

# The Washington Post

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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## Longtime operative is seen as foil to Trump

Susie Wiles won his confidence and a job as his chief of staff

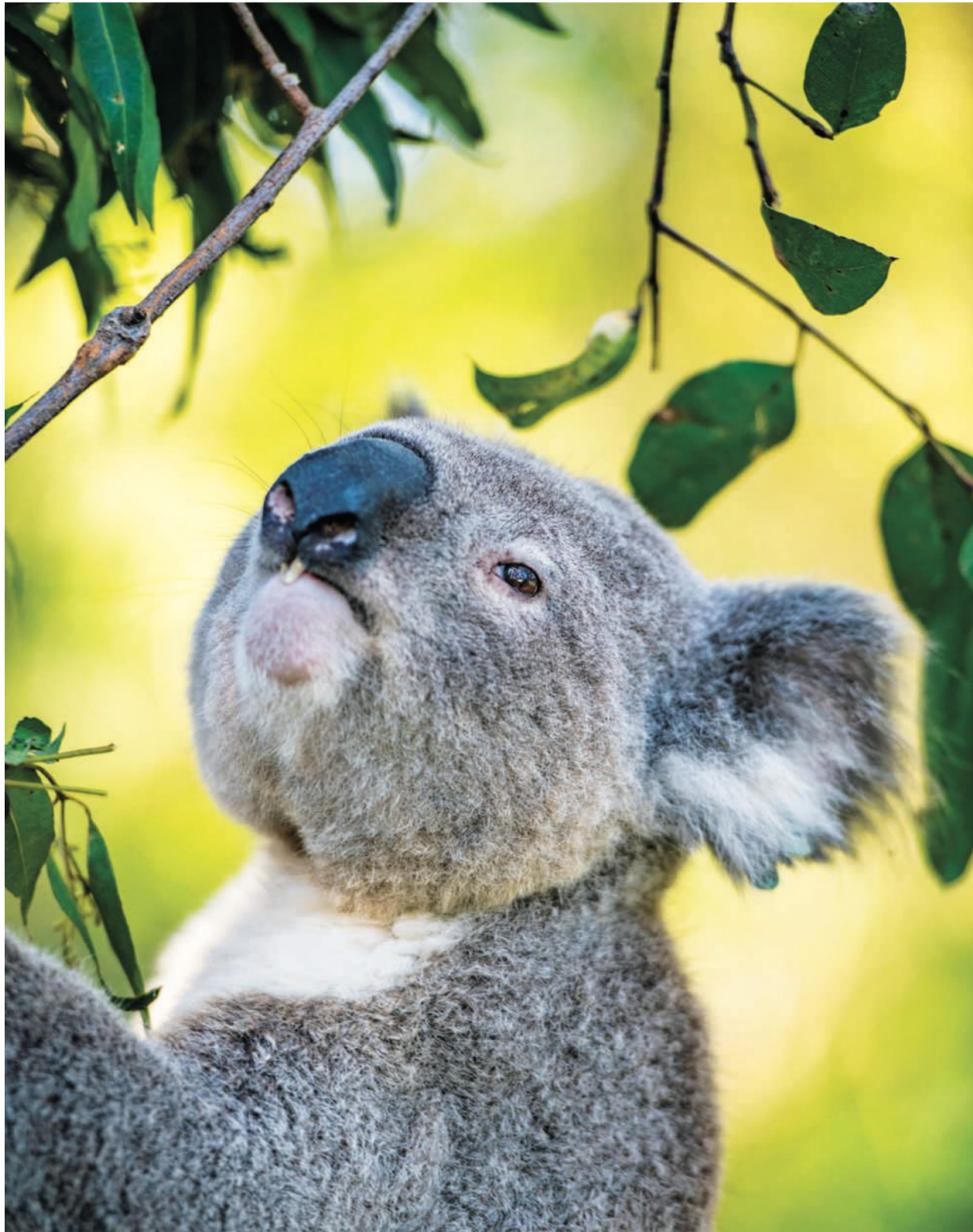
BY JOSH DAWSEY AND ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

When Donald Trump decamped Washington for South Florida in January 2021, he was in a foul mood — seething about losing the presidential election and shouting at advisers.

Two dinners with Susie Wiles, a veteran Florida political operative who had helped run both of his previous campaigns in the state, set him on a different course, people familiar with their interactions said. She convinced him that he could mount a political comeback and retake power.

Her efforts set the country on a different course as well and altered the trajectory of her own career. Wiles became his de facto chief of staff, then campaign manager once he launched his bid to return to the White House in 2022. After his election victory last week, Trump named Wiles, 67, his incoming White House chief of staff. She will be the first woman to hold the all-important role.

Wiles has already lasted longer, as a private adviser running his political operation, than any of Trump's chiefs of staff during his first term in office. His longest-serving chief of staff, retired Marine Corps general John F. Kelly, SEE WILES ON A6



ISABELLA MOORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A koala in a breeding program in New South Wales. Australia's government declared koalas endangered in 2022.

## Logging threatens koala reserve

Australia allows tree cutting in areas proposed as refuge for endangered marsupial

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER

SHEAS NOB STATE FOREST, AUSTRALIA — The ecologist drove his weathered pickup truck through thick and shady eucalyptus forest. But as he reached a ridgeline, the woodland suddenly gave way to a sunbaked clearing of barren dirt and splintered wood the size of a football field. "This was all koala habitat," said Mark Graham, shaking his head. He pulled over to examine a gray gum tree that had been cut down by loggers since he'd been here a few

weeks earlier. What was left of its trunk showed scratches from koalas climbing it. Now the animals were gone.

"Welcome to the Great Koala National Park," Graham said sarcastically.

The center-left Labor Party swept to power in New South Wales, the country's most populous state, in March of last year with an environmental election pledge: It would stitch together up to 1,200 square miles of state and national forests to create one uninterrupted koala SEE KOALAS ON A12

## Use of fossil fuels booms despite vows of a phaseout

Ahead of climate talks, wealthy nations have undercut past pledges

BY CHICO HARLAN

When nations at last year's global climate conference historically agreed to transition away from coal, oil and gas, Australia's climate minister predicted that the "age of fossil fuels will end." Norway's foreign minister lauded countries for at last tackling the climate crisis "head-on." President Joe Biden said the deal put the world "one significant step closer" to its climate goals.

But one year later, these same wealthy nations are undercutting it, by scaling up exports and launching new fossil fuel projects that could last for decades. At the same time, major oil companies have weakened their climate pledges.

As world leaders gather in Azerbaijan on Monday to open COP29, the moves are fueling a sense among scientists and policy professionals that the world has squandered a crucial year and raising questions about how effectively the annual U.N. climate conference can address this core part of planetary warming.

One think tank analysis chronicles how countries are on course SEE FOSSIL FUELS ON A12



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## A salute to veterans, with flags and fanfare

From left, Evelyn Jones, Navy veteran Sterling Moon and Air Force veteran Karl Fritz watch the National Veterans Parade in Washington on Sunday, a day ahead of Veterans Day.

## On college campuses this semester, a shift in rhetoric

While pro-Palestinian protests are less disruptive, some schools see more extreme messaging

BY LAURA MECKLER AND SUSAN SVRLUGA

When antiwar protests disrupted campuses nationwide last year, signs and chants demanded, "Divest!" and "Cease-fire now!" This fall, much of the protest language has grown darker, celebrating the Oct. 7, 2023, attack, echoing language used by Hamas and declaring, "Glory to the resistance!"

Mass protests and crackdowns that engulfed colleges in the spring have dissipated, and campuses are far calmer and quieter this fall. But at some schools, student groups have struck a strik-

ingly more militant tone.

Earlier messages were not gentle — Israel's actions were regularly dubbed "genocide" — but until recently few had openly endorsed Hamas and its leaders.

To some, including many in the Jewish community, it's an alarming shift. But to others, the new rhetoric is the natural evolution of a movement responding to a brutal war now in its second year, with no end in sight.

Groups often escalate rhetoric when they haven't achieved their goals, with a small faction urging stronger action, said Mitchell Sil-

SEE PROTESTS ON A2

## Trump cautions Putin on Ukraine

FIRST CALL BETWEEN MEN SINCE ELECTION

President-elect warns against escalating war

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA, JOHN HUDSON AND JOSH DAWSEY

President-elect Donald Trump spoke with Russian President Vladimir Putin on Thursday, the first phone conversation between the two men since Trump won the election, said several people familiar with the matter.

During the call, which Trump took from his resort in Florida, he advised the Russian president not to escalate the war in Ukraine and reminded him of Washington's sizable military presence in Europe, said a person familiar with the call, who, like others interviewed for this story, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive matter.

The two men discussed the goal of peace on the European continent and Trump expressed an interest in follow-up conversations to discuss "the resolution of Ukraine's war soon," one of the people said.

In his presidential campaign, Trump said he would bring an immediate end to the war in SEE PUTIN ON A4

## Trump seeks more power over a Senate led by GOP

His allies back Scott's leadership bid as they aim to fast-track agenda

BY MARIANA ALFARO

President-elect Donald Trump and his allies signaled Sunday that they will try to call the shots in the Republican-led Senate, pushing the candidacy of Sen. Rick Scott (Florida) for GOP leader and demanding that Republicans allow Trump to make appointments to his administration and the courts without Senate approval.

Trump, who last year promised that he will be dictator "for Day One" of his presidency and has repeatedly expressed admiration for authoritarian leaders, insisted that the next Senate Republican leader make it possible for him to fast-track his nominations over any opposition.

Writing on Truth Social on Sunday, Trump said: "Any Republican Senator seeking the coveted LEADERSHIP position in the United States Senate must agree to Recess Appointments (in the Senate!), without which we will not be able to get people confirmed in a timely manner."

In April 2020, frustrated with the Senate's speed in confirming his nominees, then-President SEE SENATE ON A4

## IN THE NEWS

**MAGA and the 'manosphere'** Inside the online offensive that turned out a new generation of men for Donald Trump. A3

**FBI director** As Trump returns to power, an open question surrounds the bureau: Will he once again fire its leader, or will Christopher A. Wray resign before he gets the chance? A6

**THE NATION** Leaders of the scientific community are girding themselves for another Trump term. A8  
**Immigration concerns** only partly explain Trump's success in Texas's border counties. A10

**THE WORLD** Russian legislation against "child-free propaganda" could affect TV, movies and ads. A11  
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**THE ECONOMY** A federal probe of the cryptocurrency Tether could pose a conflict of interest for Trump aide Howard Lutnick. A15

**THE REGION** Democrat April McClain Delaney is projected to win the race for Maryland's 6th Congressional District seat. B1

**A D.C. man** accused of attacking day-care teachers in front of two dozen children in 2023 was released after being found incompetent to stand trial. B1  
**Gov. Wes Moore** (D) laid out four principles that will guide his leadership of Maryland after Trump takes office. B1

**STYLE** Randy Travis's beautiful baritone was lost. AI helped him sing again. C1  
**An Afghanistan war** documentary that has been criticized for allegedly endangering some of the Afghans who appeared in the film was stripped of a prestigious journalism award. C1

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# Pro-Hamas messages intensify on some college campuses

## PROTESTS FROM A1

ber, an adjunct associate professor at Columbia University who runs a nonprofit helping provide security for Jewish communities in the New York metropolitan area.

“We’re at that inflection point,” he said. “We’re starting to see a radicalization of their message.”

Silber, a former director of intelligence analysis at the New York Police Department, sees starker rhetoric: “Blatantly pro-Hamas, blatantly pro-Hezbollah, blatantly pro-Houthis.”

The harsher messaging may soon collide with the incoming Trump administration. President-elect Donald Trump has promised to crack down on campus protests, and his allies expect the Department of Education to more aggressively investigate university responses to pro-Palestinian movements on campuses.

“If you get me reelected, we’re going to set that movement back 25 or 30 years,” Trump told donors in May. He also promised to deport foreign students who participate in protests. “As soon as they hear that, they’re going to behave.”

The messages sometimes appear on social media including Telegram and Instagram, and sometimes at public events. Colleges have repeatedly said they do not condone violence but they have also said they respect students’ right to free speech.

New rules have constrained how groups can protest on many

campuses, and the large encampments that disrupted campus life in the spring have not returned. There are also more organized efforts to channel student and faculty concerns over issues in the Middle East into academic debate, said Ted Mitchell, president of the American Council on Education.

Though fewer students are participating in antiwar efforts this academic year, many of those who remain are more radical in their messaging, some observers say.

At the University of California at Berkeley a year ago, students hung a long banner from Sather Tower, an iconic 307-foot bell tower on campus. It read: “Cease fire now. Free Gaza,” with an image of the Palestinian flag. This fall, that banner was gone and a new one was hung in its place, reading: “Glory to the Resistance,” with an inverted red triangle, a symbol Hamas has used to identify military targets and that has come to be associated with the Palestinian resistance movement.

On Instagram, the Swarthmore College Students for Justice in Palestine chapter called Oct. 7 a “glorious day” and declared: “Happy October 7th everyone!”

Some protesters now refer to the Oct. 7 attacks as the “al-Aqsa flood,” the name Hamas uses. On the first anniversary of the attacks, a protester at Columbia University, marching with a noisy through the center of campus, held aloft a sign that included drawings of a paraglider, an inverted red triangle, and the message, “LONG LIVE THE AL-AQSA FLOOD / GLORY TO THE RESISTANCE.”

Students involved in the protest groups say the move toward more militant rhetoric is the result of frustration over a war that shows no signs of ending soon.

The news from the Middle East has been incendiary in recent weeks, with the killing of Hamas leaders, Israeli incursions into Lebanon, attacks on Iranian targets and gruesome videos of civilians dying.

Students now think it will take tougher actions to bring about change, and they are no longer willing to practice “respectability politics,” said Matt Kovac, a graduate student in history at Berkeley who helps run the campus chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine.

“What we are witnessing is a realistic response to people marching and protesting for a year, and that these international institutions and the U.S. have no interest in a cease-fire,” he said. “They’ve had a year.”

At Baruch College in New York City, Jewish students feel personally under attack, said sophomore



VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Students at Columbia University in New York on Oct. 7 protest the war in Gaza.

Aidan Herzlinger, vice president of the school’s Hillel chapter. At a welcome dinner for new students at an off-campus restaurant, the group was met by pro-Palestinian protesters from their school, chanting loudly on the sidewalk. Herzlinger said the Jewish students were called “baby killers” and “terrorists.”

In an Instagram post, the campus chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine said the protest was within legal bounds and meant to target “genocide enablers,” specifically naming several Hillel staff members and one student — Herzlinger — and complaining that Hillel sends students on “propaganda trips” to Israel.

Then, the day before the Oct. 7 anniversary, he found the words “Oct 7 IS FOREVER” spray-painted on a wall at the entrance to the college.

“They’re becoming more radical, they’re becoming more extreme, and they’re doing things that are just a thousand-fold worse than they were last year,” Herzlinger said. He said he feels isolated and unsafe as a result.

“These institutions are supposed to be places of inclusiveness and open dialogue and respectful disagreement,” he said. “They’ve created the opposite.”

Without doubt, many activists for Palestinians are engaged in entirely peaceful protests: calling for a cease-fire, writing divestment proposals, organizing teach-ins and film screenings, and creating art and embroidery together. Some groups have hosted vigils for those who have died in the war in Gaza; at Columbia, students

have read thousands of names aloud. And some groups marked the Jewish holiday Sukkot with interfaith gatherings.

“Overwhelmingly, we have seen that student-led protests are peaceful calls for human rights for those in Palestine,” said Farah Afify, research and advocacy coordinator for the Council on American-Islamic Relations. “And of course, they are increasing in urgency as the situation continues to deteriorate abroad.”

Others who followed the protests closely said they have seen signs of support for terrorist groups all along. Oren Segal, vice president of the Center on Extremism at the Anti-Defamation League, a Jewish civil rights group, said certain student groups or individuals defended the Oct. 7 attack from the start.

“Before the blood even dried in Israel, we saw the glorification of the violence on that day,” he said.

He worries that the inflammatory rhetoric could normalize terrorist groups and spark someone to act on those messages. “The blatant support for terror is not something I have ever seen in my over 20 years of doing this,” he said.

### A turn at Columbia

The shift is perhaps most apparent at Columbia University, the epicenter of last year’s protests.

For weeks, Columbia University Apartheid Divest, one of the pro-Palestinian groups on campus, has taken a harder tone across its communication channels. On Substack, the group has praised the leadership of Hamas,

Hezbollah and Ansarallah (more commonly known as the Houthis), all Iranian-backed groups designated by the United States as terrorist organizations. One post referred to these groups as the Axis of Resistance and said they had “effectively used hierarchy and structured organization led by an anti-imperialist political line to carry out operations effectively.”

On a Telegram channel with more than 7,700 subscribers, CUAD has praised and posted quotes and photos from Yahya Sinwar, the leader of Hamas and mastermind of the Oct. 7 attacks who was killed by Israeli forces last month.

And in October, the group rescinded an apology it posted in the spring after one of its members, Khymani James, said during a disciplinary hearing that “Zionists don’t deserve to live” and “be grateful that I’m not just going out and murdering Zionists.”

Last month, CUAD apologized to James for posting the apology on his behalf. James replied on Twitter with gratitude that the record was set straight. “Anything I said, I meant it,” James said.

When demonstrations broke out last year at Columbia, some people labeled protesters as pro-Hamas, said Brian Cohen, the Lavine Family Executive Director of the Kraft Center for Jewish Student Life, but he was careful not to, because he didn’t see any direct correlation.

Now, he said, “there’s no denying it.”

A spokesperson for Columbia said that calls for violence have no place at the school and that they

are “antithetical to the core principles upon which this institution was founded.”

Leaders of CUAD did not respond to requests for comment.

But in interviews, students on other campuses explained their thinking.

Students for Justice in Palestine at California State Polytechnic University at Pomona is one of many chapters that posted positive messages about Sinwar after his killing by Israeli military forces. On Instagram, the group posted his photo with the words: “The face of the resistance. Martyred while fighting for our liberation. Rest in power,” followed by a heart emoji.

Mya Ammari, a Palestinian American who is president of the chapter, said that last year “people were a lot more afraid of speaking out.” Now, she said, “people eventually became fed up and say what’s on their mind.”

Asked if this could be read as supporting terrorism, she said, “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.” Like other pro-Palestinian activists, she argued that focusing on the Oct. 7 attacks was unfair and that this day must be understood in the context of a long history of oppression.

A member of the leadership team with Mac for Palestine at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, made a similar point. Terms like “terrorism” are “losing persuasive power among students,” because they are applied to violence perpetrated by Palestinians but not violence perpetrated by Israel, said Oriane Sachs-Bernstein, a junior at Macalester.

She said that students’ experience on campus with the protest movement, including “intense surveillance, violent policing, brutalizing arrests and threats to their education or even personal safety,” has changed the way they see the Palestinian struggle. She said that students realize they are experiencing “just a sliver of the intense repression that defines Palestinian existence under occupation” and that “this form of repression is radicalizing.”

Still, she said, the group’s posts about Sinwar’s life were not meant as an endorsement of Hamas.

This new messaging has been noticed by Hillel chapters across the country, said Adam Lehman, president and CEO of Hillel International.

“The overall picture on campus,” he said, “has moved from a mass protest movement that embodied a diverse set of goals and rhetoric to this more concentrated and therefore more extreme and radical set of goals, tactics and rhetoric.”

## The Washington Post

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## THE TRUMP TRIALS

# How will Trump’s election victory affect his criminal cases?

BY PERRY STEIN

When we started this newsletter last year, Donald Trump was still six months away from clinching the Republican presidential nomination. His four criminal cases were making their way through the courts, and each seemed to have a shot at going to trial before the November election.

A lot has changed.

Trump’s victory at the polls last week is quickly reverberating in the courtrooms, with special counsel Jack Smith figuring out how to wind down the two federal cases against the former turned future president.

Welcome to our post-election edition of the Trump Trial newsletter, where I will help you make sense of what Trump’s election win means for the criminal cases against him. I’ll keep writing this newsletter each week as news develops but, well, we don’t expect much movement — if any — in these cases once Trump is sworn in as the 47th president on Jan. 20.

### What’s ahead

Once Trump is president, he will probably urge his attorney general to drop the two federal cases against him and get rid of Smith. (Trump has vowed to fire Smith, and Republicans are calling for his investigation.)

There’s an alternative scenario: It’s possible that Smith ends the cases on his own before Trump is sworn in and writes a special counsel report detailing his findings, which could become public.

All this means neither federal case will go to trial. It’s also extremely (*extremely!*) unlikely that the Georgia state election interference case would go to trial while Trump is in office.

Here’s a look at what happened in each of these cases last week,

and how Trump’s presidential victory could affect them.

### 1. D.C.: Federal case on 2020 election

**The details:** Four counts related to conspiring to obstruct the 2020 election results.

**Where the case stands:** When the Supreme Court issued its new and broad definition of presidential immunity in July, it kicked the case back to the trial judge. U.S. District Judge Tanya S. Chutkan is now overseeing the legal proceedings to determine which allegations in the superseding indictment may still be prosecuted under the Supreme Court ruling. Whatever she decides is likely to be appealed until the case again reaches the nation’s highest court.

**What happened last week:** Chutkan granted prosecutors’ request to suspend upcoming filing deadlines — a clear sign that Smith is not trying to push forward with the prosecution. Chutkan gave Smith a Dec. 2 deadline to explain in writing how he wants to proceed with the case. So it’s unclear if we will ever learn how she would rule on the immunity questions.

### Nerd word of the week

**Vacate:** Smith asked Chutkan on Friday to vacate the remaining deadlines in the pretrial schedule. That means that Smith wanted the judge to cancel or annul the court-ordered trial schedule. Chutkan agreed and suspended — or vacated — upcoming deadlines in the case.

### 2. New York: State hush money case

**The details:** 34 charges connected to a 2016 hush money payment. A jury found Trump guilty on May 30.

**Where the case stands:** This is the only case that has gone to trial. Sentencing is scheduled for

Nov. 26, but Trump’s lawyers will probably try to delay that now that he is the president-elect. Experts have disagreed on whether Trump might have faced jail time if he lost the election. His victory makes it harder to impose any sentence, even probation, as he prepares to return to the Oval Office.

Trump’s attorneys are trying to get the entire conviction overturned based on the Supreme Court’s immunity decision, which said prosecutors could not introduce any evidence at the trial of a former president that includes actions that are covered by presidential immunity. While the bulk of the New York trial focused on activity that occurred outside of the White House, some of the evidence details interactions from Trump’s first term.

The judge overseeing the case could rule on this issue as soon as this week. That decision can also be appealed.

### 3. Florida: Federal classified documents case

**The details:** Trump used to face 40 federal charges over allegations that he kept top-secret government documents at Mar-a-Lago — his home and private club — and thwarted government demands to return them.

**Where the case stands:** U.S. District Judge Aileen M. Cannon dismissed the entire case on July 15, saying Smith was unlawfully appointed as special counsel and has no authority to bring the indictment. Smith has appealed that decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit, and prosecutors have a filing deadline later this month.

Smith can either drop the appeal on his own or he can press forward and risk Trump’s attorney general dropping it.

The Justice Department will not prosecute a sitting president, so the case won’t go to trial. But

dropping the appeal would not be a simple decision. Justice Department officials have expressed concern that Cannon’s decision could jeopardize not just future special counsels, but also any federal prosecutor or senior official serving in a temporary position.

Prosecutors hope to win the appeal not just to resurrect the case against Trump, but also to protect Justice Department appointments during the Trump administration and beyond.

### 4. Georgia: State case on 2020 election

**The details:** Trump faces eight state charges for allegedly trying to undo the election results in that state. Four of his 18 co-defendants have pleaded guilty.

**Why it’s stalled:** The case has been on pause while the Georgia Court of Appeals hears an appeal from Trump and some of his co-defendants seeking to disqualify Fulton County District Attorney Fani T. Willis, the top prosecutor. The defendants argue that Willis improperly spent taxpayer dollars while in a romantic relationship with an attorney she hired to work on the case. Oral arguments for the appeal are set for Dec. 5.

Trump, once he is president, and his attorney general will have no power to dismiss a state case. But it almost certainly won’t go to trial while he is in office. Federal guidelines say a president should not stand trial during his term. While it has never been tested, legal experts say those guidelines would probably extend to state cases.

The prosecutions against Trump’s co-defendants could move forward while he is president. Some of Trump’s interactions with his 2020 election allies could come under fresh public scrutiny while he is in the White House.

### Question time

**Can the two federal cases against Trump be resurrected when he leaves the White House in 2029?**

There is a lot of legal theorizing about what could happen. If Smith doesn’t write a special counsel report, there is legal maneuvering that Smith can use to preserve the cases — even if salvaging the cases in 2029 seems like an unlikely scenario.

“This is a really unprecedented situation, and it really depends on how the case is withdrawn,” said Claire Finkelstein, law professor at the University of Pennsylvania.

If prosecutors no longer want to try a case, they generally have to lodge a request with a judge, and the judge must decide to formally withdraw it. If the judge dismisses it with prejudice, prosecutors cannot retry it. But if they dismiss without prejudice, then it can in theory be brought to court again.

Finkelstein said, for example, that if Trump fires Smith and then moves to get the case dismissed, Chutkan could agree to dismiss the case without prejudice — giving prosecutors the possibility to again bring the case against Trump when he leaves office.

There is also an unlikely scenario in which a judge rejects an attempt by prosecutors to drop the cases against Trump — but it would still be difficult to try a case if prosecutors don’t want to do so.

Even if it’s unlikely, Finkelstein said Smith’s ideal scenario would be to agree to pause, or stay, the proceedings until Trump leaves office.

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## POLITICS &amp; THE NATION

## Online blitz gave Trump a direct line to a new fan base

Through TikTok posts, memes and podcast appearances, he appealed to a group of young men devoted to many of the beacons of American machismo

BY CAT ZAKRZEWSKI,  
DREW HARWELL  
AND NAOMI NIX

President-elect Donald Trump's road back to the White House weaved through testosterone-fueled corners of the internet, breaking from the circuit of daytime talk shows and local radio broadcasts.

Trump flexed his arms with podcasting National Football League players and chatted about aliens with YouTube wrestler Logan Paul. He served the Nelk Boys Chick-fil-A on his private jet "Trump Force One," calling the group of YouTube pranksters a "modern-day Johnny Carson." He riffed on surviving a July assassination attempt with the four-man comedy team behind "Flagrant," a raunchy podcast that promises to deliver "unruly hot takes directly to your dome piece."

The resulting memes, TikTok posts and YouTube videos landed Trump millions of views online — part of a sprawling online strategy that gave him a direct line to a giant fan base of young American men.

While many political strategists once viewed this group as liberal by default, young men between the ages of 18 and 29 swung enormously for Trump, shifting rightward by eight percentage points since 2020, according to network exit polls.

The day after the election, Team Trump advisers on X praised a group of young, self-described "s\*\*t posters fueled by a lot of black coffee and Zyn" nicotine pouches for rewriting the political campaign playbook and introducing Make America Great Again to a new — and terminally online — generation of men.

Trump's staggering showing among this demographic was the culmination of a years-long effort to reach young men devoted to the beacons of American machismo: pranks, combat sports, stand-up comedy and the often-misogynistic online fringe known as the "manosphere."

The influencers and podcast hosts don't have movie or TV deals, but they command bigger audiences than many traditional Hollywood actors thanks to on-line media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram and TikTok, where millions of Americans now get their news and spend their time.

Some of the influencers also boosted Trump offline: The Nelk Boys led a \$20 million get-out-the-vote effort, focused on door-knocking at fraternity houses and targeting young men at college football tailgate parties.

This risky strategy of courting the audiences of Joe Rogan and the Nelk Boys more aggressively than viewers of traditional news programs or "Saturday Night Live" paid off on Election Day, propelling Trump's first popular



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Donald Trump arrives at a campaign rally in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on the eve of Election Day.

vote victory.

"People were able to see him for who he really is and not through the characterization of him by the mainstream media," said Alex Bruesewitz, a Trump campaign adviser who developed his podcast strategy. "That was a massive, massive victory for us this go around."

The 78-year-old businessman — now the country's oldest president-elect — was able to achieve what some are hailing as a political realignment in part by adapting his decades as a TV showman to live-streamed interviews on X, three-hour podcast chats and eye-catching TikToks.

These tactics reintroduced first-time voters to a candidate whose notorious 2015 ride down a golden Trump Tower escalator occurred when they were in elementary and middle school. Uniquely isolated during the pandemic, these young men turned to podcasts and influencers to navigate loneliness and stress, said John Della Volpe, the director of polling at the Harvard Kennedy School Institute of Politics.

To them, Trump is "more of an antihero than a villain," Della Volpe said.

Trump's resounding showing in what some called the "battle of the sexes" election reflected his ability to harness a mounting angst among young men about their economic and cultural status in a society in which young women are more educated and have more professional opportunities than previous generations.

"Trump is so good at channeling that frustration for people who feel they have no power," said Hasan Piker, one of the internet's most prominent left-wing streamers. "He's the best at saying, 'You're right to be angry, and I'm going to tell you exactly why you should be angry.'"

A cohort of young men were primed for that message.

## Video games, wrestlers, fries

Trump's first foray into podcasting came in 2022, 14 months after he left Washington in disgrace after failing to respond to the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol. At the time, he was largely exiled by major TV networks and banned from most social media. But the Nelk Boys were happy to welcome the former president on their show "Full Send."

In the interview taped at Trump's Mar-a-Lago Club, the former president talked about his friendship with Ultimate Fighting Championship CEO Dana White, lamented the rising price of oil and claimed that Russian President Vladimir Putin would never have invaded Ukraine if he were still in the White House.

"We look weak, we look stupid, we look like we don't know what we're doing, and nobody has ever seen the country like this," Trump said on the episode, presented by Happy Dad Hard Seltzer.

YouTube pulled down the episode, citing a policy that at the time banned claims of widespread fraud during the 2020 election. The takedown, however, became an advertisement for the show and for Trump, who swiftly put out a statement decrying the "Big Tech lunatics" who removed the interview with the "very popular" influencers.

The appearance was just the start of Trump's foray into the world of bro influencers, which accelerated as Election Day approached. He golfed with Bryson DeChambeau, talked energy prices with personal-finance podcaster Dave Ramsey, and discussed religion and marijuana with the cerebral computer scientist Lex Fridman.

John McEntee, a former Trump

White House staffer who has gained 3 million followers on TikTok for his right-wing quips such as "It'll be funny to see how quickly feminists embrace the kitchen when World War 3 breaks out," said Trump's embrace of online media helped him capture a giant audience by "speaking to people where they are."

"Whoever dominates the latest communication tool usually wins: Look at Trump with Twitter in 2016, Obama with Facebook, JFK with television, FDR with radio," McEntee said. "Having Donald Trump, who's this larger-than-life figure, joining these young platforms (like TikTok) was such a symbol that he was part of the culture."

Some of Trump's appearances were with online influencers preferred (and suggested) by his 18-year-old son, Barron, such as the video game streamer Adin Ross, who live-streamed a chat and dance routine with Trump at Mar-a-Lago. "My son Barron says hello, by the way. He's a big fan of yours," Trump told Ross, 24.

The strategy allowed Trump to tap into men who were not traditional conservatives. In mid-October, he appeared on "Six Feet Under," a podcast hosted by his favorite pro wrestler, Mark William Calaway, better known as "The Undertaker." World Wrestling Entertainment fan pages had higher engagement than those of any other sport, and their audience was more moderate than many would assume, Bruesewitz said.

"It went like wildfire throughout all of the different fan pages," he added. "We reached tens of millions of people that were not our average audience through that interaction."

That targeting of young men extended to the campaign's digital-media operation, which worked to blast pro-Trump mes-

sages onto social media accounts with tens of millions of followers.

Dylan Johnson, 26, a deputy campaign director of communications, said the team adopted a "scorched earth" strategy when dealing with critics or journalists they felt were misrepresenting Trump — part of the team's "no free shots on goal" policy that responded to every hit with a counterattack.

"We were in the cockpit, and we could fire at will whenever we saw something worth hitting," Johnson said. "We can be a little flame-thrower-y at times, but that's part of the charm."

Trump's appearances on podcasts and meme-worthy antics accelerated when Vice President Kamala Harris entered the race, shaking up the campaign with a flood of online support in the form of memes and videos known as "fan edits." As Trump drove at disaffected young men, Harris detoured the other way. She appeared on "Call Her Daddy," a podcast popular with young women, and "All the Smoke," a show hosted by two former National Basketball Association players popular with young, non-White men.

Long podcast interviews have a second life in clips, which circulate on social media and in stories in traditional news outlets, Republican digital strategist Eric Wilson said. In an interview with comedian Theo Von, Trump candidly discussed how his older brother Fred's struggle with addiction shaped his own decision not to drink, use drugs or smoke. A clip from the interview had nearly 3 million likes on TikTok.

Harris's campaign created a small team of staffers to counter Trump on TikTok and other social media platforms, trolling him with short-video remixes and viral memes from a digital war room in Delaware. But Trump's team adopted an irreverent tone of its own through attention-grabbing stunts like showing Trump slinging fries at a McDonald's and driving a garbage truck, creating meme-worthy moments his team hoped would soften his public persona and break the mold for a political campaign.

Jackson Moore, a 19-year-old Iowa State University student, followed the campaign largely through watching reaction videos and clips from right-wing outlets like the Daily Wire on Instagram, TikTok and YouTube. On mainstream media, Trump was compared to Adolf Hitler and his supporters to "fascists," he said. But the online videos presented a more moderate Trump, Moore said, one "genuinely concerned" about real Americans' issues.

So on Election Day, Moore cast his ballot for Trump.

## The 'mighty and powerful'

Ten days before Election Day, Trump left Michigan supporters

waiting on an airplane tarmac in the cold, blaming the almost three-hour delay for his rally on taping an interview with Rogan, the world's No. 1 podcaster.

The wide-ranging conversation covered the existence of UFOs, Trump's continued denial of the 2020 election results and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un — and reached Rogan's massive 80 percent male audience, according to data from Edison Research. Rogan's interviews with Trump and his top allies, Vice President-elect JD Vance and X owner Elon Musk, have been viewed in total more than 78 million times on YouTube alone.

The strategy hit voters beyond the base of the GOP, where Trump had limited success in 2020.

"If you're over the age of 45, you have an opinion of Trump, it doesn't change. But there are a ton of young voters out there voting for the first time ever, and podcasts are a pretty effective way of reaching them," Piker said. "Those guys aren't watching MSNBC."

Meanwhile, Harris spent the final days of the race with more traditional Hollywood icons. She appeared alongside actress Maya Rudolph in a sketch that opened "Saturday Night Live" and, on the eve of the election, she made her final appeal to voters alongside Oprah Winfrey and Lady Gaga at a rally on Philadelphia's Benjamin Franklin Parkway.

The same night, Rogan announced his endorsement of Trump, who celebrated the news onstage at a rally in Pittsburgh. On Election Day, Trump boosters made an overt appeal to men.

"Get every man you know to the polls," tweeted Stephen Miller, a top adviser in the first Trump White House.

When Trump declared victory Wednesday, he praised a swath of male influencers for their support during the election. He talked about his love for Musk and thanked "tough guy" White, the UFC CEO. White thanked the Nelk Boys, the "Bussin With the Boys" crew, Von and "the mighty and powerful" Rogan.

It remains to be seen whether Trump — and the GOP — will be able to hold these young supporters as his administration gears up to pursue an aggressive plan to reshape American society.

Many Trump supporters in their late teens and early 20s admire Trump's brand and his masculinity; they don't recall his decision to pull out of the Paris agreement to combat climate change or his defense of white nationalists in the wake of the deadly 2017 Charlottesville rally, Della Volpe said.

"I don't think the vast majority of younger, first-time Trump voters are voting for extreme policy," he added.

Meryl Kornfield and Razzan Nakhilavi contributed to this report

## Dean Phillips, who challenged Biden, says no Democrat could have won

BY THEODORIC MEYER

Rep. Dean Phillips (D-Minnesota) saw Donald Trump's victory coming.

Phillips launched a long-shot campaign last year challenging President Joe Biden in the Democratic primary race after trying and failing to persuade other Democrats to run. He argued that Biden was too unpopular to win reelection and sharply criticized Biden's record, including his decision to run on "Bidenomics" when many Americans were deeply frustrated by inflation.

But Phillips's campaign never caught fire with voters. He received his highest vote share in the New Hampshire primary, but won only 20 percent of the vote there even though Biden's name wasn't on the ballot. (Biden's supporters waged a write-in campaign.) Phillips dropped out after Super Tuesday and endorsed Biden.

Phillips held his tongue after Biden's catastrophic debate performance, which ultimately forced the president from the race, but he spoke with The Washington Post on Thursday, now that what he feared has come to pass.

The following interview has been edited and condensed for length and clarity.

## Was this the scenario you envisioned when you decided to run for president?

Absolutely. Those of us who had our ears to the ground and were listening and spending time around the country sensed two things. One, the growing disdain



ALLISON ROBERT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Rep. Dean Phillips (D-Minnesota) says Donald Trump's popularity "snuck up" on Democrats and Trump "is more than a passing fad."

for the Biden administration — which I don't believe was deserved. And secondly, the growing attraction to Donald Trump amongst constituencies that heretofore had been much more closely aligned with Democrats.

## Why do you think Vice President Kamala Harris lost?

I'm not certain that any Democrat would have won this year. We have to just acknowledge that Donald Trump is more than a passing fad. He's become a significant historical figure in American politics, and he built a movement that, frankly, snuck up on most Democrats.

Do I believe if my party had heeded the call to promote and encourage a competitive primary

that we would have identified a candidate perhaps better positioned to win? Absolutely. No question, 100 percent. [But Harris] was not in an enviable position to have essentially 90 days to put together a campaign of such breadth and depth and cost, still serving as vice president to a very disappointed president and feeling some obligation to refrain from disparaging or even showing separation. That is another reason she lost — the unwillingness to show that separation.

Do you think another Democrat — Pennsylvania Gov. Josh Shapiro, Illinois Gov. JB Pritzker, Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer — could have won?

I think the answer is "could have." That's why I contacted both Pritzker and Whitmer directly — tried to, at least — to encourage them to run. I think they would have been much better positioned to defeat Donald Trump, no question.

## You decided to run for Congress after Trump won in 2016. How different does this moment feel?

[Wednesday] was an extraordinarily difficult day for me because it was déjà vu all over again. I woke up the morning after [Election Day] 2016 with my youngest daughter in tears in her bedroom, my eldest in college. I promised them, sitting at my breakfast table, via FaceTime, I would do something, and that is why I ran for Congress.

My first calls [Wednesday] morning were from my daughters again, equally distraught. It was a painful day, because my promise to them was that I would do something and I wouldn't stop until I succeeded. And unfortunately I feel, in hindsight, that I may have conceded a little bit too early.

## What do you mean that you may have conceded a little too early?

I am disappointed that I wasn't able to make my case more successfully. And that's on me.

When you ran for president, you described Biden as a threat to democracy. Do you regret saying that — or anything else you said during your campaign?

I regret that statement. It was the one thing, and the one thing only, that I said about President Biden that I regretted, and I told him that when he and I spoke. I apologized to him, and his response was "Why the heck are you apologizing?" He was very gracious in his acceptance of my apology.

But the context is important: It was referencing Democratic state parties in multiple states actively preventing the inclusion of names on the primary ballot. I don't even think the president was aware. I will not throw stones at any individuals, but I will say that those who actively prevented a primary and suppressed competition and prevented platforming on MSNBC and other left-leaning media platforms — they are the ones that should shoulder the blame for what transpired on Tuesday.

## When did you speak to Biden?

He called me the day that I left the race, and we had a wonderful conversation. He said he would have done the same thing — meaning, had the same [thing happened] some years ago, that he probably would have entered the race. He invited me into the White House to download and share any perspectives that I wished. Unfortunately, that meeting never happened.

## What does the Democratic Party need to do now to reinvent itself?

The only evidence you need is

some of the ballot measures that passed [on Tuesday]. Almost 60 percent of Floridians [voted] to protect women's reproductive rights, despite overwhelmingly voting for Trump. Missouri [voted to raise the] minimum wage. [So did] Alaska. These red states clearly favor Democratic policies, but they voted for someone opposed to those policies. That says to me one thing: We have good product and terrible packaging and distribution.

## "The Democrats have to stop pandering to the far left," Rep. Tom Suozzi (D-New York) told the New York Times. "I don't want to discriminate against anybody, but I don't think biological boys should be playing in girls' sports." Do you agree?

There's going to be a very public battle, I think, between the left wing of the Democratic Party and the moderate wing. There are some cultural positions that the Democratic Party has taken that may be principled, they may be compassionate, but they are not aligned with the majority of the United States of America. Spencer Cox, the Republican governor of Utah, always says when in doubt, lead with love. On these policies, I certainly do. But if the objective is to win, you can only win by aggregating a majority of Americans to vote for your policies. And it is clear as the sky is blue that some of these positions have alienated millions and millions of Americans."

# In call with Russian leader, Trump tells him not to escalate war in Ukraine

PUTIN FROM AI

Ukraine, though he did not offer details about how he intended to do so. He has signaled privately that he would support a deal in which Russia kept some captured territory, and during the call he briefly raised the issue of land, people familiar with the matter said.

The call, which has not been previously reported, comes amid general uncertainty about how Trump will reset the world's diplomatic chessboard of U.S. allies and adversaries after his decisive victory on Tuesday. Trump told NBC on Thursday that he had spoken to about 70 world leaders since the election, including Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky — a call that Elon Musk also joined.

Ukrainian officials have been informed of the Putin call and did not object to the conversation taking place, said two people familiar with the matter. Ukrainian officials have long understood that Trump would engage with Putin on a diplomatic solution to the war, the people said.

Trump's initial calls with world leaders are not being conducted with the support of the State Department and U.S. government interpreters. The Trump transition team has yet to sign an agreement with the General Services Administration, a standard procedure for presidential transitions. Trump and his aides are distrustful of career government officials following the leaked transcripts of presidential calls during his first term. "They are just calling [Trump] directly," one of the people familiar with the calls said.

"President Trump won a historic election decisively and



President Donald Trump with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Osaka, Japan, in 2019.

leaders from around the world know America will return to prominence on the world stage. That is why leaders have begun the process of developing stronger relationships with the 45th and 47th President because he represents global peace and stability," said Steven Cheung, Trump's communications director, in an email.

Moscow initially responded coolly to Trump's win, with Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov telling reporters that Putin had no plans to call the incoming president of "an unfriendly country that is directly and indirectly involved in a war against our state."

But on Thursday, Putin pub-

licly congratulated Trump on his victory, praising his "manly" response to the assassination attempt in Pennsylvania, and said he was "ready" to speak with Trump.

Peskov did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Earlier Sunday, a journalist with the Russian state TV channel Rossiya, Pavel Zarubin, published an interview with Peskov in which the Kremlin spokesman said the signs for an improvement in relations under a Trump presidency were "positive."

"Trump talked during his campaign about how he sees everything through deals, that

he can make a deal that will lead everyone to peace. At least he talks about peace, not about confrontation and the desire to inflict a strategic defeat on Russia," Peskov said.

While President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris's strategy in relation to Ukraine was predictable, Peskov added, "Trump is less predictable, and also [it] is less predictable to what extent Trump will stick to the statements he made during the election campaign. Let's wait and see."

Trump's call with Zelensky on Wednesday was amicable but comes as officials in Kyiv are anxious about what a Trump presidency might mean for the

war effort, said people familiar with the call.

Ukraine requires billions of dollars in economic and military support every month to continue to fend off its bigger and better-equipped foe, which has made significant military advances in recent months. Trump has complained about the war's cost to U.S. taxpayers and privately noted that Ukraine may have to give up some of its territory, such as Crimea, for peace.

Tensions between Ukraine and the Trump campaign were heightened following Zelensky's visit to an ammunition plant in Pennsylvania in September. The visit to the swing state was criticized as a political stunt by Trump allies, including House Speaker Mike Johnson (R-Louisiana), who called for Zelensky to fire his ambassador to the United States, Oksana Markarova.

Zelensky is now reviewing candidates to replace her, said an official in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Embassy in Washington did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

News of the call comes as Ukraine on Sunday launched a major drone attack on Moscow and five other Russian regions, injuring one person and forcing three airports to temporarily halt operations, officials in Moscow said.

Russia's Defense Ministry said its air defense systems intercepted 84 Ukrainian drones over the Moscow, Bryansk, Oryol, Kaluga, Kursk and Tula regions. Thirty-four of those drones were shot down over the Moscow region, the ministry said — making it the largest Ukrainian drone attack on the capital since Russia invaded the country more than two years

ago.

Meanwhile, Ukraine is bracing to hold land it gained in Russia's Kursk region amid reports that Moscow is preparing a counteroffensive. U.S. intelligence agencies have reported that there are now at least 10,000 North Korean troops in the Kursk region, which could be used to buoy the Russian attempt to retake lost territory.

Ukrainian commanders have told The Washington Post that North Korean troops are also in Russia's neighboring Belgorod region.

While Trump has not spelled out a plan to end the war, he has said it would have benefited Ukraine to make a deal earlier in the war as the country continues to lose soldiers, civilians and infrastructure.

"Any deal — the worst deal — would've been better than what we have now," Trump said during a speech in North Carolina in September. "If they made a bad deal it would've been much better. They would've given up a little bit and everybody would be living and every building would be built and every tower would be aging for another 2,000 years."

"What deal can we make? It's demolished," he said. "The people are dead. The country is in rubble."

A former U.S. official who was apprised of the Putin call said that Trump probably does not want to enter office with a fresh crisis in Ukraine prompted by escalation by Russia, "giving him incentive to want to keep the war from worsening."

Siobhán O'Grady in Kyiv, Isabelle Khurshudyan in Los Angeles, Catherine Belton in London and Aaron Schaffer in Washington contributed to this report.

# Trump seeks Senate leader who will expedite his agenda

SENATE FROM AI

Trump threatened to take the unprecedented step of unilaterally adjourning Congress to make recess appointments. Next year, Republicans are on track to have at least 53 senators, a comfortable majority to approve nominations, but Trump seemed to indicate that wasn't sufficient for his choices for federal jobs and judicial vacancies.

Within minutes, Scott vowed to fulfill Trump's request if he becomes Senate Republican leader, writing on X: "100% agree. I will do whatever it takes to get your nominations through as quickly as possible."

Top Trump allies — including billionaire CEO Elon Musk — and a number of far-right influencers have quickly lined up behind Scott's bid.

"Rick Scott for Senate Majority Leader!" Musk posted Sunday.

Another candidate for Senate leader, Sen. John Thune (South Dakota) said he's open to Trump's requirement, telling Fox News Digital that "all options are on the table."

"One thing is clear: We must act quickly and decisively to get the president's Cabinet and other nominees in place as soon as possible to start delivering on the mandate we've been sent to execute, and all options are on the table to make that happen, including recess appointments," Thune said.

Scott, a former Florida governor who just won a second term in the Senate, has turned a two-way race to succeed Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Kentucky) into a three-man contest that stands as the first test of Trump's grip on the Republican Party.

Scott is running against Thune and Sen. John Cornyn (Texas), who are more aligned with the Republican establishment and are top McConnell allies and sometimes critics of Trump.

Scott argues that he gives Senate Republicans the best option for instituting "change" in the chamber, a promise that earned him the support of ultraconservative voices such as Tucker Carlson and Glenn Beck, as well as Trump backer Robert F. Kennedy Jr.

"We have got to change the way the Senate is run to get Trump's agenda done," Scott told Fox News's Maria Bartiromo on Sunday. "I've talked to my colleagues. I think everybody realizes we need to make a change. So the question is going to be: Who is going to make sure we get these things done?"

Senate Republicans will vote by secret ballot in a closed-door meeting Wednesday. According



Sen. Rick Scott (Florida), center, is running against Sens. John Cornyn (Texas) and John Thune (South Dakota) for Senate GOP leader.

to Senate Republicans' rules, senators who will serve in the 119th Congress also can vote, including newly minted senators-elect such as Bernie Moreno of Ohio, Jim Justice of West Virginia and Tim Sheehy of Montana.

Whoever becomes the GOP leader will become the Senate majority leader in January, when Republicans will control the chamber.

While Thune and Cornyn are widely seen as the front-runners, Scott has received endorsements in recent days from Senate Republicans such as Marco Rubio (Florida) and Ron Johnson (Wisconsin). Alongside Carlson and Beck, other far-right figures such as Charlie Kirk and Laura Loomer have also backed Scott.

In his post Sunday, Trump also demanded that Republicans try to block Democrats from confirming judges during the upcoming lame-duck session before they lose the majority. "Additionally, no Judges should be approved during this period of time because the Democrats are looking to ram through their Judges as the Republicans fight over Leadership. THIS IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. THANK YOU!" Trump wrote.

Democrats are likely to move swiftly on President Joe Biden's judicial nominees, as Republi-

cans did for Trump in the final weeks of his presidency in 2020.

In 2014, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that President Barack Obama had exceeded his constitutional authority in making high-level government appointments in 2012 when he declared the Senate to be in recess and unable to act on the nominations. At the time, Obama appointed officials to the National Labor Relations Board while the Senate held pro forma sessions every three days — a move Republicans, led by McConnell, took to thwart Obama's ability to exercise power.

Thune urged the president-elect not to "exert" any influence on the leadership race in an interview with CNBC last week, but Scott has said he hopes the president-elect backs him.

Cornyn and Thune are known for their close relationships with McConnell, who has led the Senate Republican Conference since 2007 — making him the longest-serving Senate party leader in U.S. history. Thune, 63, has been in the Senate since 2005 and is the Senate minority whip — the No. 2 Republican in the Senate. Cornyn, 72, served as whip before Thune and has been in the chamber since 2002.

In the past, Thune has criticized Trump over policies and the

former president's role in the Jan. 6, 2021, assault on the U.S. Capitol by a pro-Trump mob. Thune endorsed Sen. Tim Scott (R-South Carolina) in the presidential primary, then supported Trump after Scott ended his bid.

*"Any Republican Senator seeking the coveted LEADERSHIP position in the United States Senate must agree to Recess Appointments (in the Senate!)."*

President-elect Donald Trump, posting on Truth Social

Cornyn said a year ago that Trump's time had passed and he couldn't win in 2024. Cornyn endorsed Trump on Jan. 23.

Scott, meanwhile, has long been critical of McConnell. In 2022, he became the longtime leader's first real challenger for the top position after Republicans failed to gain a single seat in

that year's midterms. Scott — then the chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the arm in charge of electing Republicans to the Senate — lost to McConnell in a 37-10 vote.

But with McConnell announcing in February that he would step down as Republican leader, Scott saw a new opportunity to rally the support of Senate Republicans seeking change after almost 18 years of McConnell's leadership.

Scott — one of the wealthiest members of the Senate — repeatedly points to his background as a "business guy" as evidence that he can bring this change to Senate Republicans.

"I'm a deal guy; that's what I did all my life," Scott, 71, told Bartiromo on Sunday. "I built companies by putting companies together. So you've got to find common ground. You've got to talk to everybody."

Before turning to politics, the Florida Republican served as chief executive of Columbia/HCA Healthcare Corporation — once one of the nation's largest for-profit hospital chains — but was ousted by the company's board after the company was found to have defrauded Medicare, Medicaid and other federal programs. The Justice Department won 14

felony convictions against the company, which was slapped with a \$1.7 billion fine in what was at the time the largest Medicare fraud settlement in U.S. history.

