tortured or killed for speaking out — the aftermath of which Kaduli had seen firsthand. As a doctor in Congo's war-torn eastern region, he said, he treated people for wounds from guns and machetes. He was also severely beaten by armed men in 2014 for protesting the government, he said.

That experience — and the fear that then-President Joseph Kabila wasn't going to step down at the end of his term — was enough for Kaduli to flee, leaving behind his mother and infant son.

He spent years migrating, hopping from Rwanda to Cuba to Ecuador, eventually crossing the southern border of the United States as an asylum seeker. His case is still pending. The ordeal drew him into the fight for immigrant rights, he said.

Kaduli makes a living as a licensed medication technician, preparing doses of drugs. On weekends, he takes classes at the American Institute of Health Science and Technology in Springfield, Virginia, with the goal of transitioning to working as a clinical medical assistant and directly caring for patients like he did before.

"I'm positive," he says in a soft voice, "and I

SEE CAPITAL LETTERS ON B2

Yves Kaduli, 38, an asylum seeker from the Democratic Republic of Congo, shares stories from his migration journey at an African Communities Together and KAMA DC event in Dupont on Sunday.

County contest heats up in Md.

PR. GEORGE'S SEEKS A NEW EXECUTIVE

Timing of Alsobrooks's exit will set up election

BY KATIE METTLER AND JASMINE HILTON

Candidates are lining up for the job of county executive in Prince George's County, which will soon be vacated by Democrat Angela Alsobrooks when she heads to Capitol Hill next year as Maryland's newly elected and first Black senator.

It's unclear when Alsobrooks plans to leave her current job leading one of the state's most politically powerful counties — a heavily anticipated decision that will determine whether Prince George's gets a new county executive through a pair of special elections or a county council appointment.

As of Friday, Alsobrooks had not said when she'll vacate the office. A spokesperson for Prince George's County declined to comment.

Regardless, three major candidates, all of them Democrats, have confirmed with The Washington Post that they plan to seek the job in what many local and state political operatives predict will be a hotly contested race if special primary and special general elections are held.

Those candidates are: Prince George's County State's Attorney Aisha Braveboy; county council member Jolene Ivey (District 5), who is the current chair; and at-large council member Calvin Hawkins, a previous chair of the body. Former Prince George's County executive Rushern Baker, who lost a gubernatorial primary bid in 2022 to Gov. Wes Moore (D), has been coy about his intentions. He told ABC 7 News in an interview this week that "there are things that I worked on that I'd love to have the opportunity to work on again." Baker did not return a request for comment from The Post.

Because the three confirmed candidates are current elected officials, any vacancy to their jobs could prompt more special elections for state's attorney and one county council seat — part of potential special elections since former at-large council member Mel Franklin vacated his office two months before pleading guilty to a felony theft fraud scheme. In all, those elections could cost Prince George's tax-

SEE ELECTION ON B2

D.C. shop is slammed for Trump social post

BY MICHAEL BRICE-SADDLER

In the nation's capital, where local restaurants and bars routinely offer election-night watch parties, candidate-themed cocktails and even brand themselves around partisan debate — it is perhaps unsurprising that a local Neapolitan pizza joint waded into the political fray to promote business.

At least, that's what Menomale Pizza co-founder Mariya Rusciano says she intended to do in a Wednesday post on the social media platform X that tagged the White House and President-elect Donald Trump: "The people have spoken. @realDonaldTrump won the popular vote and the electoral college. Congratulations! Can we give @WhiteHouse a nice Italian wood burning pizza oven?"

Rusciano, a Democrat who opened Menomale Pizza with her husband more than 12 years ago in Brookland, says the post was an innocuous, perhaps clumsy attempt to expand the restaurant's social media presence, noting that she had an identical message prepared if Vice President Kamala Harris won. But instead of a reply

from the White House, Rusciano's message has drawn scores of irate social media posts and private messages from neighbors and customers who clearly were in no mood to welcome the president-elect.

Rusciano and her husband, Ettore, have been broadly accused of failing to "read the room" in a city where residents voted for Harris by 90 percentage points.

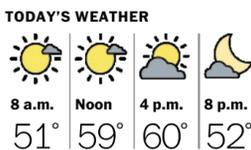
"Do the owners realize that Team Trump has declared war on Washington DC and the federal workforce?" read one comment on a popular Brookland Facebook page, echoing the president-elect's pledge to mount a "federal takeover" of the District.

Some commenters indicated that they would never support the restaurant again: "I hope more businesses out themselves to make it easier for me to decide where my money goes," said another.

Rusciano says she has tried to clear the air.

She pointed to messages of unity shared by Harris and other Democrats in the aftermath of Trump's victory, adding that the

SEE PIZZA TWEET ON B3



High today at approx. 2 p.m.: 62°
 Precip: 0% Wind: NNE 6-12 mph
 For weather news, go to B6

THE DISTRICT

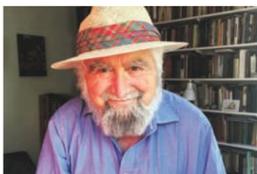
Thousands expected for a "People's March" ahead of the inauguration. B2

MARYLAND

Chef Tobias Dorzon suffers a gunshot injury in a Hyattsville robbery. B4

OBITUARIES

Charles Fenyvesi, who wrote about gardening and politics, was 86. B4



Jan. 6 rioter gets an 8-year sentence, but he could be pardoned for his role

BY TOM JACKMAN

In the group of more than 1,500 people who have been arrested for participating in the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol riot, Zachary J. Alam captured his moment of fame as the man who was recorded punching the glass windows leading to the Speaker's Lobby. Using a helmet to finish smashing the glass, he created the space into which Ashli Babbitt then climbed, where she was fatally shot by a Capitol Police officer.

At his sentencing on Thursday, Alam told a federal judge he knew that his breaking the glass was illegal. But he said he felt his actions were justified because he believed the 2020 election was stolen, pointing to Donald Trump's victory in this year's presidential race as he quipped, "four years later Americans were able to rectify the situation."

U.S. District Judge Dabney L. Friedrich pointed to his "lack of remorse" as she sentenced him to eight years in prison, among the longest terms for a Jan. 6 defendant not affiliated with the Oath Keepers or Proud Boys groups.

The sentence could be short-

lived: Trump has promised to pardon Jan. 6 rioters, though he has not said exactly who among them will win his mercy. In court, Alam said he was aware of discussions around pardons for people like him.

"But I will not accept a second-class pardon," Alam said. "I want a full pardon with all the benefits that come with it, including full compensation."

Alam, 33, of Centreville was arrested in January 2021 and has been in jail ever since. Last year, a jury convicted him of seven felony and three misdemeanor counts, and prosecutors called him "one of the most violent and aggressive members that day."

Prosecutors asked Friedrich to sentence Alam to more than 11 years in prison on the charges of assaulting police, destroying public property and obstructing police during a civil disorder. But Friedrich said she had compared Alam's case to other Jan. 6 rioters, and also considered Alam's mental health.

Alam, a University of Virginia graduate, will receive credit for the nearly four years he has already spent in jail.

Alam was one of the first rioters to enter the Capitol, climbing through the window on the Upper West Terrace which had been broken open five minutes earlier by Dominic Pezzola, who was helping to lead the charge of the Proud Boys, prosecutors said. Once inside, he went through four floors of the Capitol, "entering offices, kicking a door, harassing officers, and ultimately ending up at the House Main Doors," according to a sentencing brief filed by Assistant U.S. Attorneys Joseph S. Smith Jr. and Rebekah Lederer.

But Alam broke away from the group at the doors and went to the Speaker's Lobby, "immediately moved to the front of the mob and threw himself against officers guarding the doors," prosecutors wrote. Alam "punched and shattered glass panels behind the officers while congressional members and staffers were visibly attempting to flee the House floor."

When Capitol Police officers moved away from the scene, as tactical officers approached, Alam repeatedly kicked the lobby

SEE SENTENCING ON B3

'I'm positive and I believe in myself, and I trust in God'

CAPITAL LETTERS FROM B1

believe in myself, and I trust in God."

None of this has come easy for a non-native English speaker with a heavy accent. Kaduli says he's gotten suspicious looks as if he were a criminal and once felt unwelcome in a clinic in Northern Virginia while trying to fill his own prescription medication.

He had also been following the U.S. presidential campaign to see what it would mean for asylum cases such as his. Telling his story seemed more essential now than ever.

After a short introduction, Kaduli was welcomed onto the stage. He nervously set up the pair of custom-made Chuck Taylor All Star red shoes he had brought with him, tapped the microphone and began to speak.

The words flowed as he recalled his experience in Congo. He described in excruciating detail the "many, many cases" of brutal injuries he'd seen in rape victims.

"There is no word to express that darkness," he told the audience.

At one point, he looked out and saw tears running down a wom-

an's face. Someone wrapped an arm around her shoulder to console her. But Kaduli kept his composure.

He also spoke about his "shoes of hope," a token of his thousands of miles of migration.

"Only my shoes know how many kilometers I traveled in order to arrive in this country," Kaduli said. The footwear reminded him of what's possible if a person centers their life on positivity, he said, as heads nodded.

He didn't want to stop speaking. But when he sensed that he'd gone over the allotted time, he ended his story, thanked everyone and stepped off the stage.

Remembering the woman who cried, he said: "It's not the solution for me to cry."

"We know where we come from," he added. "Speak out. This is one of the steps [for] people to understand who we are and be part of the change."

Maria Sacchetti contributed to this report.

Yves Kaduli talks to Ash Kalinda, the membership and outreach organizer of African Communities Together, right, before the event on Sunday.



MORIAH RATNER/FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Alsobrooks's departure fuels competitive race for Pr. George's County executive

ELECTION FROM B1

payers as much as \$8 million, according to a county estimate.

It's not clear if Alsobrooks plans to endorse any of the candidates vying for her job, or who would get her support.

But the political calculations behind her upcoming vacancy are underway.

In Prince George's, the county municipal code calls for a pair of special elections to be held for an empty county executive's seat if the person vacating the role does so within the first two years of their term. Alsobrooks was sworn in to her current four-year term on Dec. 5, 2022.

If she resigns as county executive before Dec. 5 this year, the county code dictates that a special primary election will be held between 45 and 100 days later and that the special general election must be held between 40

and 60 days after that.

According to that timetable, Prince Georgians could have a new county executive as early as March.

In the interim, Prince George's Chief Administrative Officer Tara Jackson — who has been in that role since 2020 — would run the county government, according to the municipal code.

But if Alsobrooks resigns as county executive after Dec. 5, the municipal code instructs the county council to choose a new county executive from among themselves. If the body is unable to reach a majority vote after two weeks, whoever is council chair at the time will be named county executive. Currently, that person is Ivey, but her term as chair expires Dec. 2.

Ivey and Hawkins both said they want to be county executive no matter when Alsobrooks resigns. They will duel for the

support of their fellow council members should they be forced to choose among themselves. They both abstained from voting on recently proposed council legislation related to how the county handles special elections.

Braveboy, who is serving her second term as state's attorney and previously represented Prince George's as a state delegate in the General Assembly, can only seek the job through a special election.

"I love this county — I grew up here, and I understand the needs of Prince Georgians — because I am one," Braveboy said in a statement to The Post. "The values of Prince Georgians are my values."

Braveboy said she would focus on clean streets, schooling that prepares children for the workforce, quality health-care access, and "integrating residents, busi-

ness and labor to create a vision for advancing our county."

"I desire to take my experience at all levels of government — the executive branch, the legislative branch, and now the judicial branch, as the top law enforcement officer — into this next position," Braveboy said.

Ivey said in an interview Wednesday that she's poised to seek the county executive's seat "because our county and our state is at a really critical point."

Ivey beat Republican Michael Riker on Tuesday night in a special election to fill Franklin's seat.

If she becomes county executive, another round of special elections would have to be held to again fill the seat.

"I do believe I'm in the best position to do this," Ivey said about the county executive's role. In that office, she said, she would offer the county responsible fi-

nanial stewardship and work to bring in federal grant money. The state of Maryland is facing a \$1.7 billion deficit, she said, and Prince George's has its own \$152 million deficit.

Ivey added that she wants to fight for the county's "growing senior population" by providing more affordable housing that is also safer.

A round of special elections would also have to be held to fill Hawkins's seat if he becomes county executive.

Hawkins, who attended Alsobrooks's election-night victory party, said in an interview that he plans to "continue the legacy our county executive is leaving to move our county forward."

"I am the best candidate for the job based on the last six years of my service as a county council member, working with our county executive," Hawkins said. "I love the people of Prince

George's County, and they love me."

Hawkins cited his time leading the council as chair and vice chair as important qualifiers, emphasizing what he said was a strong working relationship with Alsobrooks during the coronavirus pandemic, which took a disproportionate toll on the county's majority Black and Latino residents.

"I'm just prepared to keep moving us forward and not backward," Hawkins said.

Baker served as Prince George's County executive for eight years, from 2010 to 2018, before Alsobrooks took the reins. In his interview with ABC 7 News, he praised her for what she has achieved over the past six years and said he wants to see those wins "enhanced."

Lateshia Beachum contributed to this report.

THE DISTRICT

Thousands expected to turn out for a people's march ahead of inauguration

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

Tens of thousands of people are expected in Washington ahead of Inauguration Day in January to protest President-elect Donald Trump and policy priorities that they say will undermine the rights of women, immigrants, the LGBTQ+ community and racial and religious minorities.

The demonstration, dubbed the "People's March on Washington," is scheduled for Jan. 18, two days before the inauguration. It is being organized by leading civil rights, racial justice and reproductive health organizations, including the Women's March and Abortion Access Now, a coalition of organizations including the ACLU, Planned Parenthood and the National Women's Law Center.

Organizers estimate 50,000 people will attend, according to a permit application, during a season when officials expect a surge of protests — and celebrations — from across the political spectrum as the nation's seat of power transitions from Joe Biden to Trump. There are more than 10 permit applications filed with the National Park Service for rallies, vigils and protests between now and the end of January related to the election, democracy, abortion and the Israel-Gaza war, including another Women's March demonstration this Saturday at Columbus Circle.

As supporters of Trump revel in his return to the White House, leftist activists are working to harness the passions and fears of those opposed to him and convert casual protesters into a more organized opposition to his incoming administra-



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Many turned out for the Women's March on Jan. 19, 2019; 50,000 are expected to attend the "People's March on Washington" on Jan. 18.

tion and its conservative policies.

The exact details of the Jan. 18 march are still being planned, but organizers said people are motivated to participate by a range of issues, including abortion rights after the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*; climate change,

equal pay and federally guaranteed parental leave; the restoration of the pandemic's expanded Child Tax Credit; fair wages; gun violence prevention; a plan that welcomes immigrants to the United States and provides a path to citizenship. And they expect significant

pushback against those goals from a president who has called himself the most "pro-life president" in history and has promised to implement the nation's largest mass deportation of undocumented immigrants.

The Women's March stands out in this coalition for its ori-

gins, beginning as a grassroots movement of women outraged that Trump beat Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential election. Launched the day after his inauguration in 2017, it turned out more than 1 million protesters in the District and elsewhere in what is widely considered the

country's largest single-day protest. They came in hand-knitted pink hats that referenced Trump's infamous taped comments from 2005 about groping women's genitals.

Now, another female presidential candidate has lost to Trump, a man who was held liable for sexual abuse last year and has been accused of sexual misconduct — allegations Trump denies. And again, the Women's March is part of the movement bringing people together in protest of Trump.

"We are having a march in order to continue to fight for our freedom, our families, our futures, and to also make sure that it's clear in the face of rising authoritarianism that we will not preemptively give up," said Rachel O'Leary Carmona, the executive director of the Women's March, adding that sister marches are planned across the country.

Already, O'Leary Carmona said, organizers are thinking toward the 2026 midterm elections and ways to usher in a blue wave. Even before that, Mini Timmaraju, a co-chair of Abortion Access Now, a coalition of organizations including the ACLU, Planned Parenthood and the National Women's Law Center, said groups are gearing up for the Trump administration's first 100 days, readying to challenge federal appointments, judicial nominations and major decisions with long-term impacts on democracy.

"Folks might be sad and folks might be exhausted," said Timmaraju, who is also the president and CEO of Reproductive Freedom for All. "But it's not stopping them from saying, 'What's next? I want to fight.'"



The Guide to Offers
The Washington Post

Enter for the chance to win a pair of tickets to Lucinda Williams and her band for a "Don't Tell Anybody the Secrets" show on November 19 at the Lincoln Theatre

The 71-year-old folk star's current tour supports new album *Stories from a Rock n Roll Heart*, "an example of strength and conviction — as well as friendship" (*rollingstone.com*). The tour — named after Williams' bestselling memoir *Don't Tell Anybody the Secrets I Told You* — follows the artist's recovery from a stroke in 2020. "Williams' ability to persevere over issues that would sideline lesser talents and create music this impressive is a testament to the vitality of her rock 'n' roll heart" (*americansongwriter.com*). "It's a relief to find Williams as thought-provoking and moving as ever" (*theguardian.com*).

See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)



12 Salisbury students charged with hate crime, assault

SALISBURY FROM B1

Sigma Alpha Epsilon has expelled the students from the fraternity, the organization said in a statement, adding that it condemns hate and is disappointed in the students' actions.

The case came to light late last month, when Salisbury University Police contacted local law enforcement after two witnesses reported seeing videos of the alleged assault, according to charging documents.

Local police reviewed cellphone footage taken by one of the 12 students during the assault. Police identified the victim from a license plate shown in the

video, according to charging documents, and interviewed him.

The man, who did not respond to a request for comment and whose age was not specified in the documents, had not come forward about the event before then.

Authorities charged the students this week.

Defense lawyers for some of the Salisbury students contended that the victim was seeking sex with a minor and that the alleged violent acts were not driven by his sexual orientation.

Steve Rakow, an attorney representing one of the students, said his client would plead not guilty and argued the case should



Police say the group of men, ages 18-21, posed as a 16-year-old online and lured a man to an apartment where he was beaten.

not be investigated as a hate crime.

"Certainly, the alleged victim didn't come forward as he knew he was committing a crime by going to the on-campus apartment," Rakow said in a statement.

Charging documents say the events began when Zachary Leinemann, another student who was arrested, created an alias on Grindr and told the man he was 16. The man and Leinemann, 18, moved the conversation to Snapchat and made the plan to meet up, according to the documents.

Leinemann left the apartment door open for the man when he arrived. As the man entered the apartment, Leinemann yelled,

"Yee, yee" and the group of students surrounded him, according to the charging documents.

"Once all of the facts are out, it will be quite clear that this case has less to do with sexual orientation than with a grown man soliciting a child for sex," James L. Britt, Leinemann's attorney, said in a statement.

He did not address the allegations of violence.

In the charging documents, police wrote, "it should be noted, Leinemann did represent himself as a 16 year old," which the man confirmed in messages. The age of consent in Maryland is 16.

The 12 students are set to appear in court early next month.

Commenters give D.C. pie shop owner a 'pizza' their minds for Trump post

PIZZA TWEET FROM B1

restaurant had simply followed suit.

In one exchange on Facebook, Rusciano was asked how she could support Trump when he has repeatedly denigrated and threatened to take over D.C. She pointed to Mayor Muriel E. Bowser's pledge to work with Trump administration to advance the city's priorities.

"No matter who wins, America is still the land of opportunity and what a great opportunity it would be to install an Italian pizza oven at the White House?" Rusciano wrote. "Our pizza is apolitical, we are an example of what can be achieved in America through hard work and an entrepreneurial spirit."

She told The Washington Post that she and husband, who recently entered the wood-burning-oven business, immigrated to the Unit-

ed States separately some 20 years ago from Bulgaria and Naples, respectively. They met at Ettore's uncle's Italian restaurant and got married within five years, moving to the District around 12 years ago to launch their own business.

Some commenters noted the couple's backstory, and wondered about their views on Trump's vows for a border crackdown. "I am worried about the rhetoric, of course. But what can we do about it?" Rusciano said in an interview, adding that future elections will offer more chances to speak out. "The best thing we can do is make our voice heard, through protest."

Rusciano says the blowback from her post so far has not affected the business, though a worker at the Brookland location said Friday's lunch rush was slower than usual.

Still, several diners dug into Menomale's signature pies, which are made with fermented dough

topped with hand-crushed tomatoes, mozzarella, and extra-virgin olive oil. While none of the customers were previously aware of the social media kerfuffle, they acknowledged that it might have affected their choice for lunch.

Monica Oliva-Tran, who recently moved to nearby Prince George's County from New York and was urged to try out Menomale, said that while she sympathized with Rusciano's intent behind the post, the timing was too soon. "I just feel like you have to read the room and the temperature of what's going on here," she said.

Asked if she'll consider another social media post, Rusciano said she'll wait and see.

"I think this is the fallout right now. We are just refusing to be bitter and would like to stay positive and hope the best for everyone," she said. "Because in the end we want America to succeed."



Menomale Pizza opened more than 12 years ago in the Brookland neighborhood in Northeast D.C.

Judge sentences Jan. 6 rioter to eight years in prison, but he might be pardoned

SENTENCING FROM B1

doors, video shot by another rioter shows. When another rioter handed Alam a helmet, he used it to completely dislodge glass from the frames, including in the door which Babbitt tried to climb through, prosecutors said.

Alam was arrested in Pennsylvania on Jan. 30, 2021, and prosecutors said he had made plans to flee, conceal his identity, set up new bank accounts and hide from law enforcement. Alam took his case to a jury in September 2023 and after a week-long trial was convicted on the 10 counts.

Federal sentencing guidelines

recommended a prison term of 63 to 78 months. But prosecutors asked Friedrich to go above the guidelines, something D.C. judges rarely do, and impose a 136-month sentence, or more than 11 years.

Lederer noted that Alam had been arrested 20 times, including once while he was hiding out in Pennsylvania, and been accused in multiple alcohol and drug-related cases. She said that officers who testified at Alam's trial specifically remembered him "for not just being boisterous" and cursing them at the front of the mob, but also "the absolute violence he used," which included

running his fist past their heads as he repeatedly punched the glass.

Alam's attorney, Steven A. Metcalf II, argued that the sentencing guidelines "grossly misappropriate the nature of the crime. The officers were not scared by Mr. Alam."

The judge interrupted: "Mr. Metcalf, did you watch the same video I watched?"

Metcalf noted that no officers were injured by Alam. "He punched a wall; that's a misdemeanor assault," the defense attorney said.

"But the jury didn't find that," the judge replied.

Metcalf suggested a prison term of about five years. He said that Alam suffered emotional difficulties and submitted a sentencing memo that was heavily redacted because it included information on Alam's medical history. A closed hearing on those issues was held before the sentencing.

Alam, in a prepared statement, told the judge that Trump had won the latest presidential election. "So Trump wasn't lying; the [2020] election was rigged," Alam said.

"I know that breaking windows is against the law," Alam said. "But I believed in my heart I

was doing the right thing. Sometimes you have to break the rules to do what's right. ... Some J6ers did violence, but only because they thought they were saving the country in the process."

Friedrich raised Alam's sentencing guideline range to 97 to 121 months for significantly disrupting a government function, then imposed a 96-month term.

"The actions of Mr. Alam on Jan. 6 were among the most violent and aggressive of the Jan. 6 defendants," she said, adding that officers recalled him because "he was by far the loudest, the most combative and the most violent of the Jan. 6 rioters."

"Without question, Mr. Alam's actions substantially contributed to the threatening circumstances that led the officer to use lethal force" and shoot Babbitt, the judge said.

Friedrich told Alam that "your continued defense of your actions suggests to the court that deterrence is critically important in this case." She suggested that Alam be placed in a federal medical facility for mental health treatment and closed by saying, "Mr. Alam, I look forward to seeing you 60 days after your release."

Alam stared at her, saying nothing.

THE DISTRICT

Prosecutors decline to charge U.S. Park Police officer who fatally shot teen

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER

A U.S. Park Police officer who climbed into a vehicle he suspected might be stolen and fatally shot a 17-year-old in the driver's seat will not face charges, federal prosecutors announced Thursday, citing insufficient evidence.

The U.S. attorney's office in a statement said the decision not to charge the unidentified officer in the 2023 death of the driver, Dalaneo Martin, followed a "careful, thorough and independent review" of materials that determined the officer could not prove "beyond a reasonable doubt that the United States Park Police Officer is criminally liable for Mr. Martin's death."

Martin's death caused an outcry among his family members and community leaders who questioned the policing tactics captured on body-camera footage, which the U.S. attorney's office characterized as "extremely upsetting" in a release last year.

The video, compiled from four body-worn cameras into a roughly 11-minute video and released to the public, shows officers strategizing over how best to take Martin into custody as he sat, apparently asleep, in the front seat with the engine running. When officers enter the vehicle, he appears to startle and hits the accelerator. Ultimately, one officer draws his gun fires five shots at Martin's back, the footage shows.

At the time of the shooting, Martin's family said they believe he was frightened and panicked. "This decision is deeply troubling and sends a disturbing



Attorney Andrew O. Clarke, left, holds a news conference with members of Dalaneo Martin's family.

message to our community that it is okay for officers to use deadly force against children in the community," Andrew O. Clarke, one of the Martin family's attorneys, said in a statement Thursday. "Dalaneo was never posed a direct threat to the officer's safety or to others in the vicinity. Yet, seconds later, he paid the ultimate price in an encounter that never should have ended in the use of lethal force."

The Martin family is represented by a group of attorneys including Clark, William H. "Billy" Murphy, who secured a \$6.4 million settlement with the city of Baltimore following the in-custody death of Freddie Gray, and Ben Crump, who oversaw a \$27 million settlement with Minneapolis following the 2020 death of George Floyd.