While Scott, in a 2010 gubernatorial campaign ad, took responsibility for the company's charges and acknowledged that he and the company "had made mistakes," he sought to rewrite the history behind the settlement this year when he compared charges brought against Trump in his Manhattan hush-money trial to his own legal troubles. Scott, in a May interview with "Fox & Friends," claimed without evidence that "Justice came after me and attacked me and my company." Trump has long claimed, without evidence — as have many Republicans in his circle — that the justice system has been weaponized against the former president.

Scott also once pushed a plan that would have sunset Medicare and Social Security every five years — a policy position that drew wide condemnation from Democrats and forced McConnell to issue a public rebuke. Scott's "Rescue America" plan, released in 2022, would have required all legislation to be renewed every five years to stay on the books. While Medicare or Social Security were not directly named in the plan, both programs were created by federal legislation.

Scott walked back the plan after a barrage of criticism from both parties, writing in an op-ed for the Washington Examiner that he would carve out "specific exceptions for Social Security, Medicare, national security, veterans' benefits, and other essential services."

The controversy has not dissuaded some of Trump's Senate allies from backing Scott — a relative newcomer — over the more-established Cornyn and Thune in the leadership race. At least four Republican senators — Rubio, Johnson, Bill Hagerty (Tennessee) and Rand Paul (Kentucky) — have said publicly they'll support Scott on Wednesday.

As of Sunday evening, Cornyn had secured the public support of one of his colleagues — Sen. Josh Hawley (Missouri) — while Thune had earned the support of fellow South Dakota Republican Mike Rounds.

Most Republican senators have not said publicly whom they'll support. And others, such as the newly elected Sheehy, said they have not yet taken a serious look at the choices.

"I don't even know many of these guys yet, to be quite honest with you," Sheehy told Fox News on Thursday.



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# In 2017, Trump fired the FBI director. Will he fire the successor he picked?

BY PERRY STEIN  
AND MARK BERMAN

Two months after abruptly firing FBI Director James B. Comey in 2017, then-President Donald Trump nominated a new leader for the country's premier law enforcement agency. Trump's pick for the 10-year term was Christopher A. Wray, a former top Justice Department official who the president said would serve as "a fierce guardian of the law and model of integrity."

Barely three years later, as Trump ran for reelection in 2020, he groused that Wray should announce he was investigating his Democratic challenger, Joe Biden, and that Wray was not doing enough to help his reelection efforts. He contemplated firing Wray as well.

Trump continued to publicly castigate Wray both during and after his first term in the White House, making his claims that the FBI and Justice Department were plotting against him a cornerstone of his successful 2024 campaign.

As Trump returns to power, an open question surrounds the bureau: Will the president once again fire an FBI director, or would Wray resign before giving him the chance?

The president-elect and his campaign have not spoken publicly about his plans for the FBI, and Wray has not given any public signal that his time there is limited.

The FBI declined to comment.

Wray's main concern is ensuring there are minimal disruptions to the bureau and its workforce during the transition from the Biden to the Trump administration, said a person close to Wray, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the director's thinking.

He is booking his schedule well into 2025, giving no indication that he plans to resign, said another person familiar with his



FBI Director Christopher A. Wray, right, was appointed by President Donald Trump in 2017.

leadership, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the bureau's internal operations. Two days after the election, he was spotted crossing Pennsylvania Avenue NW, walking from FBI headquarters to the Justice Department for a meeting.

In April, Wray was asked in an NBC interview with Lester Holt about Trump's vow to prosecute political enemies and whether he would serve as FBI director under Trump.

"I'm going to make sure that as long as I'm the FBI director we do the right thing in the right way. That means following the rules, following the law," Wray responded. "I'm enjoying doing this job. As long as I think I can do that in a way that adheres to all those rules and norms, I'd like to keep doing it."

The FBI director's 10-year tenure — longer than two presidential terms — makes it a unique

executive branch appointment. It was imposed as a post-Watergate reform effort in 1976. Before that, the first FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, served as the bureau's head for about four decades until his death in 1972.

The term is intended to insulate the FBI director from political pressure, said Chuck Rosenberg, a former senior FBI official who served as acting head of the Drug Enforcement Administration before resigning during Trump's first year in office.

And it has generally worked, with few presidents firing an FBI director that their predecessor selected. One exception was President Bill Clinton, who fired a Ronald Reagan appointee for misusing government resources.

Trump fired Comey in 2017, as the FBI director was leading a counterintelligence investigation to determine whether associates of Trump may have coordinated

with Russia to interfere with the U.S. presidential election in 2016. At the time, Trump cited Comey's handling of the bureau's investigation into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server.

Comey's ouster set off a political firestorm. It fell to Wray — who worked as a lawyer in private practice and led the Justice Department's criminal division under President George W. Bush — to manage a sprawling workforce of about 35,000 people and a president who repeatedly criticized them and their agency's work.

Wray walked into "a very challenging situation," said Greg Brower, a former FBI official who served as the deputy general counsel and as assistant director of the bureau's Office of Congressional Affairs.

The challenge has continued since Trump left office, with the FBI leading the investigations into his alleged hoarding of classi-

fied documents at Mar-a-Lago, his Florida home and private club, and his alleged efforts to overturn the results of the 2020 election.

Brower, now an attorney in private practice, said he has not spoken with Wray about his future at the bureau, but thinks Trump would be well-served by keeping him in the position: "Chris is really a lawyer's lawyer, and just a great person."

"It's a tough, tough job, and like most jobs, the longer you do it, the better you get at it," Brower said. "He's got seven years under his belt now. He really knows the bureau well, and it takes a while to get to that point."

But Brower said Wray is "also obviously aware of the fact that despite that 10-year term, he serves at the pleasure of the president."

Trump has long lambasted elements of the country's law enforcement, legal and intelligence apparatuses, often assailing them as biased against him.

Only months after Wray started on the job, Trump traveled to the FBI's training facility and denounced what he called the bureau's "disgraceful" behavior. At other times while in office, Trump called the FBI "badly broken," said its leaders politicized investigations and suggested the bureau was failing to perform its job.

Trump also aimed some of his ire squarely at Wray, saying the FBI director gave a "ridiculous answer" before Congress about the FBI's investigation into possible Russian interference in the 2016 campaign. After a Justice Department watchdog in 2019 found flaws in the same FBI investigation, Trump also pilloried Wray for his response, posting on social media that Wray "will never be able to fix the FBI."

After Trump left office, Wray and the FBI remained frequent punching bags for Trump-allied lawmakers and others, who alleged that the bureau was targeting conservatives and not doing

enough to investigate Hunter Biden. House Republicans last year threatened to hold Wray in contempt before backing down.

Wray testified before Congress that it was "somewhat insane" to suggest he was biased against conservatives, given that he was a Republican appointed to lead the FBI by another Republican.

Trump's anger at the FBI took on an added dimension in 2022 when the bureau conducted a court-approved search of Mar-a-Lago for classified government documents, prompting an outpouring of outrage from other Republicans that led to a torrent of threats against FBI agents.

Those who carried out the search were doxed in posts on Trump's social media network. One man tried to breach an FBI field office in Ohio and, after a police chase and six-hour standoff, was shot dead. A Pennsylvania man was charged with threatening to kill FBI agents. Trump and other high-profile conservatives piled on, declaring to millions of followers that the FBI was politically compromised and must be dismantled.

Wray confided to senior FBI officials on a call at the time that he was angry about the threats, *The Washington Post* reported.

This summer, Wray again engaged Trump by testifying before Congress that there were questions about whether "a bullet or shrapnel" struck the former president during the July 15 assassination attempt in Butler, Pennsylvania.

Trump criticized Wray on social media and wrote, "No wonder the once storied FBI has lost the confidence of America!" Following the outcry, the FBI released a statement saying Trump was indeed hit by a bullet or bullet fragments.

But Trump also agreed to sit down for a lengthy FBI victim interview after the attack. Officials said the former president was cooperative.

# Susie Wiles set Trump's campaign on a different course

WILES FROM A1

served from July 2017 to January 2019 — and in recent weeks has warned that Trump is a fascist who had professed admiration for Hitler and aspired to rule like a dictator.

Wiles has stayed in Trump's good graces, friends and other advisers said, in part because she's a foil for him — unflappable where he is volatile. Colleagues said they had never seen her lose her temper. She rarely swears. She stood out and commanded respect on a campaign otherwise mostly staffed at the senior level by pugilistic men prone to infighting, according to advisers. Inside the president-elect's orbit, she has many fans and few critics. She says no to Trump, but only occasionally, believing this approach lends her dissent greater impact, four people who know her said.

Wiles did not respond to a request for comment Friday. The Trump campaign also did not respond. In announcing her role, Trump said on Thursday: "Susie is tough, smart, innovative, and is universally admired and respected."

A moderate in the mold of Jack Kemp, the star quarterback turned Republican congressman from New York who hired her as an assistant in 1979, Wiles hardly started out as an evangelist for Trump or his hard-line views, said two people who have worked with her and, like some others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to offer a candid assessment.

As a political adviser in Jacksonville, Florida, in the 1990s and 2000s, she was known for promoting environmental causes and seeking greater spending on local services. But Wiles concluded that Trump was the best vehicle for Republican power, a longtime Florida lobbyist who has worked with her said, especially after she fell out with her former boss, Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis (R), in 2019.

Once she arrived at that conclusion, she was prepared to serve Trump unflinchingly, people who know her said. When she has disagreed with his words or actions, she will offer comments such as, "Oh, that wasn't helpful," according to people familiar with her reaction, or, "We're going to get that into a better place." But multiple Trump advisers said they had never heard her utter a critical word about him as a person.

People who know Wiles said she may tame some of the staff conflict that marked Trump's first term but is unlikely to restrain his impulses. She was considered a shoo-in for White House chief of staff and did not have to sit for an interview with Trump, according

to a person familiar with the process.

"She seems like she's a grandmotherly figure, but she's tough, she's steely, she's a survivor, and she continues on," said Brian Ballard, a prominent lobbyist and Trump ally who hired Wiles and tapped her to help launch a D.C. outpost of his firm, Ballard Partners, in 2017. Ballard said Wiles was the "kind of person you would want in a foxhole with you."

## 'Susie Wiles Republican'

It was Ballard, a longtime Florida lobbyist, who introduced Wiles to Trump and helped her land a job managing the first-time candidate's 2016 campaign in the Sunshine State.

Her reputation as a formidable political operative was built over decades. The daughter of star placekicker and National Football League broadcaster Pat Summerall, Wiles was raised in New Jersey and worked in Washington, for Kemp and then Ronald Reagan. Then she relocated to Ponte Vedra Beach, a suburb of Jacksonville, after getting married to a fellow Reagan staffer in 1985. The pair later divorced.

She went on to work for two middle-of-the-road mayors of Jacksonville, John Delaney and John Peyton. In 2010, she ran Rick Scott's victorious campaign for governor, helping the health-care executive and first-time candidate forge ties with the GOP establishment at a time when Florida remained a closely contested swing state. The following year, she briefly managed the Republican presidential primary bid of Jon Huntsman Jr., the former Utah governor.

In 2011, she joined Ballard Partners as a managing partner in the firm's Jacksonville office, lobbying the municipal departments where she once worked as a government aide.

By the time she joined Trump's campaign in 2016, she had amassed respect from both sides of the aisle.

"Bringing on Susie is one of the few smart decisions that I've seen the Trump campaign make this year," Chris Hand, a Democratic consultant in Jacksonville, told the Tampa Bay Times in October 2016. "Frankly, if Donald were running as a Susie Wiles Republican — reasonably conservative, pro-environment, pro-investment — he might have a real chance of being elected president on Nov. 8."

Wiles clashed with the candidate when she asked him to fund a pricey mail program near the end of the race. He shouted at her at his Florida golf club, according to people familiar with the interaction, and she thought she would



Susie Wiles, in white, stands behind former president Donald Trump and former first lady Melania Trump as they visit Trump's campaign headquarters in West Palm Beach, Florida, on Election Day.

either quit or be fired. But the two made peace, and within weeks, they were able to celebrate a victory in the state — and throughout the country.

With Trump in the White House, Wiles took on federal lobbying work while landing new campaign clients. During his first year in office, she advocated for a wide range of companies in the health-care, energy and communications sectors, disclosures show, including a Tampa-based chemical company and a Venezuelan news network registered in Miami.

In 2018, Wiles managed the upstart gubernatorial bid of DeSantis, at the time a Trump-aligned but little-known Republican congressman from the eastern Florida coast. Once in office, DeSantis banished her based on suspicions that she had fed embarrassing information about his interactions with donors to the news media, which she denied. The governor also chafed against her efforts to advise him of restrictions about taking gifts from lobbyists. DeSantis sought to exile her from Republican politics in the state, successfully urging Trump to drop her from his reelection bid in 2019. DeSantis's office did not respond to a request for comment.

She also left the Ballard firm in 2019, saying in September of that year that she was stepping away from both the lobbying effort and Trump's reelection campaign "due to a nagging health issue." She told others that it was the worst year of her life.

Her split with Trump was short-lived. She began volunteer-

ing for the Republican National Committee to put together plans for a convention in Jacksonville, which were set aside as the coronavirus made its deadly march across the state. Then Trump brought her back into his fold over the objections of DeSantis, who lobbied against her during a summer 2020 phone call with the president.

## 'She isn't sharing power'

When Trump moved to Florida after losing the 2020 election, he put Wiles in charge of his whole political operation.

In addition to their dinners in early 2021, Wiles spent many days in Trump's postpresidential office above the gilded Mar-a-Lago ballroom, the beating heart of his private club and residence in Palm Beach. She listened to him complain about the election. She explained the political paths available to him and began hiring additional staff. She explained some of the mechanics of how she believed he could run a better campaign, particularly on early voting and mail-in ballots, which she urged him to support.

Most of all, Wiles became a trusted companion and confidante, eventually getting an apartment in Palm Beach instead of traveling back and forth from her Jacksonville home. As CEO of Trump's Save America PAC, she decided how to spend the former president's cash haul. And in that role, she became his right hand, sitting in on his conversations with foreign leaders and managing not just political, but also legal crises as Trump was indicted in four separate criminal cases.

according to lobbying disclosures and interviews. The tobacco industry spent millions backing Trump's bid this cycle, campaign finance records show, and Trump promised to "save" vaping in September after a meeting with a leading vaping lobbyist. Wiles has maintained that she hasn't influenced Trump's position on nicotine-related issues and hasn't been involved in policy conversations on the topic, people who have spoken to her said.

"She's been more about strategy than ideology," an adviser said. "Susie is not a firebrand. She's not coming into the White House trying to accomplish her own agenda."

Multiple advisers to Democratic nominee Kamala Harris said they were impressed with Wiles, noting that the campaign she ran was more disciplined than the candidate himself. "She ran an impressive campaign," one senior Harris adviser said. "You have to give her that."

Her proximity to Trump made her a target of hostile foreign efforts to interfere in the campaign. Wiles was a target of alleged Iranian hacking attempts this year, according to people familiar with the investigation. She was backstage when Trump was shot in Pennsylvania, urging other staffers to get on the ground.

She so often shied from the spotlight during the campaign that other advisers were shocked when she positioned herself right by the stage at Trump's rally on the Sunday before the election — making her presence known after the candidate said he wouldn't mind if someone shot at the news media and suggested he shouldn't have left office in 2021.

Trump's team viewed his comments as a strategic blunder in the closing days of a race they believed they were going to win. Wiles, with her large sunglasses, stood gazing at Trump just beyond the stage, seemingly urging him to get back on script with a look alone.

Other aides began texting and calling one another about her movements. "I've never seen her in the buffer before," one aide said, describing the area near the stage.

Her presence spoke to her singular influence in Trump's orbit. Now, that influence is set to extend across the federal bureaucracy.

"Susie is in a much different place than I was," said Reince Priebus, Trump's first chief of staff, who served from January 2017 to July 2017 and engaged in a running battle with other White House aides for influence with the president. "She isn't sharing power with anyone."

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# Scientific community is wary and uncertain as Trump returns to Washington

BY JOEL ACHENBACH,  
MARK JOHNSON  
AND CAROLYN Y. JOHNSON

Eight years ago, the election of Donald Trump as the 45th president sent shock waves through the scientific community. Trump had called global warming a hoax and promiscuously spread misinformation and conspiracy theories. His political allies took aim at environmental regulations and climate change research. Trump's initial budget proposals called for cuts in funding of scientific research.

A resistance coalesced, and on Earth Day 2017, tens of thousands of people converged on rain-soaked Washington for the "March for Science."

"Build labs, not walls!" people chanted, along with: "Hey, Trump, have you heard, you can't silence every nerd!"

Now Trump is returning to the White House as the 47th president, his agenda potentially aided by complete Republican control of Congress and a conservative-leaning Supreme Court. In the aftermath of the election, leaders in the scientific community are girding themselves for what Trump's return might portend.

The day after the election, the journal *Nature* published an editorial encouraging scientists to "hold President Trump to account with courage and unity." The progressive Union of Concerned Scientists launched a campaign to defend science in government decision-making and vowed to fight unqualified science agency nominations. And environmental groups promised to combat attempts to roll back gains on global warming.

But these are early days. Some of the responses so far from the scientific establishment have had a wait-and-see attitude.

"While the U.S. election is over, it is too soon to tell whether campaign rhetoric will translate into new policies," the American Association for the Advancement of Science said in a post-election press release. "In many areas, science broadly enjoys bipartisan support in Congress. AAAS is committed to working with all elected officials to craft science-informed policies while raising concerns when rigorous scientific evidence is ignored."



ASTRID RIECKEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Participants of the "March for Science" protest President Donald Trump's environmental policies on Earth Day 2017 in Washington.

Other scientific organizations are not hesitating to sound the alarm.

Jennifer Jones, a program director at the Union of Concerned Scientists, wrote in a blog post that the impending return of Trump "is likely to be a dangerous time for science, scientists and democracy. The last Trump presidency saw 207 attacks on science, including censorship, falsified records, political interference, and intimidation of scientists."

Scientific organizations typically characterize themselves as non-partisan, but some scientists have not hesitated to enter the political fray, including this fall, when 82 Nobel Prize winners endorsed Vice President Kamala Harris. They warned that a second Trump administration "would undermine future US leadership" on multiple fronts and slow the progress of science and technology.

Political advocacy by scientists can backfire, however. A study in the journal *Nature Human Behaviour* found that when the journal *Nature* endorsed Joe Biden in the 2020 election, it caused reductions in trust in the journal from those who supported Trump.

#### Who will lead?

It is unclear who will lead the government agencies and congressional agencies that bankroll research. Several influential patrons of scientific research are no longer on Capitol Hill, such as former Republican senator Richard Burr of North Carolina, who chose not to run for reelection two years ago.

A wild card is Robert F. Kennedy Jr., who built a national following with his anti-vaccine rhetoric but has denied to *The Washington Post* that he is anti-vaccine. Trump has promised Kennedy an important but still-vague role in his administration.

"He's a great guy, and he really means that he wants to do some things, and we're going to let him go to it," Trump said in his victory speech the night of the election.

Covid hangs over the coming assemblage of an administration. Joseph Ladapo, Florida's top health official, had been mentioned before the election as a candidate to run the Department of Health and Human Services or become the U.S. surgeon general, according to people familiar with the process. Ladapo raised doubts about the safety of coronavirus vaccines and was warned against doing so by the Food and Drug Administration and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The most important Trump whisperer might be the world's richest man, Elon Musk, founder of SpaceX and Tesla. Musk, who donated at least \$118 million to a pro-Trump PAC, could influence Trump and his administration to invest more dollars in human spaceflight, military and national security satellites, and battery technology. Musk's company SpaceX has become dominant in the launch industry and has flourished in significant part because of billions of dollars in government contracts.

Trump has endorsed Musk's aspiration to send humans to Mars as soon as 2028. NASA is focused on the Artemis program, which aims to send astronauts back to the moon before the end of this decade, and any sudden pivot to Mars might roil the agency.

Musk has railed against the regulatory bureaucracy. Trump has said he would appoint Musk to lead a commission on government efficiency. Musk has advocated cutting \$2 trillion from the federal budget, which is more than the entire discretionary budget. Scientists who depend on government funding are keenly aware that any gutting of the discretionary budget would be devastating to their work.

Representatives for Trump and SpaceX did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

#### Will past be prologue?

The history of the first Trump administration does not offer perfect clarity on what comes next. But Trump and the scientific community have generally had an oil-and-water relationship.

Watchdog organizations documented cases in which Trump's political appointees interfered with, slowed or halted research findings in government agencies related to hurricane forecasting, the coronavirus, reproductive health and environmental protections. Many government scientists fled to the private sector.

But what Trump and his allies discovered, as had many incoming presidents who promised radical change, is that the government bureaucracy and the Constitution create guardrails that inhibit sudden or radical pivots in policy. Federal scientists under Biden have been working to finalize environmental rules and policies before Trump takes office.

Still, the first Trump administration seeded the court system with conservative jurists skeptical of "the administrative state." Those jurists included three Supreme Court justices who not only voted to overrule *Roe v. Wade*, but also in June overturned a 40-year-old court precedent, known as *Chevron* deference, that was critical to empowering government experts to issue regulations.

For decades, courts generally deferred to the judgment of feder-

al agency officials to administer ambiguous federal laws that regulate areas including drugs, food, the environment and more. But the ruling from the high court this summer means judges, not agency experts and scientists, will have more discretion making scientific and technical judgments as they rule on lawsuits over agency regulations.

What didn't happen during the Trump years was a major gutting of scientific funding. That has continued to enjoy bipartisan congressional support, with lawmakers eager to send taxpayer dollars toward their home districts. Patrons of science have occupied both sides of the aisle in both the House and Senate.

"It's true that Trump put in some horrible cuts for science in his budgets, but those never came to fruition," Holden Thorp, editor in chief of the journal *Science*, said Thursday.

Some early Trump administration policies overturned by the Biden administration could be reinstated. For example, the first Trump administration halted research by scientists at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) that used human fetal tissue, and Biden reversed that decision, said Jennifer Zeitzer, deputy executive director of the nonpartisan Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology.

"I think the worry that we have is continuing the bipartisan commitment and support for biomedical research," Zeitzer said.

In his first budget request, submitted to Congress for fiscal 2018, Trump called for a nearly \$6 billion cut, a reduction of about one-fifth, in the budget for NIH. Congress did not go along with the plan, sending a budget with a \$3 billion increase for NIH — one of the largest boosts the institute had seen in a decade — that Trump wound up signing.

#### Trust in science

Trump's "bully pulpit" during his first term often sowed confusion and promoted misinformation. His administration's successful Operation Warp Speed produced coronavirus vaccines in record time, but Trump often undermined the advice of public health professionals or pulled back on global efforts to deal with the pandemic. He temporarily

suspended payments to the World Health Organization as it was fighting the outbreak and later announced the United States would withdraw from the organization before President Joe Biden pulled the decision back. He promoted treatments for covid that lacked scientific evidence of effectiveness. At one point he seemed to suggest in a White House briefing that injecting disinfectants could be a way to kill the coronavirus. Trump later claimed he was speaking sarcastically.

Thorp, the journal editor, said Trump's rhetoric filtered into public attitudes. Leaders in the scientific community have witnessed a marked decline in trust in their field. The pandemic, with its debates over masking, social distancing, school closures and the origin of the virus, pushed scientific research into the front lines of the culture wars.

A Pew Research Center survey in 2023 found that the percentage of respondents saying science has a mostly positive impact on society had dropped 16 points since before the pandemic.

"There have always been these political disputes over science, whether it's about evolution or climate change, or genetically modified crops, but none of them have had the intensity and extensive polarization that occurred around covid," Thorp said. "Covid was kerosene on the fire."

Kim Waddell, acting president of the Union of Concerned Scientists, said in a statement released after the election that Trump's victory was a difficult day for "everyone who cares about a safe and sustainable future. There's every reason to expect that a second Trump administration will pose a risk to our values and priorities at least as severe as the first term, if not more."

Waddell urged scientists not to give in to despair, complacency or cynicism.

Elias Zerhouni, who was appointed director of NIH by President George W. Bush, said he was optimistic about the future of science because it has bipartisan support, but acknowledged that "it's all up in the air" at this point.

"It's such an evident truth that you cannot destroy your own science and technology enterprise and make the country stronger," Zerhouni said.



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# How nearly all Texas border counties flipped to Trump

BY ARELIS R. HERNÁNDEZ

SAN ANTONIO — The signs of a political shift in the reliably blue counties that line Texas's southern border with Mexico had been coming.

Local GOP offices were emerging in places like Starr County that had not voted for a Republican for president in a century. Party workers were actively reaching out to residents who felt forgotten as illegal border crossings rose and their communities struggled to handle the influx. And Donald Trump's message was clear: He'd bring order and prosperity back into their lives.

The result on Tuesday was a resounding red wave in a part of the country that has come to symbolize the nation's division on immigration. Yet Democratic and Republican party leaders said the Biden administration's border failings are only part of what explains it.

"You can tell me things are better, but if my food stamps don't last the month, I'm not going to believe you," said Toni Treviño, the chair of the Republican Party in Starr County, relating what she had heard from neighbors. Nearly 58 percent of voters in the county supported Trump.

Trump soundly defeated Kamala Harris in 12 of 14 Texas counties touching the border — from the sparsely populated ranchlands in the west to more urban communities in the east where most residents identify as Hispanic, Tejano or Latino. The margins were tighter in the three most populated counties, but everywhere else on the Texas border saw double-digit margins in favor of the Republican candidate.

Those wins were particularly striking in the Rio Grande Valley, where majority-Hispanic counties have been shifting starkly rightward. In Starr County — where 97 percent of people identify as Latino — just 19 percent of voters cast ballots for Trump in 2016.

Political scientist Álvaro Corral of the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley said Trump's stunning victory points at something deeper than just the allure of one candidate to a large group of people.

"Latino voters are showing their complexity," he said. "I expected a swing but not at this magnitude."

## 'Party of the American Dream'

There is no one reason so many Texas borderland *fronterizos* chose Trump. Each community faced a nuanced set of concerns about tighter wallets, experiences with migration, political messaging and local campaign dynamics that shaped their choices. But the emerging picture is a patchwork of broad discontent and continuing defection from the Democratic Party.



Donald Trump speaks with Texas Gov. Greg Abbott during a tour of the U.S.-Mexico border in Eagle Pass, Texas, in February.

Many Latinos living on the border have resided there for generations, and the Republican Party's message is increasingly resonating with them, said Democratic political strategist Abel Prado. Some have had very different experiences in America than their immigrant parents or ancestors and are drawn to the narrative Texas conservatives have crafted about belonging and prosperity.

"The Republican Party makes Hispanics feel they are the party of the American Dream," Prado said. "People equate a good economy with Republicans, regardless of the truth."

Nationally, he added, Democrats continue to play defense on cultural issues like rights for transgender people that simply do not speak to border voters, who are generally more religious, have lower levels of higher education and are socially conservative, and who often take cues from their spiritual leaders inside the voting booth.

Republican congressional candidate Mayra Flores's campaign plastered the region with advertisements serving a simple message. On one side was a picture of Trump and a paper bag of groceries that came out to \$97. On the other was an image of Harris and the same bag of groceries — but with a \$297 price tag. (Flores lost her bid to unseat Democratic Rep. Vicente Gonzalez, though the region she was vying to represent went for Trump.)

"Keep the same, or make a

change!" the sign read.

The state Republican Party has also invested in supporting new candidates and putting out ads that speak directly to the concerns of those living in the Rio Grande Valley, said former Hidalgo County party chair Adrienne Peña-Garza. She helped secure a Republican win two years ago for a congressional seat in a district that had traditionally voted Democratic but that was redrawn to favor the GOP. She said the movement has since only grown.

The number of local Republican Party leaders has grown, she said, adding that "a lot of them are women."

They include Dionne Cancino, who chairs the Hidalgo Republican Party's U.S. Border Patrol appreciation committee. The group delivers goody bags with snacks and invites agents to enjoy a free plate of food during food drives. Trump, she said, visited agents frequently and helped them feel appreciated.

"Morale has been so low and agents felt so unsupported" under President Joe Biden, said Cancino, who is married to an agent. "We want them to know we are backing them."

## Few fears of a 'mass deportation'

Many people in urban areas along the border don't necessarily see migrants on a daily basis or have a front seat to border crossings. Migration is masked by a federal system that quickly moves

people into processing centers, then departs, detains or releases them into the interior of the country.

But Republican Gov. Greg Abbott's border crackdown, known as Operation Lone Star, has made it impossible to look away, several residents said. The billion-dollar initiative has poured millions into border law enforcement agencies, deployed thousands of state troopers and National Guard soldiers, and bused thousands of migrants to Northern cities.

The state response has been welcome in Maverick County, said Freddy Arellano, the area's Republican Party chair.

"What we've read from all of this is that the Democratic Party has abandoned the community," he said. "For example, the Eagle Pass mayor, a Democrat, was asking for assistance from the federal government, and they gave us bukkes. Voters proceeded then to defect."

Social media has helped amplify concerns over immigration. Local law enforcement agencies regularly post dash-cam videos of high-speed chases and mug shots of alleged smugglers on Facebook. Neighborhood pages are filled with reports of alleged terrorists being arrested at the border and sensational videos in English and Spanish showing crossings and handcuffed migrants.

Claudia Alcazar lives near the border and said she and her neighbors have had to clean up

after migrants who left behind clothes and dirty diapers and destroyed fences and other property. That has built resentment among some border families, especially those who have migrated legally or are trying to migrate legally to the country.

Like many border residents, she draws a distinction between her family, which has been in Texas for generations, and those who have been crossing in recent years without permission.

"We are too nice under the Democrats. People, whether it's true or not, have this perception that migrants get free stuff," said Alcazar, who ran as a Republican for a local office but lost. "People want the toughness of Trump, whether it's real or not."

Texas is home to one of the largest undocumented populations in the country, but both Democrats and Republicans said many families along the border do not believe Trump is likely to make good on his threat to carry out a mass deportation.

"Do I want people ripped from their homes? Of course not," Cancino said. "We'll just have to wait and see what his process will be."

## 'It was a bloodbath'

The red wave, however, did not extend down the ballot. Along the border, Democrats continued to dominate many races for local offices, and some Republicans who did win had narrower victories than in years before. Republican U.S. Sen. Ted Cruz, for exam-

ple, did not win the same majorities that Trump enjoyed.

In some places, on-the-ground canvassing paid off. The Hidalgo County Democrats recruited 1,500 volunteers to knock on 100,000 doors. They also sent more than a million text messages. The party focused on the top issues on voters' minds: affordable health care and the economy, said Richard Gonzales, who heads the local Democratic Party.

Several Democratic candidates won local offices, but 51 percent of voters still cast their ballots for Trump, election results show.

"We worked hard," he said. "But it was a bloodbath. There's just something about the guy [Trump] that people gravitate toward."

Gonzales and other Democrats said their messaging around Harris was off and that it should trigger reflection, contending that "the message of hope and unity is not resonating."

In Eagle Pass, Anilu Morales Gonzalez said there is no forgetting what life has been like on the border under the Biden administration. The federal government shut down the international bridges because too many migrants were crossing. The impact on local business owners was enormous and bred resentment, she said.

Morales Gonzalez, a real estate agent, was leasing a property to an import-export business that suffered so much that they asked her to reduce the rent by half to stay in the space. She saw home sales dry up when interest rates swelled. Home builders couldn't turn the same profits and weren't willing to invest their money, so they stopped building, she said.

She said her husband retired from the Border Patrol six years early in 2022 because he was so frustrated with how the job had changed. At the time, his sector of the border was leading the country in migrant encounters — largely asylum-seeking families from around the world.

Trump is "the choice for me and 90 percent of the Border Patrol families and realtor community I know," Morales Gonzalez said.

Her brother, Democratic state Rep. Eddie Morales, was reelected to office but by 10 fewer points than he had won in the last election. He is hopeful there is a way for his party to win the presidency again by fashioning a platform that reflects the values and concerns of constituents.

Morales is a moderate who considers himself pro-oil and gas, and also pro-renewable energy. He tries to take nuanced positions, such as voting for two \$5 billion appropriation bills for the governor's border operation. He did that while also denouncing the political theater around the border.

"We cannot maintain the status quo," he said. "Texans and Americans are telling us that they want us to focus on them first."

# Women fear Republicans could move to overturn no-fault divorce laws

BY KIM BELLWARE  
AND ANNABELLE TIMSIT

Susan Guthrie first noticed attacks on no-fault divorce gaining traction among conservative commentators in the spring of 2023, recalling when right-wing YouTuber Steven Crowder "went into a rage" over the Texas no-fault divorce law that allowed his wife to leave him against his wishes.

Since then, Guthrie, a family law and mediation attorney who hosts the popular "Divorce and Beyond" podcast, has heard growing attacks on no-fault divorce from conservatives. She focused on the issue in her Nov. 4 episode — just before the simmering fears among some women exploded into view on Election Day.

In the hours after former president Donald Trump won a presidential election that heavily focused on women's rights, women began turning to social media to vent their frustrations and worries about another rollback of women's rights in a country that had taken a rightward shift.

Google searches for "no fault divorce" surged, particularly in red states such as Mississippi, Missouri and South Dakota, while popular TikTok users urged people who were considering ending their marriage to act fast.

"If you're unhappy in your marriage, now might be the time to act," Leah Marie, a divorce coach, said in a TikTok video that has been viewed more than 780,000 times since Wednesday. "Protect your right to choose what is best for you and your kids before it's taken away," she added.

No-fault divorce can make ending a marriage more accessible

for a spouse who has fewer resources or who is being abused or controlled by a partner. According to a widely cited 2022 study by the American Sociological Association, nearly 70 percent of divorces are initiated by women.

"Though many people don't realize it, the effort to end no-fault divorce has a disproportionate effect on women," Guthrie said. "I think we need to pay attention to it because a lot of things we didn't think would happen — like *Roe v. Wade* being overturned — did happen. The voices are going to get louder with the results of this election."

## A state issue with national overtones

The movement to end no-fault divorce has not been a Republican priority at the national level or on the campaign trail. Trump — who has been married three times and divorced twice — has not publicly spoken about it, though Vice President-elect JD Vance said in a 2021 speech unearthed this year that people divorce too easily, shifting "spouses like they change their underwear."

Legal scholars said concerns over losing no-fault divorce are not unfounded, citing the widespread confidence women once had about federally protected abortion rights before they were struck down in 2022 by the U.S. Supreme Court, whose conservative majority was solidified in Trump's first term.

But experts were clear that from a practical standpoint, changes to divorce law would take place at the state level.

While there is a constitutional right to marry, there is no consti-

tutional right to a divorce — which means divorce laws will never come before a federal court, said Margaret Ryznar, a visiting professor at Brooklyn Law School and editor emeritus of the Family Law Blog.

"The state legislatures can write or amend the divorce laws like they would any other state law," Ryznar said. "The good news is that no federal election or presidential election can impact that directly because there's no federal constitutional issue."

*"If you're unhappy in your marriage, now might be the time to act."*

Leah Marie, divorce coach, in a TikTok video

## Reagan and the rise of no-fault divorce

Until Republican California Gov. Ronald Reagan made his state the first to enact no-fault divorce in 1970, every state required the "fault" of either husband or wife to be established before a divorce would be granted. States designated specific grounds that would qualify for a divorce, like infidelity, extreme cruelty, abandonment or incarceration.

Reagan, a divorcee himself, signed California's no-fault divorce law, saying it would "do much to remove the sideshow

elements" of many divorce cases.

Fault-based divorce was often lengthy, expensive and acrimonious — and clogged family courts with bitter cases that could drag on for years.

"Before no-fault, it's not as if no one was divorcing; it was just a more tedious process," Ryznar said. "It was more difficult on the courts and on the couples, proving someone was insane or impotent. Fault-only divorce leads to logistical issues that aren't necessary."

Since 2010, all states have permitted no-fault divorce, though the processes, time frames and requirements differ. Incompatibility or irreconcilable differences are common reasons cited in divorce cases. In the vast majority of cases, both parties do not have to agree for a marriage to be ended.

Women's rights advocates say that no-fault divorce is also a lifeline for those stuck in abusive relationships — which disproportionately affect women — who would otherwise have to go through a costly, emotionally draining and potentially dangerous process of proving their partner's abuse in court to obtain a divorce.

A 2003 paper published by the National Bureau of Economic Research showed that female suicides declined by around 20 percent in the long run in states that adopted no-fault divorce, and that those states also recorded "large declines in domestic violence committed by, and against, both men and women."

## Red states consider a rollback

Religious conservatives and men's rights activists have been

among the most vocal opponents of no-fault divorce, arguing that it contributes to weakening the institution of marriage, deprives children of the benefits of a two-parent household, and unfairly favors women in financial and custodial settlements.

Marcia A. Zug, who teaches family law at the Rice School of Law at the University of South Carolina, said the shifting political winds indicate efforts to end no-fault divorce "are absolutely on the table."

"This is easier to get rid of than abortion rights," Zug said. "Obviously, the biggest indication is if state legislatures start proposing it. Five years ago, no one was."

Though no state has come close to rolling back no-fault divorce, several states with Republican supermajorities in their legislatures have seen bills introduced or attacks on no-fault divorce as part of state GOP party platforms.

The Nebraska GOP platform states that no-fault divorce "should be limited to situations in which the couple has no children of the marriage," while the Texas GOP says the legislature should "rescind unilateral no-fault divorce laws."

In Louisiana, the Republican State Central Committee last year considered a resolution to do away with no-fault divorce. An Oklahoma lawmaker introduced a bill in January to eliminate the option of no-fault divorce, while a South Dakota lawmaker has repeatedly tried since 2020 to remove irreconcilable differences as grounds for divorce.

Thus far, the bills have gained little traction; the latest bill sponsored by state Rep. Tony Randolph (R) was killed by South

Dakota's House Judiciary Committee in February by an 11-2 vote. Randolph did not respond to The Washington Post's request for comment Thursday on whether he would introduce another bill next session.

If a state were to eliminate no-fault divorce, Zug said, there would probably be more unnecessary fraud as couples create actionable grounds for divorce, more money spent on private investigators to collect evidence of wrongdoing, and more splits where the needless acrimony negatively affects a divorcing couple's children.

"There are all sorts of problems that come from a fault-only system," Zug said.

Zug said attitudes toward protecting no-fault divorce laws can mirror those on abortion rights — general indifference toward something people assume they themselves will never need to access.

Zug likes to have her law students read the 1993 study "When every relationship is above average," where people applying for marriage licenses were surveyed for their knowledge of divorce statistics and their perceptions of their own relationship. Even among respondents who knew the divorce rate, most assumed their own marriage would never fail.

"When you have that kind of disconnect, people might not be as upset initially about getting rid of no-fault divorce because they think they won't need it," Zug said. "People may not realize how difficult fault-based divorces are."

Emily Wax-Thibodeaux contributed to this report.

# THE WORLD

## Russia moves to crack down on ‘child-free propaganda’

The country’s population is declining. A new bill that criminalizes advocating for not having kids could affect TV, movies, social media posts and more.

BY ROBYN DIXON  
AND NATALIA ABBAKUMOVA

In the first episode of the new season of the Russian reality television show “Mama at 16,” about teen girls facing an unwanted pregnancy, no one thinks abortion is an option. Even though Tanya doesn’t want a child with her boyfriend, Nikita, who is irresponsible, neither she nor her mother would consider it — but by episode’s end, everything is resolved, the baby is born, and they live happily ever after.

In previous seasons, when it was called “Pregnant at 16,” some characters at least broached the topic of abortion, but such a sentiment is now not just disapproved of in Russia, but it will also soon be illegal.

A new law against “child-free propaganda” criminalizing the spread of information advocating for not having children has sailed through its first reading in parliament. The nature of the “propaganda” is not explicitly defined, so the law could bar advertisers, movie and TV producers, bloggers, and writers from presenting childless people as satisfied, or large families as miserable, according to rights groups and activists.

The law comes against the backdrop of a long-standing Russian demographic crisis, where deaths often outnumber births and the population is shrinking and aging. The solution for President Vladimir Putin is the return to what the Kremlin calls “traditional Russian values,” including encouraging women to have large families.

He has said that Russia’s demographic crisis “haunts” him and frames it as a critical national security problem as the prospect of long-term population decline risks a commensurate loss of Russian power.

### Ban on complaining

The ban on child-free propaganda, which analysts see as certain to pass into law, is part of a broad campaign by Russian authorities to pressure women into giving birth to many children.

Daria Serenko, co-founder of the Feminist Anti-War Resistance movement, who has left Russia, said it was a warning to women that their bodies, minds and actions were under the control of the state.

“This is a situation where the state wants to have monopoly on your body, on your voice, on your private life, on everything,” she said. As laws around child-free propaganda and abortion multiply, women are reluctant to defend their rights because of the risk of arrest.

“There is silence,” Serenko said. “This is taboo. Women do not talk about it. They are afraid. Women do not want to go to court because they know very well what the consequences will be.”

The ban on child-free propaganda could punish women who merely post about the hardships they have experienced as mothers, according to the Russian rights group First Department. It warned that contraception companies could face advertising restrictions.

“It will be impossible to say or write anything that is aimed at creating a ‘positive image of childlessness and a conscious desire not to have children,’” the group wrote in a legal analysis of the bill. “The ban on ‘child-free propaganda’ threatens not only those who protect the rights of women and girls... but everyone. If the bill is adopted in its current form, the phrase ‘How can you give birth



NATALIA KOLESNIKOVA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Children visit the Victory Museum in Moscow in May. Russia’s population is estimated to decline by around 550,000 this year, an independent demographer said.



ALEXANDER NEMENOV/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Russian children attend their initiation ceremony for a youth organization in May.

when there is such poverty in Russia?” will be punishable.”

When the bill passed its first reading, one of the largest motherhood support groups on VKontakte, Russia’s version of Facebook, immediately disbanded. The group, ironically titled Happiness of Motherhood, had more than 148,000 members and was a forum for mothers to share their problems, fears and regrets about parenthood, without shame or fear of judgment.

Some complained about poverty, their small apartments and the high cost of having children, or about their lack of freedom, saddled with work, child-rearing and their husbands’ expectations that they do all the housework.

### The demographic crisis

Issues like these are probably part of the reason for the consis-

tently low birth rate that has Putin so upset. Independent Russian demographer Alexander Raksha has estimated that Russian deaths would outnumber births by 608,000 this year, with an overall population decline of around 550,000 after immigration of some 60,000.

In September, Russia’s statistical agency reported that the number of births for the first half of the year plunged to 599,600, the lowest since 1999.

The population decline “is catastrophic for the future of the nation,” Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov said in July. Putin has called for the reviving of “wonderful traditions” of the past, when mothers had seven to eight kids.

Russian authorities have taken an increasingly interventionist approach, curbing access to abortion and repressing what the

Kremlin calls “destructive ideologies” that it claims are imported from the West. Russia has banned what it calls the LGBTQ+ “movement” as extremist. Some 11 regions have banned medical staff, partners and others from suggesting that women have abortions.

Russian ministers have called on women to start families at age 18, while others have condemned women who have pursued higher education before giving birth.

Several lawmakers and public figures have called for a tax on childlessness — much like the one imposed by Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin. The idea has also been touted by Sen. JD Vance (R-Ohio), now the vice president-elect, in a 2021 interview, according to ABC News.

Television and the state-controlled internet are filled with public service announcements extolling the benefits of large fami-

lies and living in the country. One antiabortion ad features a young couple who receive a knock on the door at night from their future child, who introduces herself saying, “I am your happiness.” The woman lies her in despite her boyfriend objecting that “we are not planning.” She replies, “You can’t plan happiness, can you?”

In Moscow, women registered in state clinics are being emailed free fertility test referrals, which raises fears that this could lead to intrusive follow-up action or monitoring in the future.

A Russian feminist activist living in a large city who has been investigating these efforts said the tests induce anxiety. “For those who do understand what is happening in terms of politics, there’s an underlying sentiment that women should give birth regardless of circumstances, regardless of the war, regardless of everything,” she said.

She goes by the handle Aida on social media, and The Washington Post is not naming her for security reasons.

### ‘Duty as a woman’

Billboards advertise hotlines for people with fears or questions about pregnancy, and those lines are staffed by antiabortion advocates. Aida phoned, posing as an 18-year-old student with no apartment, hoping to have an abortion and terrified because her boyfriend was fighting as a soldier on an indefinite contract in Ukraine. She was pressed to have the baby instead.

“They just told me things like, ‘Well, if your boyfriend does die, it’s not the worst scenario, because then you’ll get money.’ So really scary stuff to be honest,” Aida said.

She also volunteered undercover for a month to work at a state-funded antiabortion group, Women for Life. The group searched keywords such as abortion and birth on social media, then joined

in group chats, offering to help women to contact them personally and pressuring them not to have an abortion.

“Sometimes they manipulate, saying, ‘Your duty as a woman is to give birth.’ Sometimes they lie, providing false medical information about how the fetus is developing,” she said.

Serenko, the feminist, described the flurry of laws and proposals to boost the population as “an imitation of activity” by officials that was unlikely to succeed — especially as Russia’s massive war and security budget, projected to reach 40 percent of spending in 2025, undermined social spending, programs for women, schools and health services.

Putin in September told the Eurasian Women’s Forum in St. Petersburg, attended by women from 126 countries, that Russian women remained “guardians of the hearth and linchpins of large families with many children,” but he insisted that the government was creating the conditions for them to succeed in their jobs as well.

“We know that combining these roles is a challenge, but our women cope with it, and, despite being confronted with rigorous workloads, they manage to remain beautiful, caring and charming ladies.”

But to Aida, the government’s bans designed to increase births and to make abortions harder to obtain were signs of a regime that sees citizens as machines to be used.

“A woman is like an incubator that delivers new warriors, new people to be exploited, new people for the government,” she said. “We see that a lot in propaganda and on billboards about how you’re going to give birth to a soldier who is going to protect our land.”

Natalia Abbakumova in Riga, Latvia, contributed to this report.

### DIGEST

#### HAITI

### Prime minister fired by council’s decree

A transitional council created to reestablish democratic order in Haiti signed a decree Sunday firing the country’s interim prime minister, Garry Conille, and replacing him with Alix Didier Fils-Aimé, a businessman who was previously considered for the job.

The decree, set to publish Monday, was provided to the Associated Press by a person in government. It marks even more turmoil in an already rocky democratic transition process for Haiti, which hasn’t held democratic elections in years in large part because of soaring

levels of gang violence.

Fils-Aimé, who studied at Boston University, is the former president of Haiti’s Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and in 2015 ran unsuccessfully for its Senate.

Conille, a longtime civil servant who has worked with the United Nations, served as prime minister for only six months.

— Associated Press

#### MEXICO

### Shooting at bar leaves 10 dead, 13 injured

Gunmen opened fire in a bar in central Mexico, killing 10 people and injuring 13, local authorities said Sunday. Two of the 13 wounded were reported to

be gravely injured.

The attack took place Saturday in the historic city center of Querétaro, in a region that had long been spared the violence seen in neighboring states like Guerrero. In recent years, however, the state of Querétaro has been marked by a handful of violent incidents, raising concern from authorities.

Juan Luis Ferrusca Ortiz, the city’s head of public security, said at least one person was arrested. He said officials identified those responsible by tracking the license plates on the car the armed men fled in, which was later abandoned and set on fire.

Two videos from the bar’s security cameras, disseminated on social networks, show a group of four walking into the bar and

shooting indiscriminately. The video shows screaming people throwing themselves on the floor and trying to seek refuge, stained with the blood of the people shot.

— Associated Press

#### CUBA

### 5.9 and 6.8 quakes hit beleaguered island

Back-to-back earthquakes hit southeastern Cuba on Sunday, damaging houses, buildings and power lines as well as causing landslides, the government said.

The U.S. Geological Survey reported that a 5.9-magnitude earthquake occurred 21 miles off the municipality of Granma about 11 a.m. Shortly before noon, a 6.8-magnitude tremor

struck nearby.

On social media, the island’s residents, officials and journalists posted photos of the initial damage, including deep cracks running through homes and partially collapsed roofs. Photos of the streets of the city of Manzanillo in Granma showed bricks and pieces of the facades of buildings crumbling onto the streets. In one home, a large crack running through a wall leaked sunlight into a living room.

In one school in Pílon, the closest town to where the earthquakes struck, several windows fell off their frames.

The quakes come as Cubans are reeling from the aftermath of Hurricane Rafael, which hit the island last week as a Category 3

storm, and a nationwide blackout caused by problems with the power grid.

— Miami Herald

A militant attack near the Iran-Pakistan border left five Iranian forces dead, the state-run IRNA news agency reported Sunday. The report said the dead were ethnic Baluch members of the paramilitary Revolutionary Guard’s volunteer Basij force and were killed in Saravan city in Sistan and Baluchistan province. No group immediately claimed responsibility for the attack. Earlier in the day, state TV reported that Revolutionary Guard forces killed three terrorists and arrested nine others in a military operation.

— From news services

# Australia keeps logging parks proposed for koala reserve

KOALAS FROM A1

sanctuary. It committed more than \$110 million to protect the species, including \$53 million over four years to support the development of the park.

The need was dire.

Thousands of koalas died in devastating bushfires five years ago, and many populations were already in decline after a steady drumbeat of logging, housing developments, dog attacks, car strikes and other threats. In 2022, the federal government declared koalas endangered.

The population in New South Wales was particularly imperiled: A parliamentary inquiry warned in 2020 that the marsupials would become extinct by 2050 without bold action.

Many of the state's remaining animals live in areas now being assessed for the Great Koala National Park, a patchwork of eucalyptus forests stretching from the mountains to the coast that Graham calls "Australia's Serengeti."

The state government is consulting with environmentalists, industry leaders and local Aboriginal groups before it decides on the boundaries. A decision is expected in the next few months.

"We are committed to creating the Great Koala National Park," New South Wales Environment Minister Penny Sharpe said in an interview. "It's a really important part of our plan to save koalas in the wild. I just ask people to be patient for a little bit longer. We're going to do it right and we're going to do it well."

But patience is wearing thin among wildlife advocates and environmentalists, who are angry with what they see as slow progress on an urgent issue.

"It's been more than 18 months since the government was elected," Graham said. "With each day that goes by, it becomes more and more of a broken promise."

Environmentalists are particularly incensed that logging continues in the area designated to become a refuge while the state government considers how to draw the park.

Although logging has been suspended in roughly 32 square miles identified as "koala hubs" — the most critical koala habitat — that means 95 percent of the state forests under consideration are still open to logging.

Activists are concerned that the lengthy process has given the state-owned logging company, Forestry Corporation of NSW, time to harvest in areas where it could soon lose access.

"Forestry Corp is going gangbusters logging some of the best koala habitat because they know they are going to be shut out," said Stuart Blanch, a conservation scientist for WWF-Australia.

Forestry Corporation said in a statement that it is not targeting the proposed park area and that it sticks to long-planned harvest schedules across almost 8,000 square miles of state forest. It said it had logged about 15 square miles of the proposed park area since the election and abides by "strict conditions regulating native forestry that were developed by expert scientific panels to ensure forest features and wildlife habitat are protected during operations."



PHOTOS BY ISABELLA MOORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP: A koala named Geoff with keeper Claire Holdem at the world's first wild koala breeding program at Guulabaa — Place of Koala, near Port Macquarie in Australia's New South Wales. ABOVE: Ecologist Mark Graham protests outside the Coffs Harbour offices of the Forestry Corporation of NSW.**

Meanwhile, the logging industry is trying to persuade the state government to establish a far smaller park — something koala advocates say would doom the animals.

"Koalas have been around for millions of years," Graham said. "This park really is the best chance for them to be around for millions more."

## Koalas vs. kitchen cabinets

The idea for the Great Koala National Park goes back more

than a decade, to when Ashley Love grew alarmed by declining sightings in the region around his home in Coffs Harbour. The retired national parks officer and other conservationists commissioned a scientist to conduct an assessment, which found most local koala populations in decline, including one that was functionally extinct.

Love's idea was to ban logging in roughly 700 square miles of state forest and combine the area with more than 500 square miles

of already protected national parks to form the world's biggest koala sanctuary.

The state Labor Party, then in opposition, endorsed the idea ahead of the 2015 election, but lost.

When Labor came to power last year, Love thought the park's time had finally come. Instead, politics kicked in.

Conservationists pressed Sharpe for an immediate halt to logging in the proposed park area, but she refused.

"I understand that people want logging to stop overnight, but part of the process is that we said that we would work through these issues," she said. "Putting a moratorium and basically stopping [logging] underway is not a process that is working with all of the community."

The state government has been trying to satisfy progressives, who want greater environmental protections, and unions — including loggers — which form a bedrock of the party. It is also concerned about rural communities that rely on logging.

Meanwhile, Forestry Corporation and private industry groups are arguing that the Great Koala National Park isn't needed because forestry doesn't affect koala populations — a claim most scientists, Sharpe and the Australian government reject.

"We already have an absolutely brilliant koala park in New South Wales," said James Jooste, CEO of the Australian Forest Products Association NSW. It's 7,000 square miles in size, he said, "and it's called state forest."

Timber industry leaders accept that they can't block the government's election promise, Jooste said, so they are working on an alternative that would be roughly 25 to 50 percent the size. Jooste said anything bigger could kill the viability of logging state parks, which Victoria and Western Australia states ended this year.

But conservationists say a smaller park simply would not provide enough protection to save declining koala populations.

The bigger the park, the more the state will have to pay to

cancel contracts between Forestry Corporation and wood mills that process the timber. Blanch, of WWF-Australia, said canceling the contracts and providing support for others in the industry could cost \$65 million to \$130 million.

"Koalas often like the same trees that make really good kitchen cabinets," he said.

## Reaching the limit

As each side tries to lobby the state government on the proposed park's borders, the issue has grown heated. State officials say they have received threats. Environmentalists have been arrested and roughed up by loggers. And some activists are preparing to take extreme measures to protect koala habitat.

On a recent afternoon, two activists were perched high in a blackbutt tree in Pine Creek State Forest, practicing a "tree-sit" designed to stymie loggers and authorities should they sweep in. Forestry Corporation has said it intends to log the area.

A large banner over the dirt path read, "No Consent to Log Country." In a tent adorned with Aboriginal flags and koala posters, a dozen other activists drank tea and talked about how long they could keep the buzz saws at bay.

"A lot of us have reached our limit," said Graham, who has been arrested several times for incidents with loggers — the latest just last month — though previous charges were dropped. "We've seen far too much destruction and we've decided to take whatever actions we can to seek to stop it."

# U.N. summit begins as nations have failed to deliver on last year's key pledge

FOSIL FUELS FROM A1

for an "oil and gas exploration spree" in the wake of the pledge. Using industry data, it listed the United States, Norway and Australia, as well as China, among the 10 largest issuers of drilling permits in the past 12 months — and said huge blocks will come up for bidding over the next months. The United States is producing more oil than any country, ever — a trajectory that is set to accelerate with the election of Donald Trump, who referred to oil and gas as "liquid gold" in a victory speech.

"This is not some mid-century goal. We have no time. And that is the piece that countries did not take seriously when they went home" from last year's conference in Dubai, said Rachel Cleetus, the policy director with the climate and energy program at the Union of Concerned Scientists.

The world has only about five years left at current emissions levels before it exceeds the carbon budget projected to keep temperature increases below 1.5 Celsius (2.7 degrees Fahrenheit), a key goal of the Paris agreement, a treaty brokered in 2015 to reduce emissions signed by 194 countries and the European Union. Based on carbon budget figures in a recent U.N. emissions report, humanity could generate green-

house gases at current levels for roughly another 22 years before breaking the budget for keeping temperatures below 2 Celsius (3.6 degrees Fahrenheit).

Heading into COP29, the two-week conference in Baku, Azerbaijan's capital, global electricity demand is soaring faster than renewables come online, prolonging the opportunity for fossil fuels. Earlier this year, the CEO of Saudi Aramco said the world should "abandon the fantasy" of an oil and gas phaseout. If Trump pulls the United States from the Paris agreement, and the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change altogether, it will set an example that countries that heavily contributed to driving up the Earth's temperature can't be depended upon to help solve it.

The agreement in Dubai marked the first time nations had ever specifically mentioned the use of fossil fuels, which account for about 90 percent of the planet-warming emissions pumped into the atmosphere. The deal called for "accelerating action in this critical decade," a nod to science showing the world must curb emissions — right away — to limit global warming to well below 2 degrees Celsius compared with preindustrial levels.

But under current policies, the world is on track to blow past this threshold — all as deadly and

costly disasters, amplified by emissions, strike in one continent after the next.

Industry players say that they are playing a responsible role and have committed to significantly limiting emissions of methane, a potent greenhouse gas. They also note that they are providing a measure of geopolitical stability in meeting the high energy demand.

In Baku, the issue of fossil fuels will have a secondary place on the agenda. That is partly because of the cyclical nature of the talks and because only a few issues — this year, finance for vulnerable countries — can be prioritized in the consensus-based system. Host Azerbaijan, whose economy relies on oil and gas income, didn't mention the fossil fuel transition in its opening letter for delegations.

But it also reflects a reality: Many of the obstacles to the energy transition cannot be resolved in international talks.

Politicians in most countries are reluctant to take on the influential fossil fuel lobby. Oil and gas remain highly profitable businesses — and even if the market dwindles, companies make competing claims to stay on as the last providers. Regulations and incentives can boost renewables, but for now, most major fossil fuel companies are investing just a sliver of their revenue into clean-

er fuels and technologies.

"We're dealing with companies that want to go on with oil and gas as long as possible," said Mark van Baal, a Dutch activist investor who has pushed for greener policies in fossil fuel companies. "This is their comfort zone. This is how they got to the top of the pyramid."

Van Baal cited Shell, the world's fourth-largest oil and gas company, as one example. In 2021, the company had announced a series of groundbreaking emissions-reduction targets. But this year, the company, under a new CEO, watered down an emissions-reduction target for 2030 and eliminated the target for 2035 — which had originally called for a 45 percent reduction in the carbon intensity of its productions.

The company says it plans to expand its production of liquefied natural gas, the least emissions-intensive fossil fuel, and keep oil production flat for the rest of the decade.

A Shell spokeswoman said that Shell is making "good progress on our climate targets" and supports the goals of the Paris agreement. Shell CEO Wael Sawan said that "while the world still relies on oil, we will supply it — but with lower emissions."

Van Baal said that the policies of companies such as Shell amount to a bet "on the failure of

Paris."

Clean power did make some gains last year. In September, Britain — the birthplace of coal-fired power — shuttered its last coal plant. The country's new prime minister, Keir Starmer, ruled out issuing new licenses for oil and gas drilling off the Scottish coast. And globally, according to the energy think tank Ember, strong uptake of solar and wind power drove the share of renewables in the global electricity mix above the 30 percent mark. Globally, investment in clean energy is twice the amount going to fossil fuels.

But the International Energy Agency says the boom in renewables won't by itself squeeze space for oil, gas and coal quickly enough. In a 2023 report on how the world might reach carbon neutrality by 2050, the agency said that fossil fuels would have to flip from providing four-fifths of the global energy supply to less than one-fifth. The decline would be significant enough that, as of 2023, the world would no longer need new large-scale oil and gas projects.

But these projects are taking off nonetheless.

The International Institute for Sustainable Development, which tracks oil and gas data, says that countries this year have issued permits that could emit more

than 2 billion tons of carbon dioxide, if fully tapped. That figure — equal to about 3.5 percent of the world's annual output — is part of a downward trend over the past decade.

But the institute says that there is a "massive surge" forthcoming, with countries planning over the next six months to issue licenses that could account — if fully tapped — for 15 billion tons of emissions. That's roughly one-quarter of the global emissions output in a year.

"It's a bid of a Damocles sword hanging over our head," said Olivier Bois von Kursk, an IISD policy adviser. He noted that Australia and the United States will be among the biggest issuers in the next bidding rounds. They are countries that have the wealth to transition away more quickly; leaders from poorer, more vulnerable nations have called on them to take on the leading role.

"These are net exporters that are claiming to be climate leaders while expanding their emissions," he said. "I think it is absolutely indefensible at this point."

António Guterres, the U.N. secretary general, said this year that the largest emitters must lead in the phaseout and stop their expansion "immediately."

"When governments sign new oil and gas licenses, they are signing away our future," he said.

# 'An entire society now a graveyard': Aid workers see a dire scene in Gaza

## WorldView

ISHAAN THAROOR

President-elect Donald Trump has told Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to "do what you have to do" to "finish the job" in the Middle East. The incoming U.S. leader campaigned on restoring "peace" to the region and wants Israel to wrap up its military objectives in both the Gaza Strip and Lebanon ahead of his January inauguration, according to Israeli sources. But Trump, who in his first term doled out numerous political gifts to Netanyahu and his allies on the Israeli right, has not offered any public clarity on how he thinks the wars should end.

Netanyahu, who last week axed his defense minister in favor of a pliant loyalist, doesn't seem to be waiting to find out. Over the weekend, Israel pressed its advantage, pounding targets in Gaza and Lebanon with warplanes. Israeli officials are preparing to expand their ground offensive in southern Lebanon, where Israel is attempting to reduce the military footprint of Hezbollah, the Lebanese Shiite militant organization. In the process, Israel has flattened whole towns and villages and displaced a quarter of the population.

In Gaza, too, Israel is further squeezing the territory's devastated northern areas. Some 100,000 people still in the north are trying to survive without access to new food or aid supplies, with Israel seemingly cutting off the flow of new assistance as it tries to root out Hamas cells still operating in pockets. On Friday, the U.N.-affiliated Famine Review Committee warned that there was a "strong likelihood" that famine was imminent in northern Gaza. "It can therefore be assumed that starvation, malnutrition, and excess mortality due to malnutrition and disease, are rapidly increasing in these areas," the panel of U.N. experts wrote.

Aid workers and U.N. officials paint a picture of complete devastation. Louise Wateridge, a spokesperson for the U.N. agency for Palestinians, UNRWA, posted a video of her recent drive through stretches of northern Gaza showing an endless moonscape of cratered buildings and desolate, debris-strewn streets. "There is no way of telling where the destruction starts or ends," she wrote online. "No matter from what direction you enter Gaza City, homes, hospitals, schools, health clinics, mosques, apartments, restaurants — all completely flattened. An entire society now a graveyard."

The staggering human toll of more than 13 months of war is still being measured. An analysis published by the United Nations' human rights office on Friday of casualties in Gaza since Oct. 7, 2023 — when Hamas launched its deadly terrorist strike on southern Israel — found that almost 70 percent of those killed were women and children. The ages most represented among the dead were 5- to 9-year-olds. Some 80 percent of those killed perished inside residential buildings or housing, fueling allegations that Israel has been indiscriminate in its campaign against Hamas.

"Our monitoring indicates that this unprecedented level of killing and injury of civilians is a direct consequence of the failure to comply with fundamental principles of international humanitarian law," U.N. human rights chief Volker Türk said in the statement.

Israeli officials repeatedly

dismiss such charges, insisting their conduct is in compliance with international law and a consequence of Hamas's infiltration into all corners of Gazan society. In this defense, they have largely been backed by the now lame-duck Biden administration, which has consistently shielded Israel from international censure.

Still, Israel faces a U.S.-imposed deadline this week to improve access to humanitarian aid to Gaza or face potential restrictions to U.S. military assistance. It could be the first instance that the Biden administration has actually enforced U.S. laws that condition military aid to foreign countries. In response to apparent U.S. pressure, Israel said it was opening a new crossing in southern Gaza. But humanitarian organizations frequently warn that the transit of such aid to Gaza's northern areas is often impeded, thanks both to Israeli military operations and the collapse of any semblance of law and order in the territory, with gangs and looters ransacking convoys.

Even if the United States determines that Israel has not satisfied its concerns, Trump may well scrap any restrictions placed on U.S. military assistance to the Jewish state the moment he takes office. Netanyahu and his allies on the far right in Israel cheered Trump's election, knowing that the U.S. president was more likely to once more give them carte blanche to enact their sweeping agenda. Analysts suspect Netanyahu may resist agreeing to formal cease-fires on either front of the war until Trump is in power, a move that would give the incoming president a symbolic victory and deny one to his predecessor.

"There's an understanding between Netanyahu and Trump that they will work to end the wars," a person familiar with Israel's thinking told the Financial Times, suggesting any diplomatic breakthrough may come after Trump's inauguration. "Netanyahu wants to help him reach that achievement. He didn't guarantee it, but the notion is that he will wait with any kind of significant move in Lebanon or Gaza until January 20."

All the while, the calamity in Gaza is getting worse. Some Israeli officials have suggested that residents of certain areas of northern Gaza will not be allowed to return, giving further substance to claims by rights groups and humanitarians that Israel may be carrying out de facto ethnic cleansing in the north.

As it is, the conditions there are intolerable. Jan Egeland, a former Norwegian diplomat and head of the Norwegian Refugee Council, toured the territory this past week and said the situation in the northern and central areas of Gaza "is worse than anything I could imagine as a long-time aid worker."

"What I saw and heard in the north of Gaza was a population pushed beyond breaking point," he added in a statement.

"Families torn apart, men and boys detained and separated from their loved ones, and families unable to even bury their dead. Some have gone days without food, drinking water is nowhere to be found. It is scene after scene of absolute despair."

Saeed Kilani, a northern Gaza resident, told my colleagues this past week that food was impossible to find and water so saline that it was unfit for "animals or plants, yet we have no choice but to drink it." He added that, during Israel's initial invasion of the territory, "we survived by eating grass, but now even that is gone."



HATEM KHALED/REUTERS

Children in the southern Gazan city of Khan Younis last week walk past homes destroyed in Israel's offensive amid the Israel-Gaza war.

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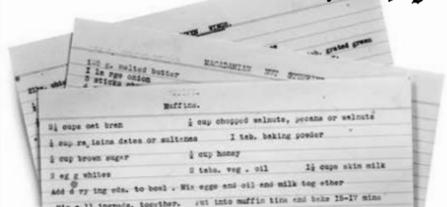


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# 20 children killed in Israeli strikes in Gaza and Lebanon, officials say

BY **ABBIE CHEESEMAN**  
AND **HAJAR HARB**

BEIRUT — Israeli airstrikes killed dozens of people, including at least 20 children, across Gaza and Lebanon on Sunday, health authorities said, as the human toll of Israel's parallel wars continued to climb.

The strike in the northern Gaza Strip hit family homes in the besieged Jabalya refugee camp, sparking an hours-long rescue effort to find survivors and retrieve the dead, according to accounts from the Palestine Red Crescent Society and the Gaza Health Ministry.

Munir al-Bursh, director general of the Health Ministry, said at least 33 people were killed, including 13 children. The Israel Defense Forces said the strike in Jabalya targeted militants who "posed a threat to IDF troops," adding that "numerous steps were taken to mitigate the risk of harming civilians."

In Alamat, a mountainous village in northern Lebanon, at least 20 people were killed, including seven children, in an attack on a residential building, according to the country's Health Ministry. The IDF said the strike was aimed at Hezbollah militants "responsible for firing rockets and missiles toward Israeli territory," adding that the incident was under review.

The lethal attack in Gaza came ahead of a U.S. deadline this week for Israel to improve aid access to the north, which the United Nations warned Friday was facing imminent famine, or the Biden administration could consider possible cuts to military assistance. But with Washington looking at an extended period of political transition after Donald Trump's election victory, it is unclear how much leverage the Biden administration still has — or will be willing to exert — on Israel.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has wasted no time preparing for Trump's next term, revealing in a recorded message Sunday that he has spoken to the president-elect three times in recent days. Trump has simulta-

neously told Netanyahu to "do what you have to do" in Gaza and Lebanon while promising to bring both conflicts to an end, leaving his Middle East policy an open question.

Netanyahu said he and Trump "see eye-to-eye on the Iranian threat in all its aspects, and on the dangers they reflect. We also see the great opportunities facing Israel, in the area of peace and its expansion."

For now, the violence in Gaza and Lebanon remains relentless. Civil defense workers with the Red Crescent Society were told by Palestinians at the scene that about 70 displaced people had been staying in the building hit by Israel on Sunday. "There is a lack of equipment," spokeswoman Nebal Farsakh told The Washington Post in voice messages after speaking to rescue teams on the ground in Jabalya. "Civilians are trying to evacuate the people trapped under the rubble using their hands."

Amer Abdel-Moati, 31, listed the names of each of his family members killed in the strike. "My aunt's house had 15-17 people in it," he said in a WhatsApp message. He has already buried 12 of them, he said, with the rest lost to the rubble. The home of the Alloush family, which was in front of his aunt's home, was also completely destroyed, he said.

Photos from the scene showed some of the shrouded bodies being taken from the site in a minivan for burial. With a shortage of ambulances in the area, Farsakh said, the task has mostly fallen to civilians.

Around five hours later, Lebanese rescue workers began the same grim search in Alamat. The Health Ministry said it expected the death toll to rise once body parts collected at the scene had been identified. At least 42 people were killed in total across the country in nine deadly strikes Sunday, mostly concentrated in the province of Baalbek-Hermel in the northeast, according to preliminary death tolls from the Health Ministry.

As the Israeli military widens the scope of its aerial and ground campaign against Hezbollah, the

toll on civilians and the country's health infrastructure has mounted.

Ten paramedics were killed in the past 24 hours, health authorities said Sunday, including three in an afternoon Israeli airstrike in the south of the country.

On Saturday afternoon, a strike in Deir Qanoun, in the southern district of Tyre, killed six paramedics from the Risala Scout Association — a civil defense and ambulance organization associated with the Amal Movement, a Lebanese political party and Hezbollah ally — and a seventh paramedic from the Islamic Health Committee.

The Health Ministry described the latest attacks on paramedics as a "clear continuation of the Israeli war crime of targeting rescue and ambulance teams in violation of all international humanitarian laws."

More than 185 Lebanese first responders have been killed since October 2023, the vast majority in the past seven weeks as Israel ramped up airstrikes ahead of its Oct. 1 ground invasion. Israel has accused Hezbollah of using ambulances to transport fighters but has not provided evidence to support its claims.

The IDF did not comment on the strikes against paramedics or on the civilians killed in Alamat, but said it was aware of the reports and was looking into them.

Hezbollah, meanwhile, continues to fire missile and rocket salvos at Israel, setting off sirens across the country. In statements, the militant group said its fighters were also clashing with Israeli troops in two separate areas of southeast Lebanon. Israel has said it will keep fighting the war in Lebanon until some 60,000 Israelis displaced by Hezbollah fire can return to their homes in the north.

The violence Sunday continued to spill over into other countries in the region, with Israel striking a building in the Sayyidah Zeinab area of Damascus, according to Syria's state news agency.

Harb reported from London.



TATYANA MAKEYEVA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Rescuers work at the site of a drone attack in the village of Stanovoye, Russia, on Sunday.

# Moscow is hit by Ukrainian drones

BY **FRANCESCA EBEL**,  
**NATALIA ABBAKUMOVA**,  
**KOSTIANTYN KHUDOV**  
AND **DAVID L. STERN**

MOSCOW — Ukraine launched a major drone attack on Moscow and five other Russian regions Sunday, officials here reported, injuring one person and forcing three airports to temporarily halt operations.

Russia's Defense Ministry said its air defense systems intercepted 84 Ukrainian drones over the Moscow, Bryansk, Oryol, Kaluga, Kursk and Tula regions. Thirty-four of those drones were shot down over the Moscow region, the ministry said — making it the largest Ukrainian drone attack on Moscow since Russia invaded Ukraine more than two years ago.

Moscow Mayor Sergei Sobyannin reported drones being shot down shortly after 7 a.m. local time. Andrey Vorobyov, governor of the Moscow region, said in a Telegram post that there had been a "massive drone attack." A 52-year-old woman was hospitalized with shrapnel injuries and burns to her face, neck and hands and was in intensive care, he said.

The Defense Ministry said "falling debris in three settlements" injured five people and

caused four house fires.

Unverified videos circulating on Russian Telegram channels appeared to show significant damage in the wake of the attacks, with dark smoke billowing from several houses and forests and cars and residential buildings on fire. Social media was flooded with users posting footage of drones flying over their district.

Moscow's Domodedovo, Zhukovskiy and Sheremetyevo airports briefly suspended flight operations, with a total of 36 flights being diverted, Russia's Federal Air Transport Agency reported.

Ukrainian officials have not commented publicly on the attack on Moscow. The general staff of the Ukrainian armed forces said Sunday morning that its drone unit "inflicted fire damage on ammunition warehouses" of a military logistics center in Bryansk, in southwestern Russia.

Ukraine's allies have restricted its forces from using Western weapons systems for long-range strikes on Russian territory, which Kyiv says would limit Russia's capacity to carry out attacks on Ukrainian civilians and critical infrastructure.

But the restrictions do not extend to Ukraine's domestically produced weapons systems. In

recent months, Ukraine has used its drones to carry out several strikes deep within Russia.

On Sept. 1, Russia shot down 158 drones — including 11 over Moscow and the surrounding region — that targeted power plants and oil refineries, with fires breaking out at several facilities, including in Moscow.

On Saturday, Ukrainian drones struck a chemical plant in the Tula region, Ukrainian intelligence officials said. Earlier in the week, they hit a naval base in the city of Kaspysk on the Caspian Sea, almost 1,000 miles from the Ukrainian border.

Ukraine's armed forces said in a Sunday morning statement that Russia attacked overnight with a "record number" of drones across the country and damaged buildings. Oleh Kiper, governor of the southern Odessa region, said two people were hospitalized with injuries.

The last major Ukrainian drone strike on Moscow took place Sept. 10, killing one person and wounding eight. Russia's Defense Ministry said at the time that 20 drones were shot down in and around Moscow.

Abbakumova reported from Riga, Latvia, and Khudov and Stern from Kyiv.

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# ECONOMY & BUSINESS

## Tether probe a possible issue for Trump aide

Crypto inquiry may pose conflict of interest for transition co-chair

BY JEFF STEIN  
AND JONATHAN O'CONNELL

Officials at the Treasury Department have spent months weighing sanctions against the cryptocurrency Tether for allegedly facilitating illicit financial activities, according to two people with knowledge of the matter — which could pose a conflict of interest for the co-chair of President-elect Donald Trump's transition, billionaire Cantor Fitzgerald CEO Howard Lutnick.

Lutnick, who is also a candidate to be treasury secretary, has touted Tether in media interviews and has said he manages assets for the cryptocurrency.

The people, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the deliberations are not public, said Treasury is looking at sanctioning Tether, which has been accused by federal authorities of facilitating transactions for Mexican drug cartels. Treasury has also publicly pointed to private-sector analyses allegedly showing terrorist groups have used Tether to move and store funds. They stressed that the Treasury probe predates Lutnick's involvement in Trump's campaign and that the discussions of sanctions against Tether are unrelated to his political activities.

The United States has already imposed penalties on a range of crypto firms, such as Binance and Tornado Cash, for their role in illicit financial transactions. Tether, which issues a stablecoin whose value is tied to the U.S. dollar, has been on the agency's radar publicly for months. Deputy Treasury Secretary Wally Adyemo told the House Banking Committee in April that "we've seen Russia increasingly turning to alternative payment mechanisms — including the stablecoin Tether — to try to circumvent our sanctions and continue to finance its war machine."

An advisory published in June by the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, a bureau within Treasury, said that transnational criminal organizations were increasingly buying equipment and chemicals from Chinese suppliers through virtual currencies, including Tether. Sanctions would prohibit people and companies from doing business with the cryptocurrency for fear of punishment by the U.S. government.

Tether officials have aggressively denied the allegations. Last month, Tether CEO Paolo Ardoino said on X that there was "no indication that Tether is under investigation," after a Wall Street Journal story disclosed the possibility of sanctions. Tether also released a statement saying it "has no knowledge of any such investigations into the company" despite being in extensive contact with law enforcement agencies. The company declined to comment further to The Washington Post.

The Treasury Department declined to comment.

In addition to his role in Trump's transition, Lutnick has been under consideration as a possible treasury secretary for weeks, according to two other people with knowledge of that matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe confidential deliberations.

Although Lutnick has proved a loyal surrogate for Trump, the Treasury investigation has raised concerns among transition officials about potential conflicts of interest should Lutnick be asked to lead the department — which would give him oversight of sanctions. Even if he does not land at Treasury, as co-chair of the transition team and a key decision-maker on personnel, Lutnick

could have substantial influence on a wide range of decisions that intersect with the crypto industry.

Lutnick's ties to Tether reflect the broader alliance between the crypto industry and many other figures whom Trump is expected to tap for important government positions in his second administration. Trump has repeatedly boasted of his support from the industry, which now has extensive ties to members of both parties.

Scott Bessent and John Paulson, two longtime financiers who served as advisers and surrogates for the Trump campaign, have also emerged as candidates for treasury secretary, with Bessent described by several people close to the process as the current frontrunner. Bessent has also been a supporter of crypto; Paulson has stakes in federal mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, which are overseen by the Treasury Department.

In media interviews leading up to the election, Lutnick repeatedly plugged Tether, for which he said he manages some financial holdings.

"There's a company that I like, it's called Tether," Lutnick told Bloomberg News in January. "I manage many, many of their assets," he added.

If Lutnick did move to Treasury, he would probably have to unwind his considerable financial assets, since incoming Cabinet officials are often directed by the Office of Government Ethics to sell or divest of assets that could pose conflicts of interest or the appearance of one. The Trump transition also committed to a code of ethical conduct that requires members to disqualify themselves from involvement "in any particular Transition matter" that to their knowledge "may directly conflict with a financial interest" of theirs. At times during his first term, though, Trump dismissed traditional ethics standards: Nearly all presidents since the 1970s have put their assets into a blind trust, which Trump declined to do his first term.

"President-elect Trump will begin making decisions on who will serve in his second administration soon," said Karoline Leavitt, a spokeswoman for the transition. "Those decisions will be announced when they are made."

In addition to financial institution Cantor Fitzgerald, Lutnick is chairman and chief executive of the investment firm BGC Group and executive chairman of the real estate brokerage Newmark Group. The specifics of how he manages Tether's assets are unclear. He declined to comment, through a bank spokeswoman.

Some observers said Lutnick's ties to Tether shouldn't pose a risk to his odds of becoming treasury secretary. Avik Roy, founder of the Foundation for Research on Equal Opportunity, a think tank that promotes free markets, said Lutnick's firm had been helping Tether to rely more heavily on conventional financial assets — exactly what Tether should be doing, from the perspective of government regulators. The Senate, which would have to confirm Lutnick, is also expected to be more supportive of the crypto industry in 2025 than it has been, with backers of the industry winning in Ohio, Arizona, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

"Unless there's a scandal, I wouldn't expect there to be a problem with confirmation," Roy said. "Lutnick has been doing some of the underlying infrastructure for Tether and others, but that's a good thing. If you're a regulator, I would think you would want regulated entities like Cantor Fitzgerald to be the ones providing backing for Tether."

Past secretaries, many of them carrying enormous Wall Street wealth, have faced their own concerns about financial holdings. Steven Mnuchin, who filled the role during Trump's first term, sold dozens of assets when he entered the government but was questioned over the sale of his film production company to his wife. George W. Bush's pick for Treasury, Henry Paulson, sold his stake in Goldman Sachs, his former employer, but faced accusations of working to benefit the company. Both men denied doing anything improper.

"It is incredibly important that the people in charge of the Treasury Department and bank regulators be free from conflicts of interest in crypto," said Aaron Klein, senior fellow in economic studies at the Brookings Institution, a Washington-based think tank.

Shayna Jacobs and Perry Stein contributed to this report.

### TECH FRIEND



CAROLINE GUTMAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Attendees at a Trump town hall. iPhones could be affected by tariffs on products made in China, which would not affect Samsung devices.

## A bite of the Apple may become pricier

BY SHIRA OVIDE

If President-elect Donald Trump follows through with sweeping new tariffs on anything made in China, your next iPhone could cost roughly \$300 more, economists estimate.

If you love Samsung phones, the price increase probably won't apply.

Americans buy about 130 million new smartphones each year, mostly Apple or Samsung devices, making them one of the most commonly purchased technology products.

The potential higher prices on iPhones show the ways policy decisions in Washington could affect you — and how confusing and arbitrary they can be.

### How iPhones skipped Trump tariffs the first time

First, a quick reminder: A tariff is a tax on products that cross the border.

For a simplified example, when Walmart imports bicycles made in Chinese factories into the United States, Walmart (or typically an importer hired by Walmart) pays a tariff to the United States government.

To pay for that tax, Walmart might pay less to the Chinese factory for those bicycles, absorb the cost of that tax itself, raise the price for that bicycle in its stores, or possibly a combination of those three.

Trump and some conservative economists say tariffs don't increase prices. But economists almost universally say that shoppers wind up paying more for a bicycle as a result of the tariff.

During the first Trump administration, though, Apple CEO Tim Cook helped persuade the White House to skip tariffs on most products that the company sells. That included iPhones, the vast majority of which are made in China.

Cook reportedly told White House officials back then that tariffs would raise prices on smartphones, computers and tablets and hurt Apple.

The White House appeared to agree. The administration of President Joe Biden largely kept in place the Trump administration's tariffs.

So while bicycles, luggage and washing machines imported from China had been subject to increased tariffs, iPhones, Mac computers and iPads assembled in Chinese factories have not.

"Consumer electronics were definitely privileged" under U.S. tariff policies in the Trump and Biden administrations, said Mary E. Lovely, an economist with the Peterson Institute for International Economics. "That shows the Tim Cook effect."

No one knows what the Trump administration 2.0 will do. But as a candidate, Trump discussed a 10 to 20 percent tariff on all imported goods imported and a 60 percent or higher tariff on everything from China.

Calculating that tax isn't straightforward, but several trade experts said the tariff percentage, if it's being applied to Apple products, could impose a roughly \$300 tax on a \$1,000 iPhone.

A portion of that higher tax would probably show up in the price you pay for iPhones.

Samsung smartphones are mostly made in countries other than China, so the proposed higher tariffs on Chinese imports wouldn't apply.

Spokespeople for the Trump campaign, Apple and Samsung didn't respond to requests for com-

ment.

### Maybe it won't be so bad?

Business leaders generally believe that Trump won't impose all the tariffs he has discussed and that they're a negotiating strategy. It's possible that the next White House will again skip tariffs on smartphones, computers and tablets.

Gary Shapiro, the head of the Consumer Technology Association, an industry trade group whose members include Apple and Samsung, said the previous Trump administration listened to manufacturers that said higher tariffs on electronics would hurt consumers. This time, Shapiro said, "I am optimistic because President Trump is a pragmatist." (Shapiro also joked that the CTA stood for the "Consumer Tariff Association.")

Businesses also have adapted to the higher tariffs on many Chinese

imports in the past six years. Many companies moved some manufacturing to other countries to avoid higher tariffs on Chinese-made goods.

For example, research led by University of Delaware professor Sheng Lu recently found that more than 4 out of every 10 American apparel companies in a survey are now importing less than 10 percent of their products from China. In 2018, just 18 percent of U.S. clothing companies were importing such a small percentage from China.

The shift in clothing manufacturing wasn't only because of tariffs, but Lu told me that avoiding higher tariffs was one reason.

Scott Lincicome, an economist at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank, doesn't think Apple would be able to quickly move away from Chinese factories to avoid higher tariffs.

Apple has moved a small chunk of manufacturing in recent years to other countries, including Vietnam and India. But tariffs or no tariffs, Apple is stuck for the foreseeable future in a marriage with Chinese factories, where armies of people and equipment make fleets of Apple devices.

"There isn't anywhere else to go that has the sheer capacity to satiate demand for all these gizmos," Lincicome said.

The good news about higher tariffs is that like most taxes, people typically find them painful when they're new but get used to them, said Alan Deardorff, a professor emeritus at the University of Michigan who specializes in international trade.

He said, though, that your experience with new Trump tariffs might be different. "With a 60 percent tariff, you got to think people will notice," he said.

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JOHNNIE ZQUIERDO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST  
Cantor Fitzgerald chief executive Howard Lutnick.

## OPINION

## The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## Republicans have won themselves a big fiscal challenge

Republicans won big last week. But they will take control of the presidency, the Senate and, likely, the House in the most difficult fiscal environment America has seen in decades. Despite the sweeping promises President-elect Donald Trump made during the campaign, this reality needs to be Republicans' top concern.

When Mr. Trump entered office in 2017, the deficit was 3.4 percent of gross domestic product, and the national debt stood at a hair under 75 percent of national income. These were (barely) manageable numbers, in part because interest rates had dropped so low in the wake of the 2008-2009 global financial crisis; the real, inflation-adjusted interest rate on 10 year treasuries was just 0.73 percent.

With money so cheap, Mr. Trump was able to pass his signature tax bill, the Tax Cut and Jobs Act of 2017, even though it was projected to increase the budget deficit by about \$1.5 trillion over the next decade, and the bond market let him get away with it. Over the past few decades, politicians have also borrowed many trillions of dollars to cushion the economic blows of the global financial crisis and the covid-19 pandemic. All that borrowing has now piled up into a big fiscal hangover.

When Mr. Trump takes office again in January, the national debt will be almost 100 percent of GDP, while the federal budget deficit will be running at roughly 6.6 percent. Real interest rates on Treasury debt, meanwhile, are about double what they were at the start of his last administration. Net interest costs now consume about 3 percent of GDP, and almost 13 percent of all federal spending.

All of this will limit Trump's ability to spend money, or cut taxes, without finding some way to offset the budget damage. If he tries to deficit finance another big tax cut, or more spending, he will cause exactly the kind of inflation that doomed Democrats in this election cycle. Worse, he runs the risk that the bond market will finally say "enough" and start demanding even higher interest rates to offset the risks of buying into America's ballooning debt.

Because of the arcane rules of the congressional budget process, many of the tax cuts Trump passed in 2017 were temporary and will expire at the end of next year. So 2025 will be dominated by fight to craft a replacement tax bill. Mr. Trump hasn't just promised to extend the TCJA, at an estimated cost of about \$5.4 trillion over 10 years, but also to toss in some expensive new tax cuts, such as slashing taxes on manufacturers and small businesses to

the tune of \$400 billion and exempting overtime (\$2 trillion), Social Security benefits (\$1.3 trillion) and tip income (\$300 billion) from the federal income tax.

*Tariffs alone will not dig the United States out of its economic hole.*

Republicans who are hoping that all this largesse can be paid for with higher tariffs should jettison that fantasy now. Offsetting all those tax cuts would require nearly \$1 trillion a year in new income, yet in 2023 the United States imported only \$3.12 trillion worth of goods. So it would take a 30 percent tariff to generate the needed revenue — but, of course, if you slap a 30 percent tariff on all imported goods, people will import fewer of them. In the end, 30 percent wouldn't be nearly high enough, especially since rising input costs will cut into manufacturing profit margins and the corporate tax base. It's highly unlikely the math can be made to work.

If anything, the political math is even worse. Tariffs will increase the cost of all the imported goods consumers currently buy, from thumbtacks to televisions, and voters will be just as mad about that as they were about post-covid inflation.

Nor, before you ask, are there huge reservoirs of waste, fraud and abuse that can be eliminated from the federal budget. All politicians claim they can find easy cost cuts when in campaign mode, and none of them deliver when in governing mode. Most of the money the government spends goes to large, popular programs such as Social Security, Medicare and national defense — or to the growing cost of servicing the nation's existing debt.

Speaking of Social Security and Medicare, as more and more baby boomers retire, the program trust funds are running dry, putting upward pressure on the budget deficit. Borrowing money to paper over those budget gaps will also be as inflationary. The resulting price hikes will be just as unpopular.

Republicans are now the ones responsible for finding sane, sober solutions to America's growing fiscal imbalances. At the very least, they must not make them worse, as they did the last time they controlled Washington.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Bluey. Bob Ross. Bach. And 10 other ways to battle election stress.

*In a recent op-ed, "Unsettled by the future? This is the moment for the 'Messiah,'" Georgetown professor Charles King made the case for listening to a familiar piece of music in a new way, and finding both sonic and political resonance in the work.*

*Post Opinions asked readers how they have handled stress in the lead-up to and aftermath of the election, and what music they turn to for comfort in difficult times. These are some of their answers.*

On Election Day, I reminded myself that years ago, I was so disabled by grief that I thought I would never be able to get out of that blackness. I did, and this time will be no different. I have two young girls that I am responsible for, so I have to be strong for them.

The morning after the election, my 5-year-old asked me, "Can we move because Donald Trump won?" I answered, "No, we don't run away when bad things happen. We stand up tall and march on." I'll be reminding myself of that pledge every time I catch myself in the darkness.

In terms of comfort music, I like listening to Hindi music because I used to perform as a singer and it brings me joy. I also listen to the "Bluey" soundtrack because it's sweet and uplifting.

**Pooja Shah, Chicago**

Well, I do have to focus on paying off the several campaign contributions I made with my credit card, and paying bills always makes me feel empowered. I also will need to step up my activity to burn off the extra beer and chips I have eaten over the past week or so as I fretted. Now is time to focus and be informed well enough to play my part in bringing a country through what could be some very dark times if we are not vigilant and active. I have to say, any music of Stevie Wonder is very heartwarming and loving, so that is a help to me.

**Catherine Malave, St. Paul, Minnesota**

My comfort music is pretty much anything before 1791. It slows my heartbeat. My brain seems to reflect the architecture of that music, especially of Johann Sebastian Bach. The religious content is irrelevant to me, but the structure is a reminder that there is order in the very large universe, and nothing we humans do on our tiny rock makes much difference.

**Barbara Moutrey, Pacific Grove, California**

## Get strong

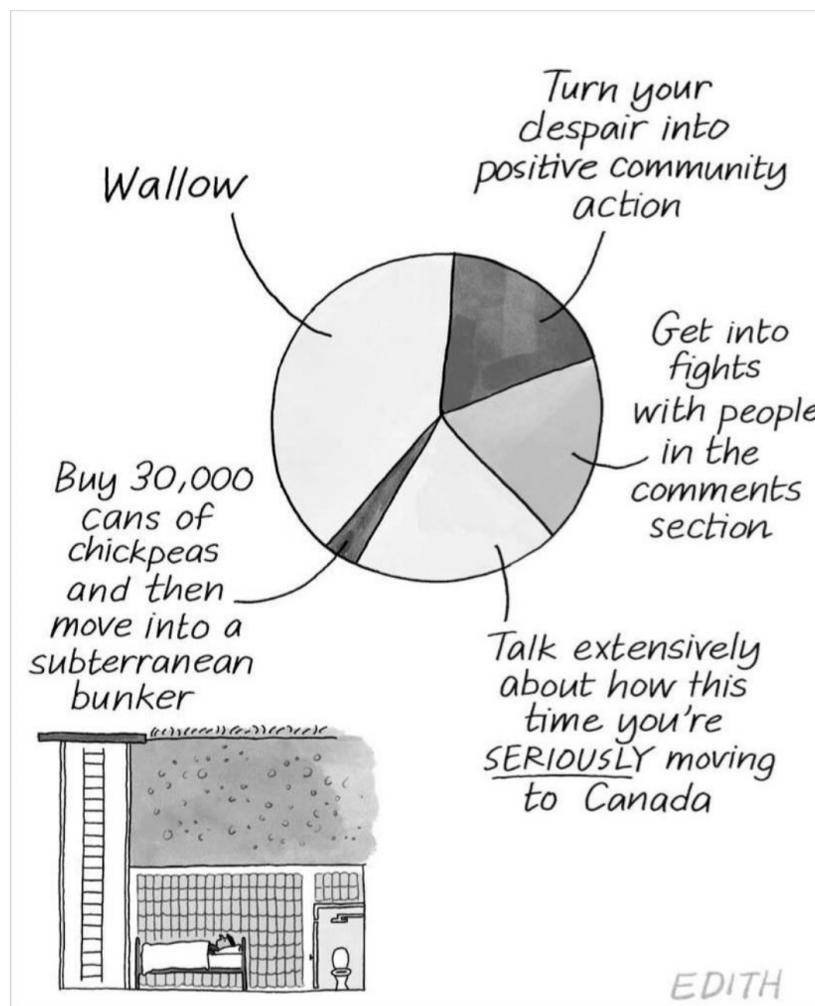
I do what I always do: aerobic exercise. I realize that I have very little effect on other people's opinions about things and therefore try to take Regan's advice to her father, King Lear: being weak, seem so. Although I will express my opinion sharply whenever the opportunity arises, because I think it's more stressful to hold back than it is to let go. I opine vociferously in the comments section of The Post and find that strangely gratifying. So, thanks for that.

Lately I've been listening to 20th-century Polish composer Henryk Gorecki's "Symphony of Sorrowful Songs." We humans appear to be in a self-destructive mode nowadays, but that's apparently who we are. Sooner or later our better angels may emerge. It might be best to remind ourselves of our past and how we have survived before. William Shakespeare's sonnets (if poetry counts as a form of music) do the same, since difficult times are always personal. I find the inspiration in Edna St. Vincent Millay's great poem "Renascence" especially comforting. Not being religious nowadays, I still find J.S. Bach's Mass in B Minor supremely uplifting.

**Douglas Kerr, Fort Mill, South Carolina**

## EDITH PRITCHETT

## Processing election disappointment



## Listen carefully

Polish music and work by Polish artists I learned through my parents help calm my mind for a couple of reasons. First, although Polish was once my first language, it no longer is. As such, I now have to concentrate on the song lyrics more carefully when I listen to Polish songs, which provides a distraction. Second, it reminds me of home (we always had RMF FM, Kraków's first commercial station, playing when I was growing up) and good times (we usually play Polish music at events like Communion parties and weddings). Third, it slaps. Check out some of my favorites: Budka Suflera, Lady Pank, and Maanam.

**Ania Zolyniak, Cambridge, Massachusetts**

## The past and the future

Lately, I've been relying on compositions by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, J.S. Bach and Claude Debussy as well as Underworld's new release, "Strawberry Hotel," Eli and Fur's "Dreamscapes" and Kelly Lee Owens' "Dreamstate." All the classical is relaxing and familiar, and the modern electronic dance music is mood-enhancing.

**David Lee Anderson, Oklahoma City**

I listen to Bach a lot, especially "The Well-Tempered Clavier," and to Mozart's piano concertos. I like their complicated structure and

their emotive power.

**Stephen Miller, Reston**

In terms of stress management, I shall take a long walk and think about how to stand up for those who will be most harmed by this election. Then I'll read a new mystery for pure escapism. I will finish up with several shots of a Scotch whisky and contemplation of the blessing of being old. The TV will remain firmly off. And then tomorrow I hope I'll remember that we live to fight another day.

**Ann Johnson, Falls Church**

I'm in my 70s, and yesterday I asked Siri to play Harry Belafonte. I have no idea why. Suddenly my home was filled with Calypso music and I was singing and swaying to lyrics about working on a banana boat. The beat and accent of Jamaica took me away from the fear-based anxiety of the U.S. election.

**Jill Berke, Miami Beach**

## "They'd say I hustled"

I'm listening to Taylor Swift, particularly her softer songs on the newest album, "The Tortured Poets Department," which have a calming, ethereal effect. The example she offers of a woman who has overcome every obstacle, built a home within an

empire, inspired billions and stayed true to herself proves to me that the good guys (or girls, or people, or beings) really do always win in the end — eventually.

**Mariah Anderson, Fairfax**

## On and on and on

Periodically, Bob Ross's foundation runs a marathon of "The Joy of Painting" on Twitch. I sit in chatrooms with people who also enjoy this endearing and sometimes goofy activity and watch Bob save yet another painting after slapping another huge tree trunk in front of a nice-looking background.

As Bob says, his world is peaceful, and there's no violence or yelling. Everybody needs a friend, and happy little clouds abound. You get an artist's license with your first tube of paint that says you can do whatever you want on the canvas.

"The Joy of Painting" reminds me that life is not all about winning and losing.

I also appreciated a recent Post article about how to manage anticipatory stress. Dial down your feeds, face the unwanted future with optimism, take action in your own sphere, and only wallow in pessimism briefly, when the event is upon you.

As for music, Wilco's album "Sky Blue Sky" and its title track have themes of recovery. These virtuosos players decided to make a healing record with some of the hard edges of their music stowed for an album or two. There are still some guitar pyrotechnics on tracks such as "Impossible Germany" and "Side With the Seeds," but on the whole, harmony and calm are the main musical products.

It's from the period after Jeff Tweedy recovered from addiction, but it's not all sunshine and rainbows. These lyrics from "Sky Blue Sky" speak to that.

*With a sky blue sky this rotten time wouldn't seem so bad to me now*

*Oh I didn't die, I should be satisfied*

*I survived, it's good enough for now*

And these lyrics from "On and On and On" hold out hope that people can stay together in hard times.

*On and on and on*

*You and I*

*We'll stay together, yeah*

*You and I*

*Will try to make it better, yeah*

**Dan Lewis, Des Moines, Washington**

## 20, 20, 24 hours to go

I have scheduled medically induced coma therapy to run from Nov. 3 through Nov. 12 with instructions to continue for four more years if my favored candidate loses.

If only.

Musically, I'm turning to the Talking Heads. Just the right amount of upbeat surrealism to reflect our current condition with a dose of optimism thrown in for good measure. If I'm not feeling optimistic, I might go for music from the Handsome Family.

**Scott Shuford, Hillsborough, North Carolina**

## A little perspective

I listen to ambient music such as "Hearts of Space." Or nature sounds. It reminds me that the world is bigger than me or my problems.

**James Bridges, North Olmstead, Ohio**

## Primal screams

My son just introduced me to Deftones. I guess they've been around since the '80s. How am I only just getting into them? I'm a classical musician, but I appreciate the sounds of some freaking awesome quality metal and cathartic screaming. I'm about to perform Beethoven's Symphony No. 9, which is cathartic in a different way. The sound of so many voices shouting notes at the end reminds me that we humans are all in this together, and that art will save the world over and over again.

**Nicola Payne, Sudbury, Massachusetts**

## OPINION

MEGAN MCARDLE

## Abortion is no longer a winning issue for Democrats

*"Is there any point to which you would wish to draw my attention?"*

*"To the curious incident of the dog in the nighttime."*

*"The dog did nothing in the nighttime."*

*"That was the curious incident," remarked Sherlock Holmes.*

This exchange comes from "The Adventure of the Silver Blaze," a short story by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Even though the story is more than 100 years old, I won't spoil it if you haven't read it. But I will tell you what was so curious: The dog didn't bark at an intruder. I tell you this because Tuesday's election had its own dog that didn't bark. That is, abortion rights.

Abortion has been a mainstay of Democratic political campaigns for decades, and it was a good issue for them in 2022. Even deep-red Kentucky voted to keep abortion legal, a process that helped turn out voters. By long political tradition, voters who favor abortion rights also favor Democrats. Political analysts, noting President Joe Biden's poor approval ratings, expected 2022 to be a red wave. Instead, Democrats gained a Senate seat, while holding Republicans to a narrow majority in the House of Representatives.

Having earlier predicted that the much-anticipated post-*Roe* backlash might never materialize, I had to eat some crow. "As abortion law in every state settled down to something close to the median of public opinion, I thought the issue would probably cease to exert much political force," I wrote last year. "I have not been this wrong since I decided in 2016 to go on holiday after the election, because I thought there would be little worth covering in Hillary Clinton's presidential transition." Chastened, I began saying that it would be political malpractice if Democrats didn't have an abortion initiative on the ballot of every possible state come 2024.

Democrats seemed to agree with me that this was one of their winningest issues — "a vital part of Democrat Kamala Harris' presidential campaign," says the Reuters retrospective. Progressives started hitting the topic hard in 2023, and gave it prominent placement in Harris's speeches. In Senate races, more money was spent on abortion ads than any other issue. Ten abortion measures were on ballots this year, which promised a boost.

Looking at the sea of red on the map, it's shocking how little good all this effort seems to have done, compared with 2022's success. Nevada and Arizona had abortion on the ballot, and yet Donald Trump looks set to carry them by a more comfortable margin than Michigan and Wisconsin, which didn't. Perhaps those measures will help Democrats win Senate seats in those two states (which are still counting). Yet, in Arizona, it's hard to argue that abortion mattered more than Kari Lake's abysmal campaigning skills. Exit polls suggest that in Nevada and Arizona, roughly a quarter of voters who favored abortion-rights ballot measures also voted for Trump.

And, so, I have to revise my opinion again, to something closer to my original belief. Post-*Dobbs*, abortion was a good issue for Democrats — briefly. But now that states are settling the matter, it's not such a great issue, at least nationally. One reason is that Trump seems inclined to leave it to the states, rather than pursuing a national abortion ban, which would be divisive. Another reason is, ironically, that Democrats were having so much success at the state level, winning multiple initiatives in red and blue states, while losing only in Florida, South Dakota and Nebraska. With abortion rights being settled at the state level, voters apparently felt free to cast their presidential ballot on other issues they cared about, such as the economy.

That's good news. The issue of abortion has been distorting American politics for years, as pro-lifers who were denied normal legislative channels for pursuing their agenda instead focused their energy on gaining control of the courts — and pro-choicers naturally followed suit. Voters and politicians have increasingly come to view the Supreme Court as a kind of super-legislature, a way to bypass the compromises and democratic accountability of normal politics.

That's a subversion of the court's purpose and a terrible way to decide genuinely hard issues — such as how to make trade-offs between the potential life that is blotted out when an abortion is performed and the existing life of a woman who has a right to control what happens to her body. I think it's better to leave that question to voters at the state level, who can hammer out compromises that their communities can live with. But even if you disagree, it looks as though that is where the issue now rests. Republicans would be fools to campaign on an unpopular national abortion ban. And Democrats vying for national office would be almost as foolish to stake their campaigns on an issue that voters are increasingly settling for themselves.



The Washington Monument in D.C. on Friday.

COLBERT I. KING

## This Veterans Day, D.C. prepares to defend its home rule

Veterans Day is a federal holiday firmly fixed on the calendar. But this year's observance seems even more fitting, coming on the heels of a fractious presidential election.

To be sure, Veterans Day honors the men and women who have worn the uniform of the U.S. armed forces. But, in addition to giving thanks for their service, Veterans Day also expresses appreciation for sacrifice and fulfillment of duty. Those three words — "service," "sacrifice" and "duty" — should be guiding principles of the new team that assumes command of the ship of state next January. But will the spirit of Veterans Day carry over to the administration of President-elect Donald Trump?

D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton (D) hopes so. In advance of Veterans Day, Norton introduced her annual resolution honoring D.C.'s citizens, past and present, who have served and are serving America — most notably *without* voting representation in Congress or full local self-government. Norton's resolution encourages congressional action on legislation that gives District citizens unimpeded control over local affairs and full and equal rights in Congress.

In doing so, Norton is paying homage to D.C. residents who have fought and died in all wars, including World Wars I and II, Korea and Vietnam. Almost 200,000 D.C. residents have served, fought, died and sacrificed since the 19th century, even while being denied voting representation in a government that dispatched them to defend the nation's security.