The rare decision to make public the federal law enforcement agency footage of Martin's

death was greeted by experts last year as a step forward in transparency; the then-chairman of the Park Police union, Kenneth Spencer, defended the officer's actions upon its release, saying his use of force was justified under the circumstances.

The incident began with a call on the morning of March 18, 2023, for a suspicious white vehicle parked in the 3400 block of Baker Street in Northeast

Washington, prosecutors said. D.C. police and Park Police officers arrived and began to troubleshoot how to remove Martin from a stolen vehicle — an exchange captured on the footage.

After discussing options, the footage shows a D.C. police officer unlocking the back door of the vehicle without waking Martin, then two Park Police officers enter the vehicle from the rear doors on each side and grab his hands, the footage shows.

After a brief struggle, the vehicle moves and one Park Police officer falls away from the driver's side, footage shows, as a remaining officer can be heard yelling at Martin.

"Stop, man, just let me out," the officer says from the back seat.

Martin continues to drive. "Let me go," the officer says.

Three seconds later: "Stop! Stop or I'll shoot!"

Almost immediately, the offi-

cer fires his weapon. Bullets appear to strike Martin in the back, and the vehicle soon crashes into a nearby house about two-tenths of a mile away from where police first found him.

Police later discovered a firearm inside the vehicle. Senior D.C. officials said at the time the officers did not know about the gun until after the vehicle had crashed.

After Martin was struck, the vehicle continued to travel northbound on 36th Street, where it crashed into the side of a house. The Park Police body-camera footage ends with the officers rendering aid to Martin, who can be seen lying on grass near the vehicle.

Martin's family on Thursday criticized authorities for not releasing the name of the officer who shot him.

"I am heartbroken but we will not allow this decision to deter us from seeking justice," Terra Martin, Martin's mother, said in a statement.

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THE DISTRICT

Officer asks to be tried by judge, not a jury, in obstruction of justice case

BY SPENCER S. HSU

A D.C. police lieutenant has asked to be tried by a federal judge, instead of a jury, next month on charges that he warned the leader of the far-right Proud Boys group that he would be arrested days before the Jan. 6, 2021, Capitol attack, then lied to investigators about their interactions, according to a court filing Tuesday.

Shane Lamond, a 24-year veteran of the D.C. police and the department's head of intelligence at the time he was talking to Proud Boys leader Henry "Enrique" Tarrío, signed the request for a bench trial on Sept. 30, and U.S. prosecutors approved it Tuesday, according to the filing. The request still must be approved by U.S. District Judge Amy Berman Jackson, but given that both sides agree, that is largely a formality.

Lamond, 48, of Stafford, Virginia, has pleaded not guilty and faces trial on Dec. 2 on one count of obstruction of justice and three counts of making false statements. He is accused of leaking information to Tarrío during the

group's planned protests in D.C. in 2020 and the run-up to its central role in the Capitol riot. Lamond's duties at the time included monitoring extremist groups. Lamond is also accused of lying to investigators when asked if he had told Tarrío he would be arrested for his part in burning a Black Lives Matter flag stolen from a historic African American church during a pro-Trump rally in the weeks before the Capitol riot.

"We have a great deal of faith in the court, and we want to take any politics and emotion out of this case, because the facts are clear: Shane Lamond has neither made false statements nor obstructed justice," defense lawyer Mark E. Schamel said in an interview.

Schamel has previously described his client's contacts with Tarrío as professional and part of his work to obtain intelligence and prevent clashes between the Proud Boys and other groups. Lamond's wife had posted on social media that her husband was being criticized for doing his job.

Prosecutors alleged during Tarrío's trial that the Proud Boys' anger at police deepened when

they received word that Tarrío would be arrested in Washington, spurring them to plan for violence.

Tarrío, who is serving a 22-year prison sentence for seditious conspiracy after being found guilty with three other Proud Boys leaders in the Capitol riot, is a potential witness in Lamond's trial, while his own case remains on appeal. Tarrío argued during his trial that his communications with Lamond showed the Proud Boys did not conspire to commit violence and that the group had shared its plans with law enforcement.

U.S. prosecutors alleged in Lamond's indictment that the officer was sharing other information, which Tarrío passed on to other Proud Boys members and acted on.

Lamond faces a mandatory three-year minimum sentence and up to 30 years in prison if convicted of the obstruction of justice charge. The false statement counts are each punishable by up to five years. Federal advisory sentencing guidelines for a first offender would fall around three years.

MARYLAND

Lauded chef recovering from gunshot injuries after a robbery in Hyattsville

BY JASMINE HILTON

A well-known Maryland chef and restaurateur was shot earlier this week and as of Thursday remained hospitalized, according to his family and a local lawmaker.

In a statement, Prince George's County Council member Wanika Fisher (D-District 2) said that Tobias Dorzon, the owner of two Hyattsville restaurants, was one of two people shot and injured during an attempted robbery Tuesday night in her district.

Dorzon's mother, Patience Dorzon, said Thursday afternoon that her son was in recovery and in stable condition at a hospital. His partner, the second victim, she said, was treated and released from the hospital.

"I pray that they catch the people that did it," Patience Dorzon said from the hospital. "And put them away so they don't do this to anyone else. I don't want any mother to go through the pain that I'm going through."

The Hyattsville Police Department would not confirm any details or the identities of the victims in Tuesday's shooting. However, in statements posted to X the department said at 11:36 p.m. on Tuesday that officers were investigating a double shooting in the 2500 block of Kirkwood Place.

Four people tried to rob a man and a woman as they returned from dinner and the two were shot, the statement said; it said the man and the woman were taken to a hospital. Police said in an update that they were searching for five people and a white SUV believed to be involved in the shooting.

Surveillance video that NBC4



CARMEN MANDATO/GETTY IMAGES

Tobias Dorzon, an ex-NFL player, is a Food Network personality.

Washington publicized of the shooting shows a white SUV driving along a neighborhood street; then rapid gunfire and a woman's screams are heard. A person can be seen crawling behind a car to hide while four people approach another person lying on the ground and appear to search that individual.

"Such a horrible act couldn't have happened to a better person," Fisher said in her statement. "We have no place for this kind of senseless violence in our district or our county."

Dorzon is the owner of restaurants Huncho House and 1123, both located in Hyattsville, according to a restaurant website and his Instagram account. Huncho House did not immediately respond to a request for comment Thursday afternoon. According to its website, Dorzon's "love for food stems from cooking in the kitchen with his West African father during his childhood." This year, Dorzon became the

first Prince George's County chef to be awarded chef of the year by the Restaurant Association of Maryland, according to a statement from the Prince George's County Council.

In May, the council honored Dorzon with a proclamation. The council's statement highlighted Dorzon's role as a former NFL player and his appearances on several Food Network shows including "Chopped," "Tournament of Champions" and "Guy's Grocery Games." Dorzon also hosts "Timeout With Tobias," which can be seen on ESPN Plus and Hulu.

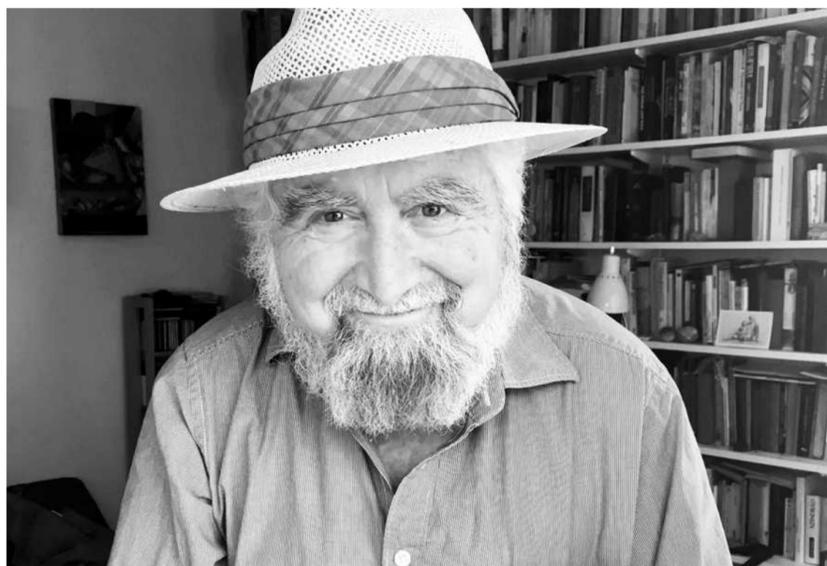
Patience Dorzon said she is awaiting more information from authorities about the shooting. She asked for prayers for her family.

"I'm asking for total healing for my son," she said. "He means the world to me; that's my baby."

Razzan Nakhlawi contributed to this report.

OBITUARIES

CHARLES FENYVESI, 86



FAMILY PHOTO

Charles Fenyvesi was a Hungarian refugee who wrote for The Post and U.S. News & World Report.

Post journalist wrote about gardens and political gossip

BY ADAM BERNSTEIN

Charles Fenyvesi, who left Hungary as a refugee after the 1956 anti-Soviet uprising and became a gardening columnist for The Washington Post and edited the political-insider gossip page Washington Whispers for U.S. News & World Report, died Nov. 3 at a hospice center in Los Angeles. He was 86.

The cause was complications from dementia, said his daughter, Malka Fenyvesi.

Descended from Jewish forebears who were traders and farmed land in northeastern Hungary, Mr. Fenyvesi cultivated instead an early interest in journalism. As part of a vigorous freelance career, he spent nearly 20 years writing the Ornamental Gardener column at The Post starting in the early 1980s.

He also worked a dozen years at U.S. News & World Report beginning in the mid-1980s. While in charge of the magazine's Washington Whispers column, he partnered with staff journalists to gather news scoops of vital national and foreign affairs interest: who was in line for secretary of state, for example, or news about revolution in Romania that would topple the Ceausescu regime.

But he told C-SPAN that the most popular item the column featured during his tenure involved the revelation of President George H.W. Bush's contempt for broccoli.

Károly Fenyvesi was born in Debrecen, on Nov. 23, 1937. His early life was defined by fear and dislocation amid the Nazi rise; the antisemitic Hungarian regime of Adm. Miklós Horthy; and the German occupation of Hungary in 1944.

His father, a traveling salesman who sold abrasive stone, was sent to work in a forced-labor battalion and survived the war. Dozens of other close family members perished at Auschwitz,

He was a Washington Post Magazine staff writer in the early 1980s before starting his gardening column as a contributor.

the death camp in German-occupied Poland. Mr. Fenyvesi and his mother used forged documents that identified them as Calvinist, and they hid in a Budapest safe house run by a Lutheran pastor. His only sibling, an older half sister, was fatally shot outside the Jewish ghetto of Budapest in 1944.

Following the war, the country came under the dominance of a Soviet-backed regime that tolerated little dissent. As a college student at the University of Debrecen, Mr. Fenyvesi participated in demonstrations in late 1956 against the ruling party. He said he was reported to the police and faced a certain prison sentence as Soviet troops entered the country to quell the rebellion.

Mr. Fenyvesi and a few college friends made their way across the border into Austria, cutting through barbed-wire fencing and gingerly navigating their way around ground laced with concealed land mines; he heard muffled booms nearby, the fate of others not so lucky.

He registered as a refugee and, on a special scholarship from an anonymous donor, he graduated from Harvard University in 1960. Two years later, he received a master's degree in philosophy from India's University of Madras. He received U.S. citizenship in 1963.

In 1965, he married Elisabeth Kelemen, a weaver and textile conservator known by Lizou. In

addition to his wife, of Los Angeles, survivors include three children, Shamu Sadeh, Daniel Fenyvesi and Malka Fenyvesi; and four grandchildren.

He began his journalism career as a feature writer for the now-defunct Foreign News Service in New York, then went to Washington in 1966 to work for Near East Report, a newsletter on the Middle East. He was a correspondent for the Israeli newspapers the Jerusalem Post and Haaretz, then edited the National Jewish Monthly, a B'nai B'rith publication.

He was a Washington Post Magazine staff writer in the early 1980s before starting his gardening column as a contributor. In addition to his later staff job at U.S. News, he was also a writer for Radio Free Europe and edited a human rights newsletter. He moved to California from suburban Maryland in 2016.

His books included "Splendor in Exile: The Ex-Majesties of Europe" (1979), about banished kings; "When the World Was Whole" (1990), a chronicle of Hungarian history told through the lens of his own family's story; and "When Angels Fooled the World: Rescuers of Jews in Wartime Hungary" (2003). He also wrote "Trees: For Shelter and Shade, For Memory and Magic" (1992).

To dig into the ground was to journey into the recesses of imagination and history — an act imbued with fantasy and hope with every thunk of the shovel into the soil.

"The ground is always in motion, sinking and rising and drifting sideways like the continents," he wrote in a New York Times gardening essay in 1980. "My recurrent daydream is that one day I will find an item from a pre-Columbian civilization: a fragment of a granite idol, a coin with the face of an unknown king, a tablet written in an indecipherable script."

Retropolis

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washingtonpost.com/retropolis

The Washington Post



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M0036-6:3

IN MEMORIAM

RICKETTS



WILBUR A. RICKETTS
Sadly, missed along life's way, quietly remembered every day. No longer in our life to share, but in our hearts, you're always there.

Your Children, Grandchildren and Great-Grandchildren



DEATH NOTICE

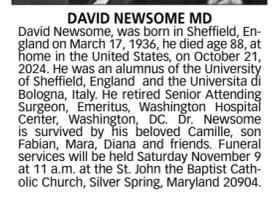
DOUGLASS

MARY POLLY DOUGLASS
On Tuesday, November 5, 2024, Entered eternal rest. A public visitation will be held Monday, November 11, at 2024 Pennsylvania Avenue Baptist Church, 3000 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, DC 20020, at 10:30 a.m., with funeral service to follow at 11:30 a.m. Interment, National Harmony Memorial Park, Hyattsville, MD.

NEWSOME



DAVID NEWSOME MD
David Newsome, was born in Sheffield, England on March 17, 1936, he died age 88, at home in the United States, on October 21, 2024. He was an alumnus of the University of Sheffield, England, and the University of Bologna, Italy. He retired Senior Attending Surgeon, Emeritus, Washington Hospital Center, Washington, DC. Dr. Newsome is survived by his beloved Camille, son Fabian, Mara, Diana and friends. Funeral services will be held Saturday November 9 at 11 a.m. at the St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904.



DEATH NOTICE

O'CONNOR

DENNIS O'CONNOR
Passed away on November 5, 2024 in Arlington, VA. He was surrounded by loving family and friends. He leaves behind three daughters. Celebration pending.

IN MEMORIAM

MILIN



KRIST TONY MILIN M.D.
November 9, 1980 - August 2, 2008

Another anniversary of your birth has arrived, and with it poignant memories of you. Yet another day to reflect on how wonderful we were to have had you in our family, and to have been able to call you our son. In countless ways, you brightened our lives in each season of each year you were with us. Our memories of the wonderful person you were and the abundant happiness you brought us endure.

Our love for you continues.
Mom and Dad

DEATH NOTICE

KASDEN



FRIEDA BROWN KASDEN
On Thursday, November 7, 2024, FRIEDA BROWN KASDEN of Ridgefield, CT, formerly of Washington, DC. Beloved wife of

DEATH NOTICE

HAZEL

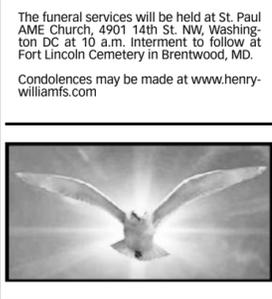


JUANITA HARTSFIELD HAZEL
April 5, 1947 - October 25, 2024

With profound sadness, we announce the transition of Juanita H. Hazel who was a dedicated member of the St. Paul AME Church in Washington, DC. She lived an exemplary life of service. Juanita was a beloved wife, religious leader, educator, and humanitarian.

The funeral services will be held at St. Paul AME Church, 4901 14th St. NW, Washington DC at 10 a.m. Interment to follow at Fort Lincoln Cemetery in Brentwood, MD.

Condolences may be made at www.henry-williams.com



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

MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
SATURDAY 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.
SUNDAY - SELF - SERVICE ONLY

To place a notice, call: 202-334-4122
800-627-1150 ext 4-4122
EMAIL: deathnotices@washpost.com

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.)

ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

MEMORIAL PLAQUES:
All notices over 2" include complimentary memorial plaque
Additional plaques start at \$26 each and may be ordered.

All Paid Death Notices appear on our website through www.legacy.com

LEGACY.COM
Included in all death notices
Optional for in Memoriams

PLEASE NOTE:
Notices must be placed via phone or email. Photos must be emailed. You can no longer place notices, drop off photos or make payments at the funeral home.
Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

BARRETT



GLADYS SALEEBY BARRETT (Age 96)
March 4, 1928 - October 24, 2024

Gladys Saleeby Barrett of Arlington, Virginia died peacefully in her home on October 24, 2024, at age 96. She was born in Brooklyn, New York to Alice and William Saleeby, who immigrated to New York from Lebanon. She was one of five siblings.

At 19, she traveled by ship to China, where she worked as a secretary for the Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Shanghai. Her work there was cut short when she was evacuated to Japan along with other foreign nationals when the Communists overtook China in 1949. While in Japan, she met her future husband, an Army officer, by chance, who happened to be another kid from Brooklyn. They were married for nearly 71 years. She embraced her role as a military spouse, moving to various postings in the United States and abroad. Among the many

DEATH NOTICE

CHANG



BETTY W. CHANG (Age 72) M.D.
Betty Wei-Chung Chang, a beloved physician, wife, sister, mother and grandmother, passed away on November 4, 2024 with her family by her side. Born in 1952 to the late Drs. Sophia and Charles Chang, she attended Radcliffe College at Harvard University, and earned her doctorate from NYU Medical School. She completed a residency at Ba-

DEATH NOTICE

DICKEY

VERA VIRGINIA STENGER DICKEY

Vera Virginia Stenger Dickey, a resident of Washington DC, from 1961 to 2014, died on October 22, 2024, in Pasadena, California, at the age of 96.

A native of Springfield, MO, she attended Drury College for one year before transferring to the University of Missouri School of Journalism where she received her B.J. and A.M. degrees in 1950 and 1953, respectively. Her university memberships included Mortar Board honor society and Theta Sigma Phi journalism society, in both of which she served as president, and Pi Beta Phi sorority.

Before moving to Washington, Ms. Dickey was assistant to the director of publicity at Radcliffe College from 1953-55 and held the same position at Barnard College from 1955-1960.

As the assistant to two headmasters at the Sidwell Friends School from 1967 to 1980, she coordinated, edited, and produced the school's publications and arranged events hosted by the school. Reflecting her training in, and love of, dance, she also choreographed many of the Upper School's annual musical productions.

From 1981 to 1983 she was director of public relations and volunteer coordinator for the Center for Youth Services in Washington, DC. In 1985, she co-founded Language Work, dedicated to helping Washington area employees improve their literacy and communication skills. Within that firm she was also co-director and coordinator of Lead to Read, a foundation-supported pilot program to train literacy tutors, which she adapted for corporate use in 1987. From 1982-85 she also tutored adult and returning students in basic reading and basic through advanced writing at the George Washington University Reading Center.

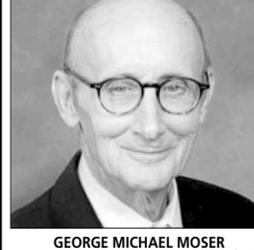
Although, or because, her early decades were shadowed by a number of family tragedies, Vera was a resilient, strong woman with a remarkable gift for friendship and festivity. Even in her last and largely silent years, her family and caregivers could see her feet performing the patterns of various dance steps whenever music was played. There was always a party somewhere.

She is survived by her son, Stephen (Cynthia); three grandchildren, Sarah Condomitti (Dan), Thomas, and John; and two great-grandchildren, Jeremy and Dylan Condomitti.

Funeral services will be held at a later date.

DEATH NOTICE

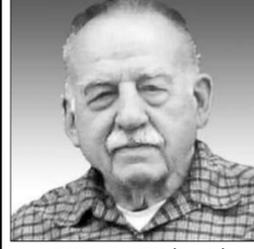
MOSER



GEORGE MICHAEL MOSER
George Michael Moser, 73 a resident of Fairfax, VA, passed away on October 1, 2024. He was born September 16, 1951 in Tokyo, Japan to the late Lieutenant Colonel Dewey Moser and Margaret Moser. Michael was raised in Japan, Turkey, Oklahoma, Ohio and Virginia. He graduated from W.T. Woodson High School in 1969. After graduation he served his country as a corpsman in the U.S. Navy, and was stationed at The Bethesda Naval Hospital and Camp Lejeune in North

DEATH NOTICE

TIEDE



HERBERT R. TIEDE (Age 94)
Colonel, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)

Colonel Herb Tiede, USMC (Ret.), passed away on September 5, 2024 in Woodbridge, VA. He was 94 years old.

Born in New Britain, CT, he was the son of Julius and Bertha Tiede. In high school, he excelled in math and sports. He enlisted in the Navy and after certifying as an electrician, he attended Naval Academy Prep School for a year. At Annapolis, he was a good football player and student in math and Russian language. His notoriety, however, was more about his room's weight set and deli food section than academics. Upon graduation in 1953, he was commissioned as a Marine Corps second lieutenant.

With the Corps Herb's first duty station took him to Korea where he patrolled the DMZ. Herb met Hazel while both were working in Washington, DC and playing tennis during

DEATH NOTICE

HIGHT



COLONEL ADOLPH A. HIGHT
Colonel Adolph A. Hight, Retired, peacefully departed this world on March 7, 2024, at the venerable age of 91, leaving behind a rich tapestry of memories that shall endure as

steadfast as his valorous spirit. Colonel Hight is survived by his wife, Dr. Orián Langley Hight, PhD, and his children: Dr. James Emmett Hight II, MD (son) and Dr. Linda Jones, DDS (daughter-in-law) of Rochester, New York, and Bryan Keith Hight (son) and Jense Tisdale Hight (daughter-in-law) of Washington, DC. His granddaughters, Olivia Arielle Hight and Gabrielle Elise Hight, bearers of Colonel Hight's legacy, grace the world with their presence.

A military funeral service shall grace the hallowed grounds of Arlington National Cemetery Fort Myer Old Post Chapel on November 15 at 11 a.m. a final salute to a soldier whose valor knew no bounds. A reception will follow at the Patton Hall Officer Club, 214 Buffalo Soldier Ave, Fort Myer, VA.

All Non-DoD ID Cardholders are required to have a Pass to access the Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall. For more information and to apply for the pass, please see the following link: <https://pass.aie.army.mil/bmh>. Fond memories and expressions of sympathy may be shared at www.NelsenWilliamsburg.com.

DEATH NOTICE

HOSTON



LOIS ANN (MCAFFEE) HOSTON
On November 2, 2024, Lois A. McAfee Hoston passed away peacefully at age 92 in Silver Spring, MD. Lois, known for her warmth and deep devotion to family, was a cherished mother, grandmother, friend, and mentor.

Born in Woodstock, VA, and raised in Washington, DC, Lois dedicated her life to serving her community with compassion and grace. Lois exhibited a great thirst for knowledge and determination for enhanced education. She attended and graduated from Howard University (HU) with a bachelor's degree (1954) and master's in social work (1956). While at HU, Lois was initiated in Alpha Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. She embraced the lifelong sisterhood

and service that came with AKA, and later helped charter Theta Omega Omega Chapter in Montgomery County, MD. Her career as a social worker was an extension of her deep compassion for others. She was a certified licensed Medical Social Worker, working with several hospitals in Washington, DC, Chicago, IL and Hartford, CT. In 1976, she became the social worker for Cripple Children's Services program of the Montgomery County Health Department, where she later retired from in 1994. Lois helped and counseled children who had special physical health problems and their families.

In her later years, Lois resided in Leisure World, where she formed countless bonds and enriched the lives of those around her with her kindness, compassion, and wisdom. Lois is survived by her daughter, Lisa Hoston, son, Norman (Tracey), grandson, Sam III, great granddaughter, Naomi, sister, Francena P. McAfee, as well as a host of nieces, nephews, cousins, and friends, who will forever remember her strength, generosity, and unwavering support.

A funeral service will be held to honor Lois's life on November 11 at Leisure World's Inter-Faith Chapel (3680 S. Leisure World Blvd., Silver Spring, MD) with an 11 a.m. viewing, 1 p.m. service, and afterward a repast at the Leisure World Clubhouse 1 Grill. In lieu of flowers, donations in her name may be made to the Montgomery County Department of Social Work or the Inter-Faith Chapel of Leisure World.

Her legacy of love and kindness will live on in the hearts of all who knew her.

DEATH NOTICE

JOHNS



HOMER WENDELL JOHNS
It is with heavy hearts that we announce the passing of Homer Wendell Johns, 93, on October 1, 2024. Homer was born in Baltimore, Maryland to the late George G. Johns and Anna L. Johns, and is preceded in death by his sister Betty Ann Norman and brother George Garratt Johns, Jr. He is survived by his wife Barbara, daughter Carole, son David, daughter-in-law Christa, his grandchildren Aaron, Addison, and Aiden, along with numerous nieces and nephews.

Homer received his engineering degree from Virginia Tech and went on to serve in the US Army from 1952 to 1955 where he was awarded three Bronze Stars along with several service medals. Following his service, he embarked on his career with the federal government. His passion, however, was as a volunteer firefighter with Fairfax County where he dedicated 57 years of his life serving the Great Falls and McLean communities. In 1967, he joined the McLean Volunteer Fire Department, and later joined the Great Falls VFD in 1971. He was a life member at both McLean and Great Falls, where he served as chief, in addition to other administrative official positions for decades. He also served as a member of the Old Dominion Historical Fire Society and the antique fire truck parade at the annual Apple Blossom Festival for several years.