How well I know that story. When I was sworn in as a U.S. Army Second Lieutenant and departed Washington for active duty in 1961, I left a city governed by a presidentially appointed three-member commission. The commissioners were still there when I returned home two years later. Ten years elapsed before Con-

gress enacted the Home Rule Act of 1973 that delegated a measure of authority to D.C. to elect our own mayor and council.

Yes, we gave service to a nation that had fought for and won freedom under the slogan "no taxation without representation." But, yes, we also served, and still serve, a country that imposes upon us taxes "without representation." That may explain why Norton, and other self-government supporters, regard Veterans Day as a moment to call attention to unrecognized and unrewarded democratic service by citizens in our nation's capital.

Governance, the ability to have a measure of control over our destiny, is not an abstract issue for District residents on this Veterans Day. It goes to the heart of the holiday: recognizing and honoring people for their service. As we honor those who have worn the uniform, so should honor and respect be accorded the leadership governing our nation's capital. Veterans Day assures the former.

Trump's Election Day victory puts thoughts of honoring democracy in the District in jeopardy.

There's concern, some may call it fear, that the administration assuming control of the Executive Branch on Jan. 20 will owe its deepest loyalty not to the Constitution, but to the president himself. It's fear that the president's interests will be regarded as tantamount to the public interest and that the machinery of government will be geared to work exclusively on behalf of Trump. And with that, District of Columbia's affairs will be subjected to powers Trump deems vested with only himself.

How Trump chooses to exercise his intentions is not germane to this column.

If "fair warning is fair play," as they used to say in my old neighborhood before a blow landed upside the head, Trump has made no bones about what he thinks of this city and its leadership.

His animus against mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) is well documented. And Trump has promised a "federal takeover" of the District and has announced that he would "clean it up, renovate it, and rebuild our capital city."

C'mon D.C., get real. Trump isn't shadow boxing or pretending.

I have written columns that have touched, ad nauseam, upon ways and means by which D.C. detractors on Capitol Hill might move against the city. Unfortunately, the city has given home rule opponents big sticks with which to beat us. Look inward, D.C. elected leaders, at your embarrassingly anemic oversight of critical government programs and operations.

The incoming Trump administration is very likely to go all out in remaking the government in its self-regarding image, from top to bottom — from Cabinet secretaries to lower-level employees. Civil service protections? Next subject, please.

Maybe the first Trump presidency was blundering and gauche because it didn't know what to make of the federal bureaucracy. The second time around will be a different story. The incoming cadres have been studying how to root out the footdraggers and dissenters, and how to insert loyalists in all policy-related jobs to bend the government to the next president's will. If Republicans retain narrow control of the House, as seems likely, the city will find itself with few friends in power to help stem the tide.

This Veterans Day, think of what lies ahead. Dispense with that "go along, to get along" nonsense bubbling up among the local chickenhearted, self-styled D.C. experts who couldn't find their way from the confines of downtown D.C. to Cedar Hill in Anacostia and back without Uber.

As D.C. veterans did before, so should D.C. citizens now prepare to protect and defend a hard and long sought franchise: self-determination. Patriotism deserves no less.

MATT BAI

## What Biden's aides did that infuriated people

If there were any lingering doubts about whether Democrats did the right thing by pushing Joe Biden off the ticket in July, any remaining thought that maybe the president — even in a somewhat diminished state — was right to think that he could have beaten Donald Trump, then the exit polls from this week's election should have put them to rest.

Because however history remembers Biden (and I think it will be kinder), it's clear that a solid majority of Americans have determined his presidency to be a decisive failure. In Pennsylvania and Georgia, states Biden narrowly won in 2020, just over 40 percent of voters this week approved of his job performance. Nationally, that number was a tick lower, and roughly consistent with just about every poll over the past two years.

More than two-thirds of voters said the economy was in bad shape, but I don't think that alone tells the story of Biden's repudiation. The real reason, I think, goes deeper than any one policy or economic indicator.

Biden's term started out promisingly enough. I thought he misread his mandate and pursued a more expansive agenda than a lot of voters endorsed, but however one judged the substance of his presidency, you couldn't argue with his legislative success. Biden signed into law about \$2.5 trillion in short-term aid and longer-term investments in education, energy and infrastructure. His administration bungled the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, but he rallied Europe capably in its defense of Ukraine.

Biden performed well enough to stave off his party's losses in the 2022 midterm elections, which emboldened him to run again. But by then, his approval ratings had already been dropping for months. Consumers were reeling from inflation — the result, at least in part, of massive public spending. Americans were increasingly concerned about migrants streaming across the southern border, too.

Underlying all of this, always, was the issue of Biden's age. He simply didn't look or sound up to the job. He shuffled rather than strode, slurred his words, kept to scripted material. When Biden gave a perfectly average State of the Union speech earlier this year, managing to depart from the text with a quip here and there, Democrats — and, truth be told, much of the news media — rejoiced as if he'd just won the "kitchen debate" with Nikita Khrushchev.

The problem wasn't merely the president's age. It was his denial of reality — and his party's. White House aides portrayed Biden as keeping his young advisers working late into the night, quizzing them for details. They repeated this nonsensical idea that he was the only Democrat alive who could beat Trump, just because he was the only one who had. Democrats denounced anyone who raised the fitness issue as ageist and accused us of abetting Trump.

Ultimately, of course, the world saw Biden at his worst in a televised debate, and party insiders were forced to act, too late. But we've been through all that already. The point I want to make is that there's a common thread in all of this.

Because when the Biden team faced pressure from voters over inflation and immigration, they answered it the same way they answered anxieties about his age. Never mind what you *thought* about the price of your groceries; inflation was falling and wages were rising! Never mind the images of desperate migrants streaming across a broken border; crossings were going down! If the Biden administration had a mantra, it would have been: "You're not really seeing what you think you're seeing."

Which never actually works. It only infuriates people.

Maybe in hindsight — and there's been an awful lot of that this week — Harris should have tried to put some distance between herself and Biden, although I doubt it would have worked. She found herself in the classic vice president's conundrum, tasked with casting herself as a pivotal player in the administration while trying not to be saddled with its least popular decisions. No one in history has ever found a great answer for that, and Harris wasn't likely to be the first.

But the lesson Democrats should take away from Biden's political collapse is that denial isn't a strategy. You can't tell voters that the things they see for themselves are mere illusions, invalidated by self-serving anecdotes or self-affirming data. You have to acknowledge hard realities and make the best case you have. And if you can't think up a case that's strong enough, or you're not up to making it effectively, then you should probably yield to someone who can.

In the end, as I say, I think Biden will be fondly remembered, in the same way that Jimmy Carter and George H.W. Bush are admired now for their decency. Biden has always served his country ably and with integrity. I'm not sure we can say the same, though, for the Democratic aides and leaders who thought voters could be made to distrust their own experience.

I guess they succeeded in protecting Biden for a while. They sure as hell didn't protect the rest of us.

KATHLEEN PARKER

## The campaign's biggest lie wasn't told by Trump

The disappointment, the head-slapping, the wringing of hands and gnashing of teeth — such are the predictable reactions among pundits, prognosticators and political strategists when the guy who surely couldn't win surely did.

So it's been for the past few days since Donald Trump grabbed the wheel from overnight sensation Kamala Harris — who, it must be said, performed miraculously given her abrupt campaign of just 103 days. Trump has enjoyed decades of name recognition. And despite his multiple, familiar offenses, including the "big lie," he is likely to win even the popular vote, the first Republican in 20 years to do so.

But how? This question gets dusted off every few presidential election cycles. In 2004, when George W. Bush won reelection despite the disastrous Iraq War, the usual suspects — Hollywood, New York and the media — couldn't believe it. I recall an actor exclaiming that she knew no one who voted for the incumbent. Precisely. MSNBC's Chris Matthews, recognizing the disconnect between coastal elites and flyover country, suggested exchange programs for Americans to learn about each other.

He wasn't off his rocker. As someone who has lived most of her life among everyday Americans, I never doubted that Bush would win a second term. I was similarly certain that Trump would win in 2016, not because he was my guy but because I regularly talk to people beyond the D.C. bubble. I used to tell friends, "I go to Washington to get my battery charged; I go

home to South Carolina to get grounded."

This time, I grudgingly assured my Republican friends that Trump would win, despite Harris's sudden popularity and the tight race this election became. My insight was nothing more than an understanding of human nature. Also, we've seen it before in the so-called Bradley Effect. People might say they're voting for Harris (because who would want to admit to voting for Trump?), but they'd check his name in the privacy of the polling booth.

Harris and the DNC put on a good show, but without understanding what was on people's minds. Most voters were not primarily concerned with reproductive rights. By making them central to her message, Harris made her campaign seem women-centric, even if men, too, have an interest in abortion and related issues. We can be reasonably certain that a sizable proportion of men who supported Trump are weary, if only subconsciously, of being treated like a public enemy.

Beyond abortion, Harris spoke little about the issues that most bother working-class Americans: the economy, inflation, the cost of living, education (wokeness) and, of course, immigration. Few people like the prospect of mass deportations, but most would surely like an end to the uncontrolled siphoning of taxpayer resources to house, feed and fund transgender surgeries for illegal migrants (as Harris once guaranteed).

What seems irrefutable is that Democrats — and especially President Joe Biden — handed us another four years of Trump. Biden should never have run for a second

term. He indicated he wouldn't, and then he did. He was already faltering by the end of the first one and everyone knew it. Not only his staff and the Democratic Party leadership but also most sentient Americans.

Once Biden's reelection campaign commenced, his age-related deficits and "cognitive irregularities," to borrow Ezra Klein's phrasing, became glaringly obvious. By waiting too long to step aside, he created a problem that couldn't be fixed.

Back in March, I wrote that Harris should step down from the vice presidency to allow Biden to pick someone more seasoned whom voters could trust to step in if necessary. She was never that person, notwithstanding her enthusiasm and likability. The man with the worst personality in the world won, despite himself, largely because Trump voters felt he could handle the big issues, including foreign wars, more ably than Harris or her knuckleheaded running mate, as Tim Walz once described himself.

Which brings us to the Democrats' "big lie" — that Joe Biden was just fine. He was not. Yet he was encouraged to run again. When the party's big guns (Bill Clinton, Nancy Pelosi and Barack Obama) finally hustled him off the stage, it was too late. Harris barely had a chance to leave the gate before it was over. Despite spending \$1.4 billion, she was bound to lose.

By lying about Biden's mental acuity and scrambling to turn an unpopular vice president into a hot ticket, Democratic Party leaders left voters dissatisfied with a last resort. How sad for President Biden that his legacy is President Trump.



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## Alleged day-care attacker is released

D.C. man had been found incompetent to stand trial in 2023 incident

BY PETER HERMANN

In the years before police charged Russell Fred Dunkley III with beating day-care teachers and committing lewd acts in front of two dozen day-care center toddlers in D.C.'s Bloomingdale neighborhood, he was committed to psychiatric facilities 15 times, records show.

Most of his stays were for days or at most a few weeks, according to court filings. None resulted in convictions or long-term care. Last week, authorities again opted to dismiss charges against him and release Dunkley back into the community in a decision that elicited fear and resignation at the Petit Scholars day care.

Superior Court Judge Tanya M. Jones Bosier on Thursday agreed with an assessment from the D.C. Department of Behavioral Health that determined Dunkley no longer needs to be held in an institutional setting but is incapable of participating in his own criminal case. He has been found incompetent to stand trial.

"We want him to be successful in the community," Bosier said at the hearing, dismissing Dunkley's charges and ordering him to outpatient care. She turned to a clinical psychologist at St. Elizabeths Hospital, the city-owned psychiatric facility, and said, "He's in your hands."

To La Shada Ham-Campbell, the head of the Northwest branch of Petit Scholars, the outcome appeared to be an inevitable failure of a system that she asserted could not protect her staff members and children, nor provide Dunkley the help authorities and doctors say he needs.

"I don't think releasing him back onto the streets at this time is going to benefit anyone, including him," Ham-Campbell said.

Dunkley's attorney, Angela Ramsay, did not respond to an interview request.

Dunkley, 39, will live in a group home, where he will be monitored by doctors and where his medications will be regulated, under the terms of his release. He appeared on video from St. Elizabeths for Thursday's hearing as Bosier reviewed his care team's findings.

"Mr. Dunkley does not appear to have adequate factual understanding of the proceeding against him," doctors with the D.C. Department of Behavioral Health concluded in a report submitted to the court. It said Dunkley "could not recall and

SEE RELEASE ON B3



SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

## E-Z come, E-Z go

An RV racked up \$569.50 in tolls during a trip on the I-66 express lanes

BY RACHEL WEINER

When John Landry's family went camping near Luray Caverns the first weekend of October, they split into two groups — he and five kids piled into their recreational vehicle, and his wife and their youngest took their minivan.

Worried about traffic on the 85 miles from their home in Falls Church, they decided to take the

tolled express lanes on Interstate 66 outside the Beltway, both groups heading out during Thursday rush hour and back Sunday afternoon. He estimates the round-trip drive on those lanes — totaling 45 miles — saved about 20 minutes altogether.

Based on other toll roads, he figured there would be a surcharge for the larger vehicle — maybe \$20 or \$30 each way — but that it would be worth it. A small

luxury.

Then about a week later, he started seeing the credit card charges for his E-ZPass: \$105 to refill his account, then three hours later, \$105 more.

"I said, 'What the heck is going on?'" That's when he logged onto the toll device website and learned, to his shock, he had paid \$569.50 in tolls.

"It's much more than we paid

SEE TOLL ON B2



FAMILY PHOTO

TOP: When John Landry drove his recreational vehicle on the express lanes on Interstate 66 outside the Beltway, he figured he would face a surcharge for the larger vehicle — maybe \$20 or \$30 each way. He later learned he had paid \$569.50 with his E-ZPass. ABOVE: The Landry family on vacation.

## Delaney secures seat in House

DEMOCRAT WINS IN MD.'S 6TH DISTRICT

She faced GOP's Parrott in acrimonious contest

BY KATIE SHEPHERD AND DANA MUNRO

Democrat April McClain Delaney is projected to win the competitive race for Maryland's 6th Congressional District seat, according to the Associated Press, keeping the seat in Democratic hands as the balance of power in the House remains uncertain with many races, especially in California, still uncalled.

Delaney's victory after a close, often acrimonious race against Republican Neil C. Parrott solidifies the makeup of the Washington region's local delegations to Congress.

Maryland voters elected Democrat Angela Alsobrooks to the Senate and will send seven Democrats and one Republican to the U.S. House. Virginia will send six Democrats and five Republicans to the House — including Democrat Eugene Vindman and Republican Rep. Jen Kiggans, who won that state's most competitive races. U.S. Sen. Tim Kaine (D) was also reelected.

The District does not get a vote in Congress, but voters there reelected Eleanor Holmes Norton (D) as U.S. delegate and Oye Owolewa (D) as shadow representative.

The House victory in Maryland, after a count of thousands of mail-in ballots was completed Saturday, bolstered Democratic hopes that victories in that chamber can offset President-elect Donald Trump's victory and the GOP's regaining control of the Senate.

Republicans are slightly favored to gain a slim majority, but Democrats still have a chance with many races not yet called.

Delaney's contest with Parrott was marked by aggressive attacks and a heated exchange during a candidates forum.

The race revolved around concerns over issues affecting women and, for Parrott, calls for stronger border security. Voters in the politically diverse district said they liked Delaney's promises to fight for women's reproductive rights, advocate policies that keep children safer online, and press for bipartisan solutions to border security and immigration.

"The future is counting on us," said Skylyn Wright, 26, shortly after she voted for Delaney in

SEE HOUSE ON B2

## In Virginia, a friend in the trenches

Group offers 'battle buddies' to assist aging veterans who need help

BY WAYNE GRAY

Pinned to the wall of an office in Warrenton, Virginia, is a banner with the words "No Red Tape." It serves as a reminder and a promise.

Hero's Bridge was created to remove obstacles, and founder Molly Brooks said that's what the organization's staff tries to do whenever an elderly veteran walks in the door or calls in need of help.

Sometimes those veterans come in search of housing assistance. Sometimes they need someone to take them to appointments. Sometimes they just need to talk to someone who gets it — someone who has also served in the military.

Elderly veterans can face physical and mental health challenges that come not only with age but also from their time in the military, such as PTSD and depression. Programs across the coun-



WAYNE GRAY

Jon Esse, left, became a battle buddy to John Victor, right, two years ago, helping with household repairs, yard work and more.

try — including one Brooks expanded last year — have been trying to support those veterans by replicating a system that will feel familiar to them. It is ingrained in the minds of U.S. service members that someone will always be by your side, to be relied upon, to watch your back, to carry the weight when you no longer can — a "battle buddy" — and that's the title Brooks's organization gives the younger vet-

erans it pairs with older ones.

"In the military you have that one person that knows you, can sense changes in how you're doing, that can come to your rescue when things aren't going right," said Brooks, the daughter of a career Marine. She explained her dream is for the group's Battle Buddy Program to foster those types of connections for older veterans. "That you have one

SEE VETERANS ON B4

## Moore outlines his plan for Md. under Trump

BY ERIN COX

Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D) promised to work to "find common ground" with President-elect Donald Trump on Friday, laying out four principles to guide his leadership of the deeply Democratic state as an administration he worked hard to keep out of office takes power.

"We will vigorously defend the interests of all Marylanders, and we are ready to push back on this new administration when necessary," Moore said in a brief speech to his Cabinet, which was open to news media in Annapolis.

"But, and importantly, where we can find common ground, we will," he said. "Not only as a matter of principle, but as a responsibility to the people who we represent."

A rising star among Democrats who is widely considered a potential White House contender, Moore chose a more conciliatory tone in the face of Trump's next term than some other potential 2028 candidates.

California Gov. Gavin Newsom (D), for example, on Thursday

called for a special session in his state so lawmakers can "Trump-proof" liberal policies in California.

Moore, like Newsom, aggressively campaigned for Vice President Kamala Harris — and before that President Joe Biden — warning of the dangers of a second Trump term.

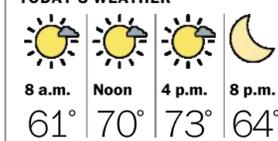
Yet Moore made clear Friday he planned to seek "partnership" with the incoming administration whenever possible.

"That's moving forward together, because partnership produces progress and nothing else will," Moore said. "We will work with anybody and everybody who believes and who knows, and will play a crucial part in making this Maryland's decade."

Maryland is heavily reliant on the federal government, the largest employer in a state that boasts the nation's highest per capita concentration of federal workers. The governor said many of those some 140,000 people are food service workers, security officers, researchers and others who help make up "the bedrock

SEE MARYLAND ON B3

### TODAY'S WEATHER



High today at approx. 3 p.m.: 76°  
 Precip: 10% Wind: W 7-14 mph

For weather news, go to B6

### MARYLAND

Incumbents trail in races for school board seats in the D.C. suburbs. B3

### MARYLAND

The first civil trial in the Key Bridge collapse is set to begin in June 2026. B4

### OBITUARIES

Bernie Marcus, 95, co-founded Home Depot and built it into a behemoth. B5



# Maryland's 6th District will remain in Democrats' hands

HOUSE FROM B1

Germantown on Tuesday. She said her concerns over women's reproductive rights influenced her to vote for Delaney for Congress, Alsobrooks for Senate and Vice President Kamala Harris for president.

"We need to protect the same rights my mom had," Wright said.

Delaney's biggest challenge coming into the race was name recognition in a district that she lives just outside of — a fact Republicans frequently used to attack her. She and her husband, former congressman John Delaney, who represented the 6th in the House before outgoing Rep. David Trone (D), live in Potomac. House members are required only to live in the state that they represent.

Despite her husband's name recognition, Delaney faced an uphill battle to build her reputation with voters. A poll conducted in late August found that just over half of voters in the district did not recognize her name. About 34 percent of voters polled said they did not know Parrott, a former state lawmaker who represented a portion of the 6th District.

Delaney, 60, ran on a left-leaning platform she dubbed "common sense, common ground."

"Since the beginning of this campaign, our message has been clear: It's time for common sense, common ground leadership that puts people over politics," Delaney said in a statement declaring victory Thursday afternoon.

*"It's time for common sense, common ground leadership that puts people over politics."*

April McClain Delaney, in a statement declaring victory in her House race in Maryland

She said she supports a bipartisan approach to addressing the crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border, with a focus on stopping fentanyl from entering the country, improving security and preserving paths to legal immigration. Her platform echoed Democratic promises on issues such as addressing climate change, defending LGBTQ+ rights and reducing gun violence. Delaney has also voiced support for U.S. aid to Ukraine and urged Hamas to return its remaining hostages,

partly to expedite an end to the war and civilian suffering in Gaza.

Parrott, 54, who was known for taking contentious stances while in the House of Delegates, made his third bid to represent the 6th District after losing twice to Trone (D), who lost the Democratic Senate primary in May.

This time, Parrott faced his most optimistic odds ever. He did not have to overcome being outspent 13 to 1 by billionaire Trone. The race was an open contest against Delaney, a little-known former Biden administration employee who has never held public office. And, perhaps most critically, the 2024 election took place with district lines that gave Republican voters far more influence.

After a judge tossed out a map in 2022 that had been gerrymandered to dilute Republican votes in the region, the 6th District now encompasses Frederick, Garrett, Allegany and Washington counties, along with rural and suburban parts of Montgomery County. Democrats now hold a slim advantage in the district, with 1.2 registered voters for every Republican voter.

Just before Election Day, the Cook Political Report adjusted its ranking of the race from "likely Democrat" to "lean Democrat," reflecting signs that Par-



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST  
Democratic House candidate April McClain Delaney greets voters with Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D) in Clarksburg on Election Day.

rott might fare better this cycle.

The campaign was a bruising one.

An October candidate forum held at Hood College in Frederick ended with Parrott and Delaney calling each other liars, exchanging off-mic words and wagging fingers at each other.

Delaney and her Democratic allies aggressively attacked Parrott in ads. The state Democratic Party designed a website titled "Tatts for Tots" that parodied statements Parrott made years ago calling for people diagnosed with HIV to be required to get a

tattoo, which he argued would help prevent the spread of the virus.

Political ads paid for by the Delaney campaign similarly attacked Parrott for comments he made opposing a state bill that made it easier to prosecute spousal rape. And a PAC associated with Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D) aired ads that called Parrott "way too extreme for Maryland."

Jennifer Gamertsfelder, 37, said her vote for Delaney was primarily aimed at denying Parrott the seat.

"I did an anti-vote," she said. "I

was anti-Parrott, mostly, to be honest."

Parrott consistently framed those attacks as mischaracterizations of his past remarks.

"My opponent can't run on her record, so she's making up stories about mine," he said in one campaign ad pointing out Delaney's lack of experience in public office.

Meanwhile, Parrott pushed a platform centered on lowering the cost of groceries, gas and electricity; incentivizing new development to reduce the state's housing shortage; securing the border; and creating more jobs.

He pitched himself as the local candidate, deeply involved in his Hagerstown community within the district. Although Parrott had expressed support for Trump, he did not often invoke the president-elect during his campaign and had said they do not see eye to eye on every issue. Maryland voters also cast ballots in two other open congressional races, decisively sending former state senator Sarah Elfreth and Baltimore County Executive Johnny Olszewski, both Democrats, to the U.S. House. Incumbents secured reelection in the state's five other congressional districts.

Jonas Kalderon Blum and Caroline Killilea contributed to this report.

## I-66 express lanes saved an RV-driving dad 20 minutes — and cost \$569.50

TOLL FROM B1

for the camping and everything else that we did that weekend," Landry said. He's not disputing that the charge is valid or that it should cost more to ride on toll lanes with a bigger vehicle. But, he added, "there's really no reasonable way to know" that it would be so much: "It just feels like price gouging."

Nancy Smith, a spokeswoman for the consortium that operates the tolls — I-66 Express Mobility Partners — said Landry's case seemed to be "an instance of an oversized vehicle using the 66 Express ... and being charged the correct toll." His three-axle 1997 Holiday Rambler Vacationer

wouldn't even be allowed on other express lanes in the state, she noted.

"Larger vehicles must pay a higher toll rate than passenger vehicles" because they take up more room and cause more wear and tear on the road, Smith said.

The lanes, which debuted in 2022, are part of an expanding network of publicly owned and privately operated toll lanes in Northern Virginia. The state touts these expressways as a way to finance road expansion and repair alongside public transit and bike trail infrastructure.

Dynamic pricing for those express lanes, which changes based on congestion and demand, puts the cost on drivers who can afford

it. Exemptions for cars with three or more people inside encourages carpooling.

But the lack of a maximum cost on tolls both inside and outside the Beltway can lead to eye-popping sums.

State Sen. Danica A. Roem (D-Prince William), who fought the privatized toll lanes, argues the consortium needs to be more transparent about pricing. Signs give the tolls for one segment of the highway, not the whole length, and only for the smallest vehicles. They do say larger vehicles pay more, but not how much more.

"I get constant complaints about the I-66 express lanes [because] people driving have no

idea from the point of entry how much it's going to cost," Roem said. "If we cannot fix this administratively in the next year, we are going to have to fix it legislatively."

The toll consortium's website explains that vehicles like Landry's don't get carpooling exemptions and trigger tolls five to seven times the posted fare depending on the time of day. He paid about 6½ times what his wife did.

The express lane signage indicating the toll rate has a digital dollar amount that changes based on congestion and underneath that says, "HIGHER TOLLS FOR LARGER VEHICLES."

In a statement, the Virginia Department of Transportation said there are "limitations by the

Federal Highway Administration on the level of detail that can be included on roadway signs." It added that tolling by segment rather than giving one price for the length of the highway allows for more accurate shifting of prices, based on traffic volume and congestion in each segment of the corridor.

The private consortium that operates the tolls invested \$3.7 billion in the express lane corridor, including construction, maintenance and development of other roads, transit and bike infrastructure in the region.

"This would have been an unfeasible amount for the state to fund by itself," said Jason Stanford, president of the Northern

Virginia Transportation Alliance, which represents business interests that include toll road operators. He said about 10 percent of traffic on I-66 express lanes outside the Beltway are larger commercial vehicles — indicating the cost is worth it for many users.

Landry acknowledges that "the price that they charged me is probably accurate." He thinks there should be a discount, with a warning, for first-time users in that toll class.

He appealed to the toll operators for a refund, unsuccessfully. So he offers his story as a cautionary tale.

"This is the first time that I've been on that toll road," he said. "570 bucks — it stings."



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## MARYLAND

# Montgomery, Pr. George's school board incumbents trail

BY NICOLE ASBURY

With some ballots still being counted, most incumbents seeking reelection to the Montgomery and Prince George's school boards were trailing newcomers in their races as of Friday, meaning both jurisdictions probably will be tested by new governance dynamics in the coming year.

School board races are typically sleepy contests, especially in the deep-blue D.C. suburbs. But this election cycle saw record investment in some races in the state from the 1776 Project PAC, a conservative group, in support of candidates who pledged to pull books from school libraries that deal with gender identity and sexuality or cut back state education reforms. The Maryland Democratic Party also invested tens of thousands of dollars to support the challengers of those candidates and others who had conservative viewpoints.

There was unusually high energy around the Montgomery races.

Several parents and community members sought to oust the incumbents on the ballot this year, Shebra Evans (District 4) and Lynne Harris (At Large), after investigative inquiries faulted the school system's handling of reports of sexual harassment and workplace bullying. The Maryland Democratic Party, meanwhile, spent money to urge voters to not support Brenda Diaz, a newcomer and an educator who was running for the District 2 seat and has spoken out against vaccine and mask mandates.

Laura Stewart, a volunteer and parent of two recent school system graduates, was ahead of Evans in the District 4 race as of Friday afternoon with provisional and mail-in ballots pending. And Rita Montoya, an attorney and juvenile defender, had a significant gain on Harris.

The District 2 race was a toss-up of newcomers after incumbent

Rebecca Smondrowski lost in the primary. Natalie Zimmerman, a teacher in the school system, was ahead of Diaz as of Friday.

*Both jurisdictions in the D.C. suburbs probably will be tested by new governance dynamics in the coming year.*

All of the candidates who were leading were part of the Apple Ballot, a slate of candidates who are endorsed by the local teachers union. David Stein, president of the Montgomery County Education Association, praised the unofficial results in a news release last week and said "voters understood the importance of electing new voices to the school board."

"We need champions — like Natalie Zimmerman, Laura Stewart, and Rita Montoya — on the school board who bring commitment to greater transparency and oversight to the school budget and the budgeting process," he said in a statement.

In Prince George's, voters cast ballots in the first county election since the school board transitioned in July from a hybrid of elected and appointed members to a smaller, fully elected slate.

The county school board has made headlines for conflicts among its members, including an attempt in 2022 to oust its chair at the time. Observers say the infighting has distracted the board from core education issues, and former district CEO Monica Goldson said it played a large role in her decision to retire. The board's makeup has changed multiple times since 2002 to rectify the issues.

In Prince George's, five races



GRAEME SLOAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**People arrive outside a polling location at Dr. Henry A. Wise Jr. High School in Upper Marlboro on Tuesday. This election cycle saw record investment in some school board races in the state.**

were on the ballot. As of Friday, a winner had been projected in only one race because it was uncontested: Shayla Adams-Stafford, who has represented District 4, won reelection.

Two other races had a clear leader. In the District 1 race, education nonprofit leader Tiffini Andorful was significantly ahead of Donna Barriteau, a director of student teaching at Bowie State University. Both are newcomers. And in District 5, Robin Brown — a program and policy analyst for the Federal Emergency Management Agency — was ahead of incumbent Zipporah Miller.

On Friday, Miller said in an interview that after seeing the unofficial results, she congratulated Brown earlier that week. Miller was appointed to her seat

by County Executive Angela Alsobrooks (D) in 2022 after school board member Raheelah Ahmed resigned to run for Maryland Senate.

Miller said she was proud of the work she accomplished during her short time on the board, pointing to efforts to ensure alarms are placed on school doors and advocating anti-bullying initiatives.

"No matter what happens, my stance is still: I'll continue working for children," said Miller, who is the lead author for two K-8 science programs for Savvas Learning Co. "I'm invested in Prince George's County. I have two children who successfully went to the school system, and it is always my goal that every child who goes through Prince George's County Public Schools has a suc-

cess story."

The other two Prince George's races remained tight as of Friday afternoon. In District 7, college professor Phelton Moss was slightly ahead of incumbent Kenneth Harris. District 8 was even closer — newcomers Zakya Goins-McCants and Angela Jones appeared fairly even, according to unofficial returns.

In the coming year, the incoming school boards will be responsible for steering local implementation of the Blueprint for Maryland's Future, a landmark education law that funnels billions of dollars toward public schools to expand prekindergarten and increase teacher salaries, among other goals. It is funded by a combination of state and local money, but the law takes up a large chunk of a school system's

already tight budget. And with the loss of pandemic relief funding this school year, school systems struggled to maintain some programming.

Last school year, Montgomery County schools delayed expanding pre-K because of competing budget needs. And across the state, school systems are struggling to find the physical space for 3- and 4-year-olds.

All of the Montgomery and Prince George's candidates who were ahead as of Friday indicated in a questionnaire conducted by The Washington Post that they were supportive of the Blueprint, but some said they would advocate tweaks to the law.

Stewart, who was leading in Montgomery's District 4 race, said she wants to work with state lawmakers to see whether there's a funding source that can be used to help expand prekindergarten. But she said she was also concerned that the Blueprint doesn't do enough to address teacher well-being, because the law does not directly address class sizes. Class sizes grew in Montgomery County last year because of a budget shortage, and Stewart said she heard from several educators who "are drowning" because of that. She said she wants to make sure "teachers are getting support in the classroom."

Elsewhere in Maryland, the 1776 Project PAC touted in a news release that 11 of the 19 candidates it supported — mostly in counties outside of the D.C. suburbs — were pulling ahead in their races. The PAC did not back candidates in Montgomery or Prince George's.

Aiden Buzzetti, head of coalitions and candidate recruitment for the 1776 Project PAC, said the unofficial returns show that "Americans are sick of the left's education policies" and called it "just the start of our fight."

Katie Shepherd contributed to this report.

## D.C. man accused of attacking teachers in front of day-care students is released

RELEASE FROM BI

define" the charges, and at one point told doctors, "I have no rights."

The assaults in October 2023 stood out in a year that saw a generational spike in violence, for the age of the victims and the challenges it highlighted in officials' efforts to balance caring for those with mental illness and safeguarding District residents from seemingly random attacks in a city already on edge.

Dunkley grew up in Bloomingdale, and he frequented the neighborhood when he had started living on the streets years ago. He had become perceived by some residents as a community menace and for years ricocheted among the streets, mental health facilities, police and jail. Charges related to the day-care center attack had included misdemeanor assault, committing lewd acts and sexual abuse of a minor.

Officials shielded some decision-making in his case from public view, saying they must

protect Dunkley's privacy, and some court proceedings dealing with his commitment and care were not open to the public. On Thursday, authorities, citing confidentiality laws, declined to say why they believe Dunkley can successfully be freed.

The decision by doctors at St. Elizabeths Hospital that Dunkley cannot understand the criminal proceedings or participate in his own defense forces criminal charges to be dismissed.

The U.S. attorney's office for D.C. said in court filings that with no pending civil commitment order in place, "no basis exists ... to oppose dismissal of these two criminal cases," referring to the attack on the teachers and a subsequent arrest charging Dunkley with violating a court order barring him from returning to the Bloomingdale area. Prosecutors also said the barring order is no longer enforceable.

"We all know where he is going to go," Ham-Campbell said. "He's going to go where he feels comfortable — right back to the

community with us."

A spokeswoman for the D.C. Department of Behavioral Health said she could not comment on a specific case, citing privacy laws. Officials say he can be recommitted to inpatient care if doctors determine it is needed.

The attack on Petit Scholars teachers occurred as the toddlers were being led on their daily walk through Bloomingdale and were stopped near Second and S streets NW to rest on a wall and sing songs. Police said Dunkley approached the group and became enraged after a teacher would not give him money. Court records say he bloodied a teacher's nose, hit another teacher in the head, exposed himself and committed a lewd act.

Two D.C. Council members are working on legislation to enable authorities to hold people suffering mental health crises for longer periods, allowing more thorough evaluations, and to revise the civil commitment process. One of those lawmakers, council member Zachary Parker (D-Ward

5), whose district includes Bloomingdale, has kept residents apprised of developments. A spokeswoman for Parker said he was not available to comment; the other council member did not respond to an interview request.

*"We want him to be successful in the community."*

D.C. Superior Court Judge  
Tanya M. Jones Bosier

Parker published a public safety update on the platform X warning residents that Dunkley "may soon be back in the community." The judge ruled Thursday that Dunkley was to be moved to the group home Friday morning. They did not disclose the location of the home.

Dunkley's family was also frustrated with how the case pro-

ceeded. His sister, who said she had long struggled to help her sibling navigate a system she asserted has repeatedly refused to give him long-term help, spoke publicly about Dunkley's upbringing and his diagnosed schizophrenia in hopes of getting him long-term care. His latest commitment, nearly a year broken by one brief release, was the longest, according to court records. The sister did not respond to interview requests for this article.

The court filing from the city's health department laying out his history says that Dunkley "was consistently diagnosed with schizophrenia spectrum illnesses and hospitalized due to severe psychotic symptoms and disorganized behavior." When he was asked simple questions, the report says, Dunkley's "responses were logical, relevant, and coherent." But when asked more open-ended, ambiguous questions, the report says, "he appeared confused and withdrawn, often responded incoherently and non-

sensically, and exhibited significant cognitive impairment."

The report says Dunkley is on several medications, though it says that "he reported that he plans to cease taking prescribed psychotropic medications once he is eventually released from any form of confinement."

Ham-Campbell said parents of children she cares for remain traumatized. "We feel safest when he is not in the community," she said, referring to Dunkley.

She said one parent moved their child to another Petit Scholars location to get away from the area. Ham-Campbell said the child witnessed the assaults and the indecent exposure. The mother reported to Ham-Campbell that afterward, the child appeared "more anxious, less sociable, less outgoing, not as happy."

Ham-Campbell said the teachers who were assaulted remain at the same Petit Scholars location, though one may soon move to another site. That teacher did not respond to an interview request.

## Protecting rights, growing economy, restoring trust among Moore's objectives

MARYLAND FROM BI

to Maryland's economy."

Moore will need the state's economy to grow and significant federal support to build a transit line through Baltimore and accomplish his moon-shot goals of ending child poverty and reducing mass incarceration in the state.

The federal government is also critical in paying for the cost of replacing the Francis Scott Key Bridge in Baltimore, which collapsed in March, and making sure the FBI headquarters project remains destined for Maryland's Prince George's County.

Moore said he instructed his chief of staff, Fagan Harris, in February to begin developing a detailed strategy that assessed the possible outcomes of the 2024 election. He vowed on Friday that Maryland stood ready to enact those plans.

"We have run and we have pressure-tested countless scenarios based on the policy changes that might happen in Washing-

ton, D.C.," Moore said. He didn't discuss specific details.

Before his public address, Moore met privately with state House Speaker Adrienne A. Jones (D-Baltimore County) and state Senate President Bill Ferguson (D-Baltimore City) to go over some of the detailed scenarios his administration considered, cataloging and assessing what could be at risk in Maryland.

*"Democracy in many ways is the greatest heirloom that we have in this nation."*

Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D)

The legislative leaders left the meeting impressed with the scope and detail of work that went into the plans, according to people in the meeting who were not authorized to discuss it pub-

licly.

The governor said his chief priority, or first principle, is to deliver for the people of his state.

His second principle is to "defend our constitutional rights," noting that Maryland overwhelmingly voted Tuesday to protect abortion rights in the state constitution.

"That right will be honored and respected in the state of Maryland," he said. "We'll continue to work together to stand up for the basic rights of all Americans."

His third principle is to act in a way that grows the state's economy, and the fourth is to work to restore trust between elected leaders and the people they serve.

"Democracy in many ways is the greatest heirloom that we have in this nation," Moore told his staff, adding: "I do understand that there's a lot of uncertainty. I do understand there is a lot of very real fear. I do understand there is a lot of frustration. And Marylanders are worried



GRAEME SLOAN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Maryland Gov. Wes Moore (D), seen Tuesday, said he plans to seek partnership with the incoming U.S. president whenever possible.**

about what this election is going to mean for themselves and their families and their future."

While Moore was conciliatory, Maryland Attorney General Anthony G. Brown (D) has struck a more defiant tone.

He promised on Thursday to

use his office's expanded authority to sue the federal government, power granted by the legislature during the first Trump administration in 2017 to circumvent then-Gov. Larry Hogan (R).

Brown said he will seek more resources from Moore and the

General Assembly next year to build a "federal litigation" team ready "to swiftly respond to any federal actions or policies that may harm Marylanders."

Moore's statement drew praise from some Republican leaders in Maryland, who offered to help the governor build a relationship with the Trump administration.

"We encourage the Governor and his team to remember that the message hardworking Americans sent to Washington also applies in Maryland — they are struggling, and the cost of their daily routines is getting harder and harder to manage," Senate Minority Leader Stephen S. Hershey Jr. (R-Queen Anne's) said in a statement.

Moore said that part of his goal to restore trust is to make sure "the public understands that they have a government that is actively listening to them, regardless of which political party we happen to belong to. We need to keep and protect our democracy, and we need to stand up to all threats that will imperil it."

The Washington Post INVESTIGATIONS

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## MARYLAND

# Mother pleads guilty to killing her son during argument

BY JASMINE HILTON

A Lanham woman pleaded guilty Friday to fatally stabbing her son during an argument inside their home in January.

In Prince George's County Circuit Court, Querida Rivera, 43, admitted to charges authorities brought against her after she called police saying there had been an altercation and officers found her son Cristos Johnson, 21, wounded inside a basement Jan. 25. Rivera had stabbed her son after getting a knife from the kitchen and spending about 10 to 15 minutes "thinking about the situation," according to the charging documents.

According to the plea agreement, in exchange for Rivera's pleading guilty, prosecutors amended a charge of first-degree murder to second-degree murder. The remaining counts Rivera faces, which include assault and a weapons charge, will be dropped.

Assistant State's Attorney William Porter said prosecutors will argue for her to serve the legal maximum the second-degree murder conviction carries, which is 40 years, according to Mary-

land sentencing guidelines.

"She may not like the position she is in, but she understands," Kimberly Righter, an attorney with the Maryland Office of the Public Defender who represented Rivera, said in court.

Family and friends of Johnson donned shirts with his face on them and crowded the courtroom Friday afternoon. His father, Gregory Johnson, remembered his R&B-loving son as silly and caring. Cristos Johnson loved his family and aspired to become a photographer, Gregory Johnson said.

"He had a smile that'll light up the darkest places," Gregory Johnson said.

The killing marked another case of family violence — incidents between parents, siblings and other relatives — that have soared in Prince George's County, according to officials and county police data. Last week, a man was held without bond in the killing of his brother, according to the Prince George's County State's Attorney's Office.

"Our office is actively collaborating with the Office of the Sheriff and other resource part-

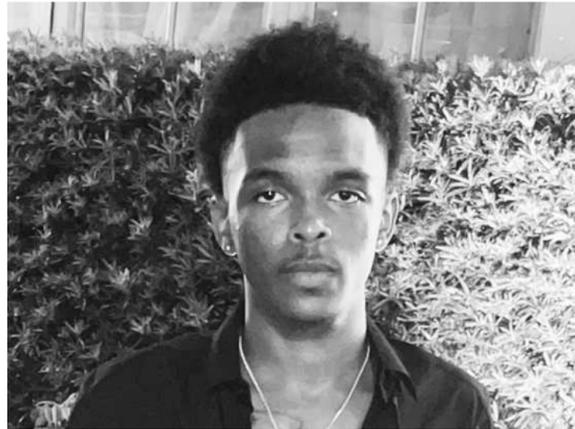
ners to help prevent family violence," State's Attorney Aisha Braveboy said in a statement Wednesday.

So far this year, Prince George's County police have investigated 19 domestic homicides, eight of which were family-related, according to county police department data. They investigated 26 domestic homicides in 2023, 17 of which were family-related, compared with 12 domestic homicides in 2022, six of which were family-related.

Porter said in court that if Rivera had gone to trial, prosecutors would have proved the information in the charging documents "beyond a reasonable doubt."

According to the charging documents, Rivera called police on the morning of Jan. 25 and told them that she had stabbed Johnson during an altercation. Later in an interview with police, she told them that she and her son had been arguing in the basement for hours.

She told police that her son had been "acting aggressive" and pushed her, according to the charging documents. Another



TAMEON WOOD

**Cristos Johnson, seen in 2021, was fatally stabbed by his mother, Querida Rivera, in Prince George's County in January.**

witness inside the home told police that Rivera and Johnson had been drinking alcohol and arguing. That witness did not see Johnson physically touch his mother, according to the charging documents.

Rivera told police that after being pushed, she retrieved a

knife from the kitchen upstairs before returning to the basement, according to the charging documents. She told police that she brandished the knife near her son's chest and throat. The witness said Rivera hit her son with her left hand before the altercation moved to the ground, police

said in the charging documents.

While Rivera told police that Johnson threw her to the ground and began to strangle her, prompting the stabbing, police said in the charging documents that "there was no avenue of escape" for Johnson during the confrontation and that Rivera kept control of the knife during the altercation. She "unnecessarily initiated a confrontation" with Johnson while armed and is "ultimately responsible" for stabbing and killing him, according to the charging documents.

Rivera, who was bruised and had a "non-life-threatening cut" to her right arm, and Johnson were both transported to a hospital, where Johnson died.

As Porter read off the charging documents before Prince George's County Circuit Court Judge William Snoddy, Rivera shook her head. Righter told the judge that Rivera did not initially punch her son. Family members' cries filled the courtroom.

Relatives of Rivera declined to comment after the plea hearing Friday.

A sentencing hearing has been scheduled for Feb. 14.

## MARYLAND

# Civil trial in collapse of Baltimore's Key Bridge is scheduled for June 2026

BY KATIE METTLER

The judge overseeing the numerous lawsuits filed against the owner and operator of the Dali cargo ship, which destroyed Baltimore's Key Bridge earlier this year, has scheduled the first trial in the sprawling case for June 2026.

The trial will determine whether the ship's owner, Grace Ocean Private Ltd., and operator, Synergy Marine Pte Ltd., can cap their financial liability in the disaster at \$43.6 million — far less than what has been requested by the dozens of people who have sued the companies in U.S. District Court in Maryland. Among those seeking damages are the families of six men who were killed when the bridge collapsed and two other men who survived.

Just days after the March 26 disaster, attorneys for Grace Ocean and Synergy Marine asked U.S. District Judge James K. Bre-



JONATHAN NEWTON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Cranes remove collapsed sections of the Key Bridge in April. The span was destroyed in March when it was struck by a cargo ship.**

dar to limit their payout, prompting a deluge of counterfilings that argued the request should be denied because the Dali's owner and

operator knowingly let a dangerous and unseaworthy vessel out on the water.

At the June 2026 trial, which is

scheduled to last four weeks, Bredar, rather than a jury, will decide if that is true.

*The Dali's owner and operator are seeking to cap their financial liability at \$43.6 million.*

If he rules in favor of Grace Ocean and Synergy Marine, the rest of the litigation could be short-lived. But if Bredar decides there is enough evidence to show the ship was unsafe and the companies knew it, then the dozens of lawsuits against them will move forward on their individual merits.

At a hearing two weeks ago in Baltimore, Bredar said it was his

goal to move efficiently and get the case to "the launching pad for settlement," underscoring that the dozens of admiralty attorneys in court with him had hinted at: If they wanted to, Grace Ocean and Synergy Marine could negotiate payouts long before any trial began.

The companies agreed to pay \$103 million to federal agencies affected by the disaster in a settlement with the Justice Department last month. The department had alleged in a lawsuit that the Dali, a 984-foot Singapore-flagged cargo vessel, experienced mechanical, electrical and crew-related failures in the four minutes before it plowed into the bridge.

Four backstops meant to help control the ship as it experienced two blackouts — the propeller, rudder, anchor and bow thruster — failed to work in the critical moments before the crash, the Justice Department alleged.

But a spokesman for the company said that settlement "strictly covers costs related to clearing the channel, which we would have been responsible for in any case, and is not indicative of any liability, which we expressly reject."

The spokesman, Darrell Wilson, said that the Justice Department's claim was "unique and significantly different from other claims" and that the companies were "prepared to vigorously defend themselves in the limitation of liability proceedings pending before the Federal Court in Baltimore and to establish that they were not responsible for the incident."

In court, attorneys for the companies suggested that the state of Maryland may also be culpable for the bridge's collapse, though the state's lawyers argued such allegations are irrelevant to the immediate issue before the court — which is determining whether financial liability can be capped.

# In 'battle buddy' program, younger veterans watch the backs of aging ones

VETERANS FROM B1

person that's looking out for you, one person that you can go to when you need something."

The organization has seven employees and more than 300 volunteers, many who participate in the Battle Buddy Program. Last year, the organization also launched a Battle Buddy Call Center to meet the needs of senior veterans across the nation. So far, through the call center, they have helped more than 400 veterans nationwide, and they regularly check in on 78 who have the highest level of need.

What elderly veterans need depends on the individual, Brooks noted: "It's up to the battle buddy to learn that veteran and meet those needs as best as we can."

## 'They're your tribe'

Jon Esse, a retired Navy veteran, is one of the organization's volunteer battle buddies. A towering man with a thin build, energetic handshake and broad smile, he welcomes strangers like lifelong friends.

It is not lost on Esse, who is 66, that he could qualify for the organization's services. But he said he has the energy of a man decades younger.

On a humid afternoon in July, Esse was at his "buddy" John Victor's house to install the last in a chain of wooden ramps bridging thresholds from the laundry room to the living room. This would make it easier for Victor, a 92-year-old Army veteran, to move about the house with his walker.

Victor's home was large, well-kept and filled with natural light as well as the remnants of a life shared with his wife, Sylvia, who

died in 2016. With his wife's death and the worsening of his physical condition, Victor came to rely on others more. A former soldier with the Army Security Agency who then had a career in insurance sales, Victor had volunteered in his community, providing shuttle services and meal delivery to those in need. But three years ago, he began relying on a shuttle to take him into town for grocery shopping and other errands.

Esse started volunteering as Victor's battle buddy two years ago. One thing that motivated him was remembering how poorly veterans were treated when returning home from the Vietnam War. When he recalls it, he can barely hide his tears. He also feels that serving veterans is a continuation of his military service.

For Victor, Esse did household repairs, yard work and even tried his hand at plumbing. ("Every time I do the plumbing, it leaks," he joked.) Esse compared his Hero's Bridge work to time spent with family.

"They're your people, they're your tribe," he said.

Victor said he grew close to Esse and his wife. Victor even attended Esse's birthday lunch in the summer.

"I feel good about it," Victor said. "They've adopted me, which might even be a little bit closer than a friend."

## 'Those are our battle scars'

There are many battle-buddy-type programs across the country, offering companionship, emotional support, at-home care or just a helping hand to veterans. The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs has its own program, the Compassionate Con-



WAYNE GRAY

**Molly Brooks founded Hero's Bridge to help aging veterans improve their health and living conditions.**

tact Corps, which connects veterans with volunteers who engage with them in weekly phone conversations.

Hero's Bridge focuses on veterans in Northern Virginia. A registered nurse who specialized in gerontology, Brooks launched the organization in 2016 as a fundraising vehicle after noticing that many aging veterans in her community were experiencing poor health and less than ideal living conditions.

Along with its Battle Buddy program, the organization offers Paw Patrol, which pairs aging pets with aging veterans and brings pets to veterans' homes or nursing facilities; Honor Guard,

which helps vets recover lost medals, locate records and record oral histories; and Home Front, which provides home maintenance and accessibility modifications.

Randy Peck, a 69-year-old Army veteran, turned to Hero's Bridge for help after a fire broke out in the kitchen of his apartment. His battle buddy became Sean Hagerty, who retired from the Coast Guard after 24 years and was hired by Hero's Bridge last year.

Hagerty became Peck's advocate, connecting him with services and keeping track of his medications, appointments and medical history. In the no-red-

tape spirit, Hagerty often visited Peck unannounced, as a friend would.

After Peck fell on hard times, facing eviction following the fire, the organization connected him with legal services, and covered the cost, to delay the eviction until new housing could be secured. Hagerty also found temporary housing for Peck at a motel in Culpeper.

Peck, who was diagnosed with chronic depression more than a decade ago, spent months living a spartan existence in a small room with a TV, refrigerator and a bed. What remained of his personal belongings had been packed into cardboard boxes stacked against

one of the walls.

Peck said the disability payments he receives have left him struggling to make ends meet, even with help from Hagerty, who has since left his role at the organization.

"Yeah, it's great Sean got me in here, but \$350 dollars a week?" Peck said. "What does that leave me for food and other expenses?"

In late July, Peck decided to move in with friends. Even though he has gone into what Hero's Bridge calls "reserve" status, because he has access to medical care, housing, food and reliable transportation, the organization will continue to check on him every three months and address any issues that arise if his situation changes.

Esse, meanwhile, is dealing with a loss that often is part of the job. His battle buddy, Victor, died a few months ago.

"He had a great life, he's not the one everyone is crying over, we're crying over ourselves," Esse said.

Esse cherishes the time they spent together on Victor's back porch as they watched birds come to the feeders — Esse with a bourbon, Victor with a cup of tea. It was an easy friendship, despite the knowledge that their time together was fleeting.