A celebration of life will be held on November 16, 2024 at the Old Firehouse Church at McLean, 1440 Chain Bridge Rd, McLean, VA 22101.

In Lieu of Flowers, contributions will be welcomed at the Great Falls Fire Department, <https://www.greatfallsfd.org/donate.html> or the McLean Volunteer Fire Department <https://mcleanfvd.org/support-us/>.

DEATH NOTICE

KHAN



M. AZHAR KHAN
M. Azhar Khan died on September 28, 2024. He was born on December 12, 1953 in Pakistan. At the age of 19, he immigrated to the US after obtaining a law degree from the Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan. In the US, he went to the University of Miami School of Law and graduated in 1982.

Azhar practiced criminal defense law in the Washington, DC Superior Court for 39 years. He was well respected by his peers. He was regarded as having exceptional knowledge of the law and was known to prepare cases with diligence and care. He was humble yet confident when defending the constitution-

al rights of his clients.

Azhar was also a counsel and guardian in the Family Division of Washington, DC court for neglected and abused children for few years in the early 2000. He did a superb job as a counsel and guardian attorney. One couple wrote him a note of thanks after he helped them in adopting 2 special need children, "Once upon a time there was a girl and boy who did not know their future. You entered their lives as a guiding light. You cast your beacon and found them two loving parents. You assisted in filling our home with our family. We applaud your commitment to the children of the District of Columbia and especially our family. We will always be in your gratitude."

Azhar was fluent in speaking, reading and writing Spanish. He was a avid reader of Spanish literature and loved traveling to Spanish speaking countries.

Azhar is survived by his wife, Ghazala Kazi, his son, Omar and his wife Areej, grandson, Aydin, sisters, Azra Khan and Rubina Awan, and stepdaughter, Sumayya Ahmad. He had many good friends who were like family to him including Dr. Ghulam Jurtaza, Isaac Kunnirickal, John Eicher, Joseph Conte, Jane Norman, and Ferris Bond.

Azhar will live forever in the hearts of those he defended and loved.

Services previously held.

DEATH NOTICE

KASDEN



the late Dr. Harold G. Kasden and Lewis J. Brown, loving mother of Louisa Brown (the late David) Levenson and Shari Brown (and the late Jonathan) Ship, dear grandmother of Liza (Nate) Sulinski, Steven (Whitney May) Levenson, William (Erin Stanford) Levenson, Nina (Brian Greimel) Ship, Zachary Ship (fiancee Jessica Castello) and Maxwell Ship, cherished great grandmother of Leo and David Sulinski, Astrid and Zeida Levenson. Funeral service will be held on Monday November 11, 2024, 10 a.m. at Washington Hebrew Congregation, 3935 Macomb St., N.W., Washington, DC with interment following at Washington Hebrew Congregation Cemetery, 1380 Alabama Ave, S.E.

Shiva to be announced. Memorial contributions may be made to the David Levenson Scholarship Fund at Brookline High School, Brookline, MA, or to the U.S. Blind Baseball Association, P.O. Box 312, Lindenhurst, NY 11757. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-841-1001.

POST YOUR CONDOLENCES

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

BARRETT



GLADYS SALEEBY BARRETT (Age 96)
March 4, 1928 - October 24, 2024

Gladys enriched her life by volunteering in the community. One of her favorite volunteer roles was with the White House Greetings Office where she addressed greeting cards from the President of the United States to individuals to commemorate special events, accomplishments, or other milestones. She served in the Greetings Office through five administrations.

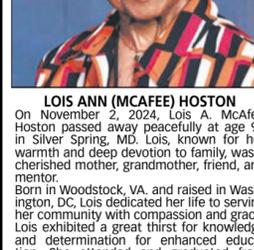
Gladys learned to play tennis as an adult and became an avid tennis fan. She was proud to be one of the founders of the Glebe Ladies Tennis Club in Arlington, Virginia. She also loved church life where she volunteered in many roles, including singing in the choir at various times and most recently in the monthly bagged meal preparation at St. Mary's.

Gladys is preceded in death by her husband, Frederick Barrett. She is survived by her children, Alice, (Brendan), Kathryn, (Craig), Gale, and Fred; five grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren; her sister Laurice, and several nieces and nephews. She will be missed by her cat, Boots. Gladys' greatest source of pride and joy was her family. While her children settled in different locations, she made a point of having the children, spouses, and grandchildren gather for annual trips to the beach. Her legacy is the loving family she leaves behind.

A memorial service will be held Wednesday, November 20, 2024, 11 a.m., at St. Mary's Episcopal Church, 2609 N. Glebe Rd., Arlington, VA 22207. Burial will take place at a future date at Arlington National Cemetery.

DEATH NOTICE

CHANG



BETTY W. CHANG (Age 72) M.D.
Betty Wei-Chung Chang, a beloved physician, wife, sister, mother and grandmother, passed away on November 4, 2024 with her family by her side. Born in 1952 to the late Drs. Sophia and Charles Chang, she attended Radcliffe College at Harvard University, and earned her doctorate from NYU Medical School. She completed a residency at Ba-

ries Hospital in NYC, NY and a fellowship at Children's National Medical Center in Washington, DC.

In over 36 years at Kaiser Permanente, Betty was perennially recognized as a top doctor and the Chief of Allergy for the DC/SM Region. She was known to her colleagues and patients for her optimism, generosity, and kindness. Betty treasured her time with family and dear friends who appreciated her vibrant personality and considerate nature.

During her final days, Betty inspired those around her and left a legacy of love, compassion, and dedication that is cherished by all who knew her. She is survived by her devoted husband, Henry; sons, Christopher (Alicia Llosa) and Robert (Mia Suurimie); grandchildren, Cecilia, Oliver, Victor, Daniel, Angelina, Marilyn, and Vincent; and her sister, Nancy (Jay Ambersson).

Betty's life will be honored on November 16 at the Church of the Little Flower in Bethesda, with a viewing from 2 to 3 p.m. and a service from 3 to 4 p.m. The family welcomes anecdotes about her life. In lieu of flowers, donations may be sent to charities for medical research.

DEATH NOTICE

DICKEY

VERA VIRGINIA STENGER DICKEY

Vera Virginia Stenger Dickey, a resident of Washington DC, from 1961 to 2014, died on October 22, 2024, in Pasadena, California, at the age of 96.

A native of Springfield, MO, she attended Drury College for one year before transferring to the University of Missouri School of Journalism where she received her B.J. and A.M. degrees in 1950 and 1953, respectively. Her university memberships included Mortar Board honor society and Theta Sigma Phi journalism society, in both of which she served as president, and Pi Beta Phi sorority.

Before moving to Washington, Ms. Dickey was assistant to the director of publicity at Radcliffe College from 1953-55 and held the same position at Barnard College from 1955-1960.

As the assistant to two headmasters at the Sidwell Friends School from 1967 to 1980, she coordinated, edited, and produced the school's publications and arranged events hosted by the school. Reflecting her training in, and love of, dance, she also choreographed many of the Upper School's annual musical productions.

From 1981 to 1983 she was director of public relations and volunteer coordinator for the Center for Youth Services in Washington, DC. In 1985, she co-founded Language Work, dedicated to helping Washington area employees improve their literacy and communication skills. Within that firm she was also co-director and coordinator of Lead to Read, a foundation-supported pilot program to train literacy tutors, which she adapted for corporate use in 1987. From 1982-85 she also tutored adult and returning students in basic reading and basic through advanced writing at the George Washington University Reading Center.

Although, or because, her early decades were shadowed by a number of family tragedies, Vera was a resilient, strong woman with a remarkable gift for friendship and festivity. Even in her last and largely silent years, her family and caregivers could see her feet performing the patterns of various dance steps whenever music was played. There was always a party somewhere.

She is survived by her son, Stephen (Cynthia); three grandchildren, Sarah Condomitti (Dan), Thomas, and John; and two great-grandchildren, Jeremy and Dylan Condomitti.

Funeral services will be held at a later date.

DEATH NOTICE

MOSER



GEORGE MICHAEL MOSER
George Michael Moser, 73 a resident of Fairfax, VA, passed away on October 1, 2024. He was born September 16, 1951 in Tokyo, Japan to the late Lieutenant Colonel Dewey Moser and Margaret Moser. Michael was raised in Japan, Turkey, Oklahoma, Ohio and Virginia. He graduated from W.T. Woodson High School in 1969. After graduation he served his country as a corpsman in the U.S. Navy, and was stationed at The Bethesda Naval Hospital and Camp Lejeune in North

Carolina. During this time he married Deborah Balch and had a son, Joshua Michael Moser. His marriage later ended in divorce.

Upon completion of his military service Michael graduated with distinction from the University of Virginia. The course of his career that followed was both diverse and impactful, reflecting his lifelong interest in government and the arts. After a role at a non-profit organization, Michael furthered his passion for the arts through advanced study at Moser Gallery in Fairfax City. The gallery specialized in original oil paintings, watercolors, prints and custom framing. Moser Gallery became the exclusive dealer of Buckley Moss paintings in Fairfax County. Michael also served Fairfax County at voting centers, managing local, state, and federal elections, and later worked for several years at Annandale United Methodist Church.

Michael is survived by his son, Josh Moser, daughter-in-law Allison Moser, grandchildren Will and Ella Moser, sisters Kathy Piczak, and brother-in-law, Chris Piczak.

A celebration of Michael's life will take place at Annandale United Methodist Church at 22003 Columbia Pike, Annandale, VA 22003 on Saturday, November 9 at 3 p.m.

DEATH NOTICE

TIEDE



HERBERT R. TIEDE (Age 94)
Colonel, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.)

Colonel Herb Tiede, USMC (Ret.), passed away on September 5, 2024 in Woodbridge, VA. He was 94 years old.

Born in New Britain, CT, he was the son of Julius and Bertha Tiede. In high school, he excelled in math and sports. He enlisted in the Navy and after certifying as an electrician, he attended Naval Academy Prep School for a year. At Annapolis, he was a good football player and student in math and Russian language. His notoriety, however, was more about his room's weight set and deli food section than academics. Upon graduation in 1953, he was commissioned as a Marine Corps second lieutenant.

With the Corps Herb's first duty station took him to Korea where he patrolled the DMZ. Herb met Hazel while both were working in Washington, DC and playing tennis during

down time. Their 62-year marriage started soon after. Herb excelled as a Marine, using his curiosity, enthusiasm, and persistence to solve problems and make the world better and safer for everyone. Over his 30-year career Herb learned Russian and French, and traveled to Garmisch, Germany, Headquarters, USMC, Baltimore, MD (Okinawa, Japan, Quantico, VA (several times), Vietnam, Moscow, Russia for 3 years (then Soviet Union), Camp Lejeune, NC, and Beirut, Lebanon. As an intelligence officer, his work supported national defense and relationship building at strategic levels. He led a battalion of motor transport Marines and ignited his passion for having quality preventive maintenance and logistic products. In life, his goal was to prevent problems, fix what was broken, and keep learning, repeating the cycle as often as needed.

After the Marine Corps, Herb worked as a preventative maintenance specialist for a company that served factories and transportation systems around the U.S. He and Hazel continued touring the world, meeting new people, and making friends everywhere. He also remained active in community volunteer work, specifically Kiwanis Woodbridge and Salvation Army.

Predeceased by his parents, siblings, and wife, Herb is survived by his children: John (John), Jan (Paul), and Paul (Laurie); grandchildren, Sierra, Samantha, Allison, and Timothy; and his brother's children Carolyn (Mike), and Albe (Ana).

Services will be held on November 1, 2024. Memorial donations may be directed to the Woodbridge Kiwanis Club Foundation, ATTN: Brian Bell, 4691 Fisherman's Cove, Montclair, VA 22025.

Semper Fi, Herb!

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The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

HIGHT



COLONEL ADOLPH A. HIGHT
Colonel Adolph A. Hight, Retired, peacefully departed this world on March 7, 2024, at the venerable age of 91, leaving behind a rich tapestry of memories that shall endure as

steadfast as his valorous spirit. Colonel Hight is survived by his wife, Dr. Orián Langley Hight, PhD, and his children: Dr. James Emmett Hight II, MD (son) and Dr. Linda Jones, DDS (daughter-in-law) of Rochester, New York, and Bryan Keith Hight (son) and Jense Tisdale Hight (daughter-in-law) of Washington, DC. His granddaughters, Olivia Arielle Hight and Gabrielle Elise Hight, bearers of Colonel Hight's legacy, grace the world with their presence.

A military funeral service shall grace the hallowed grounds of Arlington National Cemetery Fort Myer Old Post Chapel on November 15 at 11 a.m. a final salute to a soldier whose valor knew no bounds. A reception will follow at the Patton Hall Officer Club, 214 Buffalo Soldier Ave, Fort Myer, VA.

All Non-DoD ID Cardholders are required to have a Pass to access the Joint Base Myer-Henderson Hall. For more information and to apply for the pass, please see the following link: <https://pass.aie.army.mil/bmh>. Fond memories and expressions of sympathy may be shared at www.NelsenWilliamsburg.com.

DEATH NOTICE

HOSTON



LOIS ANN (MCAFFEE) HOSTON
On November 2, 2024, Lois A. McAfee Hoston passed away peacefully at age 92 in Silver Spring, MD. Lois, known for her warmth and deep devotion to family, was a cherished mother, grandmother, friend, and mentor.

Born in Woodstock, VA, and raised in Washington, DC, Lois dedicated her life to serving her community with compassion and grace. Lois exhibited a great thirst for knowledge and determination for enhanced education. She attended and graduated from Howard University (HU) with a bachelor's degree (1954) and master's in social work (1956). While at HU, Lois was initiated in Alpha Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. She embraced the lifelong sisterhood

and service that came with AKA, and later helped charter Theta Omega Omega Chapter in Montgomery County, MD. Her career as a social worker was an extension of her deep compassion for others. She was a certified licensed Medical Social Worker, working with several hospitals in Washington, DC, Chicago, IL and Hartford, CT. In 1976, she became the social worker for Cripple Children's Services program of the Montgomery County Health Department, where she later retired from in 1994. Lois helped and counseled children who had special physical health problems and their families.

In her later years, Lois resided in Leisure World, where she formed countless bonds and enriched the lives of those around her with her kindness, compassion, and wisdom. Lois is survived by her daughter, Lisa Hoston, son, Norman (Tracey), grandson, Sam III, great granddaughter, Naomi, sister, Francena P. McAfee, as well as a host of nieces, nephews, cousins, and friends, who will forever remember her strength, generosity, and unwavering support.

A funeral service will be held to honor Lois's life on November 11 at Leisure World's Inter-Faith Chapel (3680 S. Leisure World Blvd., Silver Spring, MD) with an 11 a.m. viewing, 1 p.m. service, and afterward a repast at the Leisure World Clubhouse 1 Grill. In lieu of flowers, donations in her name may be made to the Montgomery County Department of Social Work or the Inter-Faith Chapel of Leisure World.

Her legacy of love and kindness will live on in the hearts of all who knew her.

DEATH NOTICE

JOHNS



HOMER WENDELL JOHNS
It is with heavy hearts that we announce the passing of Homer Wendell Johns, 93, on October 1, 2024. Homer was born in Baltimore, Maryland to the late George G. Johns and Anna L. Johns, and is preceded in death by his sister Betty Ann Norman and brother George Garratt Johns, Jr. He is survived by his wife Barbara, daughter Carole, son David, daughter-in-law Christa, his grandchildren Aaron, Addison, and Aiden, along with numerous nieces and nephews.

Homer received his engineering degree from Virginia Tech and went on to serve in the US Army from 1952 to 1955 where he was awarded three Bronze Stars along with several service medals. Following his service, he embarked on his career with the federal government. His passion, however, was as a volunteer firefighter with Fairfax County where he dedicated 57 years of his life serving the Great Falls and McLean communities. In 1967, he joined the McLean Volunteer Fire Department, and later joined the Great Falls VFD in 1971. He was a life member at both McLean and Great Falls, where he served as chief, in addition to other administrative official positions for decades. He also served as a member of the Old Dominion Historical Fire Society and the antique fire truck parade at the annual Apple Blossom Festival for several years.

A celebration of life will be held on November 16, 2024 at the Old Firehouse Church at McLean, 1440 Chain Bridge Rd, McLean, VA 22101.

In Lieu of Flowers, contributions will be welcomed at the Great Falls Fire Department, <https://www.greatfallsfd.org/donate.html> or the McLean Volunteer Fire Department <https://mcleanfvd.org/support-us/>.

DEATH NOTICE

KHAN



M. AZHAR KHAN
M. Azhar Khan died on September 28, 2024. He was born on December 12, 1953 in Pakistan. At the age of 19, he immigrated to the US after obtaining a law degree from the Punjab University, Lahore, Pakistan. In the US, he went to the University of Miami School of Law and graduated in 1982.

Azhar practiced criminal defense law in the Washington, DC Superior Court for 39 years. He was well respected by his peers. He was regarded as having exceptional knowledge of the law and was known to prepare cases with diligence and care. He was humble yet confident when defending the constitution-

al rights of his clients.

Azhar was also a counsel and guardian in the Family Division of Washington, DC court for neglected and abused children for few years in the early 2000. He did a superb job as a counsel and guardian attorney. One couple wrote him a note of thanks after he helped them in adopting 2 special need children, "Once upon a time there was a girl and boy who did not know their future. You entered their lives as a guiding light. You cast your beacon and found them two loving parents. You assisted in filling our home with our family. We applaud your commitment to the children of the District of Columbia and especially our family. We will always be in your gratitude."

Azhar was fluent in speaking, reading and writing Spanish. He was a avid reader of Spanish literature and loved traveling to Spanish speaking countries.

Azhar is survived by his wife, Ghazala Kazi, his son, Omar and his wife Areej, grandson, Aydin, sisters, Azra Khan and Rubina Awan, and stepdaughter, Sumayya Ahmad. He had many good friends who were like family to him including Dr. Ghulam Jurtaza, Isaac Kunnirickal, John Eicher, Joseph Conte, Jane Norman, and Ferris Bond.

Azhar will live forever in the hearts of those he defended and loved.

Services previously held.

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THE WEATHER

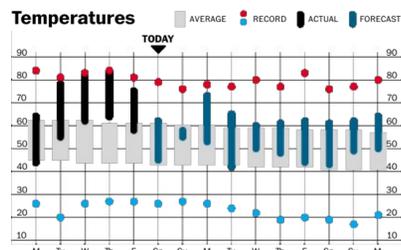
WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER · X: @CAPITALWEATHER · FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

Back to normal?

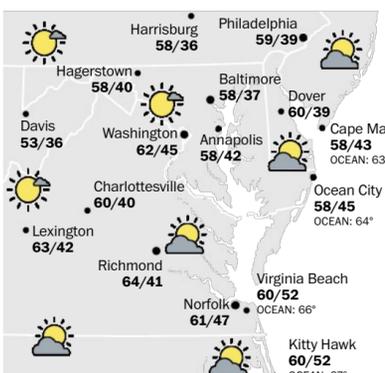
 Today will still be a bit breezy, especially in the morning. That November feeling returns with high temperatures *merely* in the mid-50s to low 60s. Sunshine will dominate until late afternoon, when some high clouds may arrive. In the evening, it will become increasingly — but slowly — cloudy, and breezes should be fairly calm. Temperatures will dip into the upper 30s to mid-40s.

Today	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday
Partly sunny	Shower	Mostly sunny	Mostly sunny	Mostly sunny	Cloudy, rain
					
62° 45°	58° 55°	73° 53°	65° 42°	60° 50°	61° 48°
FEELS [®] : 64°	FEELS: 55°	FEELS: 72°	FEELS: 64°	FEELS: 60°	FEELS: 60°
CHNCE PRECIP: 0%	P: 15%	P: 15%	P: 10%	P: 10%	P: 65%
WIND: NNE 6-12 mph	W: S 7-14 mph	W: WNW 7-14 mph	W: NNW 8-16 mph	W: E 6-12 mph	W: S 6-12 mph
HUMIDITY: Low	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: High

OFFICIAL RECORD



REGION



Pollen: High
Grass Low
Trees Low
Weeds Low
Mold High

Air Quality: Moderate
Dominant cause: Nitrogen oxide

UV: Moderate
3 out of 11+

Blue Ridge: Today, partly sunny; cooler. High 50 to 58. Winds northeast 6-12 mph. Tonight, becoming cloudy. Low 38 to 47. Winds south 6-12 mph. Sunday, a couple of showers. High 48 to 52. Winds southwest 8-16 mph. Monday, warmer in northern parts.

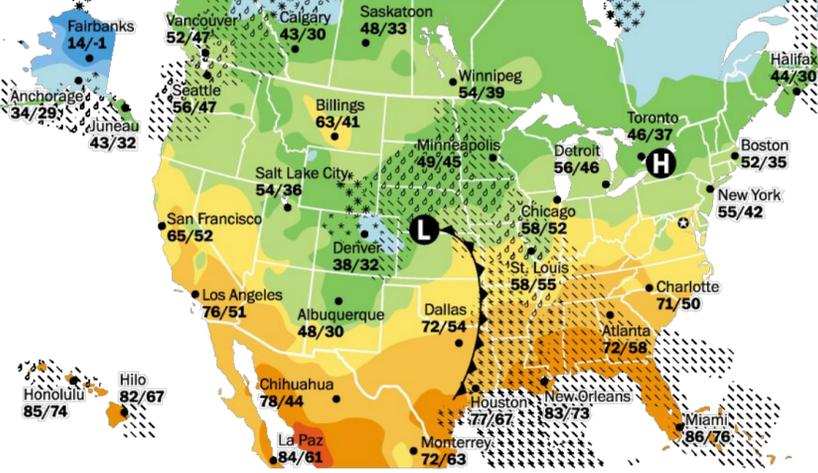
Atlantic beaches: Today, mostly sunny; cooler. High 57 to 61. Winds north 10-20 mph. Tonight, increasing clouds. Low 38 to 48. Winds east-southeast 4-8 mph. Sunday, mostly cloudy, showers at night. High 61 to 68. Winds south 8-16 mph.

Waterways: *Upper Potomac River:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind north-northeast 6-12 knots. Waves 1-3 feet. Visibility unrestricted. *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind north 7-14 knots. Waves 1-2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 2-4 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 Sunday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in **Bold**)

City	12:49 a.m.	8:14 a.m.	1:30 p.m.	8:27 p.m.
Washington	5:19 a.m.	10:33 a.m.	4:46 p.m.	11:30 p.m.
Annapolis	5:19 a.m.	6:47 a.m.	1:13 p.m.	7:47 p.m.
Ocean City	2:33 a.m.	8:43 a.m.	2:59 p.m.	9:38 p.m.
Norfolk	1:44 a.m.	6:51 a.m.	12:31 p.m.	7:20 p.m.

NATION



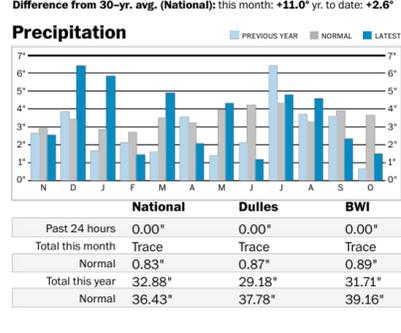
Yesterday's National High: McAllen, TX 92° Low: Manassas, CO -2°

World High: Julia Creek, Australia 111° Low: Taskan, Russia -42°

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow	Des Moines	50/44/r	56/41/c	Oklahoma City	64/43/s	70/44/s
Albany, NY	50/27/s	53/47/pc	Detroit	56/46/pc	60/48/r	Omaha	53/42/sh	58/39/pc
Albuquerque	48/30/s	53/33/s	Fairbanks, AK	14/-1/pc	8/-5/s	Philadelphia	59/39/s	62/55/c
Anchorage	34/29/pc	33/23/s	Fargo, ND	48/42/r	55/34/pc	Phoenix	76/50/s	82/52/s
Atlanta	72/58/pc	65/60/c	Hartford, CT	55/28/s	59/49/pc	Pittsburgh	53/46/pc	50/50/r
Austin	77/56/pc	82/55/pc	Honolulu	85/74/sh	85/73/sh	Portland, ME	48/29/c	53/45/pc
Baltimore	58/37/s	59/51/c	Houston	77/67/r	81/65/c	Portland, OR	58/49/r	57/50/r
Billings, MT	63/41/s	58/35/pc	Indianapolis	62/55/pc	64/44/r	Providence, RI	52/30/s	57/51/pc
Birmingham	78/68/sh	72/64/c	Jackson, MS	83/70/r	77/64/r	Raleigh, NC	66/44/pc	67/59/c
Bismarck, ND	51/36/r	59/29/pc	Jacksonville, FL	82/69/sh	83/66/sh	Reno, NV	64/36/pc	69/52/pc
Boise	56/40/c	56/45/c	Kansas City, MO	60/43/r	63/42/s	Richmond	64/41/pc	63/55/sh
Boston	52/35/s	57/50/pc	Las Vegas	67/47/s	71/47/pc	Sacramento	70/45/pc	69/52/pc
Buffalo	50/37/s	56/50/r	Little Rock	71/62/s	76/53/r	St. Louis	58/55/r	67/46/r
Burlington, VT	46/30/s	53/48/pc	Los Angeles	76/51/s	75/51/pc	St. Thomas, VI	87/78/sh	85/79/r
Charleston, SC	76/61/pc	80/66/c	Louisville	68/61/pc	66/51/r	Salt Lake City	54/36/s	58/41/c
Charlotte	69/50/pc	61/52/r	Memphis	70/66/r	74/57/r	San Diego	73/48/s	72/51/pc
Charlotte	71/50/pc	59/56/c	Miami	86/76/pc	85/76/r	San Francisco	65/52/pc	65/57/pc
Cheyenne, WY	40/35/sn	53/33/s	Milwaukee	55/52/pc	61/48/c	San Juan, PR	88/77/sh	86/78/r
Chicago	58/52/pc	60/45/pc	Minneapolis	49/45/sh	53/42/sh	Seattle	56/47/r	55/48/r
Cincinnati	63/54/pc	64/47/r	Nashville	73/61/sh	70/55/r	Spokane, WA	49/39/c	49/42/sh
Cleveland	57/45/s	60/48/r	New Orleans	83/73/c	80/69/r	Syracuse	49/32/s	56/49/pc
Dallas	72/54/s	77/55/s	New York City	59/42/s	59/54/pc	Tampa	86/72/pc	86/73/pc
Denver	38/32/sn	47/31/s	Norfolk	61/47/pc	68/62/c	Wichita	59/39/pc	66/41/s

Precipitation

	National	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.00"	0.00"	0.00"
Total this month	Trace	Trace	Trace
Normal	0.83"	0.87"	0.89"
Total this year	32.88"	29.18"	31.71"
Normal	36.43"	37.78"	39.16"



Moon Phases

Date	Phase
Nov 9	First Quarter
Nov 15	Full
Nov 22	Last Quarter
Dec 1	New

Solar system

Planet	Rise	Set
Sun	6:44 a.m.	4:59 p.m.
Moon	1:38 p.m.	7:13 p.m.
Venus	10:07 a.m.	12:28 p.m.
Mars	9:52 a.m.	12:28 p.m.
Jupiter	6:47 p.m.	9:29 a.m.
Saturn	2:18 p.m.	1:27 a.m.



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Piper Yerks 703-963-1263
Ben Roth 202-465-9636



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Janine Peva 202-258-6080
Nancy Taylor Bubes 202-256-2164
Lenora G. Rubino 202-262-1261



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3508 Prospect St. NW, Washington, DC
Kim Gibson 202-258-2628
Eileen McGrath 202-253-2226



SPRING VALLEY \$7,495,000
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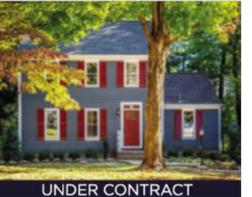
RIVER FALLS \$1,790,000
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Anne Killeen 301-706-0067



SEMINARY HEIGHTS \$1,500,000
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Gary Dopala 703-795-0697
Aaron Scuggs 703-403-8970



RIVER FALLS \$1,500,000
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Anne Killeen 301-706-0067



RESTON \$950,000
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Marianne Prendergast 703-626-7500
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CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Beyoncé vs. the Beatles vs. Grammys nonsense

BY CHRIS RICHARDS

On Friday morning, the Recording Academy issued its annual slate of nominees for the upcoming 67th Grammy Awards with a loud splash and a quiet reminder: The Grammys are not about you.

Those little gramophone trophies are not designed to celebrate true greatness, or bestow actual importance, or reflect the tastes of the time. Instead, this is an industry-voted awards ceremony. It shows us how the music business sees itself. That's it. And this year, Grammy voters are telling themselves that one of the most important pieces of music they have to offer contemporary society is a resuscitated Beatles demo.

The song is called "Now and Then." John Lennon recorded it in his home in 1977. His surviving bandmates began tinkering with it in 1995, and picked it up again in 2021. It was finally released in 2023. Nice tune. But if it had been made by anyone else, who would care? Now it's nominated for record of the year, one of the most prestigious trophies that the Recording Academy will dole out during its annual telecast on Feb. 2.

This gesture seems to capture everything frustrating and unserious about the Grammys, a tired prestige mechanism that remains incurious, unimaginative, inward looking, backward looking, uninterested in celebrating the fullness of the present, allergic to rap music and worse. Two of the most notable names compet-

SEE NOTEBOOK ON C3



SUSAN WALSH/AP

Beyoncé's song "Texas Hold 'Em" is up against the Beatles' "Now and Then" in Grammys' record of the year category.

THEATER REVIEW

A play about history repeating

BY NAVEEN KUMAR

"Prayer for the French Republic" is, among other things, a play about history repeating and the durability of prejudice. Talk about timing. Joshua Harmon's many-sided investigation of Jewish identity makes its regional premiere in the capital amid a political context that proves its case: Forget the past at your peril.

Remembrance, a central tenet of Judaism, is a survival instinct. So is assimilation. When the narrator, Patrick Salomon (Cody Nickell), introduces us to his sister Marcelle (Danielle Skraastad), both wear their Parisian identity more proudly than any other. Certainly there is something very French about Marcelle's cool detachment as she traces her bloodline connection to Molly, a distant cousin, like a breezy list of Old Testament begats.

Bookish idealist Molly (Jourdan Lewanda) has landed on Marcelle's couch from America, studying abroad in the fall of 2016. Her arrival is our window onto the Salomons, whom Patrick tells us have been in France for more than a thousand years. But when Marcelle's son Daniel (Ethan J. Miller) gets jumped in the street for the second time, their will to stay is tested.

Daniel is more religious than his parents and wears a kippah, though Marcelle would rather he wouldn't. Why make himself a target? Her husband, Charles (Ariel Eliaz), was born in Algeria before fleeing to Paris when the country won independence from France. Flight is part of Charles's Sephardi heritage and he's ready to do it again — this time, to Israel. The announcement comes as a shock and causes everyone involved to

SEE THEATER REVIEW ON C3

ELECTION 2024

The president-elect's road to victory went through alternative forms of media



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

PODCASTS PROVED POWERFUL FOR TRUMP

BY MANUEL ROIG-FRANZIA, ELAHE IZADI AND HERB SCRIBNER

Up in the luxe skybox suite on a college football game day this fall, a familiar array of Trumpian true believers was thickening.

Kid Rock mingled alongside Donald Trump, then a candidate seemingly stalled in a deadlocked presidential race, while down below the University of Georgia's team struggled against the hometown University of Alabama squad. Golf legend John Daly filled the room, spectacularly bearded and mountainous. An assortment of politicians — the victorious and the vanquished — made the scene.

So many wanted a moment with Trump. But on his way out at halftime, Trump found more than a few moments for a man with a microphone in his hand — Clay Travis, the founder of Outkick, a brash conservative website that blends sports, politics and culture. It was time to commune with the like-minded.

Prompted by Travis, who was there to record an episode for his podcast, "Outkick the Show," Trump shared his take on the game — "Georgia is just off a little bit." Travis quickly steered the conversation into politics, as Trump disparaged the handling of the immigration issue by his opponent, Vice President Kamala Harris, calling it a "disqualifier." Trav-



CARMEN MANDATO/GETTY IMAGES

Joe Rogan was among the podcasters who interviewed Donald Trump in the campaign.

is, whose show appears on multiple digital platforms and has 1.7 million subscribers on its YouTube channel, interjected: "I agree."

It hadn't taken much convincing to score the interview, Travis told The Washington Post, because he'd interviewed Trump many times before. On Travis's programs and others like it, Trump and his campaign staff had long since found a welcoming home among the podcasters, internet streamers and other alternative media, whose programs tend to be lengthier and far more informal than mainstream outlets are. The strategy allowed Trump to essentially sidestep, especially toward the end of the campaign, the legacy media organizations that once dominated political discourse and often bedeviled him with investigative pieces and probing questions.

"There is no question that this election was probably a breaking point in terms of the role legacy media plays in political campaigns," said Dan Pfeiffer, a co-host of the popular liberal podcast, "Pod Save America." Trump "paid no price" for mostly ignoring legacy media — appearances on Fox News aside — in the final month-and-a-half of the campaign, something that would have been unheard of in

SEE PODCASTS ON C3

Were all those coconut memes for naught?

BY TATUM HUNTER

Vice President Kamala Harris grabbed headlines for her campaign's fluent use of TikTok to reach millions of potential voters on social media. But it didn't translate to victory at the polls.

Harris inherited the Democratic nomination just 107 days before the general election, but her campaign seemingly struck gold early on with a few weeks of viral fame on TikTok, the short-form video app that could be banned in the United States as soon as January. Videos referencing Harris's now-famous coconut speech and supercuts of the vice president set to Charli XCX songs flooded the zone, as an online army of professional and amateur creators made content promoting her. But Harris's early hype and continued

success on TikTok didn't tip the scales on Election Day, and strategists on both sides of the aisle want to know why.

While Harris enjoyed a media cycle about her savvy TikTok presence, in reality the Trump campaign wasn't far behind. Harris racked up more than 3.4 billion views on TikTok across the Harris, Walz and campaign accounts since the vice president launched her personal account in February, according to a Washington Post analysis of TikTok view count data. The Trump campaign cracked 3.2 billion views since the president-elect started his personal account in June.

What feels big on the internet is often smaller in reality, said Eli Pariser, author

SEE TIKTOK ON C2

"It's clear from election results that the electorate was very concerned about the economy, inflation and immigration. ... They wanted substance on those issues. And that just wasn't on offer during brat summer."

Eric Wilson, Republican strategist

Harris's campaign won at TikTok but lost at the polls

TIKTOK FROM CI

of "The Filter Bubble," which coined the term in 2011 to describe the way personalized algorithms warp our perceptions. Our media ecosystem is now so fragmented, it's difficult to place where we are inside of it, he said.

"You lose your frame of reference, you can't tell how representative what you're seeing is," Pariser said. "Is this just for me? Is this what everyone's seeing? It's disorienting."

Social media is new enough that campaigns struggle to understand its impact on actual voting behavior, digital campaign experts say. TikTok in particular has an algorithm so opaque, it's hard to know who you're reaching and why. Even users inside the app often can't confidently comment on what's popular, because what's trending on your feed might be absent from someone else's.

It's possible this election was decided on TikTok, said Eric Wilson, a Republican strategist who led digital campaigns including Marco Rubio's presidential bid in 2016. "It's just surprising that it wasn't decided for Kamala Harris."

Harris soundly won the vote among 18- to 29-year-olds, but among 30- to 44-year-olds, another key demographic on TikTok, she came in a single percentage point higher than Donald Trump — 49 percent versus 48 percent, according to exit polls.

Both Harris and Trump ran



EMMA KUMER/THE WASHINGTON POST; CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

robust campaigns on TikTok and other platforms in an election where infiltrating a particular online community could make or break a candidate. Trump racked up appearances on podcasts aimed at young men, hung out on X and his own right-leaning Truth Social, and showed up at UFC fights.

Meanwhile, commentators praised the Harris campaign for pumping out videos that fit the style and tone of TikTok, where silly mashups and straight-to-camera venting tend to outperform polished content. Harris's rhetorical question during a 2023 address — "You think you just fell out of a coconut tree?" struck a chord with TikTokers, and they set the quote to tunes

from singer Chappell Roan. An endorsement on X from Charli XCX — "kamala IS brat" — triggered a glut of Harris-related TikToks inspired by the pop star's hit album "Brat."

"People on TikTok felt excited. It felt like a new way forward," said Abby Cox, a Democratic organizer in Arizona who makes political videos for her 7,400 followers on TikTok. "On top of that, we were meeting people where they were."

Maybe Harris accounts were preaching to the choir on TikTok, reaching only the voters they'd already won. Or maybe the videos were resonating but the message wasn't, Wilson, the political strategist, said.

Across the board, the Harris

Maybe Harris accounts were preaching to the choir on TikTok, reaching only the voters they'd already won.

campaign had strong vibes but weak messaging, according to Wilson, and the same is true on TikTok. Pro-Harris videos may have pushed the right cultural buttons and reached the right voters, Wilson said, but if her campaign promises weren't clear and compelling, it's a miss.

"It's clear from election results that the electorate was very concerned about the economy, inflation and immigration," Wilson said. "They wanted substance on those issues. And that just wasn't on offer during brat summer."

Not all pro-Harris videos were lighthearted or referential. Josh Cook — a strategist who runs an influencer agency that connects paying clients, including the Harris campaign, with left-leaning

creators — said the creators he worked with often addressed specific issues and built connections with communities of voters online. When viewers followed a link off the TikTok app, where they could be tracked in a browser, his data showed the videos were reaching not just Democratic sympathizers but moderates and conservatives as well, he said.

TikTok has been called the new front page of the internet. If Democrats made any mistake with the app this election cycle, it was not investing enough, according to Cook. The Harris campaign spent relatively little on organic internet and influencer marketing compared to TV ads, he said: Who knows what would have happened if they had invested in new media the way it deserves?

TikTok and the Harris campaign did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

Barring a ban on the app, Cook has no plans to stop using TikTok for political messaging. The challenge for next election, he said, will be to better coordinate between online efforts and real-life organizing.

TikTok buzz didn't get Harris into office, but that doesn't mean it was a waste for Democrats, said Ioana Literat, an associate professor at Columbia University who wrote the book "Not Your Parents' Politics: Understanding Young People's Political Expression on Social Media."

The internet used to be about seeking information, then it became about networking with the popularization of chatrooms, blogs and social apps, she said. Now, it's about expressing ourselves. As people create and engage with content on TikTok, they're being politically socialized — with the help of a powerful and inscrutable algorithm, of course. These voters will remember the ideas they encountered on TikTok long after they swipe past, Literat said.

Of course, the same is true for people who open the app and see an entirely different world.

Jeremy Merrill contributed to this report.

Retiree's dream of a months-long hike prompts a half-joke about divorce



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Dear Carolyn: I'd love to hike something long, five to six months, like the Appalachian Trail someday soon now that I'm retired, but my wife half-jokingly said she'd have to divorce me. This bothers me.

— Take a Hike?!

Take a Hike?! So ... have you said this to her yet?

If your extended hike would cause financial strain or add significantly to her domestic workload, or you're suggesting it just as she's dealing with a bunch of other big stuff of her own, or if you're always the one to go off on adventures while she handles the boring work of stability, then she has standing to object.

If she's just anticipating feeling

abandoned or worried about you — in other words, if she's making you responsible for her feelings — then she doesn't have fair claim on your sense of adventure. And potential life and marital refresh.

This is why you talk about it instead of letting a half-wisecrack become the last word.

Unless she was making a Mark Sanford joke? In which case you take her with you, for the comic relief.

(Hurricane Helene devastated parts of the Appalachian Trail; check conditions or donate at bit.ly/3NDP49p.)

Re: Hike: What's wrong with not wanting your spouse to leave for six months? I would not want that, whether it's to hike the Appalachian Trail or for any other reason. Not because of any chores or financial hardship, just because I don't want to be away from my spouse for six months. If my spouse were planning that

kind of solo trip, I would absolutely have to rethink a lot of things about my marriage, including whether to stay in it. What's wrong with that?

— Rethink

Rethink: That to avoid losing six months with this person, you'd throw out your lifetime with this person. It's some weird math.

Re: Hike: Certainly talk it through with your wife, but it would be hard not to take it personally if my spouse were considering an adventure that would separate us for six months. I enjoy being with my spouse, and if I didn't have that because of a choice, not a necessity, then I would definitely be sad and hurt. Perhaps they can find a good compromise for length or for meeting up during the hike.

— Personal

Personal: I see what you're saying



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

— but a full-trail hike is a quest, which is not about wanting or not wanting to be with a spouse for X amount of time. Instead, it's a desire to test our limits. An entirely different facet of being human.

If anything, the high quality of the partnership at home can make a quest more attractive or feel more achievable.

Meeting points along the way might be necessary for resupply.

Re: Hike: People in the military, among other jobs, are away from their spouses for six months all the time. But they usually knew about that going in.

— Anonymous

Anonymous: True on both

counts. Though there can still be a lot of space between what we know going in and where life takes us. That should hit my understatement quota for the month.

Re: Hike: My husband is going to Europe on sabbatical at my suggestion for two months. I'll be alone with the dogs for seven weeks of that time. I can't wait. Of course, we've been married for decades, so.

— Alone With the Dogs

Alone With the Dogs: I don't know how he's leaving the dogs for two months.

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.

the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
THEATRE					
	PRAYER FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC 2024 Best Play Tony Nom., Drama Desk Winner	Now playing through Nov. 24, 2024	This award-winning epic family drama breaks open the global question "Where are we safe?"	"Easily the finest play of the Broadway season." - The Wall Street Journal	Price varies
MUSIC - ORCHESTRAL					
	Shostakovich + Dvořák with conductor David Chan and cellist Hai-Ye Ni	November 17, 2024 at 4:00 PM	The Apollo Orchestra presents a free concert featuring principal conductor David Chan and Philadelphia Orchestra principal cellist, Hai-Ye Ni. The program includes Shostakovich's Symphony no. 9 and Dvořák's Cello Concerto.	Church of the Little Flower 5607 Massachusetts Avenue Bethesda, MD 20816 https://www.eventbrite.com/e/shostakovich-dvorak-tickets-1013277218437	Free Free parking
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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Trump embraced alternative media

PODCASTS FROM C1

elections past, said Pfeiffer, who was communications director in Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign.

It might be too much to call the 2024 campaign the "Podcast Election," though a few have gone there, or to say that Trump's embrace of the medium was key to his victory. After all, 67 million viewers tuned into cable and broadcast networks to watch the September debate between Harris and Trump, which was hosted by ABC News. Big newspapers — such as the New York Times, The Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal — produced notable accountability journalism about the candidates and campaigns.

But clearly Trump and his surrogates saw incredible value in tapping into a podcast ecosystem that has large numbers of young male listeners who otherwise might have skipped casting ballots. It is a place occupied by hosts, such as Travis, who made it clear that Trump was their favored candidate and who also saw their unabashed support as a way of being transparent and connecting even more deeply with their audiences.

During Trump's victory speech early Wednesday morning, Dana White, the CEO of Ultimate Fighting Championship, joined him onstage and thanked podcasters and internet personalities — the Nelk Boys; Adin Ross; Theo Von; the duo from Bussin' with the Boys; and "the mighty and powerful" Joe Rogan, the nation's top-rated podcaster, who'd endorsed Trump late in the campaign. Elon Musk, the ardent Trump booster who owns the social media platform X, described podcasts as difference makers in Trump's campaign during an interview Tuesday with another alternative media star, former Fox News host Tucker Carlson.

Podcasts were once barely a flicker in political campaigns but have exploded in popularity in recent years. Monthly podcast listening has nearly doubled since 2016 — an estimated 135 million Americans older than 12 now say they listen monthly, and 98 million do so weekly, according to Edison Research. And podcasts are most popular among younger people between the ages of 12 and 34. Young men and boys listen more monthly than do young women and girls — 53 to 46 percent — according to a 2023 study from Edison and SXM Media.

And although there are all different kinds of podcasts — consumed on platforms like Apple and Spotify, but also, increasingly, as videos on YouTube — about two-thirds of listeners say the podcasts they listen to discuss the news, according to the Pew Research Center.

At the same time, traditional

legacy media audiences, particularly for news, have eroded over the decades. Daily newspaper circulation, digital traffic to newspaper websites and local television news ratings are all down, per Pew. About 15 years ago, as many as 90 percent of households paid to get TV channels; now, it's barely half. Television is still the single most common way Americans get their political news, according to Pew, but it's way more popular among older Americans than those younger than 29, whose most common source is social media.

There are even some more recent numbers that show waning interest in more traditional forms. Election night this year drew 42 million viewers across more than a dozen television networks; that's 25 percent less than during the last presidential election. Rogan's wide-ranging, three-hour interview with Trump less than two weeks before the election got 46 million streams — which are counted if a user watches for at least 30 seconds — on YouTube alone.

Trump embraced alternative media earlier and more enthusiastically than most, in part because he wasn't being taken particularly seriously by some traditional media organizations. After his surprise 2016 victory over Hillary Clinton, one of his first calls was to an internet conspiracy theorist, Alex Jones, who'd interviewed him at length the year before on his Infowars streaming program. On the program, which aired several months after Trump announced his candidacy, Trump said he wouldn't apologize for asserting that large numbers of Muslims in New Jersey celebrated the collapse of the World Trade Center in the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, a claim that fact-checkers have repeatedly refuted.

Trump wasn't the only political figure hip to podcasts. An appearance on the "Joe Rogan Experience" podcast was crucial to launching the fleetingly hot 2020 Democratic presidential primary campaign of entrepreneur Andrew Yang. The buzzy Democratic strategist, Lis Smith, leveraged appearances on even entertainment and sports podcasts to turn Pete Buttigieg, then a little-known Indiana mayor, into a major candidate in that same race.

"If you're trying to win in a place like Iowa, where you need people on college campuses to vote for you, some of these students are more likely listening to a Barstool [Sports] podcast than they are watching Andrea Mitchell on MSNBC," Smith said in an interview. "Listeners have parasocial relationships with podcast hosts. That's why you see all these guys doing what Joe Rogan does, eating what Joe Rogan does. By going on these podcasts, it allows you to tap into that intimate relationship that a host has with the listeners."



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Barron Trump, the youngest son of the president-elect, recommended podcasts that his father's campaign staff should consider. AT RIGHT: Donald Trump talks with Clay Travis for his "Outkick the Show" podcast during the Georgia-Alabama college football game in September.



OUTKICK

Trump's podcast tactic went into overdrive in the 2024 campaign, partly because his teenage son, Barron, is a big podcast listener and began making recommendations to campaign staff of shows his father might want to join for interviews, according to two Trump advisers who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private strategy discussions. A younger generation of campaign staff was attuned to podcasts and pushing for them but "Barron was number one" among them, one of those advisers said.

Trump adviser Jason Miller told Politico that the strategy was seen as a way to humanize Trump and an opportunity "to meet voters where they are."

Sometimes that meant the 78-year-old Trump needed a little basic instruction. Ross, a live-stream host given a shout-out at Trump's victory party, walked him — very slowly — through a live tutorial in early August seated next to Trump at Mar-a-Lago while wearing a Make America Great Again cap. Did Trump know about live streams, he asked. "More or less, yeah," Trump said. "It's the new wave."

"This is a live-chat," Ross said, continuing the lesson by explaining the symbols used by viewers in the live-stream's chat area.

"W's mean it's good," Ross said, forming the letter with his fingers. "W means win."

Lengthy and casual podcast interviews allowed Trump to not only reach would-be voters, but also let him "not seem like a scary fascist," said Tim Miller, host of

the Bulwark Podcast, a center-right outlet frequently critical of Trump. "He might say some weird things, but it comes off as a conversation with your quirky uncle."

And so, when Trump appeared in June on Logan Paul's highly rated podcast, "Impulsive," it caused little more than a bemused ripple when he was drawn into a conversation about unidentified flying objects — not necessarily an issue central to the 2024 campaign or any other campaign.

"I want to talk to you about aliens. UFOs, UAPs, the disclosure we've seen in Congress recently," Paul said. "It's confusing and upsetting a lot of Americans because there's something happening. There are unidentified aerial phenomena in the sky; we don't know what they are. Do you?"

Trump responded, "I've met with pilots, who look just like you, actually. They have more of a crew cut ... These are perfect people, and they're not conspiratorial, they're not crazy, and they tell me stories that they have seen things that you wouldn't believe."

When asked whether he had access to more information, Trump replied, "I have access and I speak to people about it. I've had actually meetings on it, and they will tell you there's something going on."

As Trump was hopping from podcast to podcast, he and his staff were mocking Harris for not doing interviews — anywhere. They got traction creating a narrative that she was overly scripted, unable to answer questions and, in their words,

"not smart."

"Trump has been playing this circuit," said Donna Brazile, the longtime political strategist who was campaign manager for then-Vice President Al Gore's 2000 presidential run and headed the Democratic National Committee during Clinton's 2016 campaign. While the early Harris campaign was focusing more on social media than on interviews, "Donald Trump was talking to the influencers. He was on this circuit before it became a big deal."

Even when the spotlight should have been on Harris, such as during August's Democratic convention, Trump's mastery of the outrageous hijacked the media's attention at times.

Two days before Harris's acceptance speech, it seemed everyone in the political commentariat was talking about Trump asking the comedian and podcaster Theo Von about what it's like to be addicted to cocaine.

Harris, who became the Democratic nominee in late July, didn't sit for her first major interview as the nominee until Aug. 29. She talked to Dana Bash on CNN, alongside her running mate, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz, and it did little to quell the criticism of what Republicans were portraying as an aversion to speak her mind without prepared remarks. Trump had cemented the narrative, even though Harris wasn't entirely absent from media interviews and eventually began doing a lot of them.

She hit the podcast circuit, seemingly in an effort to speak to women and Black voters. She went on one of the most popular

podcasts in the country, "Call Her Daddy," along with "The Breakfast Club" and "Club Shay Shay." In those appearances, she often stuck to policy and the campaign. When Charlamagne tha God asked her about the critique that she stuck to talking points, she responded, "That would be called discipline. ... There are certain things that must be repeated to ensure that I have everyone know what I stand for and the issues at stake in this election."

Harris also spent plenty of time speaking to legacy media, including "The View," and "60 Minutes" in an interview that Trump skipped.

Still, even longtime Democratic stalwarts not involved in the campaign wondered what might have been if she did more sooner, at a time when they were watching the unfiltered Trump.

"On our side, we have to, you know, come up with a [vetting report] and then write a background paper before we can get one interview," Brazile cracked.

reckoning over the importance of legacy media — nascent though likely to grow — is already underway.

"We're all going to need to rethink political communications going forward," Pfeiffer said. "The old models don't work. There's always been a bargain between campaigns, politicians and the media. Politicians would sit down and do interviews and take hard questions, but politicians would suffer through that because that was the only way. Now that's no longer a good way to reach people."

Instead, he said, politicians will gravitate to alternative media that "don't bring to bear the same sort of journalistic scrutiny and desire to hold power accountable."

Brazile thinks it's not just Democratic political campaigns that need to rethink how they do things, but also the legacy media organizations. Republicans, she said, have already figured out a way around once-hugely influential newspapers and broadcast networks.