"You're going into battle with them and the battle is them living out their life and dying," Esse said. "Those are our battle scars, you know, losing those guys and gals. Those are our battle scars."

Gray is a veteran and a writer with the Investigative Reporting Program at the University of California at Berkeley Graduate School of Journalism. He reported this story through a grant from the SCAN Foundation.



The Guide to Offers  
The Washington Post

Enter for the chance to win a pair of tickets to *Craig Ferguson: Pants on Fire* on November 21 at the Lincoln Theatre

Craig Ferguson is a multiple Grammy-nominated, Peabody and Emmy Award-winning actor, writer, producer, director and comedian with a diverse career in film, television and the stage. He is a *New York Times* best-selling author who has recorded numerous stand-up specials for Netflix, EPIX, Comedy Central and Amazon. The wildly popular *Late Late Show with Craig Ferguson* ran on CBS for 10 years and remains a cult favorite on YouTube, racking up millions of views every year on fan-posted bootleg clips.

See details at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/events/lists/388)



THE DISTRICT

# Windows shattered at kosher restaurant

BY ELLIE SILVERMAN

D.C. police said Sunday that they are investigating shattered windows at a kosher restaurant in Northwest Washington.

Michael Chelst said he was notified Saturday about the property damage at his restaurant, Char Bar, on the 2100 block of L Street NW and told D.C. police he believes it to be a hate crime.

A spokesperson for D.C. police said Sunday morning that they were investigating the incident “as potentially being motivated by hate or bias.” As the investigation progressed, the department issued a statement Sunday afternoon saying “at this point there is no information or evidence that this offense was motivated by hate or bias.”

The incident occurred on the anniversary of Kristallnacht, when the Nazis in 1938 ordered a wave of violent antisemitic attacks on Jews and their homes, synagogues, cemeteries and businesses.

It also coincided with a large gathering of Jewish people in Washington for this year’s General Assembly of Jewish Federations of North America, including a Sunday kickoff event focused on strengthening unity, supporting Israel, bringing attention to the remaining hostages held in Gaza and fighting antisemitism.

Chelst believes this incident to be motivated by antisemitism because of this timing. He also said only his restaurant’s windows were smashed, not any others nearby. Whoever smashed the windows did not leave any note or enter the restaurant, Chelst said.

Officers responded to the building on Saturday morning and saw two shattered windows and rocks on the sidewalk, according to a statement from D.C. police spokesman Tom Lynch. As of Sunday afternoon, no arrests had been made, Lynch said.

The Jewish Federation of Greater Washington described the incident as “deeply disturbing” and said it “raises many more questions and concerns that must be answered,” according to a statement that called for an investigation and arrest.

Chelst said there were no reported injuries during the incident as the restaurant was closed for the Jewish Sabbath, which lasts from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday. On Sunday, he added, the restaurant’s windows were boarded up, and it was open for business.

Chelst said that this experience has made him feel more unsafe and that he will be evaluating the restaurant’s security measures to take any necessary steps to protect guests and employees. After realizing community members were fundraising for the window repairs, he encouraged people to donate instead to organizations fighting antisemitism.

“That’s more important than paying for our windows. We’ll get through it. We can handle it. We appreciate the long-term support,” he said. “I recognize that we’re not immune to [antisemitism], but we were hoping we wouldn’t have those problems. And hopefully this will be the last one we ever have.”

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The past, rediscovered  
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## OBITUARIES

BERNIE MARCUS, 95

# Home Depot co-founder embraced philanthropic causes, GOP politics

BY BRIAN MURPHY

Bernie Marcus, a Home Depot co-founder who tried to coax customers into the first store with dollar bills and helped grow the warehouse-style home supply chain into a retail behemoth — and later funneled his fortune into philanthropy and Republican politics — died Nov. 4 at his home in Boca Raton, Florida. He was 95.

A company statement confirmed the death but did not cite a cause.

The rise of Home Depot came amid an emergence of other big-box retail outlets such as Walmart and Best Buy that increasingly shifted shoppers’ expectations for a huge variety under one roof. The groundbreaking idea embraced by Mr. Marcus and Home Depot co-founder Arthur Blank was to bring weekend do-it-yourselfers and professional contractors to the same place.

Known for towering rows of shelves, industrial lighting and orange-aproned staff members, Home Depot expanded from a handful of stores in 1979 to more than 2,300 locations, including in Canada and Mexico, with \$150 billion in sales — behind only Walmart and Costco. In the Home Depot aisles, a construction crew might be loading a metal cart full of plywood sheets and joists while a homeowner looks for a new paint color for the guest bathroom.

“When I went to the stores, I didn’t wear a shirt and tie and jacket, I wore an apron the way everybody else did,” Mr. Marcus once said, “and I waited on customers along with everybody else.”

Home Depot’s roots began with unemployment. Mr. Marcus was fired in April 1978 after a corporate turnaround specialist, Sanford Sigoloff, gained control of ailing Daylin, a retail conglomerate based in Southern California. Mr. Marcus ran one of Daylin’s top divisions, the Handy Dan hardware and home supply outlets. Yet he and Blank were among the mass layoffs as Sigoloff, who called himself “Ming the Merciless,” pared down Daylin to bring it out of bankruptcy. Mr. Marcus was 49.

“This was, hands down, the lowest point of my life,” Mr. Marcus wrote in his 2022 memoir “Kick Up Some Dust,” co-written with historian Catherine Lewis. “I had never been fired before.”

He and Blank secured investor funding and opened the first Home Depot store in 1979 in Marietta, Georgia, an Atlanta suburb. For the grand opening, the co-founders’ children handed out dollar bills in attempts to get customers in the door. “By dinner time they still had plenty of cash,” Mr. Marcus wrote in his book. “We were devastated.”

The rival Lowe’s chain had a nearly three-decade head start in the home supply market but was surpassed by Home Depot by the early 1990s. Forbes estimated Mr. Marcus’s net worth at more than \$11 billion. He became a major donor for causes including Jewish charities and research into spinal disorders and neurodivergence such as autism. In 2019, his family’s Marcus Foundation launched the Avalon Fund to help veterans get help for post-traumatic stress disorder and brain injuries.

He also entered the country’s political clashes as a deep-pocketed donor to the Republican Party and an outspoken supporter of



BARRY WILLIAMS/GETTY IMAGES

Home Depot co-founder Bernie Marcus speaks before a ribbon cutting at the Georgia Aquarium in Atlanta in 2005.

Donald Trump. Mr. Marcus pumped millions into Trump’s 2024 presidential campaign and GOP-linked political action committees. In 2023, he told ABC News that he gave high marks to some of Trump’s rivals for the GOP nomination, including former South Carolina governor Nikki Haley, but said he would fully stand behind Trump in the presidential race.

His partisanship brought calls to boycott Home Depot from Trump opponents — even though Mr. Marcus retired from the company in 2002 — and made Mr. Marcus a champion of archconservatives for his blistering denunciations of government assistance programs.

*“I wore an apron the way everybody else did, and I waited on customers along with everybody else.”*

Bernie Marcus, describing his visits to Home Depot stores

In a 2022 interview with the Financial Times, he asserted that American capitalism was under threat by “socialism” in the form of assistance programs. “Nobody works,” he said. “Nobody gives a damn. Just give it to me. Send me money. I don’t want to work — I’m too lazy, I’m too fat, I’m too stupid.” (His former Home Depot partner Blank supported Vice President Kamala Harris in the 2024 presidential race.)

**Medical aspirations**

Bernard Marcus was born in Newark on May 12, 1929, and was raised in one of the city’s tenement neighborhoods. His parents, Jewish immigrants from Russia, struggled financially during the Depression as his father sought work as cabinetmaker.

His mother kept a metal box in the apartment to set aside small amounts of money for neighbors in need or for planting a tree in what was then the British Mandate for Palestine. “She showed me how much charity mattered, and in the process, taught me something that has shaped my entire life,” he said.

He wanted to become a doctor, possibly a psychiatrist, after becoming fascinated with hypnosis as a teenager. He enrolled at Rutgers University in a premed program and was accepted into Harvard Medical School during his sophomore year.

He was stunned to learn that he needed to pay an additional \$10,000 to get around Harvard’s quota for Jewish medical students at the time, he said. “This was old-fashioned antisemitism at play,” he recalled. “I realized I would have to bribe my way in.” He graduated in 1954 from Rutgers with a degree in pharmaceutical studies.

He worked briefly at a pharmacy before moving into retail jobs, eventually landing a position as a manager at Two Guys, a discount department store chain in the New York area.

In 1970, Mr. Marcus joined Daylin and rose to become head of the Handy Dan division. At Home Depot, he helped lead innovations such as classes for customers to learn how to make home repairs — decades before the internet and DIY instructional videos on YouTube.

He stepped down as Home Depot chief executive in 1997 and retired as board chairman five years later. He and Blank described the Home Depot story in the book “Built From Scratch” (1999), written with business and culture chronicler Bob Andelman.

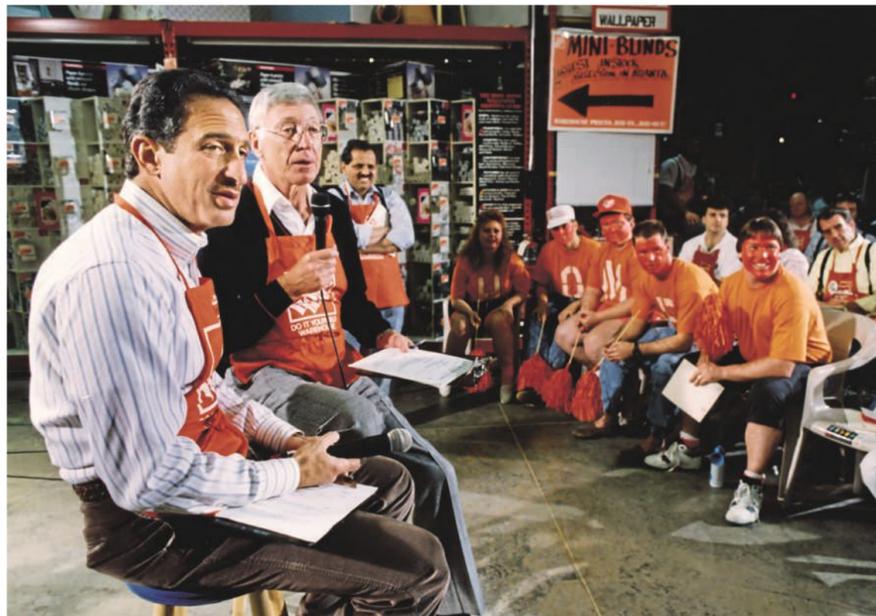
In 2010, Mr. Marcus signed the Giving Pledge, a promise by some of the world’s wealthiest people to dedicate a significant portion of their wealth to charitable causes. “We’re all just a blip on the screen,” Mr. Marcus told the Atlanta Journal-Constitution in 2005. “I think I would like people to remember me for what I did, for my attempt to leave the world a better place. I’d like to know I made an impact.”

His marriage to the former Ruth Schwartz ended in divorce. He married Billi Morris in 1973. In addition to his wife, he is survived by a son from his first marriage; a stepson; and seven grandchildren. A daughter from his first marriage, Susanne, died in 2021.

One of Mr. Marcus’s biggest philanthropic gestures began with a chance meeting in Jerusalem with Georgia Gov. Roy Barnes, a Democrat. On the flight back on Mr. Marcus’s private plane, he told the governor that he wanted to fund a landmark project in Atlanta.

“I thought for a while and it hit me — big fish,” Mr. Marcus wrote in his 2022 memoir. “I loved going to aquariums.” He earmarked \$250 million from the Marcus Foundation to build the Georgia Aquarium, which opened in 2005.

“I wanted this as a payback to our customers and to our associates,” Mr. Marcus said. “I had to ask, ‘What would they enjoy?’ My employees, my associates — they’re not really symphony people. ... But an aquarium, everybody loves an aquarium.”



MICHAELA SCHWARZ/ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION/AP

Mr. Marcus and fellow Home Depot co-founder Arthur Blank hold a meeting with employees in 1991. With their stores, the two sought to bring do-it-yourselfers and professionals to the same place.

DEATH NOTICE

MEYERS



**DANNY MEYERS**  
Danny, born December 16, 1952, left us on October 9, 2024. Buried on October 21, 2024 at Judean Gardens next to his beloved parents Michael and Sylvia. Danny was a 1970 graduate of Northwood High School, moved to Florida where he met his beloved partner for life Ron Phoenix. He leaves behind brothers Charlie and David; sisters-in-law Dawn; nieces Carly and Chelsy, nephews Bryce, Chad, Kevin and Brett, great nieces, Sylvia, Neeve, Kimbert and Azure and great nephews Camden, Jack and Colt. Funeral took place at Judean Gardens on October 21 at 2:30 p.m.

SCHONBERGER



**FRANCES E. SCHONBERGER**  
On Saturday, November 9, 2024 of Alexandria, VA. Wife of the late Eugene Schonberger; mother of Susan Aitcheson, Lawrence and James Schonberger (Deborah). She is also survived by her grandchildren, Lester (Tracy), Charlie, Lisa, Nick, Benjamin (Zach), Samuel and Harrison (Sarah). A graveside service will be held at King David Memorial Gardens, 7482 Lee Hwy., Falls Church, VA on Tuesday, November 12, 2024 at 11 a.m.

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

To be seen in the Funeral Services Directory, please call paid Death Notices at 202-334-4122.



DEATH NOTICE

DEATH NOTICE

**DEATH NOTICES**  
MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.  
SATURDAY 11 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" - \$725  
5" - \$925

SUNDAY  
Black & White  
1" - \$191 (text only)  
2" - \$405 (text only)  
3" - \$580  
4" - \$810  
5" - \$985

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 notices and make payment in person. Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.



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 Howard University School 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.

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# THE WEATHER

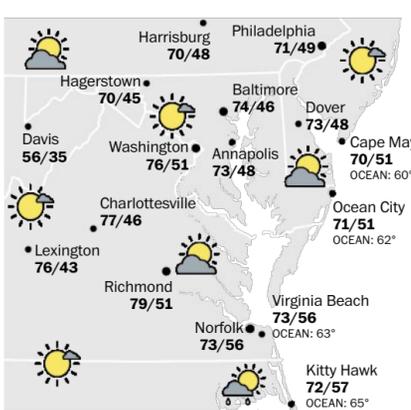
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## Clearing skies and warmer highs

 Early-morning clouds and final raindrops will clear out fairly steadily during morning hours. Some in the region could still see a stray daytime shower, but that will be unlikely. Breezes from the west could gust near 20 mph, at most. This wind direction trajectory will give temperatures a one-day boost, warming us into the low to mid-70s. Overnight, skies will be mostly clear. Breezes will remain elevated, gusting from the west-northwest around 20 mph at times. Temperatures cool to the mid-40s to near 50.

Today	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Mostly sunny	Breezy	Partly sunny	A couple of showers	Clouds and sun	Sunny and pleasant
					
<b>76°</b> 51°	<b>61°</b> 39°	<b>54°</b> 43°	<b>53°</b> 46°	<b>62°</b> 46°	<b>65°</b> 44°
FEELS*: 74°	FEELS: 57°	FEELS: 56°	FEELS: 50°	FEELS: 60°	FEELS: 64°
CHNCE PRECIP: 10%	P: 0%	P: 0%	P: 75%	P: 5%	P: 5%
WIND: W 7-14 mph	W: NNW 10-20 mph	W: ENE 4-8 mph	W: ESE 6-12 mph	W: NW 7-14 mph	W: NW 7-14 mph
HUMIDITY: Moderate	H: Low	H: Low	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate

### REGION



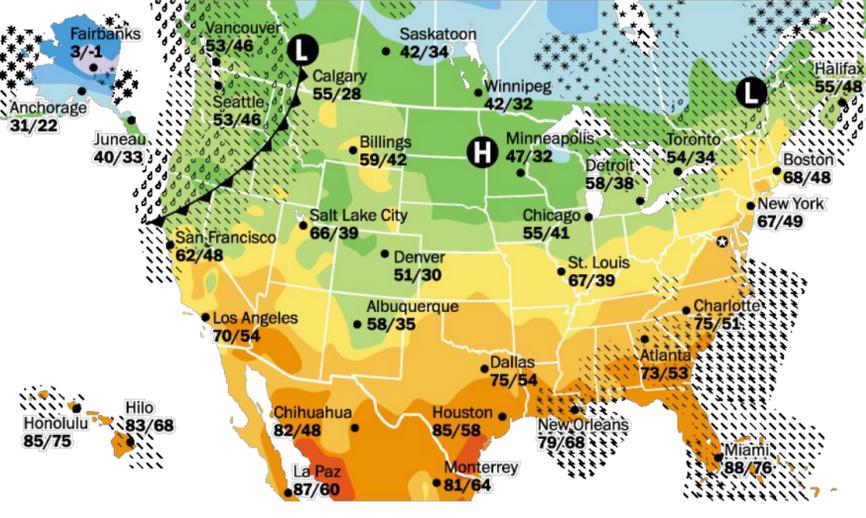
**Pollen: High**  
Grass Low  
Trees Low  
Weeds Low  
Mold High

**Air Quality: Good**  
Dominant cause: Ozone

**UV: Moderate**  
3 out of 11+

### NATION

Weather map features for noon today.

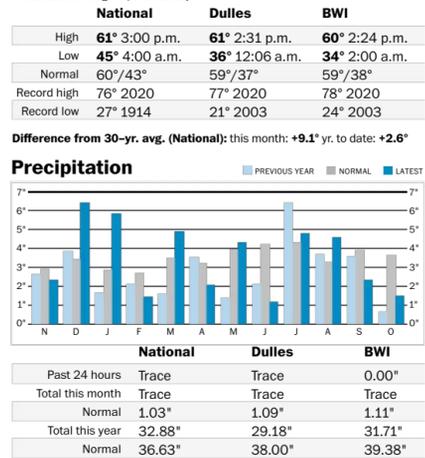
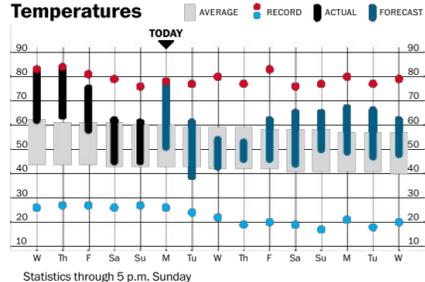


Storms Rain Showers Snow Flurries Ice Cold Front Warm Front Stationary Front

Yesterday's National High: Alice, TX 94° Low: Monte Vista, CO 2°

World High: Telfer, Australia 111° Low: Taskan, Russia -46°

## OFFICIAL RECORD



### Moon Phases

Nov 15 Full  
Nov 22 Last Quarter  
Dec 1 New  
Dec 8 First Quarter

### Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	6:47 a.m.	4:57 p.m.
Moon	2:32 p.m.	1:28 a.m.
Venus	10:10 a.m.	7:15 p.m.
Mars	9:47 p.m.	9:20 a.m.
Jupiter	2:10 p.m.	1:19 a.m.

**Blue Ridge:** Today, sunshine, some clouds; a morning shower in spots, warmer in southern parts. High 56 to 60. Winds west 10-20 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 40 to 44. Winds west-northwest 15-25 mph. Tuesday, cooler. High 44 to 50.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, clouds giving way to sun; a couple of morning showers in the south. High 69 to 73. Winds west-southwest 10-20 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 49 to 56. Winds west-northwest 10-20 mph. Tuesday, cooler. High 56 to 62.

**Waterways:** Upper Potomac River: Today, mostly sunny. Wind west-southwest 6-12 knots. Waves 2 feet or less. Visibility unrestricted. Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay: Today, turning sunny. Wind southwest 6-12 knots. Waves 1-2 feet on the Lower Potomac; 1-3 feet on the Chesapeake Bay. River Stages: The stage at Little Falls will be around 2.80 feet today, with no change of 2.80 Tuesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

### Today's tides

(High tides in Bold)

Location	3:08 a.m.	10:13 a.m.	3:41 p.m.	10:47 p.m.
Washington	<b>3:08 a.m.</b>	10:13 a.m.	<b>3:41 p.m.</b>	10:47 p.m.
Annapolis	<b>12:23 a.m.</b>	6:55 a.m.	<b>1:01 p.m.</b>	7:09 p.m.
Ocean City	<b>2:50 a.m.</b>	9:00 a.m.	<b>3:15 p.m.</b>	9:34 p.m.
Norfolk	<b>4:48 a.m.</b>	11:06 a.m.	<b>5:11 p.m.</b>	11:29 p.m.
Point Lookout	3:15 a.m.	<b>8:58 a.m.</b>	3:24 p.m.	<b>9:12 p.m.</b>

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow	Des Moines	52/32/pc	53/44/s	Oklahoma City	72/47/s	70/53/pc	WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	63/43/c	48/27/s	Detroit	58/38/pc	51/37/s	Omaha	54/33/pc	55/45/pc	Addis Ababa	73/43/s	74/43/s
Albuquerque	58/35/s	62/32/s	El Paso	74/47/pc	80/45/s	Orlando	86/70/sh	86/71/pc	Amsterdam	55/47/sh	52/41/pc
Anchorage	31/22/s	27/19/pc	Fargo, ND	43/32/s	50/43/pc	Philadelphia	71/49/s	56/36/s	Athens	62/53/s	63/56/c
Atlanta	73/53/sh	75/52/pc	Hartford, CT	70/47/pc	52/29/s	Phoenix	83/52/s	76/52/s	Auckland	69/55/r	71/57/c
Austin	83/52/pc	81/53/s	Honolulu	85/75/sh	86/74/pc	Pittsburgh	63/42/pc	51/31/pc	Bahdad	80/60/sh	78/58/pc
Baltimore	74/46/s	59/31/s	Houston	85/58/pc	83/62/pc	Portland, ME	65/45/pc	49/27/s	Bangkok	93/76/s	93/78/pc
Billings, MT	59/42/pc	47/30/sh	Indianapolis	61/38/pc	52/38/s	Portland, OR	55/48/sh	56/51/r	Beijing	60/41/pc	63/40/c
Birmingham	75/51/c	76/57/s	Jackson, MS	79/56/c	77/62/s	Providence, RI	67/46/pc	53/31/s	Berlin	45/39/c	44/37/c
Bismarck, ND	43/35/pc	52/35/c	Jacksonville, FL	84/67/pc	82/66/pc	Raleigh, NC	76/51/c	67/38/s	Bogota	66/52/r	66/52/r
Boise	57/36/sh	50/40/c	Kansas City, MO	65/37/pc	60/50/s	Reno, NV	57/29/sh	52/33/pc	Brussels	54/45/sh	48/41/c
Boston	68/48/pc	52/34/s	Las Vegas	74/51/s	68/44/s	Richmond	79/51/s	63/36/s	Buenos Aires	75/53/pc	77/59/pc
Buffalo	56/38/c	44/30/pc	Little Rock	72/50/s	69/49/s	Sacramento	59/42/sh	64/42/pc	Cairo	75/62/pc	76/62/s
Burlington, VT	60/39/sh	43/27/c	Los Angeles	70/54/s	69/53/s	St. Louis	67/39/s	57/43/s	Caracas	76/63/t	76/65/sh
Charleston, SC	82/63/t	75/49/s	Louisville	66/42/s	56/41/s	St. Thomas, VI	55/78/sh	86/78/c	Copenhagen	49/42/r	46/38/c
Charlotte	67/39/pc	54/31/s	Memphis	70/52/s	68/51/s	Salt Lake City	66/39/pc	47/33/sh	Dakar	89/77/s	87/76/s
Chicago	75/51/pc	68/41/s	Miami	88/76/sh	88/77/pc	San Diego	69/57/s	68/48/s	Dublin	53/37/pc	51/38/pc
Cheyenne, WY	59/29/s	56/29/pc	Milwaukee	52/39/c	49/45/pc	San Francisco	62/48/sh	64/48/pc	Edinburgh	52/34/pc	48/39/c
Chicago	55/41/pc	52/39/s	Minneapolis	47/32/s	50/41/c	San Juan, PR	85/77/sh	88/78/pc	Frankfurt	47/39/c	50/38/pc
Cincinnati	63/40/pc	52/37/s	Nashville	70/48/s	64/46/s	Seattle	53/46/sh	54/47/sh	Geneva	53/42/pc	48/40/sh
Cleveland	59/44/c	48/33/pc	New Orleans	79/68/t	79/72/pc	Spokane, WA	48/36/r	47/39/c	Ham, Bermuda	73/71/c	74/67/pc
Dallas	75/54/s	75/59/s	New York City	67/49/pc	55/36/s	Syracuse	60/39/sh	44/27/c	Helsinki	41/37/c	41/36/c
Denver	51/30/s	52/29/s	Norfolk	73/56/sh	62/46/s	Tampa	87/72/pc	86/71/pc	Ho Chi Minh City	92/75/t	92/75/t
						Wichita	69/46/s	65/51/s	Hong Kong	84/74/c	84/76/pc



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## Award for 'Retrograde' documentary rescinded

BY MANUEL ROIG-FRANZIA

The Radio Television Digital News Association on Friday rescinded its 2023 Edward R. Murrow Award to an acclaimed Afghanistan war documentary that has been criticized for allegedly endangering some of the Afghans who appear in the film.

The unprecedented decision to strip the prestigious journalism award from National Geographic for director Matthew Heineman's "Retrograde" follows revelations in a Washington Post article earlier this year that filmmakers showed the faces of Afghan contractors who cleared mines for U.S. soldiers despite being warned by at least five active-duty and former U.S. military service members not to do so.

One of the Afghans, whose face is shown in close-up, was captured by the Taliban shortly after the film's December 2022 release and died from wounds inflicted by torturers while he was being held, according to an interpreter and two others who spoke to The Post on the condition of anonymity to describe the sequence of events without imperiling themselves and their own families in Afghanistan.

Heineman and producer Caitlin McNally told The Post at the time that they had "no recollection" of warnings and that it would be "deeply wrong" to blame the film for the man's death. After being contacted by The Post with questions about the film, National Geographic and its owner, Disney, removed "Retrograde" from streaming services.

National Geographic did not respond to a request for comment. Heineman and McNally referred a request for comment to Theodore Boutros Jr., a First Amendment attorney who represents them and who has also represented journalism organizations, including The Post.

"The RTDNA says that it 'conducted its own review . . . into the filmmaking process' but you have to be deeply skeptical about the nature and thoroughness of that review, given that no one ever even contacted the filmmakers who produced 'Retrograde' in a manner fully consistent with long-standing journalistic values," Boutros said in an email Sunday. "The RTDNA's action is inexplicable and irresponsible."

Sheryl Worsley, chair of the RTDNA board of directors, disputed the assertion that Heineman was not contacted, saying in an email to The Post on Sunday that an "RTDNA staff person reached out to Mr. Heineman via email on June 10, 2024, as part of the review process. No response from Mr. Heineman as a result of this outreach was ever received." The Post has reviewed the June email.

Worsley also said via email Sunday that "RTDNA did connect with National Geographic and other individuals associated with the filmmaking process during their

SEE MURROW AWARD ON C4

### CAROLYN HAX

Friend vented to me, and now his wife feels betrayed. Is it okay to be a sounding board? **c2**

### MUSIC REVIEW

Baltimore Symphony Orchestra program grouped composers you don't often see together. **c4**

### THEATER REVIEW

A new take on a Sondheim classic has necessary changes but a few too many antics. **c4**



Country singer Randy Travis in Nashville in 2019.

JASON KEMPIN/GETTY IMAGES

## Randy Travis lost his voice. AI gave it back.

After a near-fatal stroke, the star could hardly speak or sing. Earlier this year, he released a new song.

BY EMILY YAHR  
IN BOWLING GREEN, KY.

It's always devastating when a singer loses their voice, but it felt especially wrong when Randy Travis lost his. The country music icon's warm, velvety baritone sang songs about love and life that soothed his fans back when he first broke through in the 1980s, and still do. From the first notes of any of his songs — the distinctly gentle twang, the deep tone — you just knew: That's Randy Travis, unmistakably.

In 2013, Travis suffered a near-fatal stroke that resulted in aphasia, a disorder that took away most of his ability to speak and sing. Yet he was determined to remain in the country music world. After years in physical therapy, Travis started to occasionally reappear at events and concerts around

SEE TRAVIS ON C2

## Distressed voters are eating their feelings

BY TIM CARMAN  
AND EMILY HEIL

After about four hours of sleep, Lori Gardner woke at around 5 a.m. Wednesday and picked up her phone to see that Donald Trump had won Pennsylvania. She went back to sleep, only to rise two hours later to learn that Trump had reclaimed the White House. As she had her morning coffee and bagel, she couldn't bring herself to read the paper or turn on the television.

What she did think about was the Korean fried chicken shop not far from her home in Silver Spring, Maryland, a strip-mall restaurant that serves as a constant temptation for Gardner. "I try not to go there too often, but today, I was like, 'You know what? I need Korean fried chicken,'" said Gardner, 69, a retiree who runs her own restaurant blog.

She ordered eight spicy wings — and

SEE STRESS EATING ON C3



WASHINGTON POST ILLUSTRATION; ISTOCK

### CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

## 'Disclaimer': This show's season finale is a disaster

BY LILI LOOFBOUROW

This article contains spoilers for the "Disclaimer" season finale.

You've no doubt heard the old riddle about the surgeon. A man and his son get into a car accident and end up at the hospital. On seeing the boy, the surgeon says, "I can't operate on this boy, he is my son!" The punchline, meant to alert listeners to their own unconscious bias, is that the doctor is the boy's mother. The listener is implicitly indicted: *Never thought of a lady surgeon, did you?* In the United States, about 38 percent of doctors these days are women, so the twist doesn't hit the way it once did. But Alfonso Cuarón's "Disclaimer," the finale of which streamed Friday, adapts this

rather condescending pedagogical model — tricking viewers, then lecturing them for being tricked — into a limited series for Apple TV Plus.

The trouble is, the show never once succeeds at tricking you. Starring Cate Blanchett, Kevin Kline and Sacha Baron Cohen, "Disclaimer" is as sumptuously shot as it is badly written. Rarely have I seen a series framed around the unreliability of narrative more spectacularly misunderstand the significance of its own story. Jaw-dropping in the worst way, the finale — which made this show virtually impossible to review in advance — stands out as one of the strangest recent failures in television.

"Disclaimer" tells the story of Stephen Brigstocke (Kline), a widowed teacher

SEE NOTEBOOK ON C5

# Singer's comeback has people seeing the benefits of artificial intelligence

TRAVIS FROM C1

Nashville, where he would delight the audience by singing a few lines of "Amazing Grace," or deliver the final "amen" of his hit "Forever and Ever, Amen."

Those cameo appearances may have been enough, but this year, Travis, 65, went back into the studio and back on tour — and in so doing, became the centerpiece of an ongoing conversation about artificial intelligence and artist rights. AI gets so close to replicating Travis's voice that it has, in a sense, brought him back as a full recording artist. The music industry's reaction to AI is like that of many other industries: impressive new friend or creativity-destroying foe? In Travis's case, it provided a glimmer of hope.

Now on his current tour, which played its last 2024 date Nov. 3 here in Bowling Green (and will resume in January in Tulsa), he kicks off the show by walking onstage with his wife, Mary. The two sit in chairs next to the band, almost all of whom are Travis's original touring musicians. Then James Dupré, a 40-year-old country crooner whose tone sounds remarkably similar to Travis's, takes his place at the microphone as the surrogate singer, and spends the next two hours singing Travis's many hits from his four-decade career.

The audience had many reactions: cheers, laughter, as well as sniffing during quieter moments. But the most emotional scene arrived during the performance of "Where That Came From," a quiet ballad that made headlines when it was released this past spring, because the song was produced using AI, which cloned Travis's vocals and resulted in his first new song in a decade. According to testimony that Mary Travis delivered on Capitol Hill in June, it's "the first [AI] song ever recorded and released with full artist consent and involvement in a studio setting," where his "label, producer, musicians, vocalists and Randy [were] all present."

During the concert, Dupré sang the first verse and chorus, then stepped away from the microphone — then that famous Randy Travis voice rang out over the speakers for the second verse. The audience roared. AI was more than welcome here.

"I think it was spectacular. It makes me tear up, because I'm like — ah, I might tear up now," said Rachel Owens, a longtime Travis fan whose eyes grew misty after the show concluded. She made a five-hour drive from Dayton, Ohio, for the concert. "Can you imagine being him, who can no longer use his voice to do what he's done his entire life — but be able to hear his voice again?"

Country music prioritizes career longevity, and if you treat your fans like friends, they will generally stay loyal to you forever. Travis, a North Carolina native, built up a ton of goodwill with country fans over the years. His first album, 1986's "Storms of Life," resulted in No. 1 hits "Diggin' Up Bones" and "On the Other Hand." Less than a year later, he had his first bona fide smash with the swoony love song "Forever and Ever, Amen."

"When Randy hit, he just exploded," said Don Cusic, a country music historian and professor at Belmont University. "It just went from zero to 100 in no time."

Travis (who was not made available for interviews for this article, nor was a representative from his



WARNER MUSIC NASHVILLE

**TOP:** Randy Travis produced a new song this year, "Where That Came From," that uses artificial intelligence to recreate his vocals. **RIGHT:** Travis and his wife, Mary, before a House committee hearing in June on intellectual property rights.



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

label) is often credited as one of the artists who marked a return to "traditional" country music when the genre started to become more pop-heavy, following the juggernaut "Urban Cowboy" craze that swept America after the 1980 movie. This sparked a long relationship with his label, Warner Music Nashville, where he spent the majority of his career. What he may have lacked in flash, he more than made up for in authenticity. The voice was everything.

"How do you describe a thing that just hits you in the center of your chest and unconsciously makes you feel full and familiar and known?" Cris Lacy, the co-chair and co-president of Warner Music Nashville, said in a May "Sunday Morning" interview on CBS, when she was asked what made Travis's voice so unique. "How do you describe something like that?"

The idea for the AI-generated song came from the label. Lacy told CBS: "We started with this concept of: What would 'AI for good' look like for us? And the first thing that came to mind was: 'We would give Randy Travis his voice back.'"

AI, of course, has been a conten-

tious subject in the music industry; on Friday, the Beatles' "Now and Then" became the first song using AI to land a Grammy nomination. Nashville has been on high alert. In March, Tennessee became the first state to sign into law the Elvis Act, which protects musicians if someone tries to replicate their voice using AI without permission. A few months later, record companies, including Sony Music Entertainment, Universal Music Group and Warner Records (Travis's label's parent company), sued two AI music generators.

In May, when Warner Nashville announced the release of the AI-produced "Where That Came From," Travis's team launched it with a careful press rollout that emphasized a message: Although they were aware that there is lots of skepticism around AI and its abilities, Travis was fully on board and excited and in the studio for the production process. As described in the "Sunday Morning" story, the song was built from 42 samples of previous Travis vocals gathered by the singer's longtime producer, Kyle Lehning, which were then fed into an AI program.

That was layered on top of Dupré's vocals for the track, written by John Scott Sherrill and Scotty

Emerick; Dupré had recorded the song in 2011 but it was never released. (Dupré was given a credit of providing a "vocal bed" for the song, and the label told Rolling Stone magazine that he was paid for his involvement.) After months in the studio, "Where That Came From" sounded just like Travis's voice.

"Randy's on the other side of the microphone. It's still his vocal. There's no reason he shouldn't be able to make music," Lacy said. "And to deprive him of that, if he still wants to do that, that's unconscionable."

Ben Camp, an associate professor in the songwriting department at Berklee College of Music and an AI faculty expert, said the proliferation of AI songs is inevitable, and predicted that there will eventually be a way to toggle between "human-written music" and "AI-generated music" on streaming services. One important factor is to make sure that people who trained the AI models or wrote songs to train the models are fairly compensated, Camp said, not to mention that there's artist consent.

But when Camp saw the news coverage about Travis's song, there was "this feeling of excite-

ment and surprise." Although there are still a lot of questions around AI, and some worry that the early iterations could open a Pandora's box if it's not regulated, this situation stands out.

"I was touched that an artist who has had such a long and fulfilling career, who just had his ability to communicate with his audience immediately cut off through no fault of his own, ... that there's a technology that allows him to connect with those fans," Camp said. "I'm especially glad that it was done with Randy's blessing himself rather than someone else making the decision for him."

Laurie Stras, a professor of musicology at the University of Southampton who also specializes in music and disability studies, said Travis's shows can both appeal to the fan nostalgia and benefit Travis, who may not have initially been able to envision going back on tour.

"When you have an artist who becomes disabled or an artist who is already disabled and ... using technology to create music that they would not otherwise be able to create, we do see this as a positive thing," Stras said. "Wanting to speak authentically and with the

voice that you can call your own is something that is really important to many disabled people who need some kind of vocal assistance."

Travis still does meet-and-greets on this tour; backstage, people flocked to him for pictures and to sign CDs. During the concert, he happily engaged with fans as he sat near the edge of the stage. He waved and pointed, and when people surreptitiously left their seats and walked to the front of the stage to take a photo with Travis right behind them, he smiled at the phone cameras. He held hands with his wife as they watched Dupré perform Travis's string of hits. During "Forever and Ever, Amen," Travis sang "amen" into the microphone.

Throughout the songs, a video screen featured clips from Travis's career, including some of his old music videos, live performances, acting appearances (those "Matlock" episodes!), and even scenes from his old Folgers and Coca-Cola commercials. Mary Travis took the microphone several times to talk about Randy's legacy and how much they adore Dupré.

"We're tickled to death that James would come out and do this with us so that he could sing Randy's great music to you and we would all get to be together again," she said. "Randy would rather be here than anywhere else in the world, just listening to music and being with his fans."

The concert also played a video that explained the timeline of Travis's stroke and the origins of the AI song, and acknowledged the initial skepticism; it then featured comments that showed how fans changed their minds when they knew Travis was part of the process and they got to hear his voice again.

Beth Ziesenis, who runs the website Your Nerdy Best Friend, attended the tour stop when it came to the Ryman Auditorium in Nashville in June, and loved seeing the joy on Travis's face as he watched the show. As someone who delivers keynote speeches about AI, she was fairly shocked at how accepting the audience was about it; even with the engineering and production wizards who work in Nashville studios, country music does not have a reputation of being ahead of the curve with technology.

"That was just a major indication of the acceptance of voice cloning and the acceptance of continuing the legacy of some of our iconic singers," Ziesenis said. "Here we are in the mother church of country music with one of the most traditional country singers with some of the most traditional country fans. ... Of course it had Randy Travis's stamp of approval, but it was just like, 'Wow, are artists going to embrace this?'"

It remains to be seen how singers will embrace the technology (the CBS segment included country stars such as Carrie Underwood and Cole Swindell growing emotional as they listened to Travis's new song), though it does raise more existential questions: Will there be a groundswell of estates using AI to bring back the vocals of deceased singers? Is there room for growth of new music if nostalgic listeners only want to hear music from legacy acts? Travis's family said they embarked on this new music to inspire others. "It's not what you take when you leave this world behind you," goes one of his most popular songs, "Three Wooden Crosses."

"It's what you leave behind you when you go."

## Friend often vents to me about his marriage, and now his wife feels betrayed



Adapted from an online discussion.

Carolyn Hax

that is sometimes treated, often not. He loves his wife and his family, but it is often a lot to navigate. He uses me as a venting and sounding board, usually via text.

The other night, his wife inadvertently saw his complaints to me and my advice to him. She was very upset and said it was a betrayal.

While my opinion doesn't matter as they sort through their feelings, it made me wonder. I think sometimes people need an outlet to say the things they don't want to say to their partners but need to get off their chests and out of their minds, and to work through them. Am I the [glass bowl] for thinking that?

— Am I the [Glass Bowl]?

**Am I the [Glass Bowl]?:** Not to

me. But there are definitely people who believe that sharing deeply personal information about a spouse outside a marriage constitutes betrayal, yes.

There are good arguments for both sides, too.

In favor of confiding: Privacy creates ideal conditions for abuse to take hold and thrive. One of the ways people inoculate themselves against gaslighting is to compare the messages they get from their intimate partners with the messages they receive from the wider world. If there is no wider-world input, then a gaslighter has almost free rein to shape the narrative of the marriage and undermine the confidence of a spouse. We're used to that logic in a much more benign application: Problem-solving improves with access to a wealth of sources. If you can't talk to anyone about your marriage, if it's an entirely closed system, then the breadth of your thinking, and solutions, will suffer.

The argument in favor of privacy: Who wants their dirt shoveled out for someone else? The whole point of a

marriage is trust.

There is definitely a range of normal on this issue, too. Some people freak out at even the idea of talking to a therapist, for example, when it's a conversation protected by confidentiality — and some people publish memoirs that open every crevice for public regard. So, clearly, there's no one standard that applies to every person and every marriage. (Which is why sharing tolerance is a good thing for couples to understand about each other up front.)

Amid all that variety, it's possible to have a healthy discomfort with the idea of the "wrong" person knowing your worst stuff — up to the point of betrayal, depending.

Because there's no role for you now in your friend's reckoning, this isn't advice so much as a public thumb-sucking about the idea of marital privacy. But I think it makes sense, as your bestie sorts this out with his spouse, for you to do a tough self-inventory:

Does this back-channel sharing help your friend return to his marriage happier and



ILLUSTRATION BY NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

better focused, or are you a distraction? Are you supporting your friend or undermining his spouse?

Where would you say the line is between his off-loading his stress to you and triangulating with you? I.e., at what point do you stop being a neutral observer and start being a participant? Maybe one who

influences his view of his wife to her disadvantage?

As I said, people need to be able to seek support from friends — but those friends must avoid becoming agents for a specific outcome, because it isn't their place. (Abuse is the exception. Friends can step in for friends in harm's way: [thehotline.org](https://www.washingtonpost.com/the-hotline.org/).)

If you advise in good faith, then the rest is up to your friend.

Write to Carolyn Hax at [tellme@washpost.com](mailto:tellme@washpost.com). Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at [wapo.st/gethax](https://wapo.st/gethax).

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at [washingtonpost.com/live-chats](https://washingtonpost.com/live-chats).

# In election's wake, experts say stress eating isn't the best way to self-soothe

STRESS EATING FROM CI

ate six of them — before she had to jump on a Zoom call. She followed the wings with a mini-Butterfinger bar, a leftover from Halloween. “I was just thinking I need to indulge myself,” Gardner said. “I need something that’s going to make me feel good as much as I could feel good today.”

As Trump claimed victory, his supporters cheered, sometimes with a bottle of Trump wine or a bag of the former and future president’s favorite junk food. But other Americans found themselves eating their feelings — consuming junk food not as a tribute, but as a way to self-soothe — as they fretted about what a second Trump term might look like.

The stress eating started even before Election Day, as voters were bombarded with campaign literature, texts, emails, phone calls and a seemingly endless assault of television ads, many of them dark, foreboding and negative. Then the results started rolling in on election night.

“I’m stress eating cheese so much, I may hit 270 before either of the candidates,” wrote one person on X, formerly Twitter.

Micheline Maynard spent Tuesday night at a watch party held by the Michigan Democratic Party at MotorCity Casino Hotel in Detroit. A Michigan-based journalist, Maynard, 67, has been covering similar events for years. They rarely have food available, she said, but this one had a full buffet. One table had crudites,

dips, hot dogs and sliders. Another was covered with desserts, including cheesecake and cookies.

The watch party started at 8 p.m., Maynard noted, which presumably meant that many, if not most, attendees had eaten dinner before arriving. That didn’t stop folks from grazing, particularly as the results began looking grim for Vice President Kamala Harris.

“People were chowing down as the night went on,” Maynard said. “And then they were going back and going back and going back.”

Deborah Quinn Hensel is a freelance journalist based in Houston, in a county that voted for Harris but a state that heavily favored Trump. The week before the election, she was her usual self, preparing meals in the kitchen for herself and her husband, Bill. A few weeks ago, she made a seafood gumbo from scratch. Since Tuesday, however, Hensel, 70, has been in no mood to cook. Wednesday’s dinner was creamed tuna on toast, a comfort food from her childhood. It involves microwaving canned tuna and cream of mushroom soup and pouring the hot mixture over toast points.

“It’s disgusting,” Hensel said. “But if it’s a rainy cold day in the winter, that’s something I want.”

Thursday’s menu wasn’t much better: She had a banana and a fruit Popsicle for breakfast, a bologna sandwich for lunch, and had just polished off six Oreos and a glass a milk before this interview in the midafternoon.

“I don’t want to eat a full meal. I don’t want to even think about making a meal,” she said. “I don’t want to even consider what’s in my best interest to eat. I just go into the kitchen and grab whatever is close at hand.”

In response to stress, some people may turn to alcohol, or another drug, in an attempt to calm their nerves. Some might pound down junk food or other dishes that have little to no nutritional value to provide temporary relief. Across multiple social media platforms last week, Americans claimed to be stress eating pizza, mashed potatoes, chocolate, chips and salsa, mozzarella sticks, Halloween candy — and lots and lots of ice cream.

“When you need to just sit in your car and eat ice cream that way you’re not at home with your Republican parents,” one young woman posted on TikTok, as she dug into a pint behind the driver’s wheel.

But many folks also report having no appetite at all, a response that doesn’t surprise Eva Selhub, a physician, author and expert on human resilience. High-level stress can trigger a fight-or-flight response, which floods your body with hormones to prepare you to deal with the emergency, whether real or perceived.

The fight-or-flight response “actually shuts down feeding mechanisms and the desire to eat because it’s not conducive to be eating when you’re being chased by a saber-toothed tiger,” Selhub said.

But Dana Ellis Hunnes, a senior clinical dietitian at UCLA Medical Center, said this response can also trigger cravings. When we perceive a threat, what “our body is looking for is either sugar to replenish the glucose we used in our muscle cells or fat if we are needing to replenish from a longer period of stress when maybe food wasn’t so readily available,” she said.

*“I don’t want to eat a full meal. I don’t want to even think about making a meal. ... I just go into the kitchen and grab whatever is close at hand.”*

Deborah Quinn Hensel

Hunnes said people shouldn’t be too hard on themselves if they are eating their feelings right now.

“If this is a one-off, because it was something that happens every four years, you’re not going to do yourself major harm,” she said. “But if you have micro-stressors constantly in your life, and this is constantly how you respond to them, that’s when it can potentially become a much more deleterious thing.”

One way to deal with the

cravings is to not immediately react to them, but instead watch them as if you were monitoring someone else’s behavior. Lazarus Lynch, a cookbook author, musician and therapist, calls it “urge surfing.”

Urge surfing is “pretty much allowing yourself to move through the motions of feeling the urge to stress eat, letting the urge rise gradually, allowing the urge to reach its peak, and then finally feeling the urge slowly fade away,” Lynch wrote in an email. “The key is to not try to suppress or judge them, but simply to notice it. The message we learn here is that it’s okay to have an urge to stress eat and still be in control of our body.”

Leanne Brown, a Brooklyn-based cookbook author turned therapist, also thinks people need to give themselves a bit of dietary grace.

“Looking toward food for comfort is totally healthy,” she said. “I think it’s more that we want to think about what it is that we’re eating, and in some of these moments where it’s like, ‘Oh, my gosh, I just want to eat that entire package of Oreos,’ maybe choose something healthy, even if that’s not necessarily what you want in that moment, because that’s actually what’s kinder to yourself.”

And maybe close out of those delivery apps, even if the idea of making a homemade meal sounds exhausting. “Cooking is so therapeutic, if you allow it to be, because it brings you into the present moment,” Brown said.

Even something as simple as

making a cup of tea might be enough to disrupt that Oreohousing impulse, Brown added.

“You can listen to the sound of the water as you put it into the vessel that you’re boiling it in and take some deep breaths and just be in that simple process of what you’re doing,” she said. “And then it boils and you have that bubbling anticipation of something nice, something warm, because what you really want is to do something kind for yourself.”

Brown said making something nourishing for ourselves can be a form of self-care.

Brown often turns to Bolognese sauce when she’s feeling blue, since the dish takes a bit of effort but offers sensory pleasures that provide solace. “It’s my favorite thing to do for a time like this, something where I’m browning the meat, and I’m getting to listen to the sounds and smell the smells,” she said. “It takes a while, but a longer time means a longer therapy session, which might be what you need right now.”

And at times when people feel disconnected from others, food can help remind us of how interconnected we actually are, Brown said.

“Many of us are thinking that there are a lot of other people who don’t feel the same way about fundamental things, and it makes me scared,” she said. “But we have grocery stores, and we grow food for each other, and we share that in common. Everyone needs to eat, and we all are nourished by the same earth.”

REVIEW

## PlayStation 5 Pro offers an almost imperceptible difference at a \$700 price

BY GENE PARK

These days, it’s hard to trust what we see with our own eyes. So it goes with the PlayStation 5 Pro, a luxury product that creates real results that can be tough to catch.

Sony promises more than 50 games are now visually enhanced on the Pro console with more on the way. With 25 PS5 and PS4 games tested, I can’t immediately recommend spending \$700 to upgrade the PlayStation 5 experience to anyone except tech enthusiasts and Sony hype beasts. Just a week before, I was already astounded by the hair strand technology of the recently released “Dragon Age: The Veilguard,” already possible on my four-year-old PS5 machine.

The PS5 Pro, which comes with a generous 2 terabytes of storage, promises higher fidelity visuals, and it meets that promise. These games do look sharper (most of the time) and perform better (all the time). The problem occurs when you realize the fidelity can’t get much higher, especially considering the limited library of games today that take advantage of the performance boost.

A few games are standout showcases for the console. “Final Fantasy VII Rebirth” is the biggest beneficiary, as the vanilla PS5 rendered a very soft image to produce 60 frames-per-second gameplay, a rate preferred by players who want a faster response time after pressing a button. A patch released Nov. 4 adds a Pro-only “Versatility” mode, which presents that fast framerate with an image upscaled with artificial intelligence to 4K. It’s a striking difference.

The other notable game is last year’s “Alan Wake 2” by Remedy Entertainment, which adds ray-tracing effects for sharper, more accurate reflections on surfaces. In 2019 I wrote that “ray tracing is the next generation of graphics,” and a few games use the technology on the regular PS5, including Remedy’s previous game “Control.” The technology remains heavy for even the most powerful



The PlayStation 5 Pro is the most powerful home console out today, which matters less as visual fidelity in entertainment hits a plateau.

computers, so “Alan Wake 2” on PS5 did not feature this. Now on PS5 Pro, reflective surfaces appear correct with clear shapes rather than splotchy mirroring effects.

These are not, of course, the very best visuals on the market. On high-end PCs, “Alan Wake 2” offers far sharper ray-traced reflections and more striking lighting effects. I only own a 2018-made gaming laptop, practically ancient technology, so as a gamer who primarily plays with consoles, the reflections in my favorite game of 2023 deepen my immersion as a more lifelike experience.

Here’s the rub. As a consumer and someone who could use a PC upgrade, I could set aside the \$700 to invest in a much more expensive but much more powerful rig that would produce even sharper reflections and sharper results at a much higher performance. Yes,

I’d easily be spending above \$2,000, but \$700 is still a large dent in that investment. The PC games market not only offers far more variety of games than consoles, but it also offers a great degree of customizable options like mods not available on walled-garden consoles.