"They don't need the legacy media," she said. "They know they can sit in a room full of podcasters and whatever else you want to call the influencers that lead his base and they will write down his every word, even if it's spelled backwards."

And it doesn't necessarily matter whether traditional media deem those words — spelled correctly or backward — to be true.

"The fact-checking machine is also part of the strategy" for a candidate like Trump, said Travis, the Outkick founder, who sold the company to Fox Corporation in 2021. "Let 'em see if I'm right or wrong. Doesn't matter, because they're talking about me."

It isn't just the U.S. political universe that is taking note.

On Thursday, Nayib Bukele, the president of El Salvador, who has joked he is "the world's coolest dictator," wrote on social media that he'd spoken with the president-elect.

They had an "interesting conversation," Bukele said in a post on X. High on his list of topics they discussed: Trump's podcast strategy.

Will the Beatles shake the Beyhive?

NOTEBOOK FROM C1

ing with the Beatles for record of the year — an award that recognizes the recording of a song; the song of the year award recognizes composition — are Beyoncé for her high-spirited country hit "Texas Hold 'Em," and Kendrick Lamar for his searing beef track "Not Like Us." These are two deep-career artists whose generational contributions to popular music have been perennially snubbed on Grammy night. Neither has won album of the year. Beyoncé won song of the year once, way back in 2010. Lamar, never. Now they might lose record of the year to a Beatles demo? Grim.

Yet it's easy to imagine an even worse scenario, in which Taylor Swift takes home record of the

year for "Fortnight," a drab duet with Post Malone from her most recent and most unremarkable album, "The Tortured Poets Department." Earlier this year, Swift became the first four-time Grammy winner for album of the year, so it stands to reason that the Recording Academy has given her a new world to conquer. Cue the meaningless breathlessness: Taylor Swift beats the Beatles.

It's a surprise, if not a disappointment, that Beyoncé continues to subject herself to all this. Maybe it's a sustained campaign to try to humiliate the Recording Academy electorate. Her country-leaning "Cowboy Carter" is nominated for album of the year, a recording in which she gripes in song, "AOTY, I ain't win." It's also up for best country album, where

she actually has a shot. "Cowboy Carter" is nominated in that category alongside recent work from Chris Stapleton, Kacey Musgraves, Lainey Wilson and that inescapable Post Malone. All four of those artists were also nominated for prizes at this year's CMA Awards in Nashville. Beyoncé was not.

Has Beyoncé reached the point in her mega-fame where her losses invigorate her fandom more than her wins? If so, what happens if an album animated by Grammy grievance finally wins her the Grammy for album of the year? Perversely, it could happen. There's a song on "Cowboy Carter" called "Blackbird," originally recorded by a band that today's Grammy voters can't get enough of. They're called the Beatles.

Examining identity in a tense moment

THEATER REVIEW FROM C1

self-reflect.

Harmon's characters take shape around their differing perspectives on Jewish identity, their rigorous philosophical debates echoing within the scaffolding of a family drama. Marcelle's 28-year-old daughter Elodie (Dani Stoller), who for two years has been moping and storming around the apartment following a manic depressive episode, speaks in spiky, discursive paragraphs in defense of Israel. Molly, an American college student, pipes up with a counterpoint when she can get a word in, while Patrick's allegiance to France remains steadfast.

Director Hayley Finn's production, her first as incoming artistic director of Theater J, grounds the action on an intimate scale. While last season's Broadway premiere inflated Harmon's comedy to fill the room, here the show assumes a more true-to-life size, in the modest but still chic Paris apartment designed by Misha Kachman. If some of even the more obvious humor doesn't land, that may be due to the volatility of the context: The play premiered off Broadway in 2022, transferred in the months following Oct. 7 last fall, and meets audiences where we are now.

In an idea-driven show that traverses decades of Jewish history, the best moments come from personal connections, whether they bind people for life or merely a semester: Skraastad demonstrates extraordinary range as a firm wife and mother and a daughter who worries about leaving her aging father.



RYAN MAXWELL

The cast of Theater J's "Prayer for the French Republic."

Lewanda and Miller lend a sweet tentativeness to the flirtation between Molly and Daniel, whose fling is technically somewhat biblical.

Flashbacks to 1946, part of Harmon's effort to paint a broad canvas, are worth the visits with Brigid Cleary and Stephen Patrick Martin as Marcelle and Patrick's great grandparents, who were fortunate enough to be passed over during the German occupation of Paris. The fate of the piano shop that's belonged to the Salomons for five generations is traced back through these scenes, which add dimension but also a fair amount of bloat. The story, told across three hours, is most engaging when light on its feet.

There's an epic quality to Harmon's breadth of ideas, and a sense that he aims to encompass as many as possible. As Elodie insists in one especially dizzying diatribe: "You can't understand

one thing without understanding everything." That would be impossible, but the play's inclusive effort draws attention to what's left unaddressed. To my mind, it scrupulously avoids accounting for race — the experience of Jews of color, for example, or violence against those who can't choose to hide their difference. Doing so would enrich its conversations about antisemitism.

Inspiring such objections is among the show's strengths; there is an art to disagreement, and there ought to be disagreement about art. No one is likely to leave this show without feeling their personal convictions have been tested, which is just as it should be. Considering other points of view is the only way to make up your own mind.

Prayer for the French Republic, through Nov. 24 at Theater J in Washington. 3 hours with two intermissions. edjcc.org/theater-j.

Grammy nominations 2025: The top four categories

Album of the year

"New Blue Sun," André 3000
 "Cowboy Carter," Beyoncé
 "Short n' Sweet," Sabrina Carpenter
 "Brat," Charli XCX
 "Djesse Vol. 4," Jacob Collier
 "Hit Me Hard and Soft," Billie Eilish
 "The Rise and Fall of a Midwest Princess," Chappell Roan
 "The Tortured Poets Department," Taylor Swift

Record of the year

"Now And Then," the Beatles
 "Texas Hold 'Em" Beyoncé
 "Espresso," Sabrina Carpenter

"360," Charli XCX

"Birds of a Feather," Billie Eilish
 "Not Like Us," Kendrick Lamar

"Good Luck, Babel," Chappell Roan
 "Fortnight," Taylor Swift featuring Post Malone

Song of the year

"A Bar Song (Tipsy)," Shaboozey
 "Birds of a Feather," Billie Eilish
 "Die With A Smile," Lady Gaga and Bruno Mars
 "Fortnight," Taylor Swift Featuring Post Malone
 "Good Luck, Babel," Chappell Roan
 "Not Like Us," Kendrick Lamar
 "Please Please Please," Sabrina

Carpenter

"Texas Hold 'Em," Beyoncé

Best new artist

Benson Boone
 Sabrina Carpenter
 Doechii
 Khruangbin
 Raye
 Chappell Roan
 Shaboozey
 Teddy Swims

Beyoncé leads all nominees with 11 going into the Grammys, which take place Feb. 2. More nominations at wapo.st/2025gramminominees.

TELEVISION

Table with columns for time slots (7:00, 7:30, 8:00, 8:30, 9:00, 9:30, 10:00, 10:30, 11:00) and rows for various TV channels (4.1 WRC, 4.2 WRC, 5.1 WTTG, etc.) listing programs and their details.

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

9x9 Sudoku grid with some numbers pre-filled. Difficulty rating: ★★★★★

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PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

9x9 grid showing the solution to the previous Sudoku puzzle.

SCRABBLE GRAMS section with word racks and scoring information. Includes racks like E I U N I F R L and A I Y S L F F.

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS section with a crossword puzzle grid and clues. Clues include 'Exertion' and 'Begin a journey'.

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION with racks and scores. RACK 1: E I U N I F R L, RACK 2: A I Y S L F F.

DOUBLE BONUS section with a crossword puzzle grid and clues. Clues include 'More muscular' and 'Something given away'.

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | NOVEMBER 9: You are intelligent and articulate. You have strong opinions, which you don't hesitate to express.

CANCER (JUNE 21-JULY 22): A friend might surprise you today, or perhaps you are disappointed in your fair share of something.

SAGITTARIUS (NOV. 22-DEC. 21): You might spend time fantasizing or being caught up in daydreams today.

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

ACROSS 1 Running tally? 6 City on the River Clyde 13 Fast train between Union Station and Back Bay Station

12x12 crossword puzzle grid with numbers indicating starting points for clues.

23 Got completely out of hand 25 Colony toiler 26 Commits a hoops infraction

31 Vehicle with gull-wing doors 32 Shiba Inu meme that inspired a cryptocurrency

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE NORTH (D) ♠ 72 ♥ A J 3 ♦ Q 10 8 6 2 ♣ 7 2

For bridge players, the recap of their life is an "oughtabiography." We should have done this or that but, for reasons unknown, we didn't.

entries so South could use the diamonds. We all have "I shoulda" moments. Nobody ever played a perfect session.

DOWN 1 Seemingly endless 2 Like many gazebos 3 Water heater 4 Like Meg, among the March sisters

FRIDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION crossword puzzle grid with words filled in.

CLASSIC DOONESBURY

GARRY TRUDEAU



PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE



RED AND ROVER

BRIAN BASSET



AGNES

TONY COCHRAN



FRANK AND ERNEST

TOM THAVES



WUMO

MIKAEL WULF & ANDERS MORGENTHAUER



CLASSIC PEANUTS

CHARLES SCHULZ



MIKE DU JOUR

MIKE LESTER



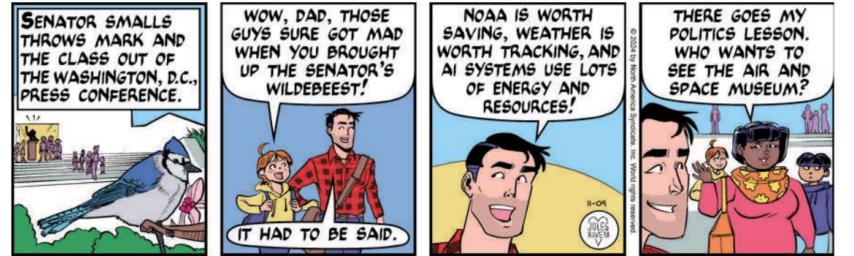
RHYMES WITH ORANGE

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



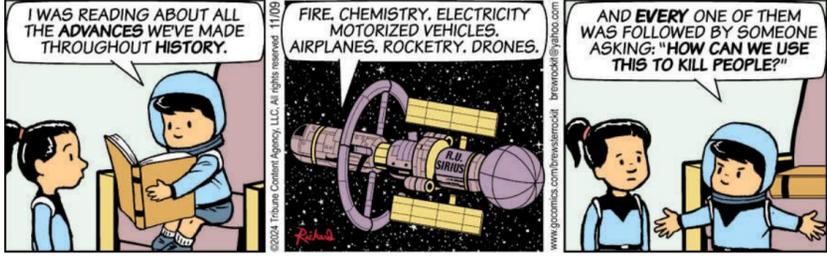
SALLY FORTH

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE



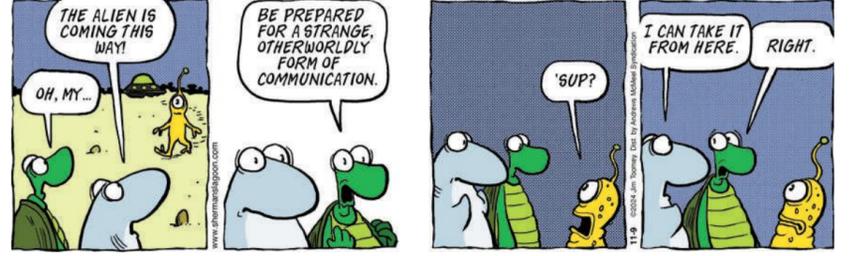
BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!

TIM RICKARD



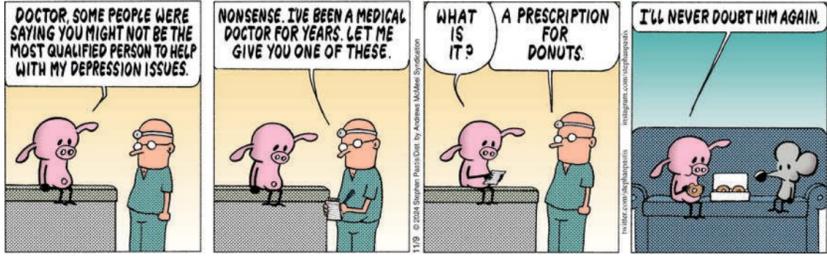
SHERMAN'S LAGOON

JIM TOOMEY



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



CURTIS

RAY BILLINGSLEY



MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL



ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



HEART OF THE CITY

STEENZ



JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



FRAZZ

JEFF MALLETT



CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL



GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS



BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK



DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER



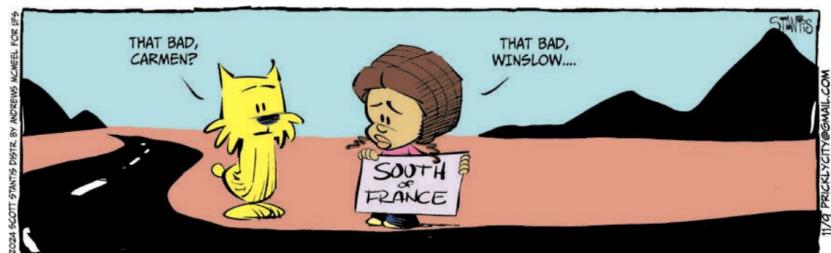
FLASH GORDON

DAN SCHKADE



PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS



LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK



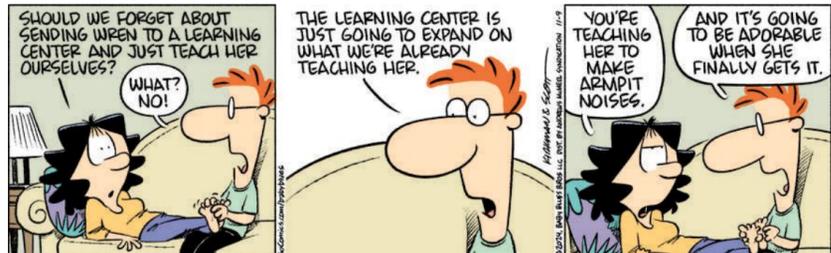
NON SEQUITUR

WILEY



BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE



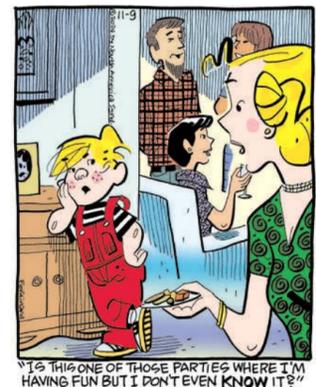
SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY



DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM





JOHN MCDONNELL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Capitals goaltender Charlie Lindgren, who stopped 28 of the 31 shots he faced Friday, dives to make a save on a third-period effort by the Penguins' Michael Bunting.

Depleted Memphis too much for Wizards

GRIZZLIES 128,
WIZARDS 104

BY VARUN SHANKAR

MEMPHIS — The Washington Wizards had a prime opportunity to snap a two-game losing streak Friday at FedEx Forum against the severely undermanned Memphis Grizzlies, who were without guards Ja Morant, Desmond Bane and Marcus Smart.

All three were out with injuries — Morant with hip soreness, Bane an oblique strain and Smart an ankle sprain. Memphis barely missed them, however, taking the lead for good early in the first quarter en route to a 128-104 win that dropped Washington to 2-5.

"They established their physicality early, and I didn't think we responded as much as we should," Wizards Coach Brian Keefe said. "We tried a little bit in the second half ... but they

SEE WIZARDS ON D5

Wizards at Magic
Sunday, 6 p.m., Monumental

Terrapins, Rice show off range in blowout

MARYLAND 86,
MOUNT ST. MARY'S 52

BY PATRICK STEVENS

At the top of Maryland's transfer portal shopping list last off-season was perimeter shooting, followed closely by outside shooting and then even more three-point shooting.

The Terrapins' staff figured Rodney Rice was especially well suited to check that box. He backed up that sentiment Friday night, scoring a career-high 28 points as Maryland clobbered Mount St. Mary's, 86-52, before 11,726 in College Park.

Rice had 26 points by the midpoint, including 22 in the last 7:45 of the first half, as the Terps opened with consecutive victories by at least 30 points for the first time since 2014-15. Rice was 3 for 5 from three-point range, a fine mix of effectiveness and shot selection.

"This is the way Rod's been playing for the last two or three weeks in practice," Coach Kevin

SEE MARYLAND MEN ON D5

Florida A&M at Maryland
Monday, 7 p.m., Big Ten Plus

Shake, waddle and roll

BY BAILEY JOHNSON

The Pittsburgh Penguins have not started the season well, coming into Friday night's game against Washington with just five wins in their first 15 games. The Capitals, by contrast, have flown out of the gates, entering the contest at Capital One Arena at 9-3-0.

On paper, the disparity between the long-time rivals seemed wide. On the ice, the two are still, well, rivals — and the Penguins gave no quarter. In the 70th regular season meeting between Pittsburgh captain Sidney Crosby and Washington captain Alex Ovechkin, the scuffling Penguins ended the Capitals' seven-game home winning streak with a 4-2 victory.

Goaltender Charlie Lindgren made 28 saves on 31 shots for the Capitals. Rookie netminder Joel Blomqvist stopped 32 of 34 for Pittsburgh.

"Anybody can beat anybody on any given night," Washington Coach Spencer Carbery said. "... You could tell, potentially, we underestimated how competitive the game was going to be in that first 20 minutes."

PENGUINS 4,
CAPITALS 2

Pittsburgh arrived in a slump. It left D.C. with a win over its rival.

The Penguins, despite having lost to the Carolina Hurricanes on Thursday in Raleigh, North Carolina, before traveling to D.C., jumped out to a two-goal lead in the first seven minutes. On Pittsburgh's first extended shift in the offensive zone, Washington left Erik Karlsson unmarked in the low slot, and Karlsson wasn't going to miss with that much open space. He converted on a pass from Evgeni Malkin at the 3:11 mark, then set up Michael Bunting for the second goal at 6:59.

Karlsson, working against defenseman Trevor van Riemsdyk on the rush, found a lane to feed Bunting as he crashed toward the net. Bunting's one-handed deflection beat Lindgren to give the visitors a 2-0 lead — on

just three shots.

"I just thought we were off," Carbery said. "I didn't like our play without the puck. It started from those first two. The two goals we give up are huge mistakes that I just don't see in our game very often. Right then, my antennas are up, like, 'This is off.'"

Defenseman Rasmus Sandin ended a 33-game goalless drought that dated back to late February with a wrist shot off the rush at 8:22. Sandin slipped the shot into a narrow window between Blomqvist's head and the crossbar, finding just enough space to get Washington on the board.

The Capitals went on the power play twice in the opening frame — once 21 seconds after Karlsson's goal and once when Karlsson slashed winger Andrew Mangiapane at the 12:47 mark — but failed to convert. Washington recorded four shots on goal on the first opportunity and two on the second but couldn't solve Blomqvist.

The effects of playing for the second time in as many nights began to appear for the

SEE CAPITALS ON D4

Capitals at Blues | 7 p.m., Monumental Sports Network

For O's, early exits mean reevaluating everything

Baltimore's Elias says tweaks already are in place

BY CHELSEA JANES

SAN ANTONIO — The Baltimore Orioles are not crossing their fingers. They are not taking solace in a small sample size. After being swept out of the postseason last month for the second straight year, the Orioles are reevaluating almost everything.

"It sucked. We've had a really unpleasant playoff experience now two years in a row," General Manager Mike Elias said this week. "Those of us that follow and study baseball know that some of that might be chance and

out of our control, but the way that I'm approaching it this winter is that it is something we need to fix."

Since emerging from their rebuild as promising young contenders, the Orioles have lost all five playoff games they played. In 2023, pitching was the problem. The young starters they needed to carry them did not fare well, prompting them to trade for ace right-hander Corbin Burnes a few months later.

This year, Baltimore's bats disappeared in 1-0 and 2-1 losses to

SEE ORIOLES ON D4

ON THE NFL

Jason La Canfora breaks down the growing list of teams that might soon be looking for a new coach. D3

HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL

The VHSL hands Hayfield, a Virginia title contender, a two-year playoff ban for improper transfers. D6



JOHN MCDONNELL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Quarterback Billy Edwards Jr. and the Terrapins (4-4, 1-4 Big Ten) traveled more than 2,800 miles to face the No. 1 Ducks on Saturday.

Terps' upset hopes call for a (long) flight of fancy

BY GENE WANG

The Maryland football team is set for its most daunting assignment of the season when it faces top-ranked Oregon on Saturday. Adding to the degree of difficulty for the Terrapins is the travel required to reach Autzen Stadium in Eugene.

Maryland has been planning for the odyssey that will cover more than 2,800 miles across three time zones for months — since the release of the schedule that included Maryland's first meeting with the Ducks (9-0, 6-0), one of four newcomers from the West Coast to join the Big Ten this season.

For the players, the first order of business was adjusting to Pacific time and modifying the routine for a typical game week. The Terrapins (4-4, 1-4) departed one day earlier than usual and arrived in time for a full practice in Eugene on Thursday before con-

COLLEGE FOOTBALL SATURDAY GAMES TO WATCH

Nationally

3 Georgia at 16 Mississippi
3:30 p.m., ABC

11 Alabama at 15 LSU
7:30 p.m., ABC

Locally

Navy at South Florida
Noon, ESPN2

23 Clemson at Virginia Tech
3:30 p.m., ESPN

Maryland at 1 Oregon
7 p.m., Big Ten Network

Virginia at 18 Pittsburgh
8 p.m., ACC Network

ducting a walk-through Friday afternoon.

The extra day to acclimate to the three-hour time change meant sacrificing a day of classes

SEE MARYLAND ON D3

THE DAY IN SPORTS

PRO FOOTBALL

Jones says Prescott wants to return in 2024

Dallas Cowboys quarterback **Dak Prescott** wants to avoid surgery so he can play again this season after tearing a hamstring, owner **Jerry Jones** said Friday.

Jones confirmed on his radio show that Prescott's hamstring was partially torn off the bone, a condition known as partial avulsion. A full tear of the tendon off the bone requires surgery, and Jones said it could be a few weeks before it is known whether surgery will be required.

The injury happened in last week's loss to the Atlanta Falcons. **Cooper Rush** will start in Prescott's place Sunday against the rival Philadelphia Eagles as the defending NFC East champion Cowboys try to stay in the playoff race.

Stephen Jones, Jerry's son and the Cowboys' executive vice president of personnel, said on his radio show later Friday that Prescott would be placed on injured reserve. The move will sideline the 31-year-old at least four games, and Prescott is likely to be out longer than that. ...

Jalen Hurts is clear on the injury report to play for the Eagles against the Cowboys after Coach **Nick Sirianni** revealed his quarterback apparently is dealing with an ankle issue.

Hurts was listed as a limited participant in practice Wednesday with the noninjury designation of rest. His participation was listed as full the next two days. ...

Buffalo Bills Coach **Sean McDermott** said **Keon Coleman** could miss multiple weeks with a wrist injury, ruling out the rookie wide receiver for Sunday's game at the Indianapolis Colts.

Buffalo also could be without wide receiver **Amari Cooper** for a second consecutive game. Cooper is listed as questionable and was still wearing a brace on his left wrist while practicing on a limited basis this week. ...

Jacksonville Jaguars quarterback **Trevor Lawrence** is "trending toward not playing" against the Minnesota Vikings on Sunday because of an injury to his nonthrowing shoulder, Coach **Doug Pederson** said. Backup **Mac Jones** is expected to fill in. ...

Tennessee Titans quarterback **Will Levis** will start Sunday at the Los Angeles Chargers after he missed three games with a sprained AC joint in his right throwing shoulder. ...

New York Jets interim coach **Jeff Ulbrich** said **Spencer Shrader** is likely to be the team's kicker Sunday at the Arizona Cardinals after another shake-up at the position.

COLLEGE BASKETBALL

Report: Gators' Golden accused of misconduct

Florida men's basketball coach **Todd Golden** is facing allegations of sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, stalking and cyberstalking multiple women — including students — over the past 12 months, according to a report in the school's student newspaper.

According to the Independent Florida Alligator, the claims against Golden include unwanted sexual advances on Instagram, requesting sexual favors, and sending photos and videos of his genitalia. The newspaper based its report on a copy of a Sept. 27 Title IX complaint against Golden it said it had obtained.

On more than one occasion, the paper said, Golden allegedly took photos of women walking or driving and sent those pictures to the subjects.

School officials declined comment when reached by the AP. Golden did not return a text message seeking comment. ...

Hunter Dickinson had 20 points and 10 rebounds for No. 1 Kansas, which blew a 20-point first-half lead against No. 9 North Carolina before holding on for a 92-89 win when **Elliot Cadeau** missed a three-pointer as time expired in Lawrence, Kan.

Zeke Mayo added 21 points for the Jayhawks (2-0), who led 49-29 in the first half but trailed 87-83 with 3:28 to go. Dickinson's layup with 1:17 remaining put Kansas back in front to stay.

Seth Trimble scored 19 points to lead North Carolina (1-1). **RJ Davis** had 16 points, and Cadeau finished with 12. ...

Ashlyn Watkins is back with the No. 1 South Carolina women's basketball team and is expected to play against No. 9 North Carolina State on Sunday.

Watkins was arrested and charged with assault and kidnapping Aug. 31 and was suspended from team activities until those charges were



MATTHEW STOCKMAN/GETTY IMAGES

Final feeling

Coco Gauff upset No. 1 Aryna Sabalenka, 7-6 (7-4), 6-3, on Friday to advance to the final of the WTA Finals in Saudi Arabia.

SPOTLIGHT: NFL

Suffering Saints value Pope Francis's plaudits

BY DES BIELER

The Catholic Church doesn't observe its World Day of the Poor until later this month, but Pope Francis already released a lengthy message about the observance in which he emphasized the importance of following the example of Jesus by "showing solidarity when dealing with the least among us."

To that end, His Holiness appears to be increasingly concerned with the plight of the New Orleans Saints, whose seven-game losing streak has dropped them to the bottom of the NFL standings. On track for its worst season in 20 years, the team has taken some comfort in the Pope's description of its members as "precious pearls" who "bear witness to paths of light that we too can trod."

At least, that's how it has appeared on X over the past week. Pope Francis has repeatedly shared posts about the "#Saints." Usage of that hashtag, regardless of whether it's in reference to the NFL team, triggers the franchise's fleur-de-lis logo on the site.

That was again the case Thursday, when the Pope used his official @Pontifex account to declare: "We cannot become #Saints with a frown. We must have joyful hearts that remain open to hope."

"Amen," the New Orleans Saints' official account replied.

It was the third time in the past week that the Pope's account used the #Saints hashtag in a post. The first was in a message that read: "The #Saints are formed by the Beatitudes: poor, meek, merciful, hungering and thirsting for justice, seeking peace. They are 'filled with God' and incapable of remaining indifferent to the needs of their neighbour. They bear witness to paths of light that we too can trod."

That came after the Saints fell to 2-6 with a 26-8 loss to the Los Angeles Chargers in which an ineffective Spencer Rattler, a fifth-round rookie making his third start in place of then-injured Derek Carr, was himself lifted for second-year quarterback Jake Haener in the third quarter. Carr was back Sunday, but New Orleans still managed to lose to the previously 1-7 Carolina Panthers.

That led Monday to the in-season firing of coach Dennis Allen. Describing him as "highly regarded within the NFL," Saints owner Gayle Benson said Allen "has been extremely loyal and professional and most importantly an excellent football coach for us. All of this makes today very tough for me and our organization."

The next day, Pope Francis told his 18.4 million followers: "The #Saints are precious pearls and are always living and relevant, because they provide a fascinating commentary on the Gospel. Their lives are an illustration of the Good News that Jesus brought to humanity: God is our Father, who loves everyone with boundless love."

In response, the team wrote: "Thank you for your prayers, Pontiff. We need them." Included in the Saints' post was a photo from April of Benson delivering a personalized jersey to the Pope.

A spokesman for the Vatican did not immediately respond to a request for comment on whether the Pope or his staff was aware of the repeated appearance of the Saints' logo in his posts.

TELEVISION AND RADIO

NHL
7 p.m. **Washington at St. Louis** » Monumental Sports Network, WJFK (106.7 FM)
7 p.m. **Ottawa at Boston** » NHL Network

NBA
5 p.m. **Utah at San Antonio** » NBA TV
7:30 p.m. **Brooklyn at Cleveland** » NBA TV
10:30 p.m. **Toronto at Los Angeles Clippers** » NBA TV

COLLEGE FOOTBALL, SEE PAGE D3

MEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL

Noon **Tennessee at Louisville** » ACC Network
Noon **Fordham at Seton Hall** » Fox Sports 2
2 p.m. **Quinnipiac at St. John's** » Fox Sports 2
4 p.m. **Fairfield at Georgetown** » Fox Sports 2, WJFK (1580 AM)
6 p.m. **Marist at Richmond** » MASN
6 p.m. **Stonehill at Providence** » Fox Sports 2
7:30 p.m. **Baylor at Arkansas** » ESPN
8 p.m. **New Hampshire at Connecticut** » Fox Sports 2
9:30 p.m. **Auburn vs. Houston** » ESPN

AUTO RACING

4 p.m. **NASCAR Xfinity Series Championship, qualifying** » USA Network
7:30 p.m. **NASCAR Xfinity Series Championship** » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)

GOLF

2 p.m. **PGA Tour: World Wide Technology Championship, third round** » Golf Channel

5 p.m. **PGA Tour Champions: Charles Schwab Cup Championship, third round** » Golf Channel
7 p.m. **LPGA Tour: Lotte Championship, final round** » Golf Channel
1:30 a.m. **DP World Tour: Abu Dhabi Championship, final round** » Golf Channel (Sunday)

SOCCER

7:30 a.m. **English League One: Mansfield Town at Wrexham** » CBS Sports Network
9:30 a.m. **German Bundesliga: Bayern Munich at FC St. Pauli** » ESPN2
10 a.m. **English Premier League: Fulham at Crystal Palace** » USA Network
10:45 a.m. **French Ligue 1: Monaco at Strasbourg** » BeIN Sports
Noon **NWSL playoffs, quarterfinals: North Carolina at Kansas City** » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
12:30 p.m. **English Premier League: Manchester City at Brighton** » USA Network
1 p.m. **French Ligue 1: Nantes at Lens** » BeIN Sports
3 p.m. **French Ligue 1: Paris Saint-Germain at Angers** » BeIN Sports

TENNIS

8 a.m. **WTA Finals, final; ATP: Serbia Open, final** » Tennis Channel

WOMEN'S COLLEGE VOLLEYBALL

3:30 p.m. **Penn State at Wisconsin** » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
4 p.m. **Oregon at Minnesota** » Big Ten Network
10:30 p.m. **Nebraska at Washington** » Big Ten Network

COLLEGE WRESTLING

2 p.m. **Stanford at Iowa** » Big Ten Network

Busquets was struck somewhere around his midsection in Game 1 of the best-of-three series and developed pneumonia-like symptoms. He didn't play in Game 2 last week — an Atlanta win. ...

The Canadian Soccer Association said an independent review confirmed the Paris Olympics drone-spying scandal was not an isolated misstep.

Canada Soccer CEO **Kevin Blue** said in a statement the spying "was a symptom of a past pattern of an unacceptable culture and insufficient oversight within the national teams."

GOLF

With hot start, Waring leads DP playoff event

Paul Waring hit the shot of his life to complete a career-low 11-under-par 61 in the second round of the Abu Dhabi Championship and establish a five-stroke lead heading into the weekend of the DP World Tour's first playoff event.

The 229th-ranked Englishman hit a draw with a 3-wood from about 260 yards to inside four feet at No. 18 and tapped in the birdie putt to move to 19 under for the tournament. The European tour confirmed to the AP that it is the lowest 36-hole score to par in its history. ...

Nico Echavarria moved into position to win consecutive PGA Tour events, shooting a 9-under 63 in calmer wind conditions for a share of the lead in the World Wide Technology Championship in Los Cabos, Mexico.

The ZoZo Championship winner two weeks ago in Japan for his second tour title, Echavarria matched **Max Greyserman** at 12-under 132 at El Cardonal at Diamante, a day after strong wind hit the **Tiger Woods**-designed layout. ...

A Lim Kim finished with two birdies for a 5-under 67 and one-stroke lead over **Nataliya Guseva** in the LPGA Tour's Lotte Championship.

Kim rebounded from a bogey on the par-4 16th with the birdies on the par-4 17th and par-5 18th. She had a 14-under 202 total at Honolulu's breezy Hoakalei Country Club with a round left. ...

Stewart Cink shot a 5-under 66 to maintain a three-stroke lead in the PGA Tour Champions' season-ending Charles Schwab Cup Championship in Phoenix.

HOCKEY

Kraken gets Sprong back from the Canucks

The Seattle Kraken reacquired **Daniel Sprong** in a trade with its cross-border rivals, the Vancouver Canucks, sending future considerations back in return for the well-traveled NHL forward.

Sprong, 27, had just three points and averaged under 12 minutes of ice time in nine games with Vancouver. He spent the end of the 2021-22 season and all of 2022-23 with Seattle before playing last season with the Detroit Red Wings. ...

Los Angeles Kings forward **Tanner Jeannot** was suspended three games for an illegal check to the head of the Canucks' **Brock Boeser** on Thursday, the NHL's Department of Player Safety announced.

MISC.

Gauff advances to face Zheng in WTA Finals

Coco Gauff beat top-ranked **Aryna Sabalenka**, 7-6 (7-4), 6-3, and set up a showdown with Olympic champion **Zheng Qinwen** in the final of the WTA Finals in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Gauff, at 20, is the youngest player to make the final at the WTA Finals since **Caroline Wozniacki** in 2010.

Zheng earlier defeated Wimbledon champion **Barbora Krejickova**, 6-3, 7-5, to book her place in Saturday's final. ...

A federal judge denied a motion by two NASCAR teams — one of them owned by NBA Hall of Famer **Michael Jordan** — to be recognized as chartered teams as they proceed with their antitrust lawsuit against the stock car series and chairman **Jim France**.

The motion was signed by federal judge **Frank Whitney** of the U.S. District Court of Western North Carolina in Charlotte. ...

An autopsy found that an Alabama high school football player, who collapsed during summer practice, died of congestive heart failure, the county coroner announced.

Semaj Wilkins, a 14-year-old freshman at New Brockton High, died in August after collapsing at the start of afternoon football practice.

— From news services

dismissed Nov. 1. She was reinstated Wednesday.

PRO BASKETBALL

Ex-Sparks coach Miller hired by Wings as GM

The Dallas Wings hired **Curt Miller** as their general manager and executive vice president of basketball operations.

Miller comes to Dallas after two years as the coach of the Los Angeles Sparks. Before that, he was the Connecticut Sun's coach for seven years and GM for six.

Wings President and CEO **Greg Bibb** held the role of GM before

giving it up last month when the team fired coach **Latricia Trammell**.

BASEBALL

29 players will qualify as Super Two this year

Boston Red Sox outfielder **Jarren Duran** and right-hander **Kutter Crawford** are among 29 MLB players with two to three years of service time who are eligible for salary arbitration.

Washington Nationals catcher **Riley Adams** also is among the Super Two players, along with Baltimore Orioles right-hander

Kyle Bradish.

The cutoff was set at 2 years 132 days of major league service, up from 2 years 118 days last offseason. ...

Aaron Boone will return for an eighth season as New York Yankees manager after the team exercised his 2025 option. ...

Preston Mattingly, a son of former star first baseman and manager **Don Mattingly**, was promoted to general manager of the Philadelphia Phillies under president of baseball operations **Dave Dombrowski**. ...

Mets outfielder **Tyrone Taylor** had a pair of operations and should be ready for spring

training in mid-February. ...

Los Angeles Angels shortstop **Zach Neto** could miss the start of the 2025 season after undergoing surgery on his right shoulder.

SOCCER

Busquets could return for Miami in Game 3

Sergio Busquets — whom Inter Miami Coach **Gerardo "Tata" Martino** had ruled out for Saturday's decisive playoff match against Atlanta United — received medical clearance to play and now is being listed as questionable.

There are a lot of bad teams — and plenty of coaches who are sitting on the hot seat

On the NFL

JASON
LA CANFORA

The billionaires are growing restless. The NFL trade deadline has passed, meaning the chance to get other teams to take salary off their hands has expired. And if the chasm between the haves and have-nots in a league that champions parity over quality seems more distant than ever, that's because indeed it is. Congrats, 2024 NFL season!

A whopping nine teams (more than a quarter of the league!) have two or fewer wins heading into Week 10. Over the past five seasons, an average of just six teams entered Week 10 without three wins. And only once this century have even eight teams failed to reach three wins after 10 weeks. That mark probably won't be beaten this season — the Giants and Panthers meet Sunday, and one of them probably will get a third win — but it could be equaled.

(By the way, how rich is it for owners to reward themselves during this time of widespread sloop by expanding the playoff field, forcing virtually every team into at least one prime-time window and playing more games abroad than ever? Gluttony knows no bounds in a monopoly.)

I bring this up because — after a week in which a second NFL coach was sent packing, along with another team's offensive coordinator — the poor records might be a leading indicator of an oncoming trend. Who do you think is going to pay for so many teams being hopeless and helpless this early in the season — and for the empty seats? Coaches. So despite a quarter of the NFL's teams just hiring new coaches in the offseason, buckle up. Because there is a strong sense among executives and

coaches around the league that the owners will duplicate that turnover next offseason, if not exceed it.

Here's how the landscape is shaping up:

New York Jets

Woody Johnson beat everyone to the punch, whacking Robert Saleh a mere five weeks into the season. Whether Aaron Rodgers stays or goes in 2025, a coaching search is about to begin. Former Jets stalwart defensive back Aaron Glenn would be an interesting hire, with his Lions defense quite stout and Detroit perhaps equipped to break a generational Super Bowl slump. Proven winners will stay away from this dead-end job, as they always do.

New Orleans Saints

Dennis Allen never performed like an NFL coach with the Raiders or Saints, but even with the Saints' cap situation a mess, their roster in tatters and seven straight losses, people in the league say football boss Mickey Loomis is considered bulletproof with ownership. Interim coach Darren Rizzi — like Antonio Pierce a year ago in Vegas — could land this job full time if the Saints show life down the stretch. "Mickey is going to be able to do whatever he wants," said one NFL general manager, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because GMs are not permitted to discuss another team's hiring process publicly. "Nothing has changed there."

Las Vegas Raiders

Pierce just brought in a bunch of out-of-work guys to fill out his offensive staff for the rest of the season, and the magic he conjured this time a year ago is long gone. "That's a wrap in Vegas," said one longtime NFL executive who has been a part of



SETH WENIG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Giants are one of nine NFL teams with just two wins, leading to speculation that Coach Brian Daboll and his staff are in trouble.

multiple coaching hires over the years. One NFL coaching agent, who does not represent Pierce but who could be involved in the Raiders' next hire, said: "Look at the division — Andy Reid [with the Chiefs], Sean Payton [Broncos], Jim Harbaugh [Chargers]. That's what you're going to compete with. And now Tom Brady is a part of that ownership group. Mark Davis needs to get a coach with some gravitas." Let the Bill Belichick rumors begin!

New York Giants

This is another obvious potential landing spot for Belichick. He has deep ties to the franchise and the Mara family. The failure to develop Daniel

Jones — or add a better quarterback option — and the stinging departure of Saquon Barkley, coupled with the Commanders' immediate ascent with a rookie quarterback, have the current Giants regime on life support. It would be shocking if there is not a reboot here despite any past or pending proclamations from ownership.

Jacksonville Jaguars

There was a sense around the league that had Doug Pederson lost both games the Jaguars played in London last month, he was getting fired. Several NFL figures close to Jaguars ownership believed that to be the case. Jacksonville survived against the Patriots in England,

and Pederson kept his job, but his offense is inept, and quarterback Trevor Lawrence is a problem despite getting a massive pay raise. Some rival executives believe Lions offensive coordinator Ben Johnson would get a blank check here, though questions remain as to whether he wants a top job after last year's flirtations that preceded his return to Detroit.

Dallas Cowboys

Believe Jerry Jones when he tells you how comfortable he is with Mike McCarthy and how much he likes working with him. It's true. But above all else, Jones is a businessman, and the business of the Cowboys is in peril as they get repeatedly blown out at home, going back to their ugly playoff exit against the Green Bay Packers last season. "He knows he has to throw his fans a bone," said the longtime executive, who knows Jones well. "He can't run it back."

Chicago Bears

Matt Eberflus has coached 21 road games with the Bears; he has had a halftime lead in two of them and been tied in four more. They have lost 18 straight Sunday road games. The first overall pick, Caleb Williams, is being outplayed by other rookie passers, and the Fail Mary situation in Washington two weeks ago was a fireable offense in and of itself. Locker room morale in Chicago is beyond poor, and players are essentially calling out this staff. "I didn't think he was ever going to get more than one year with Caleb Williams anyway," another NFL GM said. "They should have blown that up a year ago when they knew they were getting the quarterback with the first pick." Yup.

Carolina Panthers

Dave Canales just got there, you say. And after Carolina fired Frank Reich a few weeks into his tenure a year ago, there's no way it could fire another coach after a season or less. Nobody does that ... right? And to that I'd say: Don't tempt David Tepper. "Sure, he could do it again," said the first GM, whose instincts on the Panthers have been impeccable over the years. "He's going to take another quarterback [at the top of the first round]. And nobody else wanted to talk to Canales a year ago, and Tepper didn't want him in the first place."

Philadelphia Eagles

Sure, they have won four straight games, but Nick Sirianni really can't stay out of his own way for long; taunting Philadelphia fans is dangerous work. He was hanging by a thread after last season, and even last week's win over the lowly Jaguars came with more drama and doubt than it should have. A failure to advance in the playoffs would be damning. If I could bet on Belichick's next team, I would put my money on the Eagles.

Cleveland Browns

Is Kevin Stefanski to blame for the colossal mistake of acquiring and extending disgraced quarterback Deshaun Watson? Nope. Will some coaches and executives have to pay for another lost season in Cleveland, especially when the tempestuous billionaire owner is also grousing about the pushback to his plans for a sweetheart deal to get a new stadium financed? Stefanski lasting five years with Jimmy Haslam is like 50 years in Pittsburgh — and he's in Year 5. A firing is far from a sure thing, but some sort of shake-up is coming after all that spending for naught.

SATURDAY'S COLLEGE FOOTBALL TV GAMES

EARLY SHIFT

Noon	Purdue at Ohio State » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
Noon	Florida at Texas » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
Noon	Minnesota at Rutgers » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
Noon	Miami at Georgia Tech » ESPN
Noon	Navy at South Florida » ESPN2
Noon	Texas State at Louisiana Monroe » ESPNU
Noon	West Virginia at Cincinnati » Fox Sports 1
Noon	Syracuse at Boston College » CW Network
Noon	Liberty at Middle Tennessee » CBS Sports Network

Purdue-Ohio State, Florida-Texas and Miami-Georgia Tech feature three teams penciled into the 12-team College Football Playoff bracket, and the Buckeyes, Longhorns and Hurricanes are all double-digit favorites Saturday. Miami's game at Georgia Tech should be the most competitive, even if the Yellow Jackets have scored a combined 19 points in their past two games, losses to Notre Dame and Virginia Tech. Quarterback Haynes King missed both of those games, and his presence probably will be required if Georgia Tech is to have any thoughts of an upset. Unfortunately, Coach Brent Key was not all the forthcoming about King's status. "We're hopeful," he told reporters this week. "No, look, guys, I'm sorry. I don't have anything else to tell you other than he is day-to-day. He is improving. He practiced. He is out there, so we will see, and it will be a game-time decision."

SWING SHIFT

3:30 p.m.	Georgia at Mississippi » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
3:30 p.m.	Michigan at Indiana » WUSA (Ch. 9), WJZ (Ch. 13)
3:30 p.m.	Clemson at Virginia Tech » ESPN
3:30 p.m.	Army at North Texas » ESPN2
3:30 p.m.	Duke at North Carolina State » ACC Network
3:30 p.m.	Iowa State at Kansas » Fox Sports 1
3:30 p.m.	San Jose State at Oregon State » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)
4 p.m.	Colorado at Texas Tech » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
4 p.m.	Temple at Tulane » ESPNU
4:15 p.m.	South Carolina at Vanderbilt » SEC Network
4:30 p.m.	Jacksonville State at Louisiana Tech » CBS Sports Network

Two-loss Mississippi desperately needs to beat Georgia to return to the CFP picture, and any path to success for the Rebels involves their pass rush. Mississippi leads the nation with 41 sacks and has compiled 17 of them in its past two games alone, but Georgia quarterbacks have been taken down only 10 times through eight games, and the team's Pro Football Focus grade in terms of pass blocking ranks seventh nationally. Still, Georgia quarterback Carson Beck has thrown a turnover-worthy pass on 10.7 percent of his snaps under pressure, compared with a turnover-worthy pass on only 2.7 percent of his snaps with a clean pocket. ...

Indiana is favored to beat Michigan for the first time since at least 1968. The Hoosiers have defeated the Wolverines only twice over their past 44 matchups, and one of those wins was during the pandemic-affected 2020 season. One year after winning the national championship, Michigan has one of the nation's worst offenses: In their past four games, three of them losses, the Wolverines have failed to exceed 24 points.

NIGHT SHIFT

7 p.m.	Maryland at Oregon » Big Ten Network
7 p.m.	Mississippi State at Tennessee » ESPN
7 p.m.	Central Florida at Arizona State » ESPN2
7 p.m.	Oklahoma State at TCU » Fox Sports 1
7:30 p.m.	Florida State at Notre Dame » WRC (Ch. 4), WBAL (Ch. 11)
7:30 p.m.	Alabama at LSU » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)
7:45 p.m.	Oklahoma at Missouri » SEC Network
8 p.m.	Nevada at Boise State » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45)
8 p.m.	Virginia at Pittsburgh » ACC Network
9 p.m.	UNLV at Hawaii » CBS Sports Network
9:45 p.m.	Fresno State at Air Force » Fox Sports 1
10:15 p.m.	BYU at Utah » ESPN
10:30 p.m.	Utah State at Washington State » WDCW (Ch. 50), WNUV (Ch. 54)

Kalen DeBoer is looking to accomplish what Mike DuBose, Dennis Franchione, Mike Shula and, yes, even Nick Saban failed to do: beat LSU as a first-year Alabama coach. Gene Stallings is the last Crimson Tide coach to defeat the Tigers in his first season, back in 1990, but DeBoer will get his shot when Alabama visits LSU. Both teams enter with two losses, so the matchup almost certainly will serve as both an SEC championship and College Football Playoff elimination game. While LSU's rushing game is more or less nonexistent, Garrett Nussmeier is probably the best quarterback the Crimson Tide will see this season, and wide receivers Kyren Lacy and Aaron Anderson have combined for 1,232 receiving yards and 10 touchdowns. Though Alabama completely shut down Missouri's passing attack in its most recent game, the Crimson Tide gave up 8.8 yards per attempt in a close win over Georgia on Oct. 5 and then gave up 12 yards per attempt in a loss to Vanderbilt a week later.

— Matt Bonesteel



GREG FIUME/GETTY IMAGES

Billy Edwards Jr. and the Terrapins left for Eugene, Oregon, a day earlier than usual to help acclimate to the three-hour time difference.

Travel component adds to Terps' daunting challenge

MARYLAND FROM D1

in College Park, so the team's academic counselors accompanied players on the trip. It is Maryland's first visit to the West Coast for a regular season game since the 2009 season opener at California.

"It's obviously new to us, but with anything, we try to rehearse, you do the research, you try to figure out the best way to have your team prepared," Terrapins Coach Michael Locksley said Tuesday afternoon, adding that the team's equipment truck had made it through Nebraska late that morning. "We're not doing anything that other teams haven't done."

Aside from the logistic gymnastics, Maryland must also prepare for an opponent ranked 11th nationally in total offense and total defense and try to buck an unsightly trend against ranked Big Ten opponents dating from when the Terrapins joined the conference in 2014.

They are 0-34 in such games, including 0-16 under Locksley as the full-time coach. The previous

time Maryland, a prohibitive underdog, played the No. 1 team in the College Football Playoff rankings was Nov. 10, 2019, when the Terrapins suffered a 73-14 loss to Ohio State in Columbus. The Terrapins are 2-5 in program history against top-ranked opponents.

They also are 0-10 overall since 2017 coming off an open week, not including the first game of the regular season. On the heels of its first open week this season, Maryland lost to visiting Northwestern, 37-10, when it surrendered 20 points in the fourth quarter.

Maryland last played Oct. 26, losing to Minnesota, 48-23, at Huntington Bank Stadium in Minneapolis. Terrapins quarterback Billy Edwards Jr. threw two interceptions, although one came after he was hit in the chest while delivering the throw.

The redshirt junior finished 19 for 35 for 201 yards, his fewest this season, without a touchdown against the Golden Gophers. Edwards has four interceptions over the past three games after tossing three in the first six. Still, Edwards ranks second among Big

Ten quarterbacks and 10th nationally in passing yards per game (289.3).

"Coach Locksley always talks about as a quarterback you've got to be able to mitigate risk," Edwards said. "Whether it's a good play, bad play, you can't make it worse, so obviously those turnovers we've talked about, but from Aug. 1 when we started practicing to now the conversation and the message have been the same. As the quarterback, the leader of the offense, the play starts with me and ends with me."

Edwards spent part of last weekend in Virginia visiting his older brother, Kyle, the tight ends coach for Richmond, allowing himself several days to relax and clear his mind heading into Maryland's stretch run. It was a departure from his schedule during the Terrapins' first open week last month when he traveled to Texas to work on his throwing mechanics.

Locksley, who this season took over as quarterbacks coach in addition to calling plays, also amended his planning strategy from the Terrapins' most recent

weekend off, installing the entire game plan against Oregon on Monday when typically he would wait until Tuesday.

"We're actually going to have eight full days to prepare," Locksley said, "and the biggest thing for us is just getting [back] some of those bodies we missed against Minnesota — those guys are healthy finally — and to be able to add the depth back to our team, which allows us to practice the way we need to practice."

Among the Terrapins who either missed the previous game, exited early or played with ailments are nickelback Glen Miller, safety Dante Trader Jr. and linebacker Kellan Wyatt, all starters, as well as reserve safety Brandon Jacob. The patchwork defense yielded 443 yards of offense to the Golden Gophers.

"I feel as if just everything will be great, just getting bodies back, all hurt players that we're getting back healthy and everything," Maryland linebacker DJ Samuels said. "We have to keep guys to battle with [Oregon], so this two weeks of preparation definitely has been great."

Costas thought he lost a step as a play-by-play man. He is still as good as it gets.



John Feinstein

Bob Costas announced his retirement last week from calling Major League Baseball games. That is a huge loss for any of us who love

baseball.

Costas is 72 and believes he has lost a step as a play-by-play voice, and that's why he's retiring. One of the reasons people become the best at what they do is they set impossibly high standards for themselves. That's what Costas did: Despite massive success at just about everything he tried, he always wanted to keep learning and getting better. That's why, when he felt he had slipped a little bit, he decided to hang up the microphone.