Not every game offers improvements on par with the two I’ve mentioned. Mark Cerny, PlayStation’s lead architect for consoles, promised in a September presentation that PS5 Pro brings “fidelity levels of detail but at double the framerate.” “Alan Wake 2” and “Rebirth” meet this promise as do The Last of Us and Spider-Man series, games created by Sony’s studios. However, “Ratchet and Clank: Rift Apart” does not offer the “fidelity” level of detail, rather just the performance modes at a higher resolution. Cerny highlighted how distant crowds look

clearer on the Pro, and they do, but there are fewer people in the stands, whereas the fidelity mode of “Rift Apart” features bigger crowds. It’s hard to tell the difference here.

That’s true across many of Sony’s titles, because they hit ceilings in detail and already ran perfectly on the base console. Differences in games like “Marvel’s Spider-Man 2” and “Stellar Blade” are hard to spot without peeping pixels up close. Spider-Man and Ratchet both already had beautiful reflective surfaces, the reflections just look a little clearer. They didn’t need to be. “Horizon Forbidden West,” however, looks great in its new “performance pro” mode, with 4K visuals and smooth action.

It’s a few third-party titles that benefit the most. Games that previously struggled to handle massive worlds, like “Elden Ring” and

“Dragon’s Dogma 2,” now run smoother than ever, although the former needs ray-tracing features off to run well. Other games that looked and ran great, like the Resident Evil series, only seem sharper, but the difference is immediately apparent.

PlayStation 4 games also see a resolution bump with PlayStation Spectral Super Resolution, or PSSR, Sony’s trademarked name for its AI upscaling technology. While the Pro’s operating system is largely the same as PS5, it comes with a toggle to enhance “some” PS4 games. I tested several and saw improvements. “Bloodborne” remains a 30 frames-per-second experience, as does any game with capped framerates, and the details are hard to spot, but zooming in on the text reveals a sharper image. The Yakuza series on PS4 also looks marginally clearer.

Perhaps the value could’ve

been better if the PS5 Pro was packaged with a pair of binoculars to help spot these differences. For pixel peepers, I recommend the Digital Foundry YouTube channel, the internet’s best coverage of the granular tech of games. They are equipped with the technology to potentially find many more upgrades. But as a layman consumer sitting several feet away from his 4K TV, I forget I’m playing a “professional” PS5. It wasn’t like this with the PS4 Pro, released in 2016 as 4K TV sets were still becoming mainstream. Now we’re in a fidelity plateau.

The inherent limits of console gaming complicate a recommendation. On PC, “Cyberpunk 2077” remains an industry benchmark despite being four years old, and the PS5 Pro does nothing for it. In the console world, all future advancements in games will still be anchored to older tech. It’s hard to see a future where we get substantial advancements in gaming beyond “looks sharper and runs smoother.”

If you’re like me and you’ve invested your time and money into hundreds of games on the PlayStation ecosystem, the \$700 price tag becomes easier to rationalize with small but tangible, visible improvements across a currently unknown swath of PS4 and PS5 games beyond what I’ve tested. And despite the advantages of PC, I still prefer the plug-and-play comfort of a console.

For now, I recommend caution until more details emerge and more games are confirmed to have upgraded experiences. Future games are guaranteed to run on the base PS5, negating any necessity beyond the luxury in fidelity and performance. But things could change. “Grand Theft Auto 6” looms, a sleeping pop culture titan waiting to be unleashed on consoles first. If the PS5 Pro actually becomes “the best place to play GTA 6,” the pitch then becomes very persuasive. It’s best to wait until this thing can do more than give us prettier versions of old games.

# the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
<b>MUSIC - ORCHESTRAL</b>					
 <b>Shostakovich + Dvořák</b> 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.	<b>Church of the Little Flower</b> 5607 Massachusetts Avenue Bethesda, MD 20816 <a href="https://www.eventbrite.com/e/shostakovich-dvorak-tickets-1013277218437">https://www.eventbrite.com/e/shostakovich-dvorak-tickets-1013277218437</a>	Free	Free parking

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# Post reported in May that filmmakers were warned about endangering Afghans

MURROW AWARD FROM C1

review.” The email did not specify which individuals.

On its website, the news association says its board of directors “received background information” about “Retrograde” following publication of The Post’s article in May, but it does not go into detail. “This decision was not made lightly and occurred only after an RTDNA-led review into the procedures and practices associated with the filmmaking process,” Worsley said in an initial statement emailed Friday to The Post.

The RTDNA board did not explain its reasoning for taking back the honor, which was awarded to National Geographic in October 2023 in the network feature-length documentary category.

The Murrow awards require adherence to RTDNA’s code of ethics, which includes a section on “accountability for consequences.”

“Responsible reporting means considering the consequences of both the news gathering — even if the information is never made public — and of the material’s potential dissemination,” the ethics code states. “Certain stakeholders

deserve special consideration; these include children, victims, vulnerable adults and others inexperienced with American media.”

RTDNA’s staff knows of no other instance of the organization rescinding an award on the basis of issues related to the reporting since it began handing them out in 1971, according to an email to The Post. In 2020, the New York Times voluntarily returned an award it had received for the narrative podcast series “Caliphate” after discovering discrepancies in its own reporting. The association also once rescinded an award on a technicality after learning the work had been submitted in the wrong category.

In April, National Geographic removed the documentary from all of its platforms, including the Hulu streaming service, after The Post sought comment on whether the documentary endangered its subjects. A spokesman for National Geographic, which produced the film under a joint agreement with Disney, said in a written statement that the company was acting in “an abundance of caution.”

According to The Post’s reporting, at least five people — three

active-duty U.S. military personnel and two former Green Berets — warned the filmmakers before “Retrograde’s” December 2022 cable and streaming debuts that they could be putting Afghans who were hired to work with the U.S. military in danger by showing their faces in the documentary. At that time, there had already been hundreds of documented Taliban revenge killings of Afghans who worked for the U.S. military and their family members. Those issuing warnings considered the Afghans shown in the film to be in greater danger because of the U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan in August 2021 — about eight months after filming began in Helmand Province.

As many as eight Afghan contractors whose faces were shown in the film are still in the region and remain in peril, according to the 1208 Foundation, a charitable organization that specializes in evacuating Afghans who cleared mines for U.S. forces.

While The Post was preparing to publish a story on warnings received by the filmmakers, two congressmen — Jared Moskowitz (D-Florida), and retired Green Be-

ret and Afghanistan war veteran Michael Waltz (R-Florida) — called the documentary “a de facto target list” in a letter to the State Department that asked for expedited handling of visas for the men depicted in the film.

In a statement, the film’s director and producer said: “The U.S. government’s precipitous withdrawal from Afghanistan and the vengeful actions of the Taliban upon taking power — armed with detailed information identifying Afghans who worked with the U.S. government — led to the deaths of countless partners left behind. That is the tragic story that warrants attention. But any attempt to blame ‘Retrograde’ because the film showed faces of individuals in war zones — as has long been standard in ethical conflict reporting — would be deeply wrong.”

Military officials signed off on “Retrograde” before its release per its agreement with Heineman’s company, a fact that the director has pointed to in defending the decision to show the faces of the Afghans. According to The Post’s reporting, military officials interpreted the contract to say that they only had the right to ask for chang-

es involving the depiction of U.S. forces. Still, they felt compelled to warn the filmmakers anyway.

“Concern about Afghan partners and faces being blurred was raised,” said Charlie Crail, the 10th Special Forces Group media officer assigned to the project. Crail recalled telling the filmmakers: “You guys need to do your due diligence before you release this movie to make sure as many of these guys are out [of Afghanistan] as possible.”

Clips of “Retrograde” — which went on to win three Emmys, for cinematography, editing and current affairs documentary, and the Murrow journalism award and was shortlisted for an Oscar — began circulating on TikTok in Afghanistan shortly after its National Geographic Channel and Hulu debuts. A spokesperson for the National Academy of Television Arts & Sciences — which awards the Emmys — said in a statement that the academy has “had no cause” to revoke the awards. Specifically addressing the current affairs category, the spokesperson said “Retrograde” “was consistent with” rules and policies in place as of the applica-

ble competition year.”

One Afghan mine-clearer in “Retrograde,” whom the Green Berets had given the nickname “Justin Bieber,” was captured by the Taliban within weeks of the clips appearing on TikTok and died in April 2023 after undergoing surgeries to repair wounds he received while being tortured, according to an interpreter who spoke to him and agreed to be interviewed by The Post on the condition of anonymity to protect family members in the region.

The Post’s story about “Retrograde” prompted discussion in entertainment industry circles about the responsibilities of filmmakers in war zones.

“In making this film, did it not occur to anyone that it might be putting people in Afghanistan in danger?” Blair Foster, a producer of the Oscar-winning documentary “Taxi to the Dark Side,” told Variety. “Everyone is pointing the finger at each other. The military is pointing to Heineman, Heineman is pointing to the military. Frankly, I think everyone is culpable.”

Hope Hodge Seck and Alice Crites contributed to this report.

## MUSIC REVIEW

# The BSO hits a surprise high note with Wynton Marsalis tuba concerto

BY MICHAEL ANDOR BRODEUR

At Strathmore on Saturday night, the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra took a scenic route through a program of Carl Nielsen, Wynton Marsalis and Jean Sibelius — composers you don’t often see gathered together, represented in works that complemented each other like a trio of fall colors.

This picturesque program opened with Nielsen’s 1903 “Helios Overture.” BSO maestro Jonathan Heyward explained that it would evoke the passing of a single day — from sunrise to sunset — as it “wanders its golden way” forward. But he really didn’t need to; the BSO fully understood the assignment. From its opening swells of cellos and cascading beams of horn, viola and violin to the beautifully drawn-out gloaming of its finish, Heyward and the orchestra took a painterly approach to applying color and texture.

“Helios” may not be Nielsen’s most rhythmically interesting piece, but it’s certainly among his most insistently evocative — the busy, expressive surface of the music only barely veiling the clocklike plod toward inevitable darkness.

But, as we all should, Heyward made the most of his daylight. He balanced bright fanfares, soft brushstrokes of oboe and bassoon, and beguiling solo work from associate principal horn Gabrielle Finck. At the overture’s midpoint, you could practically

feel the blazing Athenian sun that beat down on Nielsen as he composed it.

The soloist referenced by the title of Marsalis’s “Concerto for Tuba and Orchestra” was Carol Jantsch, principal tuba of the Philadelphia Orchestra (as well as the all-tuba cover band Tubular), which commissioned the concerto and premiered it in December 2021. But on Saturday, all ears were on BSO principal tuba Aubrey Foard, who brought wit, courage and (most notably) stamina to his performance.

It’s hard not to assign character to the tuba, and Marsalis doesn’t resist this impulse. In the first movement (“Up!”), Foard mimics a street preacher with a multi-tonal technique that finds him singing and blowing at once, an unholy rattle and hum. The third movement finds him forlorn, in subdued commiseration with a support group of viola, violin and cello. There’s a natural everyman energy to the sound of the tuba — earnest, hopeful, maybe a little naive; it makes a captivating narrator for a whirl through the city.

Which is what the concerto is. Like a taxicab cruising through Manhattan neighborhoods, it pulls inspiration through open windows. There are boogaloes and habaneras, bebop detours and Irish dance, snatches of classical radio and Brill Building pop. But Marsalis is also a master of atmospheric sounds: the warm gust of a subway grate caught in updrafts of brass; the



BALTIMORE SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Jonathon Heyward conducts the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra in March.

passing traffic painted by nose-diving cellos; the squeal of subway rails of clarinet and flute.

So rich is Marsalis’s music, that often you forgot Foard was leading the tour. This is also a factor of the tuba’s relative confinement to a certain frequency range — the equivalent of a bus lane. But Foard’s performance was more personable than personal. He came across more like a seasoned commuter than a na-

tive, nonetheless contentedly caught up in Marsalis’s rush.

Heyward surprised the audience with a second-half addition to the program. William Grant Still’s “Threnody (In Memory of Jean Sibelius)” is more than a tribute in title. Premiered by the University of Miami Symphony Orchestra in 1965 to mark the centennial of Sibelius’s birth, the six-minute piece also represents an embrace between the compos-

ers’ surprisingly compatible poetic sensibilities: Cresting waves of brass and drapes of harp (Jean) cleared to reveal doleful strings tinted a shadowy blue (William).

Sonically speaking, the Still made a perfectly sensible entryway into Sibelius’s typically titanic “Symphony No. 5 in E-flat Major,” composed and revised over a stretch between 1915 and 1919. But its compact grandeur

also stood in stark contrast to Heyward’s take on the Fifth, which struggled to summon the force or focus it demands.

Despite marvelous playing by the musicians — Harrison Miller’s bassoon was a special treat throughout — each of the three movements felt marred by visible seams, or mired in an energy too diffuse to draw its elements into a cohesive whole. Nothing felt swept up in the allegro zephyr of strings that usually whips through the first movement. And while poised and pretty, the reprise of the theme was missing necessary bristle and burst. The closing presto section of the movement restored much of the vivacity, just a bit too late.

The second movement demonstrated similar difficulties — beautiful elements (like the long, graceful strands of woodwinds and flute) struggling to relate with each other and resolve into a single image. And the third movement, where Sibelius summons the call of the swan into a colossal motif, felt fatigued, even anemic here and there. Despite some gorgeous illumination of the theme across the strings, it never quite offered us a clear view.

Heyward’s vision of the Fifth has plenty of beauty to offer, but it feels incomplete: rendered less like a grand landscape and more like a series of stylishly filtered snapshots and endearing close-ups. Put another way, I couldn’t hear the forest for the trees.

## THEATER REVIEW

# Gender-bending take on Sondheim musical farce has some welcome updates

BY ZACHARY PINCUS-ROTH

They are licking lips in Arlington, Virginia, flailing arms, rubbing nipples, humping spears, humping columns, humping feet and pantomiming diarrhea. Faces end up in breasts. Swords in butts.

All get an appearance or two or five in Signature Theatre’s “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,” a production most intriguing for its gender-bending updates to the Ancient Rome-set farce, even as (unrelatedly) the belly laughs don’t come as easily as expected amid the carnal antics.

As Washington Post critic Peter Marks noted when Shakespeare Theatre Company produced the show a decade ago, it was at a 1962 Washington tryout where Jerome Robbins stopped by and accurately declared that a new opening number would save the flailing musical, leading Stephen Sondheim to write the legendary “Comedy Tonight.” Zero Mostel, Phil Silvers and Nathan Lane played the lead in Broadway productions, and all won Tonys.

That role is Pseudolus, enslaved to Hero, who tries to earn freedom by conniving every which way to connect Hero with his crush, a courtesan who was sold to a military officer. Times have changed enough that some jokes’ leering cringiness can’t simply be excused by the period setting, so Signature’s director-choreographer Matthew Gardiner has wisely made some updates.

The most prominent is casting a woman, Erin Weaver, as Pseudolus — which has happened before, when Lane’s 1997 replacement was Whoopi Goldberg, do-



DANIEL RADER

ABOVE: From left, Zachary Keller, Kuhoo Verma and Erin Weaver in “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum” at Signature Theatre. RIGHT: Cameron Loyal, left foreground, with Weaver and the cast of “A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum,” directed and choreographed by Matthew Gardiner.

ing her own low-key sort of shtick, aided by some script changes. I happened to see her performance on a night when President Bill Clinton’s attendance at “Chicago” nearby created chaos and delayed the proceedings, prompting Goldberg to get on the microphone to reassure the audience that things would start soon.

That spontaneity fit with a role that allows for fourth-wall-breaking. Signature incorporates some of the Goldberg revision and emphasizes the framing device in which Weaver is actually playing Prologus, the actor playing Pseudolus, giving leeway for a bit of side commentary. Goldberg reportedly played her role as a woman, while Weaver plays a man.

The undulating courtesans,

typically all women, are now a mix of genders, a worthy model for any future production. I was curious how Signature would handle “Everybody Ought to Have a Maid,” which in previous outings was a gleefully lecherous tour de force, and I was pleasantly surprised by the solution of having two younger, more savvy characters throwing slight shade on the older men.

Yes, we’re also here to experience a Sondheim score, his first on Broadway as a composer as well as lyricist. In his memoir he praised Burt Shevelove and (“M\*A\*S\*H” creator and “Tootsie” co-writer) Larry Gelbart’s book, adapted from works of the Roman playwright Plautus, as “the tightest, most satisfyingly plotted and gracefully written farce I’ve ever



CHRISTOPHER MUELLER

encountered” but lamented that “the book and score didn’t go together,” as the former is more comic and the latter is more clever. This is a bit of modesty, of course — some songs mimic the book’s manic energy and, especially at Signature, the wordplay is a respite from the shenanigans. “Impossible” begins as a laughable competition between father (Christopher Bloch) and son (Zachary Keller) for the hands of a courtesan, but ends up a sweet bonding moment. Mike Millan as Hysterium, the frenetic servant, is genuinely funny Zenning out in “I’m Calm.” Some productions cut “Pretty Little Picture” but this one, thankfully, does not.

Millan, Bloch, Kuhoo Verma (as Philia, the courtesan), Tracy Lynn

Olivera (Domina, the suspicious wife) and Cameron Loyal (Miles Gloriosus, the military captain) fit comfortably into the skin of their roles. Weaver’s Pseudolus is engagingly impish and harried, but not quite enough of a master of deviousness to give the role that comedic Midas touch quality.

Many scenes feature too many gugging faces. Will the periodic appearances of Erronius (Sherri L. Edelen), whom Pseudolus orders to walk the seven hills of Rome seven times, ever not be amusing? No. Do they need so much audible straining while he walks up the stage steps? No. Goofy asides and drawn-out slapstick are not forbidden, of course, but more satisfying is a production that’s a little less graspingly agitated, a little

more in command of its comedic instruments.

I also admit that my own tolerance for lowbrow humor might have shifted since I was introduced to the show via productions and the 1966 movie in my mid-teens. During intermission, one audience member declared to another, “You are seeing perfection on this stage!” Though I don’t quite agree, even a flawed “Forum” has its appeal, and the show can hold onto its spot in the musical theater canon thanks to reexaminations like this one. For now.

**A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum**, through Jan. 12 at Signature Theatre in Arlington, Virginia. 2½ hours with an intermission. [sigtheatre.org](http://sigtheatre.org).

# 'Disclaimer's' season finale is one of the strangest recent failures in television

NOTEBOOK FROM C1

whose handsome teenage son, Jonathan (Louis Partridge), died some years ago in Italy saving a little boy from drowning. Stephen's wife Nancy's (Lesley Manville) grief at Jonathan's death was such that she moved into his room and lived there like a recluse until she died of cancer.

Burned out on overbearing mothers defending their worthless sons from bad grades, Stephen gets himself fired and finally starts going through his dead family's things. He finds some racy photographs his son took before his death. And — in the back of a desk drawer — a manuscript Nancy had written, clearly based on the photos. Titled "The Perfect Stranger," it purports to tell the damning story of what took place between the woman in the photographs and her son immediately before he drowned.

The woman in the photographs is Catherine Ravenscroft (Blanchett). In the present-day timeline, she's a celebrated documentarian married to Robert (Baron Cohen), a wealthy, insecure nepo baby whose day job consists of charity-washing the family fortune. Their 25-year-old son, Nicholas (Kodi Smit-McPhee), is a disappointment to both his parents, though neither will admit it. He sells vacuum cleaners in a department store and has a drug problem.

The present-day timeline opens with Catherine accepting an award for journalistic excellence. The presenter — Christiane Amanpour! — lays out the show's thesis: "Beware of narrative and form," she intones. "Their power can bring us closer to the truth, but they can also be a weapon with a great power to manipulate." Warning that "our own deeply held beliefs" are what make us vulnerable to suggestion, Amanpour praises Catherine for how elegantly her work exposes "our own complicity in some of today's more toxic social sins."

Thus forewarned, we watch Catherine contemplate her next big story and lament her inability to connect with her son, while Stephen decides the time has come to punish her for her role in Jonathan's death.

That role is never specified. The show (and the intensity of Stephen's hatred) heavily implies some connection between the photographs of Catherine and Jonathan's death. Everyone who reads Nancy's manuscript agrees that the Catherine "character" is terrible and deserves to die. Viewers aren't privy to the details to which these readers appear to be responding. The series milks the story of Jonathan's death for maximal suspense, parceling out flashbacks of his meeting with Catherine at the beach and their eventual encounter in her hotel room.

The one fact on which everyone familiar with its contents can agree is that Nancy's book inspires punitive feelings toward its female character. Having read it, Stephen dons his dead wife's moth-eaten cardigan and effectively becomes her avatar. He self-publishes "The Perfect Stranger" with help from an erudite friend who appears to sincerely believe in its literary merit. Stephen distributes copies to Catherine and everyone she knows, gets it displayed and sold in the book shop she frequents, and even secures an invitation to do a public reading there.

He also sends copies of the photographs to Catherine's husband, Robert, who — assuming she cheated on him — ghosts her and bonds with her tormentor. Stephen circulates the novel at



PHOTOS BY APPLE TV PLUS



**TOP:** Leila George as a young Catherine Ravenscroft in Apple TV Plus's "Disclaimer." **LEFT:** Kevin Kline as Stephen Brigstocke and Cate Blanchett as Catherine Ravenscroft.

Catherine's place of work, causing her co-workers to shun her. He even gets her son, Nicholas, an avowed nonreader, to read "The Perfect Stranger" — by presenting it to him as a gift from a department-store customer grateful for his excellent service.

Because the series challenges the viewer to question everything, I assumed a few things in the present timeline were amiss. No self-published author would receive such a welcome. Nor, based on what we do see of Nancy's book, could anyone champion it as literature. No sycophantic mentee of Catherine's would turn on her because of a self-published novel in which she isn't named, and no human alive, sycophantic or not, would ever unironically utter the sentence, "You're so canceled, Catherine!"

None of this could possibly have happened as written, I thought. We were clearly at the mercy of a bad storyteller distorting events for their own purposes. Alas, all this turns out to be just as it appears.

The most egregious issue in "Disclaimer," however, is how signally it misunderstands the significance of the excruciating flashbacks around which it builds the show. Because these constitute the "trick" the series expects viewers to fall for, it's useful to revisit how they're set up.

The flashbacks are almost uniformly sexual and structurally frame the show: "Disclaimer" opens to the strains of Jonathan and his ex-girlfriend moaning in pleasure. With two notable exceptions, every scene featuring Jonathan dwells on him desiring and being desired. These get even more lurid when he spots Catherine. At one point, a scene in which a young Catherine (Leila George) smuttily seduces Jonathan by interrogating him about Kylie Mi-

nogue gets so absurd that this viewer rebelled. No woman in the world would act like this. Nor would any man; Jonathan, a sexual athlete in the opening scene, acts like an inexperienced naif in this one.

This time, I was correct: This isn't what really happened. The flashbacks, which are excerpts from Nancy's book, misrepresent almost everything. The show treats this as the equivalent of the "surgeon" reveal — the sort that causes viewers to reevaluate whichever beliefs misled them into accepting the facts as presented. Here, we're supposed to question our willingness to join the other characters in condemning Catherine.

The trouble is that we never did join them in judgment. The flashbacks *don't* have the effect on the viewer that the novel apparently has on its readers. Catherine seems like a shallow fantasy, certainly. Most of her dialogue is cheesy. But she's not unsympathetic or even a particularly bad mother.

The single moment that does portray Catherine as monstrous is one Nancy couldn't possibly have known about. Catherine, having recovered Nicholas thanks to Jonathan's efforts to save him from drowning, looks up to see her lover still out in the water, clearly in distress. Rather than alert the gathered crowd, she takes Nicholas and walks away, leaving Jonathan to die.

One can imagine why Nancy may have written this; maybe she's seeking a scapegoat and wants the story to be that Catherine sacrificed Jonathan to cover up her own adultery — or something. But the scene can't persuade the audience of Catherine's perfidy because we know that Nancy, the author, knew very little about the circumstances of Jonathan's death. The series has

made that quite clear.

We know, in other words, that Nancy is inventing most of what happens in this scene. That inoculates us against believing her.

Stephen, as the other grieving parent, must know she made it up, too. Nancy had a *little* more information than he did; he didn't know about the smutty photos. But those don't speak to the circumstances of Jonathan's death.

Seen this way, Stephen's quest to destroy Catherine becomes inexplicable. Sure, he's going crazy, but the catalyst for his madness — a manuscript he read nine years after his wife died, containing details he knows she could not have known — doesn't really make sense. Catherine directly challenges him on this point. "It is remarkable how much she was able to reconstruct based on a handful of pictures," she says, in their climactic confrontation. Stephen's response is baffling. "That is what great writers do," he says. "They take fragments of reality and weave them together in such a way that they reveal a greater truth."

This man *was* a teacher of literature. Displayed on the blackboard behind him is a quote from Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice": "If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

If Stephen's motivations are obscure, Catherine's are totally opaque. Her response to the book is strange, given her cathartic and painful account of what actually transpired. Why, for instance, would she ask Nicholas whether the woman in the novel deserved what she got, or look troubled and shamed by his response? Virtually none of what he was reacting to actually happened.

These are all irrelevancies, however, given the far more serious implications of Nancy's book, which the show seems to miss

*The wildest twist in "Disclaimer" is that its lackluster effort to school viewers on their internalized misogyny caused it to totally miss the female Keyser Söze it conjures into existence.*

entirely. The season finale reveals that Jonathan was a rapist and that Nancy knew it, denied it, shielded him and apparently hypnotized Stephen into ignoring any worrying signs. It seems pertinent, in retrospect, that Stephen ended his teaching career by refusing to indulge an overbearing mother's efforts to spare her spoiled son from consequenc-

Surely, I thought, Stephen's mad quest to honor his wife's revenge plot was some kind of psychological overcompensation that would lead him to finally realize what his wife had always been, and how that may have affected his child. Surely this story about Nancy's unsavory authorship would develop into the story of her predation too, I thought. Not because of what she writes about Catherine, but because of what she writes about Jonathan. Every excruciating bit of smutty dialogue, every graphic, sexual detail in those flashback scenes was written by a mother about her son. That she invented virtually every detail and seemed to relish it should have been the bomb that blew "Disclaimer" up. These are Livia Soprano levels of perverse maternity.

I expected the show's final twist to dig into that obvious, foundational issue: What was the actual relationship between Nancy and Jonathan? There are clear signs of grooming — or at least of some extreme disorder that probably led to Jonathan being victimized, and perhaps caused him to become an abuser himself.

Consider the photographs of Nancy that Jonathan took, and the way she doted on them. The peculiar affect with which she tries to kiss his cadaver on the mouth. The scene she writes in which an older woman corrupts an unsuspecting teenager, weaponizing her knowledge of his celebrity crush. How did Stephen miss it? In what world does any father and husband, let alone one who happens to be an English teacher, fail to notice that the novel his wife has written is extremely explicit erotica about his son?

The wildest twist in "Disclaimer" is that its lackluster effort to school viewers on their internalized misogyny caused it to totally miss the female Keyser Söze it conjures into existence. I expected Stephen to find the drafts the book must have gone through as she grappled with her jealousy of Catherine. Horrid truths about his marriage. Guilt over the ways he failed to protect his child.

None of that happens. Rather than emerge as the master architect of a dark story we had no idea we were watching, rather than supply the crucial and perverse perspective that could bring this messy series into focus, Nancy — the show's only actual author, who in any other handling would have emerged as its real protagonist and villain — shrivels into a footnote and all but disappears. In lieu of concluding, as it begins, with her perspective, the show concludes with an unidentified narrator voicing Stephen's underexplored guilt and regret as he burns the book, the smutty pictures — and all the family photographs.

**Disclaimer** (seven episodes) is available for streaming on Apple TV Plus.

## My husband's side of the family always excludes me from their group vacations

Asking Eric

R. ERIC THOMAS

**Dear Eric:** Two years ago, a group of 11 women on my husband's side, including his mother, sisters and aunts,

went on a beach house girls' trip. The group also included the daughters-in-law of his aunts. I was left out and wasn't even told about this trip until after they came back.

My husband was angrier about it than I was, but I asked him not to say anything so as not to cause drama that would come back on me. I accepted that his family didn't like me when we were dating, so I wasn't exactly surprised they would do something like this. It still hurts, though.

Whenever we all get together, they talk about this trip and how much fun they had. Now they are planning another trip to the same place for next year. No one has asked me whether I

am going or whether I want to go. I wouldn't go even if I was invited. I'm just bitter and fuming this time, instead of annoyed and amused like last time. Should I say something about it or let it go again?

— *Left Out Again*

**Left Out:** Despite the warmth of a beach vacation, getting invited to join a group that has been so callous to you would feel like awfully cold comfort, so try to let it go. It probably seems like an escalation, this being the second time. But it's just a part of an unfortunate pattern of behavior that doesn't reflect on your value as much as it does on them.

However, this might be a good opportunity to let your husband say something about it. They don't have to socialize with you, but years of being sidelined and maligned is taking a toll. He should let them know that if

they want to have a relationship with him, they have to treat you better.

**Dear Eric:** I'm a retired and never-married 46-year-old man, with a 25-year-old son. Minus training and deployments, I've raised my son by myself as a single parent since he was 2, getting both of us out of a mentally and physically abusive situation with his mother.

I've only dated other single parents, hoping that there would be some kind of mutual understanding. Outcomes were the constant feeling of needing to account for my predecessors' transgressions, having shared achievements and traumas used negatively against me, being treated as a bank account or piece of sexual meat, and having my dreams and goals degraded while trying to support theirs.

Now, five months after my most recent relationship has

ended, I'm at the point of risk vs. reward before considering getting into another one. Lastly, I don't want to give up my final retirement goals in life.

I'm fine and thriving being single but wouldn't mind sharing future experiences with a woman while deviating from negative relearned experiences. What does a guy in my situation do: Stay single for sanity or give it another go?

— *Dating Debate*

**Dating Debate:** Think of this as the entrance to a new phase in your dating life. Many of the choices you made in the past were, understandably, tied to your status as a parent of a child. Even though you continue to be in your son's life, helping and supporting him when necessary, you're now the parent of an adult. Start to think differently about what you want and what kind of people you want to attract.

It's wonderful that you're prioritizing your retirement goals and life experiences. The satisfaction you get from pursuing your interests could also draw potential mates to you. Doing what you love will set you up better for love, so keep the door open but shift your focus to your betterment and what your life needs now.

To that end, also please consider talking to a professional about the experience you had with your son's mother, as well as your other relationships that turned sour. There could be some trauma that still needs to be worked through and that might be affecting your love relationships. What you and your son went through is not your fault, but it's important and healing work to process it.

**Dear Eric:** Your response to Heartbroken Mom, whose gay son was partially estranged

from her over her past mistakes, omitted one crucial resource. She and her husband would benefit immeasurably from attending a PFLAG meeting. "Founded in 1973, PFLAG is the first and largest organization dedicated to supporting, educating, and advocating for LGBTQ+ people and their families." With more than 400 chapters nationwide, anyone should be able to find a local meeting by going to [pflag.org](http://pflag.org).

— *Been There*

**Been There:** PFLAG is a wonderful resource! Thank you!

Send questions to R. Eric Thomas at [eric@askingeric.com](mailto:eric@askingeric.com) or P.O. Box 22474, Philadelphia, PA 19110. Follow him on Instagram and sign up for his weekly newsletter at [rericthomas.com](http://rericthomas.com).

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TELEVISION

Television schedule table for 11/11/24, listing channels, times, and program titles like 'The Voice', 'Brilliant Minds', 'The Office', etc.

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 and empty cells for solving.

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★☆☆☆☆

Play more games online. We have more than 100 card, puzzle and word games to challenge you. Includes QR code and wapo.st/games link.

Game Break. Get our gaming newsletter with daily reminders and other insights. Includes wapo.st/newsletters link.

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

9x9 grid showing the solution to the previous Sudoku puzzle.

SCRABBLE GRAMS. Includes word racks (RACK 1-4) and a list of words like 'Asian river', 'V-shaped cut', etc.

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS. Includes crossword puzzle grid and clues for across and down words.

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION. Shows the solution to the previous Scrabble puzzle with word racks and scores.

BONUS. Includes a crossword puzzle grid and instructions for solving it.

HOROSCOPE

Horoscope text for November 11, covering signs like Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, and Cancer.

BRIDGE

Bridge article discussing card play, bidding, and strategy, including a 'DAILY QUESTION' and 'ANSWER'.

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By John Michael Currie

LA Times crossword puzzle grid with across and down clues.

SATURDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION. Shows the solution to the crossword puzzle with words like 'VOTES', 'GLASGOW', 'MOISTURE', etc.

CLASSIC DOONESBURY

GARRY TRUDEAU



PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE



RED AND ROVER

BRIAN BASSET



AGNES

TONY COCHRAN

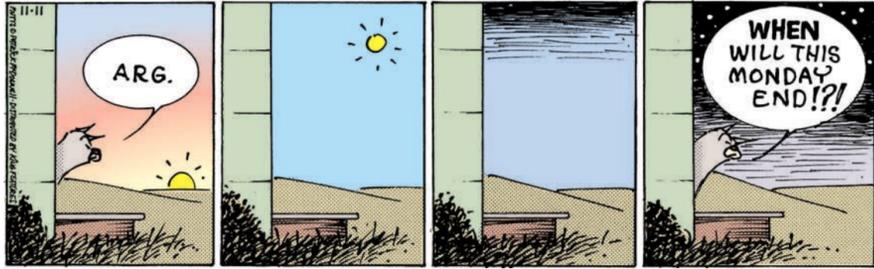


FRANK AND ERNEST

TOM THAVES



MUTTS



PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS



JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

HEART OF THE CITY



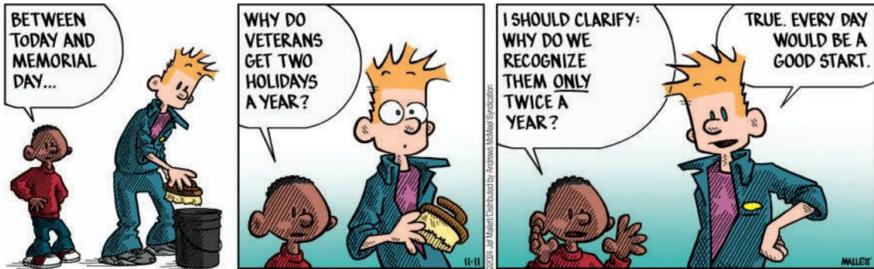
STEENZ

JUDGE PARKER



FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

FRAZZ



JEF MALLET

CANDORVILLE



DARRIN BELL

GARFIELD



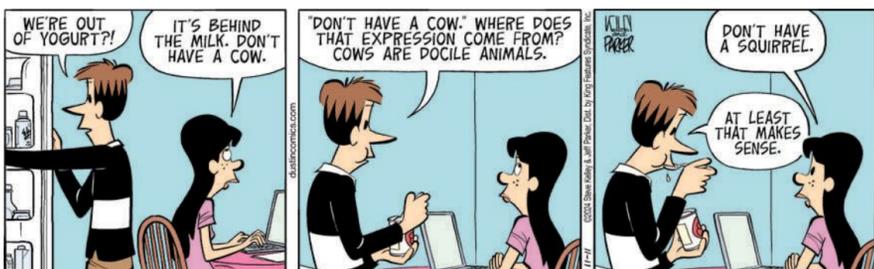
JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE



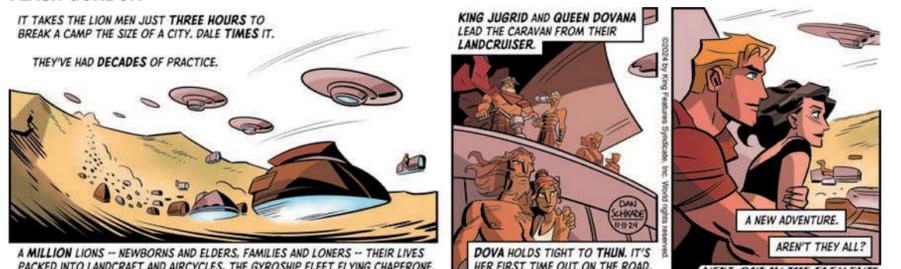
WEINGARTENS & CLARK

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



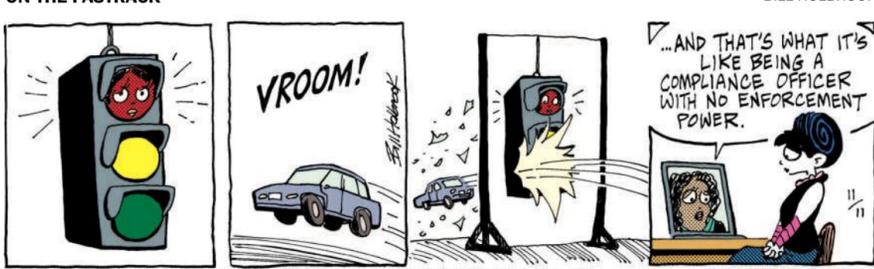
LINCOLN PEIRCE

SPEED BUMP



DAVE COVERLY DENNIS THE MENACE H. KETCHAM

ON THE FASTTRACK



BILL HOLBROOK

FAMILY CIRCUS



BIL KEANE REPLY ALL LITE DONNA A. LEWIS

BEEBLE BAILEY



GREG, BRIAN & NEAL WALKER

The Washington Post  
SPORTS

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 2024

SU

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Giants	17	Patriots	19	Bills	30	Vikings	12	Broncos	14	Falcons	17	49ers	23	Titans	17	Jets	6	Eagles	34	Lions	26	Dolphins	8:15 p.m.
Panthers	20	Bears	3	Colts	20	Jaguars	7	Chiefs	16	Saints	20	Buccaneers	20	Chargers	27	Cardinals	31	Cowboys	6	Texans	23	Rams	ESPN



DANIEL KUCIN JR./ASSOCIATED PRESS

# A jumpy performance

*When a loss stings, it can mean only one thing: The standard has changed*



Barry Svrluga

It's to the point in Washington where, when the offense gets the ball with 2:16 remaining, down by one, the crowd at Northwest Stadium fills with some mix of optimism and anticipation. It's also to this point, all of 10 games into Jayden Daniels's career: There are no moral victories. Not with a 28-27 loss to the Pittsburgh Steelers the most recent data point in this

rebuild. And not when a Thursday date with the Philadelphia Eagles awaits, first place in the NFC East at stake. "You can hear how quiet it is in here," wide receiver Terry McLaurin said. "That's not how we wanted to finish that game."

The standard has changed. The Commanders' locker room afterward murmured its disappointment, which was palpable. It's midseason, and NFC East showdowns against Philadelphia and Dallas — four

SEE SVRLUGA ON D6

## STEELERS 28, COMMANDERS 27:

Pittsburgh quarterback Russell Wilson is ecstatic and Washington defensive lineman Johnny Newton, left, is stunned after the rookie jumped offside on a late fourth-down play, allowing the Steelers to secure the win. The Commanders lost the lead a few minutes earlier on Mike Williams's 32-yard touchdown catch.

## Commanders at Eagles

Thursday, 8:15 p.m., Prime Video, WTTG-5  
Inside: The Chiefs pull another one out of the fire, and the Eagles keep rolling. D3-5

Mistakes by Commanders add up as late lead disappears vs. Steelers

BY NICKI JHABVALA

Benjamin St-Juste sat facing his locker, his head in his hands as the rest of the room dispersed and the magnitude of the loss sank in. A crowd of reporters started to form around him as he regrouped, slipped on his leather jacket and, eventually, turned to face the cameras.

He knew what was coming. "Sometimes I get caught up in trying to make the play so much that I try to guard everything," the Washington Commanders corner-

back said somberly. "In these situations, you've got to pick and choose and you've got to pick the right option."

The Commanders held a six-point lead over the Pittsburgh Steelers with roughly 2½ minutes left in the fourth quarter when quarterback Russell Wilson threw a fade to wide receiver Mike Williams, the former New York Jet who arrived in Pittsburgh via a trade last week. St-Juste lined up 10 yards away from the wideout, then watched from behind as

SEE COMMANDERS ON D7

## Terps reignite an old rivalry with a banner win over Duke

MARYLAND 85, DUKE 80

BY KAREEM COPELAND

Late in the fourth quarter, Maryland guard Bri McDaniel put her head down and drove along the baseline. She went up between two defenders and squeezed through contact to finish the layup while being fouled. In a flash, she turned toward the bench, fists clenched, and shouted at her teammates through a menacing grimace.

Her free throw gave the 18th-ranked Terrapins an 11-point lead over No. 11 Duke

with just over five minutes to play Sunday afternoon at Xfinity Center. The Terps were in control from there, never trailing in an 85-80 victory that delivered an early-season statement.

"I wish I could say I'm surprised, but I'm not," senior guard Shyanne Sellers said. "[This is] one of the most real groups I've ever been a part of in my four years here. It's just amazing. We've bought in to the process. We've bought in to each other. I don't think many people would be able to pull this off with 10 new people on their team. We

SEE MARYLAND ON D2

Maryland at Syracuse  
Wednesday, 7 p.m., ACC Network

## McKeown is best woman in Spirit's playoff victory

SPIRIT 2, BAY FC 1 (ET)

BY THOMAS FLOYD

The Washington Spirit was down a goal and on the brink of an early playoff exit Sunday afternoon at Audi Field when the totality of Tara McKeown's soccer tool kit unlocked the Bay FC defense.

McKeown the sturdy center back began the sequence with a dash of defense, stepping up to beat Bay FC forward Asisat Oshola to a loose ball in midfield. Next, McKeown the former winger embarked on a slaloming run toward the goal. Lastly, McKeown the prolific collegiate striker drilled a low shot that nestled in the side netting.

Audi Field erupted. Yellow  
SEE SPIRIT ON D8



HANNAH FOSLIEN/IMAGN IMAGES

Tara McKeown, who skipped her sister's wedding, is swarmed after her tying goal in the 86th minute.

### ON FOOTBALL

A shocking finish vs. rival BYU left Utah's athletic director beside himself. D8

### PRO BASKETBALL

Bilal Coulibaly is a bright spot again as the Wizards suffer a loss in Orlando. D9

NWSL semifinal:  
Gotham FC at Spirit  
Saturday, noon, CBS

# THE DAY IN SPORTS

## BASEBALL

### McCullough set to join Marlins as manager

The Miami Marlins are hiring former Los Angeles Dodgers first base coach **Clayton McCullough** as their next manager, a person with knowledge of the hiring told the Associated Press.

The person spoke on the condition of anonymity because the agreement hadn't been announced. ESPN first reported the hiring.

McCullough, 44, was hired by the Dodgers in 2015 as their minor league field coordinator and had been the first base coach on **Dave Roberts's** staff since the 2021 season.

## PRO BASKETBALL

### Tatum leads Celtics past struggling Bucks

**Jayson Tatum** had 31 points, 12 rebounds and six assists and the visiting Boston Celtics rallied in the second half to beat the slumping Milwaukee Bucks, 113-107, on Sunday afternoon.

Tatum put the Celtics ahead for good by hitting two free throws with 5:51 left as Boston erased a nine-point halftime deficit.

**Giannis Antetokounmpo** scored a season-high 43 points for the Bucks, who have lost eight of nine. Antetokounmpo also had 13 rebounds and five assists.

## COLLEGE BASKETBALL

### No. 1 South Carolina beats No. 9 N.C. State

**Te-Hina Paopao** scored 23 points, **MiLaysia Fulwiley** chipped in with 18 points off the bench and the No. 1 South Carolina women's team passed its first big test of the season with a 71-57 victory over ninth-ranked North Carolina State in the Ally Tipoff at Charlotte's Spectrum Center.

**Zamareya Jones** had 16 points and **Aziaha James** added 13 points to lead the Wolfpack (1-1). ...

In other women's action, Georgetown lost to Wisconsin, 79-61, in Madison, Wisconsin; Virginia Tech fell to Iowa, 71-52, in the Ally Tipoff in Charlotte; Virginia Commonwealth topped Howard, 72-48, at Burr Gymnasium; and James Madison defeated East Carolina, 57-51, in Harrisonburg, Virginia. ...

**Colin Smalls's** 16 points helped the American University men defeat Harvard, 67-55, at Bender Arena.

Smalls added five rebounds for the Eagles (1-1). **Geoff Sprouse** scored 15 points, shooting 5 for 8, including 4 for 7 from beyond the arc. **Greg Jones** had 11 points and shot 3 of 6 from the field, including 2 for 4 from three-point range, and went 3 for 4 from the line.

## SOCCER

### D.C. United adds Farr to its goalkeeper corps

D.C. United began rebuilding its goalkeeping corps by acquiring **Jordan Farr**, a seven-year veteran of the U.S. second division, people familiar with the deal said.

Farr, 30, completed his first season with the Tampa Bay Rowdies on Sunday, playing 90 minutes in a 2-1 defeat to the Charleston Battery in the USL Championship playoffs.

With United expected to pursue a goalkeeper with first-tier credentials this winter, Farr is almost certain to arrive at training camp as a backup. He is slated to sign a two-year contract with a one-year club option, one person said.

## SPOTLIGHT: NASCAR



MEG OLIPHANT/GETTY IMAGES

Team Penske's Joey Logano did a postrace burnout. "I don't know if I'm the best driver," he said, "but I've got the best team."

## Logano claims third title with Phoenix victory

BY JENNA FRYER

AVONDALE, ARIZ. — Joey Logano won his third NASCAR Cup Series championship Sunday with a relentless drive at Phoenix Raceway that gave Team Penske its third major motorsports title in less than a month.

Logano held off Penske teammate Ryan Blaney over the final 20 laps to beat him to the title by 0.330 seconds. Blaney was trying to become the first back-to-back champion since Jimmie Johnson won five straight from 2006 to 2010.

Instead, Logano became the 10th driver in NASCAR history to win three or more championships and broke a tie with Kyle Busch as the only active drivers with multiple titles.

"I love the playoffs. I love it, man," Logano said. "What a team, what a Penske battle there at the end. Three of them? That's truly special."

It was the first time in Team Penske history the organization finished one-two in the championship. And it came

after Roger Penske's sports car team in IMSA won the title last month and his World Endurance Championship team won the title last weekend.

"At least a Penske car won it," Blaney said.

It also gave Penske and Ford three consecutive Cup Series championships. Logano won in 2022, and Blaney won last year.

"One-two for Team Penske, three championships in a row, can't be more proud of this team," Logano said. "I don't know if I'm the best driver, but I've got the best team. And together we're very well-rounded and can show up when it matters the most."

The finale was winner-take-all to the highest finisher between Logano, Blaney, William Byron in a Chevrolet for Hendrick Motorsports and Tyler Reddick of the 23XI Racing team owned by NBA Hall of Famer Michael Jordan and three-time Daytona 500 winner Denny Hamlin.

Byron finished third in the race, and Reddick was sixth.

Logano, a 34-year-old Connecticut native, led 107 laps in the dominating win that Blaney made closer than expected in the final laps.

But his very presence in the final four was controversial. He was eliminated from the playoff after the second round only to be reinstated when Alex Bowman of Hendrick Motorsports failed postrace inspection at Charlotte Motor Speedway.

Logano was put back in the field of eight and won at Las Vegas Motor Speedway the next week to become the first driver locked into the championship race. It gave his No. 22 team three weeks to prepare for Phoenix.

"Our team is better under pressure," Logano said. "The race started in Vegas for us. The amount of work and effort that went into building this racecar right here, the amount of time, I don't think anyone works harder than us. We were up at 6 in the morning this morning going over stuff. The guys just want it bad, and I'm glad we delivered."

— Associated Press

## TELEVISION AND RADIO

<b>NFL</b>	
8:15 p.m.	<b>Miami at Los Angeles Rams</b> » ESPN
<b>NBA</b>	
8 p.m.	<b>Washington at Houston</b> » Monumental Sports Network, WFED (1500 AM)
8 p.m.	<b>Los Angeles Clippers at Oklahoma City</b> » NBA TV
<b>NHL</b>	
8 p.m.	<b>Hockey Hall of Fame induction ceremony</b> » NHL Network
<b>MEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL</b>	
6 p.m.	<b>Youngstown State at Ohio State</b> » Big Ten Network
7 p.m.	<b>Florida A&amp;M at Maryland</b> » Big Ten Plus, WTEM (980 AM)
7 p.m.	<b>Winthrop at Virginia Tech</b> » ESPN Plus, WJFK (106.7 FM)
7 p.m.	<b>Coppin State at Virginia</b> » ESPN Plus, WSBK (630 AM)
7 p.m.	<b>McNeese State at Alabama</b> » SEC Network

7 p.m.	<b>Western Michigan at Butler</b> » Fox Sports 1
8 p.m.	<b>Yale at Purdue</b> » Big Ten Network
9 p.m.	<b>Central Michigan at Marquette</b> » Fox Sports 1
9 p.m.	<b>Mercer at DePaul</b> » Fox Sports 2
10 p.m.	<b>Boston University at UCLA</b> » Big Ten Network

## WOMEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL

7 p.m.	<b>Jacksonville at Miami</b> » ACC Network
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## TENNIS

5:30 a.m.	<b>ATP Finals, round robin</b> » Tennis Channel
8 a.m.	<b>ATP Finals, round robin</b> » Tennis Channel
Noon	<b>ATP Finals, round robin</b> » Tennis Channel
2:30 p.m.	<b>ATP Finals, round robin</b> » Tennis Channel

## COLLEGE GOLF

2:30 p.m.	<b>Showcase at Cedar Crest, first round</b> » Golf Channel
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United would pay a transfer fee to the Rowdies, should Farr meet performance thresholds, one person said.

— Steven Goff

Arsenal's English Premier League title challenge took another hit after a 1-1 draw with Chelsea at Stamford Bridge.

It's now four games without a win in the league for **Mikel Arteta's** team, which is nine points behind leader Liverpool.

**Ruben Amorim**, Manchester United's incoming head coach, will take over a team on the up after a 3-0 home win against Leicester made it four games unbeaten in all competitions under interim boss **Ruud van Nistelrooy**.

Nottingham Forest's rise has been one of the stories of the season, but it missed the chance to close the gap on Manchester City in second after falling, 3-1, to visiting Newcastle.

Ipswich won for the first time in the league this season with a 2-1 victory at Tottenham that saw it climb out of the relegation zone.

## TENNIS

### Fritz vexes Medvedev in ATP Finals opener

U.S. Open finalist **Taylor Fritz** frustrated **Daniil Medvedev** to the point that the Russian smashed his racket and was docked a point in a 6-4, 6-3 victory for the American in the opening match of the ATP Finals in Turin, Italy.

Medvedev received two code violations from the chair umpire for his behavior.

Later, top-ranked **Jannik Sinner** delighted his home fans with a 6-3, 6-4 win over finals debutant **Alex de Minaur**.

The other group starts play Monday with **Carlos Alcaraz** facing **Casper Ruud** and **Alexander Zverev** meeting **Andrey Rublev**.

## GOLF

### Eckroat earns second PGA Tour title of 2024

**Austin Eckroat** won the World Wide Technology Championship for his second PGA Tour title of the year, shooting a 9-under-par 63 for a one-stroke victory over **Justin Lower** and **Carson Young**.

Playing in the group ahead of Lower and Young, Eckroat birdied the par-4 17th to open a three-stroke lead over Young, then finished with a bogey on the par-5 18th at **Tiger Woods**-designed El Cardonal at Diamante in Cabo San Lucas, Mexico. ...

**Bernhard Langer** won for the 18th straight year on the PGA Tour Champions, holing a 30-foot birdie putt on the final hole to hold off **Steven Alker** in the season-ending Charles Schwab Cup Championship at Phoenix Country Club.

The 67-year-old Langer closed with a 5-under 66 — shooting his age or better for the third straight day and the 23rd time on the 50-and-older tour — for a one-stroke victory over defending champion Alker — who won the season points title and a \$1 million bonus — and **Richard Green**.