Costas won't disappear — he will still host studio shows on MLB Network on occasion and will do commentary in various places — but he won't be doing baseball games anymore.

For those of us who love the sport and love listening to Costas call a ballgame, his departure will leave a void. His style was unique: polished, filled with anecdotes (a la his hero, Vin Scully), prepared and often filled with self-deprecating humor. He loved making jokes about his height — or lack of it. He was a joy to listen to

regardless of what role he was in but especially when he was doing baseball, his first love.

A little of this is personal because I consider Costas a friend. He has won 29 Emmy Awards, so I'm not the only one who considers him peerless.

We first met in the early 1980s at a North Carolina-N.C. State basketball game in Chapel Hill. I was covering the game for The Washington Post; he was filling in for Dick Enberg doing play-by-play, having recently been hired, at 28, by NBC. I liked him right away. He had



PHILAN M. EBENHACK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bob Costas, 72, is retiring as a play-by-play man for baseball games but will continue to host studio shows and provide commentary.

none of the self-importance that is so often part of that industry.

Years later, when I was working for Golf Channel, Rich Lerner — someone I like a lot — said to me early one morning as we prepared to go on the air at the U.S. Open, "You have to admit you can't possibly feel the same electricity from writing as you do from live TV."

As a matter of fact, I feel *more* electricity when writing than I ever got from doing TV. Costas never came across as someone convinced of television's superiority. He knew he was

good and was always self-confident, but he never acted as if being on TV made him special.

The night before that UNC-N.C. State game, he went to dinner with Dean Smith, North Carolina sports information director Rick Brewer and Al McGuire, his broadcast partner for the next day. When he was introduced to McGuire, Al looked at him and said, "So what do you do, son?"

It was Smith who said, "Al, this is your play-by-play man for tomorrow."

It was an easy mistake to

make. As Don Ohlmeyer, the man who hired him at NBC, pointed out, "he was 28 but looked 14."

Costas, who still looks boyish *today*, quickly rose to stardom, working as a 12-time host for NBC's Olympic coverage beginning in 1988, as an interviewer never afraid to ask a tough question and as an essayist/commentator who often angered people with his honest views on tough subjects.

His commentary took on real issues. In 2012, after the murder/suicide committed by

Kansas City Chiefs linebacker Jovan Belcher, Costas did a halftime piece on "Sunday Night Football," wondering whether Belcher and his girlfriend might still be alive if Belcher hadn't owned a gun and saying it was (again) time to look at the gun culture in the United States. He was — surprise — attacked by gun advocates, who insisted the subject shouldn't have been brought up during a football game, even though it involved the death of a football player.

During the Opening Ceremonies in 1992 and 1996, he

mentioned the accusations of drug use made against Chinese athletes — almost all of which proved to be true. That time, he was criticized for somehow taking away from the joy of the Olympics by having the audacity to tell the truth.

That's not what you are supposed to do on TV — especially when your network is paying millions to broadcast an event.

But Costas was never afraid to speak up, and he was often a target for the right wing, which he saw as a badge of honor. "I always try to be fair no matter who or what is involved," he once said to me. "But I'm not going to back off from an issue or become afraid to express an opinion."

He hosted numerous television and radio shows and not always ones about sports. He clearly enjoyed hosting and talking to people, but in the end he always wanted to do baseball play-by-play. He walked away from HBO, which has probably covered sports better than any other network over the past 30 years, to return to the booth, and he still loved preparing for and broadcasting games.

Naturally, his critics loved pointing out that he might have slipped from a 10 to a 9.5 in recent years. Just as naturally, Costas agreed with them.

There are few things I enjoy more than sitting down at night and watching baseball. Like every baseball fan, I miss Scully, who practically invented the play-by-play genre. I admire plenty of play-by-play voices: Gary Cohen with the New York Mets, Duane Kuiper with the San Francisco Giants.

But Costas was unique. His love of the game, his work ethic and his ability not to take himself too seriously were the reasons he was as good in his 44th year as he was at the beginning of his career.

I will miss him.

After back-to-back October flameouts, Orioles seek ways to take the next step

ORIOLES FROM D1

the Kansas City Royals. Given the Orioles' offense had the fourth-best OPS in the majors during the regular season despite falling off in the second half, its sudden disappearance presents a more difficult conundrum, one less easily addressed by a few quick changes in player personnel.

Yet for the past month, Elias explained, he and his staff have conducted in-depth reviews of nearly all of their major league processes, exploring ways to insulate themselves better against the urgency of October. They have brainstormed ways to make sure next time is more successful, pondering whether anything from new approaches to player mindset or offensive planning might give them a chance to fare better.

"We've uncovered things we could be doing better. I'm not going to announce them to the whole world, but we've made changes and tweaks, and we're going to talk a lot more this winter about how we can execute better, even in a short playoff

series or down the stretch," Elias said. "How do we get the most out of our young players when the pressure is on them the most? There's just a lot we've been uncovering and talking about. Even if it isn't the reason the team didn't get base hits for a couple nights in October, it still feels to me like it's productive to get out ahead."

Exactly what kinds of new resources or player support personnel those conversations might yield is not yet clear, though some visible change is already underway on the Orioles' coaching staff. Director of hitting Ryan Fuller, bench coach Fredi González and major league coach José Hernández will not return next year. Chicago White Sox General Manager Chris Getz confirmed this week that Fuller will serve as new manager Will Venables' director of hitting in 2025.

Those moves came separately from the departure of Fuller's fellow hitting coach, Matt Borgschulte, who left the Orioles by choice to return to the Minnesota Twins, with whom he coached

from 2017 to 2021. The Orioles have yet to name replacements, though MASN Sports reported this week that Cody Asche, who was in the Baltimore dugout this year as an offensive strategist, will join fellow former major leaguer Tommy Joseph to coach their hitters.

"We're trying to put ourselves in a position, whether it's through personnel or the way we do our jobs or just self-improvement for people that are in place — so we're putting ourselves in the best position to not have it happen again next year," Elias said. "Because it stings. And I view it as a failure on my part if we're not able to adjust and get a better outcome."

This week's general managers meetings in San Antonio signaled the start of a more familiar improvement process: determining how the Orioles will craft their roster to make a deeper run in 2025.

Elias acknowledged his disappointment that the Orioles could not make more of the year they had with the ace he acquired to make the difference. Burnes, 30,

is one of the more consistent starting pitchers of the past half decade and therefore is likely to be coveted by a wide range of teams with money to spend. For most of Elias's tenure, the Orioles have not been one of those teams. But this offseason, as they try to keep or replace Burnes and do the same with switch-hitting outfielder Anthony Santander, the Orioles might have more leeway to spend on top-tier talent.

Agent Scott Boras, who represents Burnes, said Elias told him the Orioles plan to be highly competitive for elite free agents.

"We're going to meet on a number of players," Boras said this week. "So I definitely think they have an attitude to pursue levels of acquiring some great players."

Elias, meanwhile, said new owner David Rubenstein and his group have indicated a willingness to compete at the top of the free agent market.

"They're empowering us to look for opportunities and good investments," Elias said. "... The best way to say it is this owner-

ship is going to enable us to run this franchise optimally."

Running the 2025 Orioles optimally, Elias said, will require the addition of some starting pitching via free agency or trade. If Burnes departs, they will need to replace him. Right-hander Kyle Bradish will not return from Tommy John surgery until the second half of the season.

The free agent class offers several top-of-the-rotation options, including Burnes, lefty Max Fried and former Cy Young Award winner Shane Bieber (who also would be returning from Tommy John). The St. Louis Cardinals, looking to reset a floundering roster, might be willing to move starters Sonny Gray and Erick Fedde.

Beyond that, Elias said, the Orioles also need to secure right-handed power in the outfield, particularly if Santander signs elsewhere. There again, the market seems to present several promising options. World Series champion Teoscar Hernández, for example, is a well-respected veteran and clubhouse boost proven in the American League

East. The trade market could yield some promising options, too: White Sox outfielder Luis Robert Jr. is under control through 2027 and would come cheaper than he might normally after a down season this year. Then again, Chicago might not want to sell low on a player who flashes MVP talent when healthy. Still, few teams seem to be entering this offseason with as many options for filling holes: The Orioles still have one of the deepest farm systems in the sport and a reputation for developing big league-ready hitters, meaning they can trade from depth with talent that matches almost anyone. They could also spend, keeping player capital in-house.

Regardless, after several years of relying largely on a few homegrown stars to fill in around a seemingly endless stream of prospects, the makeup of next year's clubhouse could be significantly different. After another October disappointment, Elias and his Orioles are not just open to change but determined to make it.

The Capitals' home winning streak ends at the hands of the archrival Penguins

CAPITALS FROM D1

Penguins in the second period. Blomqvist, who didn't play Thursday, was sharp between the pipes with 17 saves, including one on center Dylan Strome on a breakout and one on Ovechkin from the low slot.

Despite having fresher legs and creating the majority of the scoring chances, the Capitals beat Blomqvist only once in the middle frame — a two-on-one rush goal for Mangiapane off a pass from winger Jakub Vrana, who returned to the lineup after Sony Milano suffered an upper-body injury in Wednesday's game.

"Just, I think, crazy game," Vrana said. "We let in a lot of chances, but on the other hand, they did the same thing. Both teams got a lot of chances to score goals. Today wasn't our day."

Lindgren, too, had to be sharp in the second period. Though Washington controlled the flow of play for much of the period, when the Penguins did get chances, they were dangerous. Lindgren's flashy pad save on Rickard Rakell from the edge of the crease late in the period drew an ovation from the crowd and kept the score level.

"[He] made a good play in front, and then just trying to stick my pad out and try and get a piece of it," Lindgren said. "Lucky I did."



JOHN MCDONNELL FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

"I just thought we were off," Coach Spencer Carbery said. "I didn't like our play without the puck."

The Capitals' control didn't carry over to the beginning of the third period. The Penguins outshot Washington 4-0 through the first nine-plus minutes of the

frame, and the Capitals' sloppy play with the puck prevented them from generating any real offensive pressure.

Ovechkin gave Washington its

first shot of the final period at the 9:05 mark, but as he did on Ovechkin's four previous shots, Blomqvist made the stop.

Shortly after, with 9:32 re-

maining in the game, Malkin beat Lindgren through the five-hole with a shot from the front of the net, off a rebound from an attempt by Bryan Rust. Malkin celebrated instantly, but it took his teammates several moments to realize the puck had crossed the line. When they did, the delight to have pulled ahead on their rival was palpable.

As the Capitals tried to push for another equalizer, Vrana was sent off for high-sticking on Pittsburgh's Jack St. Ivany with 7:58 left.

That power play was cut short by a holding penalty on Valteri Puustinen drawn by defenseman Matt Roy. Puustinen's penalty gave the Capitals 1:20 with the man advantage after Vrana's penalty ended, but they again couldn't convert.

"Chances are there. The plays to be made are there," defenseman John Carlson said. "Execution and or just putting them in when we get a good chance. I can picture four or five of them myself. Not all of them are going to go in, but you'd think one or two of them would."

The Penguins iced the puck with 3:07 remaining, and Washington pulled Lindgren for a six-on-five advantage ahead of the offensive zone faceoff. Pittsburgh cleared the puck down the ice after the draw, and the Capitals

CAPITALS' NEXT THREE

at St. Louis Blues
Saturday 7 Monumental

vs. Toronto Maple Leafs
Wednesday 7:30 Monumental

at Colorado Avalanche
Friday 9 Monumental 2

Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WFED (1500 AM)

didn't regain extended possession in the offensive zone. The Penguins either broke up their entries or blocked the quick shots they took, preventing Washington from stringing together a high-pressure sequence.

Noel Acciari, who cleared a loose puck off the goal line earlier in the game, was rewarded for that defensive effort with an empty-net goal to seal Pittsburgh's win in the final minute.

The Capitals, who have not lost back-to-back games this season, play again Saturday at the St. Louis Blues.

"Hopefully," Carbery said when asked whether the quick turnaround could help Washington rebound from the loss. "We'll find out at 6 o'clock Central tomorrow."

With three key players sidelined, Grizzlies still make short work of the Wizards

WIZARDS FROM D1

imposed their will on the game.” Despite having two more days of rest than the Grizzlies, the Wizards looked sluggish and were never able to establish any kind of rhythm, trailing by as many 29.

“We need to be better,” Keefe said.

Memphis (6-4) outrebounded Washington by 11, a big factor in the hosts’ 26 second-chance points.

Perhaps the most noteworthy performance from the Wizards was another strong showing by rookie Bub Carrington, who finished two assists shy of a triple-double with 10 points, 10 rebounds and eight assists.

Here’s what else to know about the Wizards’ loss:

Sarr struggles

If mistakes are learning opportunities, Jaren Jackson Jr. served as Alex Sarr’s tutor.

The Grizzlies big man, the 2023 defensive player of the year and a two-time first-team all-defense selection, showed off his offensive game with Morant and Bane out. Jackson, 25, led all scorers with a season-high 39 points on 14-for-28 shooting.

He started by using his strength against Sarr, knocking the rookie back before scoring a layup. Later, he flashed his speed, blowing past the No. 2 overall pick multiple times en route to the rim.

“[Jackson] hit some tough floaters at first,” Keefe said. “But then our shell and our principles, people weren’t over there to help. So it wasn’t just Alex.... Our team defense wasn’t as solid as it should have been.”

Keefe occasionally put center



Jonas Valanciunas and the Wizards struggled to contain Jaren Jackson Jr., who had a season-high 39 points on 14-for-28 shooting.

Jonas Valanciunas on Jackson — to no avail. Jackson attacked him on the perimeter, at one point stringing together dribble moves before knocking down one of his five three-pointers.

Sarr finished with eight points

on 3-for-11 shooting, five rebounds and a steal.

He did show off his playmaking — a skill that Keefe praised after practice Wednesday — with five assists. Early in the first quarter, he grabbed a rebound

and sped downcourt, crossing over to keep his defender off-balance before bouncing a feed to Bilal Coulibaly for a dunk.

George’s multilevel scoring

Rookie Kyshawn George, un-

afraid to shoot, started Friday’s game by concentrating his offense around the three-point line. Each of his first eight shots Friday was a three; he made three. The performance came a game after he took 17 long-range

WIZARDS’ NEXT THREE

at Orlando Magic

Sunday 6 Monumental

at Houston Rockets

Monday 8 Monumental

at San Antonio Spurs

Wednesday 8 Monumental 2

Radio: WTEM (980 AM) or WFED (1500 AM)

attempts.

But George moved inward as the game progressed. His last four shots all came at the rim. He made three to finish with a team-high 17 points, six rebounds, three assists and two blocks.

Kuzma gets political

Washington forward Kyle Kuzma took to social media to express support for Robert F. Kennedy Jr., the longtime anti-vaccine activist and a potential figure in President-elect Donald Trump’s administration.

Kuzma posted a screenshot of a Kennedy tweet from Oct. 25 to his Instagram story. In the tweet, Kennedy denounced what he deemed the Food and Drug Administration’s “aggressive suppression” of raw milk, ivermectin, hydroxychloroquine and sunshine, among other things.

“It’s good for Americans and for our health,” Kuzma said before the game when asked about the story post.

Kuzma added that he believes Americans need healthier food and that the former independent presidential candidate was “saying the right things.”

Rice answers Terps’ long-distance request with career-high 28-point outburst

MARYLAND MEN FROM D1

Willard said. “It’s the way he played the other night, to be honest with you, when he came in in the second half. He kind of did the same thing. He has a great knack to score.”

Ja’Kobi Gillespie added 13 points as Maryland (2-0) shot 7 for 13 from three in the first half and 39.1 percent for the game.

This was not the norm last season for the Terps, whose 28.9 percent work from the outside ranked 350th of 362 Division I teams. That was better than only two power conference programs (Rutgers and Vanderbilt) and went a long way in explaining why Maryland went 16-17 despite

a commendably stingy defense.

It’s also why the one red flag in the Terps’ 79-49 season-opening rout of Manhattan on Monday was their 5-for-23 showing from three. Willard insisted then it wasn’t something he would fret about; this roster, he promised, was different from last season’s ghastly inefficient bunch at the offensive end.

One game against Mount St. Mary’s (1-1) — which had 25 giveaways and was outscored 27-4 off turnovers — isn’t definitive evidence Maryland will be a handful on the perimeter. But it was a better showing than the Terps usually summoned last season.

Rice, a DeMatha grad, began his college career at Virginia Tech

and averaged 7.4 points in eight games two seasons ago. He departed the Hokies’ program about two weeks before last season started, then committed to Maryland in late March.

He had a promising debut as a Terp, scoring 12 points while making a pair of three-pointers against Manhattan. And he was involved early on after Mount St. Mary’s bolted to a 7-0 lead, scoring on a drive and a second-chance jumper as Maryland methodically erased the deficit.

He had already tacked on a couple of free throws relatively early in the Terps’ 36-6 run to bust it open before truly taking over. He made threes on consecutive trips to make it 36-19 and prompt

a Mount St. Mary’s timeout, connected on second-chance jumpers on Maryland’s next two possessions and brought on the last TV timeout of the half with a fast-break layup while getting fouled.

“It felt good to be out there,” Rice said. “The ball found me a lot. I was very fortunate for that. I felt in rhythm when I got it as well.”

As if that wasn’t enough to hint at his potential impact this season, he scored seven of Maryland’s last nine points of the half as the Terps took a 58-26 lead.

There was more going on than just the scene-stealing Rice. Gillespie already is crisply running Maryland’s offense after

transferring from Belmont. He was never expected to be scorer the graduated Jahmir Young was, but his two-game totals — 29 points, seven assists and one turnover in 50 minutes — are a welcome development for the Terps’ new point guard.

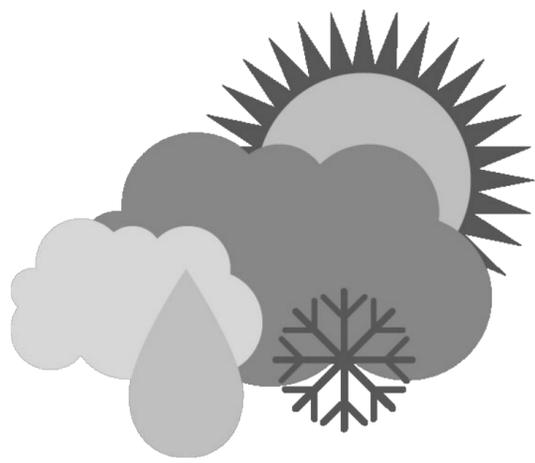
“He’s still trying to figure a lot of stuff out, which is the good thing,” Willard said. “I think he’s trying to figure out playing with two really talented big guys [in Julian Reese and Derik Queen] — ‘When do I pass it? When do I shoot it?’ So I think we’re just starting to see a little bit of how good Ja’Kobi can be.”

Friday also offered a more extended look at South Florida transfer Selton Miguel, who

didn’t play in the second half Monday because of an ankle injury. The American Athletic Conference’s sixth man of the year last season, Miguel scored his first 11 points as a Terp while logging 22 minutes.

With the backcourt thriving, there wasn’t the necessity or opportunity for Queen to replicate his 22-point, 20-rebound college debut. The center had eight points on 3-for-8 shooting to go with one rebound.

Sophomore guard Dallas Hobbs had 18 of his team-high 21 points in the second half for Mount St. Mary’s, which has lost all 12 meetings with Maryland and fell to 0-24 all-time against Big Ten opponents.



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The Washington Post

S0115-6/3.5

HIGH SCHOOLS

Hayfield hit with two-year postseason ban over transfers

Va. football title contender penalized for violations under new coaching staff

BY NICKY WOLCOTT

The Hayfield football team, a state championship contender out of Fairfax County, won't participate in the postseason this year or next after the Virginia High School League's recommendation of a two-year playoff ban was upheld by two separate appeal committees, the VHSL confirmed Friday. A league investigation found that the program violated league rules by influencing students to transfer to the Alexandria school for athletic purposes.

The ruling will put Hayfield on "probation" for the 2024 and 2025 seasons, meaning the program can play a regular season schedule but won't be allowed to participate in the league's playoff system.

The No. 8 Hawks' dominant campaign was set to end Friday night in their regular season finale at Lewis. Hayfield entered the game 8-1, having outscored Northern Virginia opposition 500-13 in its first year under former Freedom (Woodbridge) Coach Darryl Overton.

The VHSL's initial report found that 14 players transferred from Freedom to Hayfield after Overton was hired in February. In addition, the program added five transfers from private schools and five incoming students.

The VHSL determined those transfers were made so that student-athletes could play football at Hayfield and violated the league's proselytizing rule, which states that schools or groups of individuals representing schools can't subject a student from another school to "undue influence" by encouraging them to transfer to participate in VHSL activities.

Fairfax County Public Schools responded with a statement Friday, saying that Hayfield was disappointed with the decision and "stands by the fact that all Hayfield football student-athletes met all eligibility requirements."

In late August, FCPS conducted its own investigation into the program and found no wrongdoing. The county concluded that all Hayfield football student-athletes on the opening day roster met its residency requirements. Additional allegations relating to finances, use of fields and use of resources against Hayfield were investigated by the FCPS auditor general and also declared unfounded.

"VHSL is responsible for approving athletic eligibility for transferring student athletes.



LUKE JOHNSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

About 20 players transferred to play at Hayfield this season for Darryl Overton, who left Freedom (Woodbridge) in February.

Given the attention that the number of student-athlete transfers had received, the Hayfield Secondary School staff in August took the extra step to meet with VHSL and review each student athlete's eligibility prior to their placement on the official Master Eligibility List that was submit-

ted and approved by VHSL," an FCPS spokesperson said in Friday's statement. "VHSL approved athletic eligibility for each and every student athlete that competed on the Hayfield SS football team this season. Only players deemed eligible by VHSL played football this season."

Overton could not be immediately reached for comment.

The league recommended the two-year postseason ban in late October. Hayfield appealed. The matter was taken to the league's sportsmanship committee, which had the option to uphold the VHSL's recommendation, increase or decrease the organization's recommended probation period or revoke the penalties. The committee voted Wednesday to uphold the league's two-year postseason ban. Hayfield took its final action by appealing to a three-member subcommittee of the VHSL's executive committee. That group upheld the league's two-year postseason ban Friday.

The VHSL claimed in a report that the inaction of Hayfield staff in April to properly address the eligibility of transfer students — which included not following league protocols for district appeals and adding nine ineligible transfer students to its master eligibility list for the school's outdoor track team — encouraged further students to transfer to Hayfield.

The VHSL also found Hayfield did not observe or comply with the spirit of league rules and their actions directly impacted a number of student-athletes and schools: 15 Hayfield football players from 2023 are no longer with the team, Freedom's football program is now struggling and teams

the Hawks played this season were disadvantaged.

The VHSL declined to provide further comment.

Overton led Freedom (Woodbridge) to back-to-back undefeated seasons and Virginia Class 6 titles in 2022 and 2023. He finished with an 89-19 record over nine years with the Eagles before making the switch to Hayfield. In the coach's absence this fall, Freedom returned just eight players from last year's varsity roster and had its season shortened to a six-game, district-only schedule because of safety concerns. The Eagles went 0-6 and were outscored 368-10.

Hayfield's key additions from Freedom's roster include reigning All-Met Offensive Player of the Year Jeff Overton Jr. and Clemson commit JuJu Preston. The Hawks also added former St. John's quarterback Isaiah French, as well as wide receiver Vincent Ordenes and defensive back Jeremiah Harris from DeMatha.

The Hawks have won every game against Northern Virginia opponents by at least 41 points this season and started the year 7-0 before falling to No. 3 Riverdale Baptist, 55-30, at home Oct. 25.

Friday's decision marks the end of a year-long saga and provides a massive shake-up to Virginia's Class 6 playoffs just more than a week before they begin.

MARYLAND CLASS 4A EAST REGION FOOTBALL

Womack keeps running as the Panthers move on

ANNAPOLIS 48,
NORTH COUNTY 6

BY NOAH FERGUSON

Tyler Womack surprised himself. The Annapolis senior running back had just reeled in a one-handed catch in the second quarter of the Panthers' first-round playoff clash with North County and stiff-armed a defender into the grass. His momentum nearly pulled him out of bounds, and he expected a whistle to end his impressive catch-and-run.

That whistle never came. Improbably, Womack kept both feet inbounds and bolted up the field for a 65-yard touchdown, leaving several defenders in his wake and prompting a spirited celebration from his teammates. It was the highlight of a 48-6 blowout win for the Panthers, who advanced to the second round of the Maryland Class 4A playoffs in lopsided fashion.

"This is our year. All the pieces

are together," Womack said. "I feel like everything is coming together, everyone's in that headspace like, 'Yes, we can go to states.'"

Among those not surprised by Womack's spectacular 65-yard touchdown: Annapolis Coach DeWayne Hunt and the Panthers' bench. They're used to watching the star back make the improbable seem routine.

"That's just Tyler," said junior Zahir Neal, who took an end-around 55 yards for a first-half touchdown.

"If Tyler has an inch, he'll take it a mile," Hunt added.

Womack has been Annapolis's workhorse this season. He has been a steady presence in the backfield for the Panthers, a team that earned the second seed in the Maryland 4A East Region and knocked off county juggernaut Broadneck during a seven-win regular season. Friday's 42-point win was the program's first playoff victory since 2016, when Annapolis made it to the state semifinals.

Womack finished with 179 total yards and two touchdowns in the

first half before spending the second half cheering on his teammates from the sideline.

"It's a great moment for the school and the kids to win a playoff game after several years of not winning one," Hunt said. "But they're not satisfied, they had a plan that they wanted to achieve, and they're in the mode of doing it. ... It's not done yet. We have a lot more to accomplish."