"It's unbelievable; I can't describe it," Langer said. "To win this big tournament after what I've been through and to make it 18 years in a row out here." ...

**Paul Waring** carded a 6-under 66 to win the DP World Tour's Abu Dhabi Championship for the biggest victory of his career.

The 229th-ranked Englishman was one stroke ahead overnight and finished at 24 under at Yas Links in the United Arab Emirates. He even surprised himself at how smoothly the fourth and final round went.

— From staff reports and news services

# Maryland doesn't trail in victory over Duke as an old basketball rivalry is reborn

## MARYLAND FROM D1

just did a hell of a job in this offseason getting the right people."

The matchup featured old rivals that are in different stages of roster building. The Blue Devils (2-1) were one of the youngest teams in the country last season, but they brought back four starters from a team that advanced to the Sweet 16. They also added the No. 10 recruit in the country, per ESPN, in electric forward Toby Fournier: Before Sunday's game, Fournier's teammates stopped warmups and formed an arc around the freshman, who took off toward the rim and threw down a two-handed dunk as the team went wild. Duke also

has Riley Nelson after Maryland's top recruit from the Class of 2023 transferred in the offseason.

The Terps, on the other hand, have 10 newcomers, including seven transfers, who are still learning how to play together and understand one another's tendencies. In its first two games, Maryland (3-0) looked passive at times as teammates deferred instead of attacking.

That wasn't the case Sunday: The Terps played their best game yet as a unit. Junior guard Kaylene Smikle had a game-high 23 points. Sellers did a little of everything with 17 points, seven rebounds and five assists. Senior forward Christina Dalce dominated the boards with 14 re-

bounds, including seven offensive, and had 12 points. McDaniel had her best game of the young season with 15 points off the bench and sparked the Terps' closing surge.

"Before, I was really pressing everything," McDaniel said. "Today, I just learned you've got to be aggressive — just got to play like how I usually play."

Added Smikle: "We knew coming into this game we had to bring intensity. ... We wanted to give them the first punch, and I feel like we did."

Fournier led the Blue Devils with 15 points and added nine rebounds. Maryland overcame 20 turnovers, including 17 Duke steals, as it struggled with the Blue Devils' full-court press.

Maryland jumped out to a 9-0 lead and never looked back. The Terps' 14 offensive rebounds extended possessions, and they shot 6 for 9 from behind the arc. Each time Duke got within striking distance, Maryland found a way to respond. Duke got within eight midway through the fourth quarter before McDaniel's three-point play started a 7-2 run. That ended the Blue Devils' hopes.

"We came out with a really strong start," Maryland Coach Brenda Frese said. "... You saw the confidence and just fearless [play]. We really felt like rebounding and turnovers were going to be big keys for this game, knowing that they're a really strong defensive team as well. Even when a few players had

some nerves ... they were able to work themselves out of it. This was a game with a lot of adversity, and that response is going to bode well for us."

The game also was an alumni celebration, with the Terps honoring the 2015 Final Four team as well as former star Alyssa Thomas. The 2014-15 season had been the most recent time the former ACC rivals met, with the Terps winning that matchup in the Sweet 16. The new video board also showed highlights of the Terps' win over Duke in the 2006 national title game. Brionna Jones, Crystal Langhorne, Christy Winters-Scott and many others were in attendance.

Duke Coach Kara Lawson said she had been trying to get this

game scheduled for years — not because of the rivalry but because she's an Alexandria native who loves the area and recruits it heavily. There are five players on Duke's roster with ties to the D.C. area, and at one point Lawson paused her postgame news conference to ask for the score of the Washington Commanders' game against the Pittsburgh Steelers.

"Tough game for us," Lawson said. "Their physicality, their experience, their size really was a difference-maker — particularly in the first half. You play these games for a reason. You play them because you want to learn about yourself. You want to have things revealed. These types of games, man, you learn about each player."

# NFL WEEK 10



JULIO AGUILAR/GETTY IMAGES

Christian McCaffrey returned to the 49ers' lineup after he missed the first eight games with an Achilles' injury and showed his trademark versatility, running 13 times for 39 yards and catching six passes for 68.

## These Chiefs do not look not inevitable, and a marvelous 49ers star is back

### On the NFL

ADAM KILGORE

The NFL does not stop surprising you. Six of the nine teams that entered Week 10 with two victories were in action Sunday — and three of them won. Marquez Valdes-Scantling, who apparently plays for the Saints now, gained 109 receiving yards and caught two touchdown passes in the first half. Bo Nix came within one outstretched hand of beating Patrick Mahomes. At least the Jets' misery can be counted on. Here is what to know.

#### Chiefs are not invincible

The popular theory about the Kansas City Chiefs is that they are an inevitable team, that Patrick Mahomes and Andy Reid and Steve Spagnuolo will always conjure some type of witchcraft and win, no matter what. The less-discussed possibility is that they are a better, more functional version of last year's Eagles, a juggernaut by record whose close victories are covering up flaws that will bite them in the season's final months.

The Chiefs' vulnerabilities were overshadowed again Sunday, when they found their latest novel path to victory. Kansas City's undefeated season remained alive when Leo Chenal blocked Wil Lutz's chip shot field goal from 35 yards as time expired, preserving the Chiefs' 16-14 victory over the Denver Broncos. The Chiefs improved to 9-0 and, remarkably, notched their ninth consecutive victory when trailing in the second half.

Nobody should apologize for a division victory, especially against a defense as frisky as Denver's. Still, the exhilaration of Kansas City's victory does not erase a crucial truth: If the Chiefs want to win a third consecutive Super Bowl, they need to play better. The Chiefs' magic dust will run out at some point, even if it's supplied by Taylor Swift.

The most important area the Chiefs need to improve is explosive plays. The Chiefs lead the NFL in converting third downs (52 percent) and rank third on fourth down (88 percent).

As brilliant as Mahomes and Reid are together in those situations, it's not sustainable to build an offense around those conversions. As good as they are at controlling games with efficient offense and great defense, the Chiefs need more easy points.

Coming off a Monday night victory in which he tweaked his ankle, Mahomes was not quite himself. He squandered two



GRACE HOLLARS/IMAGN IMAGES

The brilliant play of quarterback Josh Allen has Buffalo at 8-2 after a tumultuous offseason. But its wins have been mostly over bad teams.

potential touchdowns with misfires to wide-open receivers — one deep ball to Xavier Worthy thrown well out of bounds and one goal-line throw over Travis Kelce's head in the back of the end zone.

#### McCaffrey is (finally) back

Ten weeks after the San Francisco 49ers revealed running back Christian McCaffrey had an Achilles' injury, their best player made his season debut. McCaffrey was not quite the fullest version of himself, but he helped the 49ers hang on for a crucial 23-20 victory over the Tampa Bay Buccaneers.

McCaffrey ran 13 times for 39 yards and caught six passes for 68 yards, playing a full complement of snaps despite the high-80s Tampa heat. He walked back to the huddle with a slight limp after several runs and was not as explosive as usual — his longest run was 13 yards. But he also made a crucial, 30-yard catch after Brock Purdy's looping pass down the right sideline on a wheel route, the pattern McCaffrey should own a patent on.

The most pressing question for McCaffrey might be whether he can kick field goals. Jake Moody missed three field goals Sunday,

turning a game the 49ers could have dominated into a nail-biter. He also made three, including the 44-yard game-winner that scraped paint off the inside of the right upright.

The 49ers survived one of the plays of the NFL season. With less than two minutes left, on a fourth and seven the Bucs needed to keep the game alive, Baker Mayfield rolled to his right and stiff-armed monstrous pass rusher Nick Bosa, who grabbed his left arm. Mayfield stayed upright with Bosa clinging to him for about five yards, then chucked a first-down pass to running back Rachaad White. The drive ended in a game-tying field goal, another reminder of Mayfield's grit.

#### Bills have more to prove

Through their opening 10 games, the Buffalo Bills have proved that having Josh Allen at quarterback means there is no such thing as a reset season. Buffalo pared its future financial commitments as it discarded veterans this offseason, leading to an inexperienced roster and the second-most salary cap dead money in the NFL.

Allen has still carried the Bills to an 8-2 start and an ironclad hold on the AFC East, their latest victory coming with a 30-20,

defense-led demolition of the Colts in Indianapolis.

The Bills have more to prove. They have defeated only one team with a winning record — the 6-4 Cardinals back in Week 1 — while losing to fellow division leaders Baltimore and Houston. Evidence of whether they can compete with the NFL's best will arrive over the next month.

Next Sunday, the Bills play the undefeated Kansas City Chiefs, the unconquerable rival that knocked them out of the playoffs in January.

After a bye, they will host the 49ers, the other reigning conference champion, followed by road games against the Los Angeles Rams and Detroit Lions.

#### Bears' offense is a disaster

Through little fault of his own, Caleb Williams's once-promising rookie season is becoming a lost year. Under offensive coordinator Shane Waldron and Coach Matt Eberflus, the Bears have been a disjointed, disorganized mess all year. Williams has shown little progress, but it's tough to blame him given his lack of protection and the dearth of creativity from his scheme. The Bears make everything more difficult for Williams, never easier.

Chicago's low point arrived

with a 19-3 home loss to the New England Patriots, who entered with a 2-7 record. The Bears gained 11 first downs, only two more than the nine sacks they allowed. The Bears have scored 27 points in their past three games combined, and they have not scored a touchdown in 22 drives. They were booed off the field at halftime. The Bears have not created an environment conducive to winning. More troubling, they have failed to create an environment conducive to developing Williams, the first pick in this year's draft.

The Bears, now 4-5, have tumbled out of playoff contention since a three-game winning streak. They have too much talent on both sides of the ball to be this bad. Waldron and Eberflus are logical candidates for an in-season firing.

#### Darnold spews interceptions

The Vikings almost suffered one of Sunday's upsets for a straightforward reason: Sam Darnold destroyed productive drives with interceptions. The Jacksonville Jaguars picked him off three times, including twice in the end zone. The Vikings still won, 12-7, because their defense smothered fill-in starter Mac Jones and Travon Walker

committed a game-ending personal foul.

Despite the victory, Sunday's performance from Darnold is what Vikings fans have been bracing for since Darnold's hot start at the outset of the season. Darnold couldn't cement himself as a starter earlier in his career primarily because he could not protect the ball. Darnold did not throw multiple interceptions in his first seven games. In his past two, he has thrown five. It's something he and the Vikings need to make sure doesn't become a trend.

#### J-E-T-S are just a M-E-S-S

Had you been told in training camp that the New York Jets would be circling the drain at 3-7, the likeliest explanation would have been a lack of depth. They had stars all over the field on both sides of the ball, but the top-heavy design of their roster was a potential vulnerability. But the Jets are here, near the bottom of the AFC after the Cardinals embarrassed them, 31-6, because most of their alleged stars have been mediocre at best.

Aaron Rodgers has been inconsistent, cranky and incapable of throwing downfield. Since he arrived in a trade, Davante Adams has made no difference. Tyron Smith has shown he is past his prime — and maybe even his post-prime. Breece Hall has surpassed 80 rushing yards in a game once. Cornerback Sauce Gardner's most notable play Sunday came when he hopped on tight end Trey McBride's back for a few yards before McBride shoved him aside and ran for another 15 yards or so.

Gardner's season may be most illustrative of how the Jets' supposed best players have been culprits in a collapse. The Jets could live with subpar tackling from Gardner if he was giving them high-level coverage. He has been average even at his supposedly elite skill. Entering Sunday, Gardner had allowed a 101.4 passer rating when in coverage, according to Pro Football Focus. The site graded him the 58th-best cornerback in the NFL.

The Cardinals deserve credit for another sit-up-and-take-noice performance. They have won four straight to seize the NFC West lead, and Kyler Murray — who completed 22 of 24 passes for 266 yards — is playing more and more efficiently between his spectacular plays.

They could dominate so thoroughly Sunday in part because they played a team whose best players never showed up this season.

NFL WEEK 10

# Hurts accounts for four TDs as Philadelphia routs Dallas

**EAGLES 34, COWBOYS 6**

BY SCHUYLER DIXON

ARLINGTON, TEXAS — Jalen Hurts had just lost a fumble — his second turnover of the first half — that could have put the Philadelphia Eagles behind against a divisional rival.

An inept Dallas Cowboys offense missing quarterback Dak Prescott couldn't do anything with it, and Hurts didn't make another big mistake after that.

Hurts threw two touchdown passes and ran for a pair of scores as Philadelphia rolled to a 34-6 victory over bumbling Dallas on Sunday in the first game since Prescott tore a hamstring.

"Momentum is an illusion in a sense," Hurts said. "Just treat every play like its own."

Hurts shook off five sacks, including two from Micah Parsons in the star pass rusher's return from injury. The second led to the fumble that gave the Cowboys first and goal from the 6 with the Eagles leading 7-3.

After his defense held Dallas to a field goal, Hurts led an 84-yard drive in the final two minutes, capped by his 14-yard touchdown pass to Dallas Goedert, the tight end who missed the previous three games with a hamstring injury.

Philadelphia (7-2) took over first place in the NFC East with its fifth consecutive victory, while the defending division champion Cowboys (3-6) fell to 0-4 at home in a fourth straight loss overall.

Earlier in the half, Hurts threw an interception in the end zone with a chance to take a 14-3 lead.

"Obviously didn't start the way we wanted it to start," Eagles Coach Nick Sirianni said. "But there's something to be said for guys that can rebound and play a really good game after things don't go right early on."

Cooper Rush didn't look anything like the replacement who went 4-1 filling in for Prescott two years ago, finishing the game 13 for 23 for just 45 yards. Rush won the first four games in that 2022 stretch before throwing



GARETH PATTERSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jalen Hurts opened the scoring for the Eagles with a "tush push" touchdown in the first quarter after a Cowboys fumble. Hurts ran for another score and threw for two more.

three interceptions in a loss at Philadelphia.

Picks weren't the problem this time. Just about everything else was.

Rush lost two fumbles among five turnovers for Dallas, and he was replaced briefly by Trey Lance early in the second half and then for good in the fourth quarter as frequent boos cascaded from the crowd. Lance threw an interception.

Prescott won't be back anytime soon, if at all this season. The

Cowboys' franchise quarterback plans to seek one more medical opinion before deciding whether to have season-ending surgery on the hamstring he tore in last week's loss to the Atlanta Falcons. "Understand that you know our quarterback's out," Parsons said. "Things ain't always going to be how you expect it. And it kind of just got to be the light. It's one of them years where, like I say, it's challenging, but we've got to be the light for everybody." The worst offensive showing

for Dallas — just 146 total yards — at AT&T Stadium since it opened in 2009 won't do much to quell talk about the future of Coach Mike McCarthy, who is on an expiring contract.

"Yes, I believe that," Cowboys owner Jerry Jones said when asked whether he will stick with McCarthy through the season. "I don't believe we'll make a coaching change during the season."

Hurts had plenty of time to settle in after his two turnovers. He was 14-for-20 passing for 202

yards with 56 yards rushing before getting replaced by Kenny Pickett with the Eagles leading 31-6 in the fourth quarter.

Hurts opened the scoring with a "tush push" touchdown after Rush dropped a snap and lost the fumble at the Dallas 17. Hurts had an eight-yard run to go with the toss to Goedert and a five-yarder to Johnny Wilson.

One of the Cowboys' four lost fumbles was into the Philadelphia end zone by Ezekiel Elliott when Dallas had a chance to take

a lead in the second quarter. Elliott was back in the lineup after missing the trip to Atlanta because he was late for meetings.

The five takeaways for the Eagles, led by two forced fumbles and a recovery by linebacker Zack Baun, were their most in two years.

"I just thought that they played fast, they started fast," Sirianni said. "They played great throughout the entire game. I love when we tackle well."

— Associated Press

**STANDINGS**

NFC											
EAST											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Philadelphia	7	2	0	.778	233	161	3-1-0	4-1-0	3-0-0	4-2-0	2-0-0
Washington	7	3	0	.700	290	217	4-1-0	3-2-0	2-2-0	5-1-0	2-0-0
Dallas	3	6	0	.333	177	259	0-4-0	3-2-0	2-1-0	1-5-0	1-1-0
N.Y. Giants	2	8	0	.200	156	222	0-5-0	2-3-0	1-2-0	1-6-0	0-4-0
SOUTH											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Atlanta	6	4	0	.600	238	236	3-3-0	3-1-0	0-2-0	6-2-0	4-1-0
Tampa Bay	4	6	0	.400	279	266	2-4-0	2-2-0	0-3-0	4-3-0	1-2-0
Carolina	3	7	0	.300	167	310	2-3-0	1-4-0	1-3-0	2-4-0	1-2-0
New Orleans	3	7	0	.300	227	246	2-3-0	1-4-0	0-3-0	3-4-0	2-3-0
NORTH											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Detroit	8	1	0	.888	284	171	3-1-0	5-0-0	2-0-0	6-1-0	2-0-0
Minnesota	7	2	0	.778	221	157	4-1-0	3-1-0	4-0-0	3-2-0	1-1-0
Green Bay	6	3	0	.667	230	194	3-2-0	3-1-0	4-0-0	2-3-0	0-2-0
Chicago	4	5	0	.444	175	167	4-1-0	0-4-0	2-3-0	2-2-0	0-0-0
WEST											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Arizona	6	4	0	.600	238	220	4-2-0	2-2-0	3-1-0	3-3-0	2-0-0
San Francisco	5	4	0	.556	233	202	3-2-0	2-2-0	2-1-0	3-3-0	1-2-0
L.A. Rams	4	4	0	.500	170	194	3-1-0	1-3-0	1-0-0	3-4-0	2-1-0
Seattle	4	5	0	.444	210	221	2-4-0	2-1-0	3-1-0	1-4-0	0-2-0
AFC											
EAST											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Buffalo	8	2	0	.800	290	193	4-0-0	4-2-0	6-2-0	2-0-0	3-0-0
N.Y. Jets	3	7	0	.300	177	214	2-2-0	1-5-0	3-4-0	0-3-0	1-2-0
New England	3	7	0	.300	160	220	1-3-0	2-4-0	2-5-0	1-2-0	1-2-0
Miami	2	6	0	.250	124	187	1-3-0	1-3-0	2-4-0	0-2-0	1-2-0
SOUTH											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Houston	6	4	0	.600	224	226	4-1-0	2-3-0	5-1-0	1-3-0	3-0-0
Indianapolis	4	6	0	.400	208	223	3-2-0	1-4-0	3-4-0	1-2-0	1-3-0
Tennessee	2	7	0	.222	157	240	1-3-0	1-4-0	2-4-0	0-3-0	0-1-0
Jacksonville	2	8	0	.200	202	264	2-3-0	0-5-0	2-4-0	0-4-0	1-1-0
NORTH											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Pittsburgh	7	2	0	.778	215	146	3-1-0	4-1-0	4-1-0	3-1-0	0-0-0
Baltimore	7	3	0	.700	318	253	4-1-0	3-2-0	4-3-0	3-0-0	2-1-0
Cincinnati	4	6	0	.400	270	262	1-4-0	3-2-0	2-4-0	2-2-0	1-2-0
Cleveland	2	7	0	.222	148	213	1-4-0	1-3-0	2-3-0	0-4-0	1-1-0
WEST											
	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV
Kansas City	9	0	0	1.000	219	161	5-0-0	4-0-0	5-0-0	4-0-0	3-0-0
L.A. Chargers	6	3	0	.667	186	118	3-1-0	3-2-0	4-2-0	2-1-0	2-1-0
Denver	5	5	0	.500	197	177	2-2-0	3-3-0	2-4-0	3-1-0	1-2-0
Las Vegas	2	7	0	.222	168	251	1-3-0	1-4-0	2-5-0	0-2-0	0-3-0

**Thursday's result**

at Baltimore 35, Cincinnati 34

**Sunday's results**

Pittsburgh 28, at Washington 27  
 Carolina 20, N.Y. Giants 17 (OT) in Munich  
 Buffalo 30, at Indianapolis 20  
 at Kansas City 16, Denver 14  
 Minnesota 12, at Jacksonville 7  
 New England 19, at Chicago 3  
 at New Orleans 20, Atlanta 17  
 San Francisco 23, at Tampa Bay 20  
 at L.A. Chargers 27, Tennessee 17  
 at Arizona 31, N.Y. Jets 6  
 Philadelphia 34, at Dallas 6  
 Detroit 26, at Houston 23  
 Open: Cleveland, Las Vegas, Green Bay, Seattle

**Monday's game**

Miami at L.A. Rams, 8:15 p.m.

**Thursday's game**

Washington at Philadelphia, 8:15 p.m.

**Sunday's game**

Baltimore at Pittsburgh, 1 p.m.  
 Cleveland at New Orleans, 1 p.m.  
 Green Bay at Chicago, 1 p.m.  
 Indianapolis at Detroit, 1 p.m.  
 L.A. Rams at New England, 1 p.m.  
 Las Vegas at Miami, 1 p.m.  
 Minnesota at Tennessee, 1 p.m.  
 Indianapolis at N.Y. Jets, 1 p.m.  
 Cincinnati at L.A. Chargers, 8:20 p.m.  
 Seattle at San Francisco, 4:05 p.m.  
 Kansas City at Buffalo, 4:25 p.m.  
 Cincinnati at L.A. Chargers, 8:20 p.m.  
 Open: Arizona, Carolina, N.Y. Giants, Tampa Bay

**Next Monday's game**

Houston at Dallas, 8:15 p.m.

# After early misses, Moody wins it for San Francisco

**49ERS 23, BUCCANEERS 20**

BY FRED GOODALL

TAMPA — Jake Moody said his confidence never wavered. Not even after a frustrated teammate confronted him on the sideline.

The usually reliable San Francisco 49ers kicker made up for missing three earlier field goals by booting a 44-yarder as time expired Sunday to deliver a 23-20 victory over the Tampa Bay Buccaneers in running back Christian McCaffrey's season debut.

"I really, really wanted a chance to redeem myself," said Moody, who also kicked field goals of 28 and 33 yards in his first game back after being sidelined for three weeks with a sprained ankle.

"I felt really confident, really good going that direction. It was the same exact spot as the previous one," he added. "I saw what happened with the previous one and was able to make an adjustment."

Moody, who was 13 for 14 entering Sunday, delivered the winner after missing wide left from 49 and 50 yards and then wide right on a 44-yard attempt that would have given San Francisco a six-point lead with just over three minutes remaining.

TV cameras caught a frustrated Deebo Samuel exchanging words and appearing to shove long snapper Taybor Pepper when the star wide receiver approached Moody on the sideline after the third miss.

Moody shrugged off the sideline incident.

"It's an emotional game. Stuff like that happens all the time," Moody said, adding he was not looking for an apology from Samuel. "You just move past it. We won, so that's all that matters."

"Like I said, heat of the moment, it happens. I do have to make those kicks at the end of the day. That's all I'm focused on."

Coach Kyle Shanahan, whose 49ers (5-4) have won consecutive games for the first time this season, said he didn't see what happened.

"Guys are frustrated; something probably happened. ... Brothers scuffle a little bit. I



NATHAN RAY SEEBECK/MAGN IMAGES

Ricky Pearsall, who missed six games after being shot in the chest, scored his first NFL touchdown.

didn't see any of it, so I don't know how bad it was," Shanahan said. "It's something I'm not too worried about. We'll fix it, if it hasn't been fixed already. We'll fix it on the plane and go back to loving each other [Monday]."

McCaffrey returned to practice last Monday after being sidelined since early September because of Achilles' tendinitis. He carried for six yards on the first play and finished with 39 yards on 13 attempts. The 2023 Associated Press offensive player of the year also had six receptions for 68 yards.

Baker Mayfield led a drive to set up a tying field goal for Tampa Bay (4-6) with help from four defensive penalties — setting the stage for Moody to win it for San Francisco. Mayfield finished 18-for-29 passing for 116 yards and a touchdown for the Buccaneers, who have dropped four in a row.

It was the second straight week Tampa Bay lost on the final play of the game. The Buccaneers forced overtime against the Kansas City Chiefs last week, then

lost when Patrick Mahomes led the two-time defending Super Bowl champions to a touchdown on the first possession of the extra period.

"We have to finish ballgames," Tampa Bay Coach Todd Bowles said. "There's nothing wrong with how hard we're playing and how tough we're playing, but we have to finish games. ... We're making too many mistakes at the end."

San Francisco quarterback Brock Purdy passed for 353 yards without a turnover. He had touchdown passes of 46 yards to rookie Ricky Pearsall — the wide receiver's first NFL score — and 11 yards to George Kittle. He moved his team into position for the winning field goal with two completions to Jauan Jennings and two more to Pearsall.

Pearsall sat out the first six games after being shot in the chest following an autograph session in downtown San Francisco on Aug. 31. On his touchdown, he caught a pass over the middle and accelerated toward the left sideline, where he outran

the pursuit until safety Antoine Winfield Jr. closed in and nearly brought him down as the wide-out extended the ball over the goal line.

The Buccaneers wiped out a 10-0 deficit with help from 49ers punt returner Jacob Cowing, whose third-quarter muff was recovered at San Francisco's 21 to set up Tampa Bay's first touchdown. Four plays later, Mayfield threw a nine-yard scoring pass to Rachaad White that made it 10-10.

Rookie Bucky Irving found the end zone from 12 yards out to put the Buccaneers ahead 17-13 early in the fourth quarter. Purdy answered with his touchdown throw to Kittle to put the 49ers back in front with just over seven minutes left.

"They are a good team that's lost some games, some close ones, and it was a day before their bye week, so we knew we were going to get their best shot," Shanahan said. "We had some opportunities to run away with it. We didn't. That was on us."

— Associated Press

# NFL WEEK 10

## ROUNDUP



MIKE CARLSON/GETTY IMAGES

**Camryn Bynum's late interception helped negate three picks by Vikings quarterback Sam Darnold.**

## No TDs, three turnovers and one win for Vikings

The only remotely close part of this matchup was the final score. The Minnesota Vikings overcame Sam Darnold's three interceptions to beat the Jacksonville Jaguars, 12-7, on Sunday at a mostly purple-clad stadium in Florida. "Those are the types of games that good teams find a way to win, regardless of what it looks like all day," Minnesota Coach Kevin O'Connell said. "And I'm proud of that, but absolutely a lot of things we need to correct and fix."

It was an ugly game for the Vikings (7-2) — the first team to win a game with zero touchdowns and three turnovers since 2006 — that felt about as lopsided as any blowout in the league this season. Minnesota had huge advantages in total plays (82 to 43), yards (402 to 143) and first downs (28 to 10) and possessed the ball for 42 minutes 19 seconds.

But Darnold essentially tried to hand the game to Jacksonville (2-8). It was his first three-interception game in three years. He threw a fourth that was negated by a penalty.

All three came while targeting star wide receiver Justin Jefferson, who finished with five catches for 48 yards, and two happened in the red zone.

"I got to do a lot better job to take care of football," Darnold said. "I think that's obvious."

The Vikings finished with three field goals in the five trips inside the 20-yard line. They took the lead on the third of John Parker Romo's four field goals. The 27-year-old hit from 29, 34, 33 and 45 yards in his NFL debut.

The Jaguars had a chance late thanks to Travon Walker's sack on a third-and-one play, an odd call against a team that was doing nothing offensively.

Mac Jones, filling in for the injured Trevor Lawrence (nonthrowing shoulder) and making his first start in nearly a year, was mostly ineffective. Still, he had Jacksonville on the move down the stretch and got help from a face-mask penalty against linebacker Blake Cashman.

But Jones was picked off — his third turnover of the fourth quarter — by Camryn Bynum with 1:49 left to end the rally.

"The easy stuff just wasn't good enough by me," Jones said.

## Chiefs stay undefeated by blocking field goal

Leo Chenal was part of a red wave that crashed through the center of the Denver Broncos field goal unit, and the Chiefs linebacker got his hand on Wil Lutz's 35-yard attempt as time expired, allowing the home team to escape with a 16-14 victory in Kansas City, Mo.

After the Chiefs (9-0) took the lead on Butker's field goal with 5:57 remaining, Bo Nix and Denver (5-5) converted a trio of third downs while marching right back down the field. They proceeded to set up Lutz for the winner, but Chenal came up the middle amid a big push by the defensive line to get his hand on the kick.

Mahomes threw for 266 yards and a touchdown for Kansas City, which became only the fifth Super Bowl champion to win its first nine games the next season. That also matches the best start to a season in franchise history, and the Chiefs' 15-game winning streak dating back to last season is the longest in the NFL since the

Green Bay Packers won 19 in a row from 2010 to 2011.

Nix finished with 215 yards passing and two touchdowns for the Broncos, who were trying to win two straight against Kansas City for the first time since the Peyton Manning era.

## Flacco's four turnovers sink Colts against Bills

Taron Johnson picked off Joe Flacco's first pass and returned it 23 yards for a touchdown and Josh Allen and James Cook each ran for scores as the Buffalo Bills beat the Indianapolis Colts, 30-20, for their fifth straight win.

AFC East-leading Buffalo (8-2) has topped 30 points in four straight games and is off to its best start since 1993. The Bills earned their first win at Indianapolis (4-6) since 1998 thanks in large part to their defense, which logged four sacks, picked off Flacco three times and recovered a fumble by the veteran quarterback.

With a depleted receiving core, Allen was 23 for 37 for 280 yards with two interceptions. He also had eight carries for 50 yards and his 57th career rushing score, tying the late O.J. Simpson for No. 2 in franchise history. Cook had 19 carries for 80 yards.

Meanwhile, Buffalo's defense forced the 39-year-old Flacco into multiple mistakes and negated Jonathan Taylor in the second half after he rushed for more than 100 yards before halftime.

## Five straight scores lift Cardinals to rout of Jets

Kyler Murray threw for 266 yards and a touchdown and also ran for two scores, and the Arizona Cardinals won their fourth straight game by racing to a big lead and easily handling the New York Jets, 31-6, in Glendale, Arizona.

Arizona (6-4) scored on its first five drives and never trailed. The Cardinals went into halftime ahead 24-6 with a 239-85 edge in total yards.

Murray completed 22 of 24 passes — including a franchise-record 17 in a row at one point — and hit Marvin Harrison Jr. for a nine-yard touchdown. The Arizona quarterback also ran for 21 yards.

New York (3-7) has lost six of seven, failing to build off the momentum of last week's win over the Houston Texans. Aaron Rodgers was 22 for 35 for 151 yards and lost a fumble.

## Saints snap their skid in first game with Rizzi

Marquez Valdes-Scantling caught three passes for 109 yards and two touchdowns in his second game for the New Orleans Saints, who began Darren Rizzi's tenure as interim coach by snapping a seven-game skid with a 20-17 home victory over the Atlanta Falcons.

The 54-year-old Rizzi, New Orleans' special teams coordinator, was given his first head coaching opportunity after the firing of third-year coach Dennis Allen. His triumphant debut came against not only the NFC South's first-place team, but the Saints' oldest regional rival.

Tyrann Mathieu thwarted a promising Atlanta drive with an interception of Kirk Cousins at the New Orleans 38 with two minutes to go.

The Falcons (6-4) got the ball

back after Alvin Kamara — who had 109 yards from scrimmage and became the Saints' all-time rushing leader — stunningly dropped Derek Carr's third-down pass. But a strip-sack by Chase Young helped seal the win for New Orleans (3-7).

## Herbert and defense carry Chargers again

Justin Herbert threw and ran for a touchdown as the Los Angeles Chargers won their third straight game, pulling away in the second half to beat the Tennessee Titans, 27-17, in Inglewood, California.

Los Angeles (6-3) has won four of five and is the fourth team since 1990 — and the first since the 2013 Chiefs — to allow 20 or fewer points in each of its first nine games.

Tennessee (2-7) came in with the NFL's top-ranked defense but let the Chargers score on five of their first seven possessions. Herbert completed 14 of 18 passes for 164 yards and had 32 yards rushing.

Calvin Ridley had five catches for 84 yards and both of the Titans' touchdowns. Will Levis, who missed the past three games with a shoulder injury, was 18 for 23 for 175 yards but was sacked seven times.

## Williams, Bears have no answers for Patriots

Drake Maye got the better of Caleb Williams in a matchup between top rookie quarterbacks, and the New England Patriots won at the struggling Chicago Bears, 19-3.

Maye didn't exactly light it up, completing 15 of 25 passes for 184 yards with a touchdown and an interception. But the No. 3 overall pick led five scoring drives, and his defense sacked Williams a season-high nine times, helping New England (3-7) come away with the victory after it lost seven of eight.

Williams, the top pick, struggled in his third straight game — all losses. The 2022 Heisman Trophy winner out of Southern California was 16 for 30 for 120 yards as Chicago (4-5) saw its eight-game winning streak at Soldier Field end.

The Bears managed just 142 yards and were 1 for 14 on third downs against a team that came in tied with six others for the worst record in the NFL. It got so bad that fans started calling for Coach Matt Eberflus's dismissal in the closing minutes, chanting "Fire Flus!"

## Pineiro gives Panthers OT victory in Germany

Eddy Pineiro kicked a 36-yard field goal in overtime, and the Carolina Panthers made it back-to-back wins for the first time since 2022, beating the New York Giants, 20-17, in Munich.

New York (2-8) rallied for a 17-7 deficit in the fourth quarter and tied the score on Graham Gano's 42-yard field goal with five seconds remaining. On the first play of overtime, Giants running back Tyrone Tracy fumbled and Josey Jewell recovered at the 23 for Carolina (3-7).

Bryce Young was 15 for 25 for 126 yards and a touchdown pass to Ja'Tavion Sanders. The No. 1 overall pick in 2023 now has won consecutive games for the first time in his brief NFL career.

— From news services

## SCOREBOARD

### Panthers 20, Giants 17 (OT)

**N.Y. GIANTS** ..... 0 0 7 10 0 —17  
**CAROLINA** ..... 7 3 7 0 3 —20

**FIRST QUARTER**  
Carolina: J.Sanders 5 pass from Young (Pineiro kick), 7:48.

**SECOND QUARTER**  
Carolina: FG Pineiro 53, 14:55.

**THIRD QUARTER**  
N.Y. Giants: Tracy 32 run (Gano kick), 8:54.  
Carolina: Chu.Hubbard 1 run (Pineiro kick), 3:33.

**FOURTH QUARTER**  
N.Y. Giants: Jones 2 run (Gano kick), 8:33.  
N.Y. Giants: FG Gano 42, :05.

**FIRST OVERTIME**  
Carolina: FG Pineiro 36, 7:53.  
Attendance: 70,132.

	NYG	CAR
First Downs	24	15
Total Net Yards	342	306
Rushes-Yards	34-167	32-188
Passing	175	118
Punt Returns	3-17	3-19
Kickoff Returns	3-77	2-51
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	2-4
Comp-Att-Int	22-37-2	15-25-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-15	1-8
Punts	5-40.8	7-48.143
Fumbles-Lost	2-1	2-1
Penalties-Yards	3-15	10-87
Time Of Possession	34:29	27:38

**PASSING**  
N.Y. Giants: Jones 22-37-2-190.  
Carolina: Young 15-25-0-126.

**RUSHING**  
N.Y. Giants: Nabers 6-50, Robinson 5-51, Hyatt 4-39, T.Johnson 4-37, Hodgins 1-7, Singletary 1-5, Tracy 1-1.  
Carolina: Hubbard 4-16, Coker 3-41, Legette 3-40, Moore 2-18, J.Sanders 2-8, Thomas 1-3.

**RECEIVING**  
N.Y. Giants: Nabers 6-50, Robinson 5-51, Hyatt 4-39, T.Johnson 4-37, Hodgins 1-7, Singletary 1-5, Tracy 1-1.  
Carolina: Hubbard 4-16, Coker 3-41, Legette 3-40, Moore 2-18, J.Sanders 2-8, Thomas 1-3.

**MISSED FIELD GOALS**  
N.Y. Giants: Gano 43.

### Chiefs 16, Broncos 14

**DENVER** ..... 0 14 0 0 0 —14  
**KANSAS CITY** ..... 0 10 3 3 —16

**SECOND QUARTER**  
Denver: Vele 6 pass from Nix (Lutz kick), 14:20.  
Kansas City: FG Butker 36, 9:02.  
Denver: Sutton 32 pass from Nix (Lutz kick), 6:39.  
Kansas City: Kelce 2 pass from Mahomes (Butker kick), 1:44.

**THIRD QUARTER**  
Kansas City: FG Butker 28, 3:51.

**FOURTH QUARTER**  
Kansas City: FG Butker 20, 5:57.

	DEN	KC
First Downs	16	19
Total Net Yards	260	300
Rushes-Yards	23-78	19-57
Passing	182	243
Punt Returns	1-28	3-28
Kickoff Returns	0-0	1-25
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	22-30-0	28-42-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-33	4-23
Punts	5-47.2	4-53.25
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	0-0
Penalties-Yards	6-35	3-10
Time Of Possession	26:39	33:21

**PASSING**  
Denver: Nix 22-30-0-215.  
Kansas City: Mahomes 28-42-0-266.

**RUSHING**  
Denver: Estime 14-53, Mims 3-17, McLaughlin 2-12, Williams 1-1, Nix 3-(minus 5).  
Kansas City: Hunt 14-35, Mahomes 3-19, Steele 2-3.

**RECEIVING**  
Denver: Sutton 6-70, Vele 4-39, Mims 4-13, Humphrey 2-23, Krull 2-21, Williams 2-6, Trautman 1-34, Franklin 1-9.  
Kansas City: Kelce 8-64, Hunt 7-65, Hopkins 4-56, Pemie 2-37, Gray 2-18, Ju.Watson 2-6, Worthy 1-11, Hersholt 1-6, Hardman 1-3.

**MISSED FIELD GOALS**  
Denver: Lutz 60, Lutz 35.

### 49ers 23, Buccaneers 20

**SAN FRANCISCO** ..... 7 3 3 10 —23  
**TAMPA BAY** ..... 0 3 7 10 —20

**FIRST QUARTER**  
San Francisco: Pearsall 46 pass from Purdy (Moody kick), 4:15.

**SECOND QUARTER**  
San Francisco: FG Moody 28, 8:53.  
Tampa Bay: FG McLaughlin 30, 1:14.

**THIRD QUARTER**  
Tampa Bay: R.White 9 pass from Mayfield (McLaughlin kick), 11:58.  
San Francisco: FG Moody 33, 4:21.

**FOURTH QUARTER**  
Tampa Bay: Irving 12 run (McLaughlin kick), 14:18.  
San Francisco: Kittle 11 pass from Purdy (Moody kick), 7:02.  
Tampa Bay: FG McLaughlin 26, :41.  
San Francisco: FG Moody 44, :00.

	SF	TB
First Downs	24	18
Total Net Yards	413	208
Rushes-Yards	22-75	27-103
Passing	338	105
Punt Returns	3-36	0-0
Kickoff Returns	1-23	0-0
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	0-0
Comp-Att-Int	25-36-0	18-29-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	3-15	2-11
Punts	1-35.0	6-45.5
Fumbles-Lost	2-1	1-0
Penalties-Yards	6-49	5-42
Time Of Possession	31:48	28:12

**PASSING**  
San Francisco: Purdy 25-36-0-353.  
Tampa Bay: Mayfield 18-29-0-116.

**RUSHING**  
San Francisco: McCaffrey 13-39, Purdy 4-17, Samuel 3-14, Mason 1-5, Guerrero 1-0.  
Tampa Bay: Irving 14-70, White 10-31, Shepard 1-3, Houts 1-2-(minus 3).

**RECEIVING**  
San Francisco: Jennings 7-93, McCaffrey 6-68, Samuel 5-62, Pearsall 4-73, Kittle 3-57.  
Tampa Bay: White 6-39, Otton 5-35, Irving 3-14, Jarrett 2-10, Miller 1-11, Shepard 1-7.

**MISSED FIELD GOALS**  
San Francisco: Moody 50, Moody 49, Moody 44.

### Saints 20, Falcons 17

**ATLANTA** ..... 0 7 10 0 —17  
**NEW ORLEANS** ..... 0 17 3 0 —20

**SECOND QUARTER**  
New Orleans: FG Grupe 38, 14:50.  
New Orleans: Valdes-Scantling 40 pass from Carr (Grupe kick), 10:48.  
Atlanta: Robinson 1 run (Koo kick), 5:45.  
New Orleans: Valdes-Scantling 2 pass from Carr (Grupe kick), 3:47.

**THIRD QUARTER**  
Atlanta: FG Koo 27, 5:42.  
New Orleans: FG Grupe 26, 2:44.  
Atlanta: Robinson 37 run (Koo kick), 1:01.

	ATL	NO
First Downs	25	13
Total Net Yards	466	365
Rushes-Yards	32-181	27-96
Passing	285	269
Punt Returns	1-8	1-18
Kickoff Returns	5-143	2-51
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	1-6
Comp-Att-Int	23-38-1	16-25-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	3-19	0-0
Punts	3-48.0	2-48.0
Fumbles-Lost	2-0	1-0
Penalties-Yards	6-45	8-76
Time Of Possession	35:07	24:53

**PASSING**  
Atlanta: Cousins 23-38-1-304.  
New Orleans: Carr 16-25-0-269.

**RUSHING**  
Atlanta: Robinson 20-116, Allgeier 11-59, McCloud 1-6.  
New Orleans: Kamara 17-55, Carr 4-17, Hill 4-14, Mims 2-10.

**RECEIVING**  
Atlanta: D.London 8-97, Mooney 5-96, Pitts 4-53, McCloud 3-30, Robinson 3-28.  
New Orleans: Kamara 5-54, Valdes-Scantling 3-109, Austin 2-36, Hill 2-36, Johnson 2-22, Pettis 1-8, Mims 1-4.

**MISSED FIELD GOALS**  
Atlanta: Koo 53, Koo 46, Koo 35.

### Patriots 19, Bears 3

**NEW ENGLAND** ..... 3 10 0 6 —19  
**CHICAGO** ..... 0 3 0 0 —3

**FIRST QUARTER**  
New England: FG Slye 30, 6:19.

**SECOND QUARTER**  
Chicago: FG Santos 33, 7:17.  
New England: Polk 2 pass from Maye (Slye kick), 1:46.  
New England: FG Slye 37, :00.

**FOURTH QUARTER**  
New England: FG Slye 25, 7:30.  
New England: FG Slye 33, 2:17.

	NE	CHI
First Downs	16	11
Total Net Yards	328	142
Rushes-Yards	35-144	20-73
Passing	184	69
Punt Returns	3-45	1-38
Kickoff Returns	0-0	1-35
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	1-0
Comp-Att-Int	15-25-1	16-30-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	1-0	9-51
Punts	5-97.0	8-41.875
Fumbles-Lost	2-0	0-0
Penalties-Yards	7-40	5-25
Time Of Possession	32:28	27:27

**PASSING**  
New England: Maye 15-25-1-184.  
Chicago: Ca.Williams 16-30-0-120.

**RUSHING**  
New England: Stevenson 20-74, Gibson 5-26, Maye 4-24, Hasty 6-20.  
Chicago: Swift 16-59, Ca.Williams 2-15, D.Moore 1-3, R.Johnson 1-(minus 4).

**RECEIVING**  
New England: Douglas 4-50, Boutte 4-47, Hooper 3-64, Henry 1-14, Hasty 1-4, Stevenson 1-3, Polk 1-3.  
Chicago: Allen 5-44, D.Moore 3-24, Odunze 3-23, Kmet 2-13, Swift 1-6, Carter 1-5, R.Johnson 1-5.

**MISSED FIELD GOALS**  
None.

### Bills 30, Colts 20

**BUFFALO** ..... 10 10 0 10 —30  
**INDIANAPOLIS** ..... 3 10 0 7 —20

**FIRST QUARTER**  
Buffalo: Ta.Johnson 23 interception return (Bass kick), 12:14.  
Buffalo: FG Bass 29, 5:33.  
Indianapolis: FG Gay 27, 3:31.

**SECOND QUARTER**  
Indianapolis: Goodson 2 pass from Flacco (Gay kick), 9:29.  
Indianapolis: FG Gay 23, 6:32.  
Buffalo: Allen 13 run (Bass kick), 2:14.  
Buffalo: FG Bass 47, :00.

**FOURTH QUARTER**  
Buffalo: FG Bass 28, 10:58.  
Buffalo: Cook 2 run (Bass kick), 3:04.  
Indianapolis: Pierce 10 pass from Flacco (Gay kick), :02.

	BUF	IND
First Downs	21	19
Total Net Yards	415	19
Rushes-Yards	31-135	22-121
Passing	280	240
Punt Returns	1-8	0-0
Kickoff Returns	2-49	0-0
Interceptions Ret.	3-27	2-4
Comp-Att-Int	22-37-2	26-35-3
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-0	4-32
Punts	2-54.5	2-54.0
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	2-1
Penalties-Yards	5-25	5-25
Time Of Possession	32:08	27:52

NFL WEEK 10



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Steelers running back Jaylen Warren loses a fumble in the fourth quarter against the Commanders. The miscue ended up not being costly for Pittsburgh, which got the winning touchdown on its next possession.

BARRY SVRLUGA

In defeat, Commanders display accountability – and compassion

SVRLUGA FROM D1

of the remaining seven games — matter more in the standings, in potential playoff seeding, in all of it.

But the postgame sentiment from Sunday was telling, too. The Commanders don't consider themselves the cute little story of the first half of the NFL season, a franchise righting itself after so many listless campaigns. No, these Commanders consider themselves a threat because of the way they work and the way they play, a standard they didn't uphold as a 24-14 lead became their first home loss of the season.

So to the center of the locker room stepped Sam Cosmi, the fourth-year offensive lineman who knows what it's like to lose here — and so badly wants to understand what it's like to win.

"He loves this team," first-year Commanders safety Jeremy Chinn said.

The floor, then, Sam. "I wanted them to know to not let this snowball effect into this week," Cosmi said. "I wanted them to know what we have here is still special. No matter what, we keep fighting. I wanted them to know that this should hurt. This should hurt your core. This means a lot to us. Winning is the ultimate goal."

This is still an adjustment in Washington, dealing with difficult losses deep into autumn, with meaningful games ahead. That's because Daniels — even on a 17-for-34 day when his accuracy was off — has made it seem as if anything is possible in any game, on any drive, on any snap. That's because General Manager Adam Peters has so thoroughly transformed the roster that the drift and filler from past regimes have essentially vanished. And that's because new coach Dan Quinn has fostered a mentality — using



NICK WASS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

T.J. Watt's Steelers limited Commanders quarterback Jayden Daniels to 17-for-34 passing Sunday.

quirky clichés and thinly veiled coach speak, for sure — in which 70 players are believing in a greater cause.

None of those is a small accomplishment. Which makes the Steelers loss — a loss that could have been a win — sting. "We have a higher standard here," Cosmi said. "And the thing is to uphold that standard."

As it pertains to Sunday, that means several things. It means Olamide Zaccheaus can't muffle a punt in the second quarter to give the Steelers the ball at the Washington 14, an invitation to a touchdown, nor drop a pass early in the third that kept the Commanders from gaining momentum. It means Daniels can't miss throws he should make — a ball behind Noah

Brown, a ball too far ahead of Luke McCaffrey, on and on.

It means tight end Zach Ertz can't flat-out drop a third-quarter pass that might have pushed the Commanders deeper into Pittsburgh territory. It means cornerback Benjamin St-Juste — a weekly punching bag around here — can't fail to anticipate that Steelers quarterback Russell Wilson would, with the game on the line, throw his patented fade — this one on third and nine, this one for a 32-yard touchdown to Mike Williams, the game-winning score.

"That's what he likes to do," St-Juste said. "That's what Russ is good at."

Say what you want about St-Juste, who will (mercifully) move down a notch on

Washington's cornerback pecking order when newly acquired Marshon Lattimore gets over his hamstring issue. On Sunday, St-Juste didn't point a finger, didn't make an excuse. He kicked himself, because there is a newfound accountability for the Commanders.

Accountability — and compassion. One of the (many) other things this team can't allow if it's going to turn obvious promise into a real playoff threat is any sense that individuals might pick away at what the team has built as a whole. The case, then, of rookie Johnny Newton.

Up 28-27 and facing fourth and one from the Washington 49 with 1:02 remaining, the Steelers lined up as if they were

going for it. The key phrase there: "as if." Wilson, in his 13th season, knows how to sell a hard count. Newton's job: Don't buy it.

Newton jumped offside. The Commanders were out of timeouts. Daniels never got the ball back. Ballgame.

The internal reaction? Take Newton's back.

"There's going to be moments like that," running back Austin Ekeler said. "It doesn't have to come down to that. ... You could say 'what if' about all these different plays."

Which isn't how these Commanders seem they'll handle a loss that dropped them to 7-3. A "what if" from one Sunday turns into the next week's "never again." That comes from winning. But it also comes when what's expected — of each other and of each day — is different than it has been.

"We have faith and belief in what we're doing here to turn the page and do something special," Cosmi said. "I mean, we don't have the most talented team. But we have a really hard team, a hardworking team, and one that will come each and every day to work, to keep fighting. That's one thing I love about this team. I see it across the locker room, across the coaches, across everybody."

Losses should hurt. We're to the point in a new regime where they do — not in blind frustration over careless plays made by overmatched players but because there are real possibilities at stake.

What awaits Thursday night in Philadelphia is an opportunity. Judge these Commanders by how they have performed — explosive and disruptive on the field and in the standings. Just know that they're judging themselves harder, which is the greatest indication that the old measures of success have changed, and significantly.

Steelers 28, Commanders 27

Table with 2 columns: Team, Stats (7, 7, 7, 7, 28). Rows: PITTSBURGH, WASHINGTON.

PITTSBURGH: Pickens 16 pass from Wilson (Boswell kick), 8:39.

WASHINGTON: Ekeler 1 run (Gonzalez kick), 3:44.

SECOND QUARTER

PITTSBURGH: Freiermuth 3 pass from Wilson (Boswell kick), 10:28.

WASHINGTON: FG Gonzalez 48, 8:11.

WASHINGTON: Ekeler 1 run (Gonzalez kick), :16.

THIRD QUARTER

WASHINGTON: McNichols 1 run (Gonzalez kick), 12:55.

PITTSBURGH: Harris 1 run (Boswell kick), 8:06.

WASHINGTON: FG Gonzalez 41, 2:51.

FOURTH QUARTER

PITTSBURGH: Williams 32 pass from Wilson (Boswell kick), 2:22.

Statistical table comparing PIT and WAS across categories like First downs, Rushing, Passing, Penalty, etc.

PASSING

PITTSBURGH: Wilson 14-28-1-195, Killebrew 0-1-0-0.

WASHINGTON: Daniels 17-34-0-202.

RUSHING

PITTSBURGH: Warren 14-66, Harris 21-53, Patterson 3-14, Pickens 1-4, Wilson 4-3.

WASHINGTON: Ekeler 13-44, McNichols 4-7, Daniels 3-5, Rodriguez 2-4.

RECEIVING

PITTSBURGH: Pickens 5-91, Freiermuth 3-17, Warren 2-29, Austin 2-20, Williams 1-32, Washington 1-6.

WASHINGTON: McLaurin 5-113, Ertz 4-31, N.Brown 3-33, D.Brown 2-(minus 13), McCaffrey 1-23, Zaccheaus 1-8, Ekeler 1-7.

PUNT RETURNS

PITTSBURGH: Austin 3-20.

WASHINGTON: Zaccheaus 2-0.

KICKOFF RETURNS

PITTSBURGH: Patterson 3-61.