Hunt, who took over as coach of his alma mater when Womack was a freshman, has watched his running back blossom into a bell cow role. He sees how much time Womack spends scouring film to add subtle tweaks to his game, which has improved his vision on the field.

On the third drive of Friday's game against the Knights (1-9), Womack's vision was evident. The senior bobbled and dropped a handoff from senior quarterback Darrian Carter, then calmly picked up the loose ball and burst through a wall of defenders for a 20-yard gain.

"Instead of me panicking, I was looking to where I was going to go and not where I was at," Womack said.

The Panthers (8-2) ran back two interceptions for touchdowns — one in the first half and the second on the game's final play — and advanced to a second-round matchup with Dundalk.

DCIAA STARS DIVISION FOOTBALL

Dukes-led Crimson Tide rallies to secure top seed

DUNBAR 28,
EASTERN 26

BY MATT COHEN

After he watched the field goal sail wide and then took the decisive knee, Dunbar senior quarterback Brosnan Dukes tossed the ball as high as he could in the air. In the game that all but cemented him as his league's most valuable player, the quarterback who shies from the spotlight finally had his moment to celebrate.

Dukes had earned it, leading a second-half comeback for No. 14 Dunbar on Friday to secure a 28-26 win at Eastern and the top seed in the D.C. Interscholastic Athletic Association Stars division playoffs. It is the second straight regular season title for Dunbar, which went on to win the Turkey Bowl last season against Ballou.

"It feels good to get a real team win," Dukes said.

The quarterback and team captain doesn't take the field for the coin toss before games. He doesn't want to, Dunbar Coach Maurice Vaughn said. Instead, he spends his time off to himself on the sideline. Dukes keeps his helmet on and "imagines," he said.

In the fourth quarter, he imagined his moment. When Eastern downed a punt on the Dunbar 6-yard line with 11:29 left in the fourth quarter and his team down 19-14, Dukes imagined the 94-yard drive he would have to lead.

Dunbar was down by as many as 12 points on the road. Eastern's star running back, Daquan Ginyard, scored three first-half touchdowns. So Vaughn leaned on his own star.

Dukes led the 94-yard drive he imagined. He converted a fourth-down pass to Lawrence Grayson along the way before finishing it off himself, forcing his way into the end zone and giving Dunbar its first lead since 7-6 in the first quarter.

Dukes finished the game with three total touchdowns. He has advanced from an impressive case of improvement to one of the best overall quarterbacks in the region. Last year, in Dukes' junior season and first as a starter, Dunbar barely threw the ball. This fall, Dunbar relies on the pass. Dukes has thrown for more than 2,000 yards this season while still contributing with his feet, too.

"If he don't win it, because the coaches vote for it, I think it would be a disservice," Vaughn said of Dukes as the league's best player. "I'll put my money on him any day, man."

Dunbar has won 14 consecutive games against Stars division opponents. The Crimson Tide's last Stars loss came in the 2022 Turkey Bowl against Theodore Roosevelt. Dunbar's last regular season loss in the Stars division came against Theodore Roosevelt as well — 763 days ago.

The playoffs begin next week, and Dunbar will open the Stars bracket with a matchup against H.D. Woodson. Eastern will face Coolidge. If chalk holds, it will be Eastern and Dunbar yet again on the very same field Thanksgiving morning.

"We got a really good team," Dukes said. "We can go somewhere."

MIAA CONFERENCE A FOOTBALL SEMIFINALS

No. 1 Cavaliers advance with crushing efficiency

SPALDING 38,
MOUNT ST. JOSEPH 0

BY EMMETT SIEGEL

Archbishop Spalding's Trent Gillis read the quarterback's eyes and knew precisely where the ball was going. After all, he had seen the exact play in practice this week, a rep on which he leveled his teammate and nearly earned himself a seat on the bench.

There was no such need to hold back in Friday night's Maryland Interscholastic Athletic Association A conference semifinal. So when the senior defensive back recognized the ball was on its way to his assigned receiver, he lowered his shoulder and delivered a crushing hit that garnered a handful of gasps from the crowd in Severn.

The No. 1 Cavaliers were flying around the field all game, arriving fast on defense to deliver crushing hits that left Mount St. Joseph's players stunned. Spal-

ding pitched its eighth shutout in its past nine games, rolling to a 38-0 win over the Gaels that placed it just one win from a third straight league crown.

Spalding (11-0) will face McDonogh (10-1) in the championship game next Saturday in Baltimore.

"Everybody on that defense is trying to get something and trying to impose their will," said Gillis, a Naval Academy commit who had a sack Friday. "[Defensive coordinator Tyrone Forby] talks a lot about making people quit, and if you hit somebody hard, they're not going to go as hard the next play. I think we all apply that to our game."

Spalding beat Mount St. Joseph (4-7) in its regular season finale last week, 31-0, so there was never any doubt as to who was the favorite entering Friday's matchup. The Cavaliers' defense was focused on putting another zero on the scoreboard. Spalding suffocates opponents week in and week out; the three points it allowed to Loyola Blakefield two

weeks ago remain the only ones it has surrendered since August. Not even the formidable out-of-conference foes the Cavaliers faced early in the season, Archbishop Hoban (Ohio) and DeMatha, could score more than twice.

When Mount St. Joseph wasn't punting, it was throwing an interception — Spalding collected a pick on the Gaels' second drive — or turning the ball over on downs. The Gaels were never able to mount a serious challenge against the MIAA's undisputed front-runner.

"It doesn't matter if we just saw them or if it's the first game of the season. It doesn't matter what they run," senior defensive lineman Ben Liguori said. "Spalding defense is something special. This entire team is something special."

Each week, the Cavaliers' opponent arrives seeking an upset, hoping to be an exception to the rule. Then the game starts, and the same script plays out. Opponents are still trying to figure out how to crack Coach Kyle Schmitt's seemingly uncrackable squad.

"It's a total team effort in a lot of ways. We're not turning the ball over offensively, and our kicker, Cooper Welch, is dominating field position," Schmitt said. "But, yeah, it makes managing the game a lot easier when they have zero points."

MARYLAND CLASS 4A SOCCER SEMIFINALS

Set-piece success sends Cardinals to title match

CROFTON 2,
PERRY HALL 1

BY ELI COHEN

It hasn't taken long for Crofton's girls' soccer team to establish itself as one of the best in Maryland. The Anne Arundel County school opened only five years ago, but with a 2-1 win over Perry Hall at Wise on Friday, the Cardinals advanced to their second Maryland state championship game and their first since they joined Class 4A.

Crofton found success this year despite having just five seniors on its roster. Junior midfielder Soraya Shahraki was the hero Friday, tallying a goal and an assist, both off set pieces.

Shahraki's score came four minutes after halftime, with her team leading by one. From outside and to the right of the box, Shahraki used her nondominant foot to send the ball perfectly between the Perry Hall goalie's out-

stretched arms and the crossbar.

"It was shocking because I'm right-footed, so I just kicked doing my left foot, and it actually went in. I was surprised," Shahraki said.

The Cardinals (15-3-1) opened the scoring off an indirect free kick in the 19th minute. Shahraki chipped a cross in as sophomore forward Sophie Osborne, the team's leading scorer, darted toward the goal to head it into the back of the net.

The Cardinals finally conceded a score midway through the second when a Perry Hall player struck from nearly 30 yards out. But the Cardinals held on.

"We've won in different ways," Coach Kevin Castillo said. "Today wasn't in open play. It was on set pieces, something we're not very good at. So it was good to see that."

R. Montgomery boys advance

Richard Montgomery beat Perry Hall in penalty kicks, 4-3, after the teams went scoreless in regulation and overtime.

Perry Hall had the chance to win on its fifth attempt with the

teams tied at 3 but fired a shot that missed the mark. Richard Montgomery junior Felipe Zegarra Rodriuez connected on the next shot, and senior Solomon Snowdy followed with a save to clinch a spot in next week's Class 4A final for the Rockets (10-3).

"Thank God for that. I prayed like crazy for that one," Snowdy said. "It wasn't just me. It was the whole team. And we're going to the state finals."

A trio of seniors — defenders Jonathan Lowinger and Alexander Villegas and forward Matthew Kuwik — scored the other three penalties.

"A [penalty kick], it's nervous no matter what," Lowinger said, "but I visualized it like we were just practicing every day."

The Rockets created a majority of quality chances in the first 80 minutes but never broke through. In penalty kicks, they finally found a win.

The Rockets' program continues to ascend, with a pair of regional finals in the past four years. Now Richard Montgomery has a chance to take the next step with a state championship.

"Our hard work paid off," Kuwik said. "We've been on the training ground. We came to the field and did what we had to do. We weren't able to do it in regular time, but we finished the game. That's what's important."



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SCOREBOARD

PRO FOOTBALL

NFL

NFC EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Washington	7	2	0	.778	263	189
Philadelphia	6	2	0	.750	199	155
Dallas	3	5	0	.375	171	225
N.Y. Giants	2	7	0	.222	139	202

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Atlanta	6	3	0	.667	221	216
Tampa Bay	4	5	0	.444	259	243
Carolina	2	7	0	.222	147	293
New Orleans	2	7	0	.222	207	229

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Detroit	7	1	0	.875	258	148
Minnesota	6	2	0	.750	209	150
Green Bay	4	4	0	.500	220	262
Chicago	4	4	0	.500	172	148

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Arizona	5	4	0	.556	207	214
L.A. Rams	4	4	0	.500	199	194
San Francisco	4	4	0	.500	210	182
Seattle	4	5	0	.444	200	221

AFC EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Buffalo	6	0	0	.625	260	173
N.Y. Jets	3	6	0	.333	171	183
Miami	2	6	0	.250	124	187
New England	2	7	0	.222	141	217

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Houston	6	3	0	.667	201	200
Indianapolis	4	5	0	.444	188	193
Tennessee	2	6	0	.250	140	213
Jacksonville	2	7	0	.222	199	252

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Pittsburgh	6	2	0	.750	187	119
Baltimore	7	2	0	.778	318	253
Cincinnati	4	4	0	.500	220	262
Cleveland	2	7	0	.222	148	213

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Kansas City	8	0	0	1.000	203	147
L.A. Chargers	5	2	0	.625	159	101
Denver	4	2	0	.556	183	161
Las Vegas	2	7	0	.222	162	251

WEEK 10 THURSDAY'S RESULT

at Baltimore 25, Cincinnati 34

SUNDAY'S GAMES

Pittsburgh at Washington (2-6), 1
N.Y. Giants (-6) vs. Carolina in Munich, 9:30 a.m.
Atlanta (-3) at New Orleans, 1
Buffalo (-3) at Indianapolis, 1
Denver at Kansas City (-7), 1
Minnesota (-6) at Jacksonville, 1
New England at Carolina (-6), 1
San Francisco (-6) at Tampa Bay, 1
Tennessee at L.A. Chargers (-7), 4:05
N.Y. Jets (-1) at Arizona, 4:25
Philadelphia (-7) at Dallas, 4:25
Detroit (-3) at Houston, 8:20
BYE: Cleveland, Las Vegas, Green Bay, Seattle
MONDAY'S GAME
Miami at L.A. Rams (-1), 8:15

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

EASTERN CONFERENCE CINCINNATI AND NEW YORK CITY FC TIED, 1-1

Game 1: at Cincinnati 1, New York City FC 0
Game 2: at New York City FC 1, Cincinnati 1

SUNDAY'S MATCH: New York City at Cincinnati, 1

ORLANDO AND CHARLOTTE FC TIED, 1-1

Game 1: at Orlando 2, Charlotte FC 1
Game 2: at Charlotte FC 0, Orlando 0 (3-1 PK)

SATURDAY'S MATCH: Charlotte FC at Orlando, 6:10

RED BULLS ELIMINATED CREW, 2-0

Game 1: New York 1, at Columbus 0
Game 2: Columbus 2, at New York 2 (5-6 PK)

INTER MIAMI AND ATLANTA UNITED TIED, 1-1

Game 1: at Miami 2, Atlanta 1
Game 2: at Atlanta 2, Miami 1

SATURDAY'S MATCH: Atlanta at Miami, 8:10

WESTERN CONFERENCE

SOUNDERS ELIMINATED DYNAMO, 2-0

Game 1: at Seattle 0, Houston 0 (5-4 PK)
Game 2: Seattle 1, at Houston 1 (7-6 PK)

SATURDAY'S MATCH: Seattle at Houston, 8:20

LOS ANGELES FC AND WHITECAPS TIED, 1-1

Game 1: at Los Angeles FC 2, Vancouver 1
Game 2: at Vancouver 3, Los Angeles FC 1
Game 3: Vancouver at Los Angeles FC, late

MINNESOTA UNITED ELIMINATED REAL SALT LAKE

Game 1: Minnesota 0, at Real Salt Lake 0 (5-4 PK)
Game 2: at Minnesota 1, Real Salt Lake 1 (3-1 PK)

GALAXY AT MINNESOTA RAPIDS, 2-0

Game 1: at LA Galaxy 5, Colorado 0
Game 2: LA Galaxy 4, at Colorado 1

SEMPINALS

NOV. 23-24

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Miami/Atlanta winner vs. Orlando/Charlotte FC winner, TBD

Foxboro Park 60, Fairmont Heights 0
New York Red Bulls, TBD

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Los Angeles FC/Vancouver vs. Seattle, TBD
Minnesota vs. LA Galaxy, TBD

NWSL

Orlando	W	L	T	Pts	GF	GA
Orlando	18	2	6	60	60	20
Washington	18	6	2	56	58	28
Gotham FC	17	4	2	56	41	20
Kansas City	16	3	7	55	31	1
North Carolina	12	11	3	39	34	28
Portland	10	12	4	34	37	35
Bay FC	11	14	1	34	31	41
Chicago	10	14	2	32	31	38
Louisville	7	12	7	28	33	39
San Diego	6	13	7	25	25	35
Utah	7	15	4	25	40	20
Angel City	7	13	6	24	42	41
Seattle	6	15	5	23	27	44
Houston	5	16	5	20	20	42

FRIDAY'S QUARTERFINAL RESULTS

at Orlando 4, Chicago 1 (Chicago eliminated)

SATURDAY'S QUARTERFINAL MATCHES

North Carolina at Kansas City, noon

SUNDAY'S QUARTERFINAL MATCHES

Bay FC at Washington, 12:30
Portland at Gotham FC, 3

HIGH SCHOOLS

FRIDAY'S RESULTS FOOTBALL D.C.

Dunbar 28, Eastern 26

MARYLAND

Annapolis 48, North County 6
Blake 48, Kennedy 0
Calvert 40, Friendly 0
Dunkirk 41, Meade 26
Flowers 35, DuVal 3
Fornet Park 60, Fairmont Heights 0
Glen Burnie 53, Parkville 12
Great Mills 29, Reservoir 0
Largo 57, Lacey 24
Leonardtown 35, Severna Park 22
Magruder 21, Severn Run 14
Marriotts Ridge 21, River Hill 7
Ox Hill 67, Northwood 0
Oxon Hill 56, Guilford Park 6
Patuxent 59, McDonough 20
Randallstown 45, Central 0
Seneca Valley 28, Gaithersburg 0
South River 41, Chopin 14
St. Charles 28, Chesapeake 14
Westlake 48, Thomas Stone 0
Westminster 45, Rockville 29
Wild Lake 42, Hammond 6

PRIVATE

Archbishop Curley 23, Severn School 10
Archbishop Spalding 38, Mount St. Joseph's 0
St. Mary's Ryken 49, Bishop Ireton 5

VIRGINIA

Battlefield 29, Patriot 7
Brentwood 27, Independence 13
Charlottesville 47, Brentsville District 13
Langley 38, McLean 0
Lynchburg 35, Potomac Falls 13
Loudoun County 48, Heritage 28
Meridian 56, Fauquier 2
Osborn 44, Osborn Park 20
Seneca Valley 28, Gaithersburg 0
South River 41, Chopin 14
St. Charles 28, Chesapeake 14
Westlake 48, Thomas Stone 0
Westminster 45, Rockville 29
Wild Lake 42, Hammond 6

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Westlake 48, Thomas Stone 0
Westminster 45, Rockville 29
Wild Lake 42, Hammond 6

FRIDAY'S RESULTS FOOTBALL D.C.

Dunbar 28, Eastern 26

MARYLAND

Annapolis 48, North County 6
Blake 48, Kennedy 0
Calvert 40, Friendly 0
Dunkirk 41, Meade 26
Flowers 35, DuVal 3
Fornet Park 60, Fairmont Heights 0
Glen Burnie 53, Parkville 12
Great Mills 29, Reservoir 0
Largo 57, Lacey 24
Leonardtown 35, Severna Park 22
Magruder 21, Severn Run 14
Marriotts Ridge 21, River Hill 7
Ox Hill 67, Northwood 0
Oxon Hill 56, Guilford Park 6
Patuxent 59, McDonough 20
Randallstown 45, Central 0
Seneca Valley 28, Gaithersburg 0
South River 41, Chopin 14
St. Charles 28, Chesapeake 14
Westlake 48, Thomas Stone 0
Westminster 45, Rockville 29
Wild Lake 42, Hammond 6

PRIVATE

Archbishop Curley 23, Severn School 10
Archbishop Spalding 38, Mount St. Joseph's 0
St. Mary's Ryken 49, Bishop Ireton 5

VIRGINIA

Battlefield 29, Patriot 7
Brentwood 27, Independence 13
Charlottesville 47, Brentsville District 13
Langley 38, McLean 0
Lynchburg 35, Potomac Falls 13
Loudoun County 48, Heritage 28
Meridian 56, Fauquier 2
Osborn 44, Osborn Park 20
Seneca Valley 28, Gaithersburg 0
South River 41, Chopin 14
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MARYLAND

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WANTED VINTAGE SPORTS CARS & CLASSICS Especially Mercedes, Porsche, Jaguar. Highest prices paid for the very best examples. Call Bob 703-966-0122

1447 Autos Wanted

DONATE YOUR CAR/TRUCK/RYV. Lutheran Mission Society of MD. Compassion Place ministries help local families with food, clothing, counseling. Tax deductible. MVA licensed. 410-228-8437. www.CompassionPlace.org

815 Legal Notices

Notice of Public Hearing
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority
Proposed New Entrance to Ballston Metrorail Station
Arlington County, VA
Docket R24-01

Purpose
Notice is hereby given that a public hearing will be held by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority on a proposed New Entrance to the Ballston Metrorail Station in Arlington County, VA as follows:

Open House 6:00 p.m.
Hearing No. 664

6:30 p.m., Tuesday, December 10, 2024
Arlington Central Library
Auditorium
1015 N Quincy Street
Arlington, VA 22201

Please note that these dates are subject to each facility's cancellation policy. In the event of a cancellation, Metro will post information about a new hearing on wmata.com.

The location for all Metro public hearings are wheelchair accessible. Sign language interpretation will be provided. Any individual who requires special assistance or additional accommodation to participate in these public hearings, or who requires these materials in an alternate format, should contact the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary at 202-962-2511 or TTY: 202-962-2033 as soon as possible in order for Metro to make necessary arrangements. For language assistance, such as an interpreter or information in another language, please call 202-962-1082 at least 48 hours prior to the public hearing date.

For more information, please visit: wmata.com/plansandprojects.

In accordance with Section 15 of the WMATA Compact, Metro will conduct a public hearing at the location listed in this notice. Information on this hearing will be provided at nearby Metrorail stations, at Arlington County libraries and online at wmata.com.

HOW TO REGISTER TO SPEAK AT THE PUBLIC HEARING

All organizations or individuals desiring to be heard with respect to this docket will be afforded the opportunity to present their views, make supporting statements and to offer alternative proposals. Public officials will be allowed five minutes each to make their presentations. All others will be allowed three minutes each. Relinquishing of time by one speaker to another will not be permitted.

Individuals can provide testimony at the hearing in one of three ways:

IN PERSON: Individuals wishing to provide testimony in person during a hearing are encouraged to pre-register by emailing spk@wmata.com or calling (202) 962-2511 by 12 p.m. the day of the hearing at which you wish to testify. Please submit only one speaker's name per request. Individuals can also sign up at the hearing to provide testimony; advance registration to provide in-person testimony is not required.

By videoconference: Individuals wishing to provide testimony via videoconference are required to furnish, in writing, their name and organizational affiliation, if any, via email to spk@wmata.com by 5 p.m. the day prior to the hearing at which you wish to testify. Please submit only one speaker's name per request.

By telephone: Individuals should call (206) 899-2028 during the hearing and enter Meeting Code 675 991 902#. Pre-registration to provide comments by telephone is not available.

HOW TO SUBMIT TESTIMONY NOT AT A PUBLIC HEARING

Testimony about this proposal may be submitted at wmata.com/plansandprojects. This website will open by 9 a.m. on Saturday, November 9, 2024, and will close at 5 p.m. on Friday, December 20, 2024. The website will also provide the opportunity to upload documents and submit freemform comments. This is in addition to your ability to speak at a public hearing. For those without access to computers or internet, testimony may also be mailed to the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary, SECT 2E, Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, P.O. Box 44390, Washington, DC 20026-4390. All comments must be received by the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary by 5 p.m. on Friday, December 20, 2024, to be included in the public record. Please reference "New Entrance Ballston" in your correspondence.

The comments received by the Office of the Board Corporate Secretary, along with the survey results and public hearing comments, will be presented to the Board and will be part of the official public hearing record. Please note all statements are releasable to the public upon request, and may be posted

REFERENCE MATERIAL AVAILABLE FOR INSPECTION

The docket consists of this Notice of Public Hearing, an environmental report, and general plans for the New Entrance to the Ballston Metrorail Station. These documents are available online at wmata.com/plansandprojects and may be inspected during normal business hours at the following location:

WMATA, Office of the Secretary
300 7th Street, SW
Washington, DC 20024
202-962-2511
(Please call in advance to coordinate)

You can also request to have these materials mailed to you by calling the Office of the Secretary at 202-962-2511.

WMATA COMPACT REQUIREMENTS

WMATA's Compact requires that the Board, in amending the Mass Transit Plan, consider current and prospective conditions in the Transit Zone should the project be built. The Transit Zone includes Arlington County and considerations include, without limitation, land use, population, economic factors affecting development plans, existing and proposed transportation and transit facilities, any displacement of families or businesses, preservation of the beauty and dignity of the DC Metro Area, factors affecting environmental amenities and aesthetics, and financial resources. The Mass Transit Plan encompasses, among other things, transit facilities to be provided by WMATA, including stations and parking facilities, and the character, nature, design, location and capital and operating cost thereof. The Mass Transit Plan, in addition to designating the design and location of transit facilities, also provides for capital and operating expenses, as well as "various other factors and considerations, which, in the opinion of the Board, justify and require the projects therein proposed" all as more particularly set forth in WMATA's Compact.

The environmental report and general plans for the project are available for public review at the locations identified in the reference materials section above.

The work and changes depicted in this information package constitute the proposed amendment to the mass transit plan for purposes of the WMATA Compact.

265 Home & Garden

Eliminate gutter cleaning forever! LeafFilter, the most advanced debris-blocking gutter protection. Schedule a FREE LeafFilter estimate today. 15% off Entire Purchase. 10% Senior & Military Discounts. Call 1-844-566-2227

365 Auction Sales

PUBLIC AUCTION JK MOVING SERVICES
JK Moving 4412 Mercure Circle Sterling, VA 20166
SATURDAY November 16, 2024, 9:00am
Preview/Registers: 8:30am
Over 50 pallets and 24 overflow 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 Eskandar's Auction 703-996-1295 571-230-0303 Card or Cash. No Checks

602 Found

FAIRFAX CO. ANIMAL SERVICES if you have lost an animal in the Fairfax County/Washington Metro area. Please call the Fairfax Co. Animal Shelter at 703-830-1100 or online for found animals at fairfaxcounty.gov/animalshelter

HOWARD CO. ANIMAL CONTROL if you have lost an animal in the Howard County/Washington Metro area. Please call Howard Co. Animal Control at 410-313-2789.

MONTGOMERY CO. ANIMAL SHELTER if you have lost an animal in the Washington Metro area. Please call the Montgomery Co. Animal Shelter at 240-773-5960 or online for found animals at www.mchumane.org

510 Dogs for Sale

AKITA PUPS 3 Akita Pups, 2 females, 1 male, 8 weeks old, \$300 each. 301-633-7372 Cliff

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.

510 Dogs for Sale

SHIH TZU Hill Family Shih-tzu AKC reg. 40 years experience with this breed in person visiting encouraged. Vet checked first shot. Charlotte, Courthouse VA \$1200 434-607-2320

SHIH TZU PUPPIES - Pure bred, AKC reg. 40 years experience with beautiful colors, parents on site. Call for info or best offer. Blumont, VA. Call 571-271-4603

SHICHON Teddybear Puppies baby doll face beauties, both boys and girls raised in our family home with TLC. A puppy from our family is bred for healthy & happy, 5yr health warranty. Vet cks, immunized, microchipped, raised in home with children. 703-362-8718. www.dcdogfinders.com

510 Dogs for Sale

German Shepherd King Kennels www.kingkennels.net

Satu x Terrina
5 males 3 females
DOB 9/15/2024
AKC registration
Microchip
Puppies 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

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Miniature Goldenoodles Hypoallergenic no shed m's & f's \$1500. www.dotteddoggups.com txt/call (540) 729-6365

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CAVACHON Puppies Adorable & well socialized Cavachon F1 puppies ready 11/7 M&F. Healthy, happy and raised in our home in No. VA. All immunizations, microchip, wormed, vetck. 5yr Health Warranty. 703-362-8718 www.dcdogfinders.com

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610 Dogs for Sale

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.

610 Dogs for Sale

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