WASHINGTON: Ekeler 4-118.

TACKLES-ASSISTS-SACKS

PITTSBURGH: Queen 6-1-0, Porter 5-0-0, Elliott 4-2-0, Roberts 4-1-0, Fitzpatrick 4-0-0, Smith 3-0-1, Ogunjebi 2-1-0, Caheyward 2-0-2, Jackson 1-1-0, Benton 1-0-0, Kazeem 1-0-0, Loudermilk 1-0-0, Pierre 1-0-0, P.Wilson 1-0-0, Bishop 0-2-0.

WASHINGTON: Chinn 6-6-0, Day 4-4-0, Luvu 3-4-1, Martin 3-3-0, Wagner 3-3-0, Fowler 3-2-2, Sainristil 3-2-0, St-Juste 3-2-0, Payne 2-3-0, Holmes 2-0-0, Ferrell 1-2-0, Newton 1-2-0, Mathis 1-1-0, Butler 1-0-0, Obada 1-0-0, Walker 1-0-0, Igbingohene 0-3-0, Armstrong 0-1-0.

INTERCEPTIONS

PITTSBURGH: None.

WASHINGTON: Chinn 1-0.

MISSSED FIELD GOALS

None.

SCHEDULE

Table with 2 columns: Week, Opponent/Score. Rows: Week 1, Week 2, Week 3.

Table with 2 columns: Week, Opponent/Score. Rows: Week 4, Week 5, Week 6.

Table with 2 columns: Week, Opponent/Score. Rows: Week 7, Week 8, Week 9.

Table with 2 columns: Week, Opponent/Score. Rows: Week 10, Week 11 at Philadelphia, Week 12 vs. Dallas.

Table with 2 columns: Week, Opponent/Score. Rows: Week 13 vs. Tennessee, Week 14, Week 15 at New Orleans.

Table with 2 columns: Week, Opponent/Score. Rows: Week 16 vs. Philadelphia, Week 17 vs. Atlanta, Week 18 or 29, at Dallas and TV TBD, Week 28 at Atlanta.

## NFL WEEK 10



SCOTT TAETSCH/GETTY IMAGES

Wide receiver Terry McLaurin eluded Steelers defensive back Joey Porter Jr. for one of his five catches for 113 yards Sunday. But quarterback Jayden Daniels completed only 50 percent of his passes in the loss.

# Commanders' home winning streak ends with narrow loss

## COMMANDERS FROM D1

Williams blew by him on a go route for the game-winning score. "You got to play the fade," St-Juste continued. "That's what he likes to do. That's what Russ is good at."

The Commanders fell to the Steelers on Sunday, 28-27, in a back-and-forth battle decided by penalties and miscues. The defeat snapped Washington's home winning streak at four and dropped its record to 7-3, while the Steelers improved to 7-2.

St-Juste's decision was among the most glaring of the mistakes, along with an offside penalty on rookie defensive tackle Johnny Newton on a fourth down in the closing seconds, allowing the Steelers to run out the clock. But those were hardly the only errors in a game that Washington Coach Dan Quinn said was rife with "missed opportunities."

Rookie quarterback Jayden Daniels appeared pedestrian, completing only 50 percent of his passes (17 of 34), his lowest percentage of the season, for 202 yards, no touchdowns and a 68.5 rating. Multiple passes were thrown behind receivers, multiple receivers dropped catchable passes, and big plays on defense were followed by more consequential mistakes.

Take a three-play sequence late in the third quarter: Edge rusher Dante Fowler Jr. sacked Wilson on second and nine, safety Jeremy

Chinn picked him off on third and 14, and then Daniels went deep for Terry McLaurin, who dived for a 28-yard grab along the Commanders' sideline.

In any other game, perhaps the moment, fueled by chants of "TER-RY! TER-RY!" from the crowd, would have carried Washington to the final whistle. But the Steelers and their thousands of towel-waving fans wouldn't go away.

That drive, for example, sputtered when Daniels was sacked on second down and wide receiver Dyami Brown was tackled for a loss of 11 yards on third down.

"We didn't make the plays and [take advantage of] opportunities when they presented themselves," Daniels said, echoing his coach.

The Commanders knew their matchup against the Steelers would be a test in nearly every facet, so in an attempt to overcome one of them, they distributed nearly 50,000 burgundy towels to fans as they arrived at Northwest Stadium.

But there was no muffling Steelers fans, who dominated the towel competition, while Pittsburgh's defense provided Daniels and Co. with their toughest challenge of the season.

Daniels mustered a season-low five yards on the ground and appeared out of sorts for much of the first half. The offense found a rhythm late in the second quarter when Daniels found Luke McCaffrey for a 23-yard catch down the

seam on third down. The Steelers showed man coverage before the snap but moved into a cover-three zone post-snap. Daniels read it perfectly and hit McCaffrey to help set up Austin Ekeler's second score of the day, a one-yard run.

The touchdown capped a 15-play, 94-yard drive that started with a sack of Daniels that was negated by penalties on Pittsburgh. It also included a drop of a sure touchdown by Brown in the end zone. But the drive allowed the Commanders to go into halftime with a 17-14 lead.

Washington has played exceptional situational football this season, especially in the final two minutes of halves and the opening two minutes of the second half, and this game was no different. The Commanders came out of the break and quickly found the end zone. McLaurin turned a short catch on a slant into a 54-yard gain, firing up the crowd, then nearly crossed the goal line with a 16-yard catch. Jeremy McNichols finished the drive with a one-yard touchdown run to give Washington a 24-14 lead early in the second half.

The Steelers responded with a score of their own on the next drive despite Fowler recording the first of his two sacks in the second half.

The Commanders' defense has made a habit of setting an early tone and forced a three-and-out on the Steelers' opening drive. But consistency hasn't been Washing-

ton's forte.

Penalties, including two on Pittsburgh's second drive — a pass interference call on St-Juste, his fifth of the season, and a roughing call on Chinn — helped the Steelers reach the end zone first. Wide receiver George Pickens stretched backward for an acrobatic catch against cornerback Noah Igbinoghene in coverage, giving the Steelers a 7-0 lead.

Pittsburgh reciprocated soon thereafter with an even better gift for Washington: a failed fake punt. Steelers safety Miles Killebrew lobbed a perfect pass to cornerback James Pierre, who dropped the ball with nary a Washington defender in sight. Washington took over from the Pittsburgh 14-yard line and needed only three plays to get Ekeler into the end zone for his first of two touchdowns.

Washington, playing without starting running back Brian Robinson Jr. (hamstring), kicker Austin Seibert (hip) and right tackle Andrew Wylie (who was active but didn't play because of a shoulder injury), was thin at multiple positions. Trent Scott, who was with the Steelers in 2022, started at right tackle for Washington and put his practice reps against pass rusher T.J. Watt to good use. — The injuries continued to pile up — center Tyler Biadasz left for a period because of an injury but returned — and with a short week ahead before Washington's Thursday night game in Philadelphia,

the Commanders have little time to recover.

But they also need to clean up mistakes that spread to special teams. Olamide Zaccheaus muffed two punts, recovering the first but losing the second, which turned into a touchdown for the Steelers.

"He works really hard at this, at the punt-returning side of things, and so we all have a lot of confidence in him," Quinn insisted after the game.

The back-and-forth battle culminated midway through the fourth quarter with a forced fumble by safety Quan Martin in Washington's red zone with the Commanders leading 27-21. Martin punched the ball out of running back Jaylen Warren's grasp near the goal line at the end of a run from the Washington 8-yard line, and Chinn swooped in and recovered it. A scoring drive could have eaten away at the clock and given Washington a two-possession lead.

But the Steelers refused to go home. Washington punted after three plays, a drive that was hurt by a holding penalty. On the ensuing drive, Wilson found Williams for the go-ahead score over St-Juste's head.

That set up the potential for another miracle in the final minutes, but Washington came up short when tight end Zach Ertz's catch on fourth down was ruled inches shy of the line to gain. The Commanders had three timeouts,

leaving the Steelers with fourth and one with a little more than a minute remaining. Wilson attempted to draw Washington offside, and rookie defensive tackle Johnny Newton took the bait and jumped too soon, sealing his team's loss with one final mistake. "It was one to learn from," Quinn said, "and as it goes, those are hard ones."

Asked postgame whether the Steelers planned to go for it on that play, Coach Mike Tomlin said: "We will never know, will we? You all know I'm a degenerate."

The loss left Washington's locker room silent after the game and prompted guard Sam Cosmi to address his teammates, something he had never done.

"I don't know — there's something about this year that I just have so much faith in this team to be able to be vocal and have my voice out there and hopefully make a difference in this team," Cosmi said. "I felt like it was just the vibe in the locker room and our expectations for this next week."

Cosmi reminded his teammates of their expectations, of their "standard," and encouraged them to use the loss to fuel them against the Eagles on Thursday night, despite little rest.

"I wanted them to know that what we have here is still special," Cosmi said. "No matter what, we still keep fighting. I want them to know that this should hurt, this should hurt [to] your core."

## KEY MOMENTS

The Washington Commanders dropped to 7-3 with a 28-27 loss to the Pittsburgh Steelers on Sunday at Northwest Stadium. Here are four key moments from the defeat:

### Fourth-down blues

Trailing 28-27 with less than two minutes remaining, the Commanders faced fourth and nine at midfield. Rookie quarterback Jayden Daniels dropped back and completed a pass over the middle to tight end Zach Ertz, who was touched by Steelers safety Damontae Kazee and ruled down inches short of the line to gain. The call was upheld by replay review, resulting in Washington's first failed fourth-down conversion in 12 attempts this season and a turnover on downs.

With all three timeouts remaining, the Commanders still had hope. Washington used its final timeout with 1:02 to play after Steelers wide receiver Cordarrelle Patterson was tackled short of the sticks on a third-down run. Pittsburgh sent its offense back on the field on fourth and short in an attempt to get the Commanders to jump offside. Rookie defensive tackle Johnny Newton bit on quarterback Russell Wilson's hard count and committed a neutral-zone infraction, giving the Steelers a first down and sealing their comeback win.

### Steelers' deal pays off

Pittsburgh, which trailed 24-14 early in the third quarter, was down 27-21 when it faced third and nine from the Washington

32-yard line with 2:27 to play. With Washington defensive end Dorance Armstrong closing in on him, Wilson lofted a high-arcing pass toward the end zone for Mike Williams. The wide receiver, who was acquired from the New York Jets before last week's trade deadline, made an impressive over-the-shoulder catch on his only target of the game. The ensuing extra point gave the Steelers the lead.

Williams beat cornerback Benjamin St-Juste on the play, which gave Wilson his third passing touchdown of the game. The veteran quarterback, who improved to 3-0 as the Steelers' starter since he replaced Justin Fields, was 14 for 28 for 195 yards and one interception, in addition to his three scores. His favorite target was wide receiver George Pickens, who

finished with five catches for 91 yards, including a leaping touchdown grab in the first quarter.

### Martin makes a stand

On the drive before Williams' touchdown catch gave the Steelers the lead, Washington's defense forced a crucial turnover. On third and seven from the Washington 8-yard line, Pittsburgh running back Jaylen Warren ran for seven yards before being met by a host of Commanders defenders. Warren's forward progress appeared to be stopped, but the play wasn't ruled dead, and as Warren was being dragged to the ground, defensive back Quan Martin ripped the ball out of his grasp.

Washington's Jeremy Chinn,

who had an interception in the third quarter, recovered the fumble at the 1-yard line.

The turnover ended a 14-play, 86-yard drive that included a gusty fourth-down conversion. Washington's offense responded by going three-and-out, with Daniels missing fellow rookie Luke McCaffrey on a throw over the middle on second down. Daniels was 17 for 34 for 202 yards.

He was sacked three times and limited to five yards on three carries.

### Zaccheaus' tough day

With the score tied at 7 early in the second quarter, Commanders wide receiver Olamide Zaccheaus couldn't handle a punt by Corliss Waitman. Washington managed

to recover Zaccheaus' muffed punt in the first quarter, but this time Pittsburgh's Ben Skowronek pounced on the loose ball at the Washington 14-yard line.

Five plays later, Wilson connected with tight end Pat Freiermuth for a three-yard touchdown.

Both teams committed special teams miscues that led to points. Washington's first touchdown was set up by a failed fake punt on fourth and 15 from the Pittsburgh 16-yard line. Steelers safety Miles Killebrew fielded the snap and lofted a pass along the left sideline for cornerback James Pierre, who was uncovered but couldn't make the catch.

The Commanders took over on downs and scored three plays later.

— Scott Allen

# Utah cries foul over its loss to BYU, and a mad college season goes even madder

## On Football

CHUCK CULPEPPER

It's a phenomenon of the world's fourth-largest country with its four continental time zones that sometimes most of the nation sleeps — or tries to — while out west there brews some sort of outlandish college football tempest sure to stoke talk for the remainders of lifetimes.

That tempest might even involve that entity always atop the minds of sports fans, the entity so many fans clearly pay to see and to evaluate: the officials.

This season already had become an unexpected carnival, with parity amok and losses lavished around including two now to Georgia (7-2), No. 3 in the College Football Playoff ranking, after its 28-10 plight at fellow contender Mississippi (8-2), which has discovered the concept of defense, and one finally to Miami (9-1), No. 4 in the College Football Playoff ranking, after Georgia Tech (6-4) treated it to such prowess as a 17-play, 75-yard, first-half drive that gobbled 10 minutes 45 seconds.

Now the first season with a 12-team playoff boasts the bauble that decorates a season now and then: a controversial penalty on which parts of the playoff bracket might hinge. It calls to mind wacko 1990, when life was duller and we had no playoff and some game officials, under duress as ever, miscounted downs near the goal line and allowed eventual national champion Colorado a fifth (down, not whiskey).

The 2024 season has a loud, pivotal yellow flag for a case of defensive holding indecipherable even to witnesses in the stands, who will decipher it anyway.

How Chiefs-Eagles of it. This 2024 mix has the rarity of a smart, affable athletic director taking the microphone for a vent that went partway toward a howl.

How bonkers of it. Here goes: By around midnight in Salt Lake City, BYU and Utah ventured together into the tensest stretch of their annual Holy War, this one at Utah's Rice-Eccles Stadium, that marvel of a noise den with mountain views. The sides had appeared to maintain their celebrated mutual distaste. Utah had arrived to the fight at a glum and rare 4-4, while BYU at 8-0 remained one of a mere four



BYU quarterback Jake Retzlaff, right, and cornerback Mory Bamba savored the Cougars' rivalry win over Utah that kept them undefeated.

unbeaten teams nationwide, but you could throw all of the statistics out the window alongside all the other statistics you've thrown out there onto the front lawn. Utah lurched to a 21-10 halftime lead with that pillar of enchantment, a third-string quarterback (Brandon Rose). BYU nibbled to 21-13 early in the third quarter and to 21-19 early in the fourth. It took the ball at its 9-yard line with 1:56 left, then groaned with three incompletions and called a timeout on fourth and 10 with 95 seconds left.

Quarterback Jake Retzlaff, the first Jewish man to play quarterback for BYU, dropped back and stood just inside the end zone. Utah senior linebacker Karene Reid went barging through the middle and pretty much tossed aside BYU running back Hinckley Ropati, meeting Retzlaff face-to-face. Retzlaff tried to wriggle left, but defensive tackle Junior Tafuna had arrived. He and Reid sacked Retzlaff, who went supine with his feet out near the 1-yard line and his shoulder blades in the end zone, his position on the field illuminating the depths of

his fresh defeat.

"And it wasn't a good feeling," Retzlaff would tell reporters in Salt Lake City.

A big bedlam began. One official went to mark the 1-yard line as the new line of scrimmage. Tafuna exulted into the end zone toward fans, holding up index fingers. Reid reveled as teammates Lander Barton and Logan Fano ran to greet him. Fans in red went into a state of rapture as a flawed season found its flawless balm in a holy-mercy Holy War win.

Of course, the penalty flag had gone down, up the field.

The defensive holding would go against Utah's Zemaiah Vaughn, a Texan senior cornerback guarding Californian wide receiver Jojo Phillips as Phillips tried to stream up the far side of the field, the two forever entangled in Utah chatter in one of those calls impossible to assess from the distant perch of the TV replay.

The ball would go to the 19 for maybe the season's most prized first down. Retzlaff would lead his team downfield. Will Ferrin would kick a 44-yard field goal with three seconds left. BYU

would stay afloat somehow as a playoff probable in a season all about staying afloat somehow.

Mark Harlan, the Utah athletic director, would take to the news conference podium, a rarity in a world where athletic directors normally sit in the back row or stand by the wall in support of their coaches or maybe sometimes to think, *I can't believe I gave that contract to this guy*. "This game was absolutely stolen from us," Harlan said. "We were excited about being in the Big 12, but tonight I am not. We won this game. Someone else stole it from us. Very disappointed. Will talk to the commissioner. This was not fair to our team. I'm disgusted by the professionalism of the officiating crew tonight."

That was one big gosh right there.

Smith Snowden, the Utahn Utah cornerback, said, "Ah, obviously [emotions] were high, thinking we won the game," but then, "Football's football," and then, about the penalty: "I have no thoughts about it. No thoughts."

Kalani Sitake, the gentlemanly 10th-year BYU coach, told

reporters, "When I saw the flag, I figured it could be [against Utah]; we play similar defense," which Sitake said "can sometimes be really handsy." And Kyle Whittingham, the gentlemanly 20th-year Utah coach, said: "No, I don't want to go over those [late penalties]. They are what they are. They are what they are. It's a ridiculous situation. I'm not going to get into it."

Told of Harlan's comments, Whittingham said: "Things out there were ridiculous. That's how I'll leave it."

And, right after that: "Game was all but over. It was over. Then it wasn't."

What a wrench to throw into the annual computations in an annum already wrench-heavy. The losses flying around leave only four teams unbeaten (Army, BYU, Indiana, Oregon) and only 10 once-beaten, with plenty more beatings left. The chance of a playoff with one or more three-loss teams soars, and that's not even all that novel. As the great Heather Dinich of ESPN pointed out Saturday on the radio, 13 teams finished in the top 10 with three losses

## AP TOP 25

The top 25 teams in the Associated Press college football poll, with first-place votes in parentheses, records, total points based on 25 points for a first-place vote through one point for a 25th-place vote and previous ranking:

	RECORD	PTS	PVS
1. Oregon (62)	10-0	1,550	1
2. Ohio State	8-1	1,484	3
3. Texas	8-1	1,409	5
4. Penn State	8-1	1,274	6
5. Indiana	10-0	1,273	8
6. Tennessee	8-1	1,270	7
7. BYU	9-0	1,161	9
8. Notre Dame	8-1	1,095	10
9. Alabama	7-2	1,036	11
10. Mississippi	8-2	966	16
11. Georgia	7-2	964	2
12. Miami	9-1	907	4
13. Boise State	8-1	839	12
14. SMU	8-1	798	13
15. Texas A&M	7-2	674	15
16. Army	9-0	533	18
17. Clemson	7-2	524	19
18. Colorado	7-2	463	21
19. Washington State	8-1	456	20
20. Kansas State	7-2	333	22
21. LSU	6-3	265	14
22. Louisville	6-3	240	25
23. South Carolina	6-3	203	—
24. Missouri	7-2	176	—
25. Tulane	8-2	98	—

Others receiving votes: Iowa State 92, Arizona State 35, Pittsburgh 18, Louisiana Lafayette 14, UNLV 10.

## COACHES POLL

The top 25 teams in the coaches college football poll, with first-place votes in parentheses, records, total points based on 25 points for a first-place vote through one point for a 25th-place vote and previous ranking:

	RECORD	PTS	PVS
1. Oregon (55)	10-0	1,375	1
2. Ohio State	8-1	1,314	3
3. Texas	8-1	1,262	5
4. Tennessee	8-1	1,138	6
5. Penn State	8-1	1,113	7
6. Indiana	10-0	1,057	10
7. Notre Dame	8-1	1,038	8
8. BYU	9-0	994	9
9. Alabama	7-2	899	11
10. Georgia	7-2	887	2
11. Mississippi	8-2	877	12
12. Miami	9-1	820	4
13. SMU	8-1	691	15
14. Boise State	8-1	691	14
15. Texas A&M	7-2	597	16
16. Clemson	7-2	536	17
17. Army	9-0	466	19
18. Washington State	8-1	385	20
19. Kansas State	7-2	332	21
20. Colorado	7-2	329	24
21. Missouri	7-2	277	22
22. LSU	6-3	257	13
23. South Carolina	6-3	118	—
24. Louisville	6-3	109	—
25. Iowa State	7-2	92	18

Others receiving votes: Tulane 85, Louisiana Lafayette 42, Arizona State 30, Pittsburgh 28, UNLV 17, Memphis 11, Navy 3, James Madison 2, Illinois 2, Duke 1.

during the 10-season four-team playoff era, including two of them in four seasons and three of them once (2016). Hell, a playoff concept thought to solve all the whingeing might even figure to increase it, to the misery and the delight of the neutral. How will the committee disentangle all the two-loss and three-loss sorts?

And now, how will the committee weigh a defensive holding call against a home team in a madhouse of a stadium in the Rocky Mountains at midnight Mountain time in the wilds of college football November? And why are we as a species physiologically mandated to sleep when sleeping makes us miss so much spectacle?

# Spirit wins in extra time to reach NWSL semifinals

SPIRIT FROM D1

smoke billowed from the supporters' end. And McKeown, who made the painful decision to play in the game and sit out her sister's wedding this weekend, thrust her arms skyward.

"If she has that momentum going forward, it's like, 'Get out of her way,'" forward Ashley Hatch said. "Once it went off her foot, hard and low, I knew that it was going in."

"The second she did that," defender Gabrielle Carle added, "I was like, 'All right, we're winning.'"

By the time the Spirit scored in extra time by forcing Bay FC defender Caprice Dydasco into an own goal, the victory did seem inevitable. When the final whistle blew and the Spirit advanced to the NWSL semifinals with a 2-1 win, McKeown disappeared into a swirling swarm of teammates.

"It was a really hard few days for me, but I know all my teammates had my back, and we went into this game just believing in each other," McKeown said. "When we were down a goal, I knew that our season wasn't over and I didn't miss my sister's wedding for nothing."

No. 2 seed Washington advanced to face No. 3 Gotham FC at noon Saturday at Audi Field, with a trip to the NWSL championship game Nov. 23 in Kansas City, Missouri, on the line. The top-seeded Orlando Pride will host the fourth-seeded Kansas City Current in the other semifinal next Sunday.

Bay FC, a San Jose-based expansion team and the No. 7 seed, closed in on the upset when Penelope Hocking picked out Oshoala for an 82nd-minute tap-in. After McKeown's 86th-minute heroics sent the match to extra time, Washington needed just six minutes to take the lead when Leicy Santos crashed the net on Trinity Rodman's cross and Dydasco steered an off-balance header into her own net.

"I think the hardest part about the playoffs is just it can get very distracting and very claustrophobic in a way," Rodman said. "You kind of get lost in the momentum of the game, and sometimes it



Tara McKeown, who said her teammates had her back during "a really hard few days," scores Sunday.

gets a little sloppy. It wasn't our prettiest game, and I think you could see that."

It was the Spirit's first playoff game since it won the NWSL title in November 2021 and the first home postseason contest since Hatch netted the extra-time winner against North Carolina in the quarterfinals that year.

The Spirit has undergone a significant overhaul in the intervening years, cycling through three full-time coaches and two interim managers (including Bay FC Coach Albertin Montoya) and cutting ties with 14 of the 20 players who dressed for the 2021 championship game. The club also changed ownership — Y. Michele Kang took control of the franchise — and enjoyed a significant attendance spike. The sellout crowd of 19,215 on hand Sunday, darkly dressed for an Audi Field "blackout," dwarfed the announced attendance of 5,379 from the Spirit's 2021 home quarterfinal.

"The crowd today did their job," Coach Jonathan Giráldez said. "But we are going to need them also for the next week."

Neither side seized the upper

hand in a tense first half. Although Washington created the lion's share of the danger, the best chance came when Spirit goalkeeper Aubrey Kingsbury tipped Rachel Hill's curling effort over the bar 10 minutes before halftime.

Searching for a spark, Giráldez brought on Santos — a Colombian playmaker who had logged just 29 minutes since the end of September because of a thigh issue — for rookie Courtney Brown at halftime.

It was Rodman, however, who took charge early in the second half — and paid the price physically. In the 52nd minute, she absorbed a hard foul that earned Oshoala a yellow card and left Rodman on the turf clutching her head.

Cleared by a concussion evaluation, Rodman returned to the field and swiftly drew back-to-back fouls. The second tackle also landed Alyssa Malonson a yellow, and Rodman drew a third caution, on Kiki Pickett, in extra time.

Once Oshoala and McKeown traded tallies and the atmosphere electrified, the Spirit piled

on the pressure in search of a stoppage-time winner. No bid came closer than the last kick of regulation, when Washington midfielder Hal Hershfelt ripped a half-volley off the crossbar and nearly delivered a walk-off winner for the ages.

"The game could have ended 30 minutes earlier, but it didn't," Hershfelt said. "I was just happy we were able to grind it out in overtime."

The Spirit was the favorite on paper following an 18-6-2 regular season, but injuries deprived Washington of its most experienced midfielder (Andi Sullivan, knee), its co-leading scorer (Ouleymata Sarr, back) and the NWSL assists leader (rookie Croix Bethune, knee).

For a Spirit squad that ended the regular season on a three-game winning streak despite those setbacks, its postseason resilience was on brand.

"It's not the first time that we've had to compete and come back," Giráldez said. "So I think [we] were believing during the whole game that we were going to have chances to win this game — and we did it."

# Adams not on U.S. team for matches vs. Jamaica

BY STEVEN GOFF

Three U.S. men's national soccer team regulars who missed Coach Mauricio Pochettino's first training camp because of injury were named Sunday to the 25-man roster for the Concacaf Nations League quarterfinals against Jamaica.

Center back Chris Richards, midfielder Johnny Cardoso and winger Tim Weah will rejoin the squad, though Weah will miss Thursday's first leg because of a red card suspension carrying over from Copa América in the summer.

One player who seemed primed to return but will not sit in as midfielder Tyler Adams. The oft-injured World Cup captain was under consideration, but because he is still getting back up to speed with English Premier League club Bournemouth, Pochettino decided to leave him out.

"I see him as an important player for us, and I consider him personally a very important player for the future of this team," Pochettino said. "But the most important thing now is to see the progression. He came from a difficult moment."

Saturday's start was Adams' first for Bournemouth since March 30. (He logged 67 minutes.) Previously, he appeared twice as a substitute, totaling 33 minutes.

Since the 2022 World Cup, injuries have limited Adams to 20 club matches (15 starts) and six national team appearances. He last played for the United States in the Copa América group-stage finale July 1.

Saturday's game was "important for him to see — and for us so happy to see — the evolution of him," Pochettino said. "At the same time, we know very well we need to look after him if we want to have him in the best condition for 2026," when the World Cup is staged in the United States, Mexico and Canada.

Pochettino said he and his staff have "very good communication" with Adams and Bournemouth. Not inviting him to this camp will give Adams two weeks without

## U.S. roster

**Goalkeepers:** Diego Kochen (FC Barcelona), Patrick Schulte (Columbus Crew), Zack Steffen (Colorado Rapids), Matt Turner (Crystal Palace).

**Defenders:** Mark McKenzie (Toulouse), Tim Ream (Charlotte FC), Chris Richards (Crystal Palace), Antonee Robinson (Fulham), Miles Robinson (FC Cincinnati), Joe Scally (Borussia Mönchengladbach), Auston Trusty (Celtic).

**Midfielders:** Brenden Aaronson (Leeds), Gianluca Busio (Venezia), Johnny Cardoso (Real Betis), Weston McKennie (Juventus), Aidan Morris (Middlesbrough), Yunus Musah (AC Milan), Tanner Tessmann (Olympique Lyonnais), Malik Tillman (PSV Eindhoven).

**Forwards:** Cade Cowell (Chivas Guadalajara), Ricardo Pepi (PSV Eindhoven), Christian Pulisic (AC Milan), Brandon Vazquez (Monterrey), Tim Weah (Juventus), Alex Zendejas (Club América).

games for "training properly and see if he can be consistent in his club," Pochettino said.

Several other injured regulars remain absent: Josh Sargent, Folarin Balogun, Haji Wright, Sergiño Dest, Gio Reyna and Luca De La Torre.

Center back Cameron Carter-Vickers figured to receive his first call-up by Pochettino, but after returning from injury last month, he was not in uniform Sunday for Celtic's Scottish league match against Kilmarnock. Celtic Manager Brendan Rodgers called it "precautionary."

Goalkeeper Ethan Horvath and defenders Marlon Fossey and Kristoffer Lund were not recalled after being in last month's camp for friendlies against Panama and Mexico. Pochettino recalled 20 players, including Christian Pulisic, Weston McKennie and Antonee Robinson.

**Concacaf Nations League quarterfinal: U.S. at Jamaica** Thursday, 8 p.m., TNT, Universo

# Wizards fall, but young Coulibaly continues his ascent

MAGIC 121,  
WIZARDS 94

BY VARUN SHANKAR

ORLANDO — The right wrist fracture that cut Bilal Coulibaly's rookie season short also confined his dominant hand to a cast. Unable to practice with his right hand, the Washington Wizards guard built up his left, doing "everything you can think of" on the court, he said.

All of that work showed itself early in Sunday night's game against the Orlando Magic. Coulibaly sized up his defender at the three-point arc, a brief hesitation that set up decisive action. He crossed over to that improved left hand and accelerated to the rim.

His defender, Magic rookie Tristan da Silva, caught up and jumped with Coulibaly. Washington's burgeoning star turned that recovery into a mistake, slamming the first left-handed dunk of his career over da Silva.

Coulibaly registered another encouraging early-season performance: He had 20 points, six rebounds and six assists in a 121-94 loss at Kia Center. He's averaging 17 points, more than double his 8.4 from last year.

The Wizards (2-6), who have lost four straight, stuck with the Magic (5-6) for the first half and entered halftime down just five. But Orlando, even without star forward Paolo Banchero, outscored the visitors by 14 in the third quarter to pull away.

Wizards Coach Brian Keefe said his team's intensity improved after a sluggish effort Friday at Memphis. The Wizards shot a slightly higher field goal percentage than the Magic but took 19 fewer shots — the product of allowing 15 offensive rebounds and committing 16 turnovers.

"The first half was pretty solid," Coulibaly said. "We were doing the



MIKE WATTERS/IMAGN IMAGES

Wizards guard Bilal Coulibaly threw down the first left-handed dunk of his career against the Magic's Tristan da Silva on Sunday night.

right things. We came out with the energy and everything. In the second half, we were slower. ... They had a lot of offensive rebounds, and that's where we lost the game."

Coulibaly, 20, said he was "mad" at himself after a 10-point showing against the Grizzlies. His efficient play Sunday was one of Washington's few bright spots.

He shot 9 for 11, boosting his season-long true shooting percentage (which accounts for three-pointers and free throws as well as

two-point field goals) to 68.2 percent — nearly 14 percentage points better than his rookie year. He ranks seventh in the league among players who average at least 10 field goal attempts.

"Just trying to be myself," he said. "I know it's going in. I'm just confident because I worked on that."

Jordan Poole led the Wizards with 24 points on 8-for-19 shooting. Franz Wagner had 23 for the Magic.

Here's what else to know about the Wizards' loss:

#### Carrington leaves early

Bub Carrington exited the game in the fourth quarter after fellow rookie Kyshawn George, who was trying to get a rebound, accidentally pushed a Magic player into Carrington's legs. Carrington went to the locker room and did not return. Keefe did not have an update on the rookie guard's status afterward.

#### Kispert's slump continues

Corey Kispert remains mired in an early-season slump after going 1 for 7 from the field and 0 for 3 from three-point range Sunday. He's shooting 24.4 percent from deep this year. He shot at least 38 percent in each of the previous two seasons.

The 25-year-old said he's still trying to find his rhythm in the offense, one in which his looks feel "sporadic."

"I feel like we're all still trying to

#### WIZARDS' NEXT THREE

##### at Houston Rockets

Monday 8 Monumental

##### at San Antonio Spurs

Wednesday 8 Monumental 2

##### at Atlanta Hawks

Friday 7:30 Monumental

Radio: WTEM (980 AM)

or WFED (1500 AM)

find our groove offensively, guys trying to figure out different roles we have and what we're expected to do on the offensive side of the floor," Kispert said. "And when everyone's in that mode, things feel a little bit clunky. ... The timing and the rhythm just gets thrown off a little bit, and that makes all the difference."

His struggles are magnified on a team that needs his shooting. Washington entered Sunday 28th in the NBA in three-point percentage.

It's not for a lack of good looks. The Wizards came into the game fourth in the league in what NBA.com classifies as "wide open" three-point attempts, ones on which the closest defender is at least six feet away, but are shooting a league-worst 29.7 percent on them.

#### The City Edition look

The Wizards unveiled their 2024-25 City Edition uniforms Saturday, a "hydrogen blue" version of last season's boundary stones uniforms that will debut Dec. 5, when Washington hosts the Dallas Mavericks.

This year's set — called the Beyond Boundaries Uniform — is similarly inspired by the 40 stones that marked the original boundaries of the District. The Wizards will wear the jerseys — which come with a matching court — 19 times this season, nine of them at home.

#### MARYLAND SOCCER SEMIFINALS ROUNDUP

## In their chase for a historic four-peat, Whitman girls are just one step away

BY NICKY WOLCOTT

The Whitman girls' soccer team has fought all season for the opportunity to make history, knowing that no team — girls' or boys' — has won four consecutive Maryland championships at the Class 4A level.

On Saturday in Laurel, the Vikings took the another major step toward accomplishing that goal. No. 1 Whitman narrowly prevailed in a competitive Class 4A semifinal, 1-0 over No. 9 Leonardtown, to advance to its fourth straight championship game.

"No one else has been able to win four straight, so we just hope to be the first," senior captain Sasha Beasley said.

The Raiders (15-3) applied plenty of early pressure to the unbeaten Vikings (17-0). Whitman goalkeeper Skye Pratt made several crucial saves to allow her team to settle into the game and withstand Leonardtown's early barrage.

"You could feel the energy on their bench, in the crowd — it's just a matter of staying in the moment and keeping your composure," Whitman Coach Greg Herbert said. "Our back line is very experienced. ... As long as we keep our composure, it's tough to break us down."

Whitman largely controlled possession in the second half and found a way past a strong Leonardtown defense late. The Raiders broke up Ava Anderson's attempted through ball, but the Whitman senior latched back on to the loose ball and burst past a pair of defenders before tucking her shot into the bottom right corner in the 68th minute.

Whitman held on, parrying away Leonardtown attacks in the dying minutes to secure its second straight 1-0 victory. The Vikings will meet Crofton in Friday's final. All championship games will be played at Loyola University in Baltimore.

"Winning it every year, that would be awesome," Pratt said. "I'd get those four medals on my wall."

#### Blair boys turn the tables

The Blair boys' 4-1 loss to Whitman in September became a focal point for a Blazers team with lofty ambitions. The group knew it had talent, but the Blazers felt they lacked the focus needed to compete against the best teams in Montgomery County and the state.

The Blazers ensured another lopsided defeat wasn't in the cards early in Saturday's Class 4A semifinal. Blair struck twice in the



NICKY WOLCOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Whitman beat Leonardtown in a state semifinal Saturday and could be the first team to win four straight Class 4A titles Friday.

opening 14 minutes, with goals from seniors Owen Boots and Caleb Elazar. The Blazers held strong and avenged their regular season defeat with a 3-1 win over No. 6 Whitman in Laurel to advance to their first final in almost 50 years.

"We have talked about that Whitman loss all season, before every game," Coach Allie Coyle said. "We always felt like we could have done better and that our inability to keep focused in the game cost us."

Blair's early goals gave it a 2-0 lead at halftime, but Whitman (16-2-1) struck back early in the second half on a header by Sean Curran. After cutting the deficit, the Vikings put plenty of pressure on the Blazers (11-4-2).

The Vikings launched attack after attack and routinely threatened Blair goalkeeper Caleb Johnson, a first-team All-Met selection last year. The third-year starter made a pair of highlight saves in addition to some routine stops to keep the Blazers ahead.

Lyon Alvarez's 67th-minute strike put the game away. The junior controlled a Whitman clearance before hammering a half-volley from 27 yards out into the back of the net, securing Blair's spot in the final in stunning fashion.

The Blazers will meet Richard Montgomery in Friday's final with an opportunity to win the program's first state title since 1975.

#### Cover lifts Severna Park girls

The Severna Park girls already had played a strong Chesapeake team twice this year, once in the regular season and once in the Anne Arundel County championship game, and prevailed, 2-0, both times.

Saturday's Class 3A semifinal was a tighter affair, but senior Abby Cover's overtime goal lifted the Falcons to a 1-0 win over the Cougars (15-4-1) in Glen Burnie.

Severna Park (17-1) will take on Towson in Thursday's final and attempt to repeat as state champion after winning its first title in 20 years last season.

"All season, they have just been pushing each other to be at this point," Coach Rick Stimpson said. "For the players to raise the level again just speaks volumes to the quality that we have in the team."

#### 3A boys final is a local affair

Thursday's Class 3A boys' final will be a Howard County affair after River Hill and Mount Hebron prevailed in Saturday's semifinals.

The Hawks (14-4) beat Catonsville, 2-0, in Glen Burnie to advance to their first final since 2018. River Hill took the lead late in the first half after senior Sam Van Ert found Joe Montgomery, who fired a shot into the bottom left corner. A deflected cross by Logan Aranda found the back of the net in the second half to wrap up the Hawks' 2-0 win.

"It's been a group of continuity," Coach Matt Shagogue said. "It's been fun to see their growth over the past three years."

Mount Hebron and South River (14-4-1) were tied at 1 at the end of regulation and overtime after a thrilling game that saw the Vikings save a potential game-winning penalty kick in the second extra period. Mount Hebron (10-9) then topped the reigning Class 3A champion in a penalty shootout, 4-3, to advance to its first championship game since 2016.

River Hill beat Mount Hebron, 4-0, in September, but the Vikings have roared back after a 5-9 start. Both teams will be seeking their first state title in at least a decade.

#### DCSAA BOYS' SOCCER FINAL

## Eagles finish off an undefeated season

GONZAGA 1,  
ST. ALBANS 1 (5-4 PKS)

BY ELI COHEN

The Gonzaga soccer team was chasing an undefeated season, a feat it accomplished in 2022, just about all year long. On Sunday night, the Eagles achieved it.

Having trailed St. Albans for nearly all of the second half of the D.C. State Athletic Association boys' championship game at Catholic University, the Eagles were in uncharted territory. A goal during stoppage time kept them alive. And after extra time ended with the teams tied at 1, a 5-4 victory on penalty kicks gave Gonzaga what it had been searching for.

The Eagles tied one Washington Catholic Athletic Conference game two years ago to finish 25-0-1. This year, they went 22-0-2 and won every local game they played; their ties came against opponents from outside the area. They secured the WCAC title

last weekend before grabbing the DCSAA trophy Sunday.

"We tried to re-create that season two years ago where we won everything and were nationally ranked. ... We wanted to push to win everything," junior midfielder Julian Antezana said. "We didn't really care about the national rankings towards the end because this is what means more to us — the titles."

Antezana, the game's MVP, scored the tying goal off a long free kick from sophomore forward Charlie Waller. On what could have been Gonzaga's final chance, Waller sent the ball into a sea of Eagles in the box, and Antezana headed it in.

Antezana also cashed in during the shootout. The Eagles' other scorers: senior midfielder Thomas Gabay, senior midfielder Benjamin Feinberg, senior forward Noah Winder and junior defender Declan Lynn.

After Lynn converted Gonzaga's sixth attempt, senior goalkeeper Colin Crowe dove to his left to make the game-sealing save.

"I was thinking I was going to go to my right first, but I stuck with my left in the end," Crowe said. "With [St. Albans students] chirping all game, it was good to talk back."

Xixi Espinoza scored for St. Albans in first-half stoppage time, but Crowe made several key stops in the extra periods. The Bulldogs (15-3-1) had a chance to win on a counterattack in the first period of extra time when Crowe slid in front of the St. Albans forward to deny the opportunity.

The game lived up to its high billing. The teams were atop The Washington Post's rankings for most of the season and have dominated D.C. soccer for years. The Eagles fell to the Bulldogs, 1-0, in last year's final. Gonzaga's win Sunday secured its fifth title in the tournament's 12 years — and it was the fourth time Gonzaga and St. Albans met in the championship game.

"We don't play each other during the season," Gonzaga Coach Scott Waller said, "because we know we'll see each other in the big game at the end of the year."

#### DCSAA GIRLS' SOCCER FINAL

## Set piece seals it again for the Cadets

ST. JOHN'S 1,  
SIDWELL FRIENDS 0

BY ELI COHEN

The St. John's girls thrived on set pieces all season — and that was exactly what they needed to defeat Sidwell Friends, 1-0, and claim the D.C. State Athletic Association girls' soccer championship Sunday at Catholic University.

Senior midfielder Kailyn Effah, the Washington Catholic Athletic Conference player of the year, sent an out-swinging corner kick to senior forward Catherine Webster, who headed the ball into the net in the 65th minute. The connection between four-year starters gave the Cadets (12-2-5) their fifth DCSAA title and their second in the past three years.

"We've been very dangerous on

set pieces this year," Effah said. "[Webster] looked at me, and I saw her and just went for it. As soon as it hit her head, I knew it was a goal."

After an early chance for Webster, who was named the game's MVP, shots were few and far between in the first half. The physicality picked up as rain started coming down on a cold, windy night. The teams played fast and frequently got into striking distance but struggled to find scoring opportunities.

"You got to play quicker. You got to make sure that you minimize mistakes," St. John's Coach Allison Diaz said. "I think sometimes you get away with a bad first touch, a bad pass, but you can't afford to do that here in this type of weather."

The Quakers (9-6-1) started to threaten in the second half, but St. John's freshman goalkeeper Ava Simpson made a handful of

diving saves to keep the game scoreless. Diaz called Simpson a big-game player; she helped the Cadets keep their opponent scoreless for the 10th time.

"There's nerves before, but once you get in the game and start playing, they're gone," Simpson said.

One of the Cadets' best opportunities came midway through the second half, when Effah boot-ed a long ball. Her shot narrowly sailed over the crossbar.

Edwards scored on the corner kick just a few minutes later. It was a rare year for the Cadets when they didn't compete in the WCAC championship game, which Paul VI won last weekend. They still found a way to end their season with a trophy — and send their seniors out with a title.

"It was the best feeling ever," Webster said, "to get this last one, have our last game be a win and be a championship win."

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## SCOREBOARD

## PRO BASKETBALL

## NBA

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Boston	2	2	.500	—
New York	2	5	.286	4
Brooklyn	4	6	.400	4½
Philadelphia	2	7	.222	6
x-Toronto	2	8	.200	6½

## SOUTHEAST

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Orlando	5	6	.455	—
Miami	5	4	.556	—
Charlotte	4	6	.400	½
Atlanta	4	7	.364	1
Washington	2	6	.250	1½

## CENTRAL

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Cleveland	11	0	1.000	—
Indiana	5	5	.500	½
Chicago	4	6	.400	6½
Detroit	4	7	.364	7
Milwaukee	2	8	.200	8½

## WESTERN CONFERENCE

SOUTHWEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	6	4	.600	—
x-Memphis	6	4	.600	—
Dallas	5	5	.500	1
San Antonio	4	6	.400	2
New Orleans	3	7	.300	3

## NORTHWEST

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Oklahoma City	2	8	.200	—
Denver	7	3	.700	1
Minnesota	4	6	.400	2
x-Portland	3	7	.300	5
Utah	2	7	.222	5½

## PACIFIC

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Phoenix	8	2	.800	—
Golden State	2	8	.200	2
L.A. Clippers	6	4	.600	2
Sacramento	6	4	.600	2
x-L.A. Lakers	5	4	.556	2½

## SATURDAY'S RESULTS

Utah 111, at San Antonio 110  
Chicago 125, at Atlanta 113  
at Cleveland 105, Brooklyn 100  
at L.A. Clippers 105, Toronto 103

## SUNDAY'S RESULTS

at Orlando 121, Washington 94  
Houston 101, at Detroit 99  
Golden State 113, at Milwaukee 107  
at Indiana 132, New York 121  
Golden State 117, at Oklahoma City 116  
Miami 95, at Minnesota 94  
at Philadelphia 107, Charlotte 105 (OT)  
at Denver 122, Dallas 120  
Sacramento 127, at Phoenix 118 (OT)  
at Memphis at Portland, late  
Toronto at L.A. Lakers, late

## MONDAY'S GAMES

Washington at Houston, 8  
Brooklyn at New Orleans, 8  
Cleveland at Chicago, 8  
L.A. Clippers at Oklahoma City, 8  
Sacramento at San Antonio, 8

## TUESDAY'S GAMES

Atlanta at Boston, 7  
Charlotte at Orlando, 7  
Miami at Detroit, 7  
New York at Philadelphia, 7:30  
Toronto at Milwaukee, 8  
Phoenix at Utah, 9  
Dallas at Golden State, 10  
Minnesota at Portland, 10

## Magic 121, Wizards 94

WASHINGTON	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Coulibaly	36:53	9-11	1-1	3-6	6	3	20
George	34:28	5-9	1-2	0-7	1	6	15
Sarr	24:51	3-10	3-4	1-3	4	3	11
Carrington	31:12	2-5	0-0	1-2	3	2	4
Posley	10:11	0-1	0-0	0-1	0	2	0
Kispert	24:32	1-7	0-0	0-4	2	1	2
Valanciunas	18:20	3-3	2-2	0-3	1	2	8
Baldwin Jr.	11:07	0-3	1-2	1-3	0	1	1
Butler	9:23	0-0	4-6	1-1	1	3	4
Esposito III	2:00	0-0	0-1	0-1	0	2	0
Davis	4:49	1-3	0-0	0-0	0	2	1
Gill	4:49	0-0	1-2	1-3	1	0	0
TOTALS	240	33-72	18-25	7-37	20	25	94

Percentages: FG .458, FT .720. **3-Point Goals:** 17-48, 303 (Howard 3-3, Anthony 2-3, Black 2-3, Harris 2-4, da Silva 2-5, M.Wagner 2-6, Isaac 1-4, F.Wagner 1-5, Caldwell-Pope 1-6, Suggs 1-6, Houston 1-6, VanVleet 1-6). **Rebounds:** 16 (Caldwell-Pope 4, Bagley III 4, Baldwin Jr. 4, Carrington 3, Sarr 3, Steals: 4 (Baldwin Jr., Coulibaly, George, Sarr). **Technical Fouls:** None.

## ORLANDO

WAGNER	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
F.Wagner	28:39	9-20	4-4	0-4	0	7	23
da Silva	31:37	4-9	1-1	1-4	2	5	11
Bitadze	21:39	5-6	0-0	6-12	3	1	10
Caldwell-Pope	36:05	1-6	0-0	3-3	1	5	2
Suggs	18:12	2-8	0-0	1-2	4	4	5
M.Wagner	22:35	5-12	4-7	2-6	2	16	16
Black	22:17	4-6	2-2	1-2	4	12	12
Isaac	18:55	2-7	0-0	2-3	0	1	5
Harris	18:43	2-4	0-0	1-1	0	6	2
Anthony	15:19	3-4	8-8	1-2	0	2	16
Howard	5:29	3-3	0-0	0-0	0	9	9
Joseph	4:49	0-3	0-0	0-2	1	0	0
Houston	3:46	0-1	0-0	1-5	0	1	0
TOTALS	240	41-91	22-25	10-44	25	21	121

Percentages: FG .451, FT .880. **3-Point Goals:** 17-48, 354 (Howard 3-3, Anthony 2-3, Black 2-3, Harris 2-4, da Silva 2-5, M.Wagner 2-6, Isaac 1-4, F.Wagner 1-5, Caldwell-Pope 1-6, Suggs 1-6, Houston 1-6, VanVleet 1-6). **Rebounds:** 16 (Caldwell-Pope 4, Bagley III 4, Baldwin Jr. 4, Carrington 3, Sarr 3, Steals: 4 (Baldwin Jr., Coulibaly, George, Sarr). **Technical Fouls:** None.

## ROCKETS 101, PISTONS 99

HOUSTON	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Detroit	17	28	19	35	—	101	

HOUSTON: Brooks 6-15 0-0 14, Smith Jr. 2-8 2-2, 6, Sengun 11-17 5-7 27, JaGreen 6-17 2-2 15, VanVleet 3-7 2-2 15, Eason 7-22 1-8 18, Thompson 2-10 1-4 5, Lander 1-6 0-0 3, Tillman 0-0 0-0, Kornet 0-0 0-0 0, Queta 3-6 2-2 8, Pritchard 6-10 1-1 18. **Totals:** 38-93 18-24 101.

DETROIT: Hardaway Jr. 3-10 2-2 10, Harris 3-5 2-5 9, Stewart 7-9 2-16, Cunningham 10-21 4-6 26, Ivey 4-15 0-0 8, Fontecchio 1-4 2-25, Holland II 1-6 1-24, Reed 2-2 2-6, Beasley 5-12 1-2 15. **Totals:** 36-84 16-23 99.

THREE-POINT GOALS: Houston 7-34 (Eason 2-4, Brooks 2-8, Sheppard 1-5, JaGreen 1-6, VanVleet 1-7, Am. Thompson 1-0-1, Lander 0-1, Smith Jr. 0-0), Detroit 11-34 (Beasley 4-9, Cunningham 2-4, Hardaway Jr. 2-6, Harris 1-2, Fontecchio 1-3, Holland II 1-6, Ivey 0-4). **Fouled Out:** Houston None, Detroit 1 (Cunningham). **Rebounds:** Houston 53 (Sengun 10), Detroit 46 (Reed). **Assists:** Houston 57 (Cunningham 13), Detroit 42 (Cunningham 9). **Total Fouls:** Houston 21, Detroit 21. At 18,744 (20,491)

THREE-POINT GOALS: Boston 19-54 (Pritchard 5-8, Tatum 4-12, White 3-6, Holiday 3-8, Horford 2-6, Brown 1-5, Hauser 1-5), Milwaukee 13-32 (Green 4-6, Prince 3-4, Lopez 2-5, Antetokounmpo 1-2, Connaughton 1-2, Portis 1-3, Lillard 1-8, Jackson Jr. 0-2). **Fouled Out:** None. **Rebounds:** Boston 42 (Tatum 12), Milwaukee 41 (Antetokounmpo 13). **Assists:** Boston 27 (Antetokounmpo 13), Milwaukee 21 (Lillard 6). **Total Fouls:** Boston 16, Milwaukee 18. At 17,341 (17,500)

## Pacers 132, Knicks 121

NEW YORK	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Indiana	26	35	37	—	122		

NEW YORK: Anunoby 9-14 4-4 25, Hart 7-12 2-3 16, Towns 11-19 6-8 30, Bridges 4-11 0-0 8, Brunson 11-17 10-12 33, Sims 1-10 2-5, Kolek 0-0 0-0, McBride 3-9 0-0 7. **Totals:** 46-83 22-27 121.

MILWAUKEE: Antetokounmpo 18-29 6-10 43, Prince 3-8 0-0 9, Lopez 2-6 0-0 6, Jackson Jr. 0-1 1-2, Lillard 4-15 5-5 14, Portis 6-12 2-15, Connaughton 2-3 2-7, Green 4-6 0-0 12, Rollins 0-1 0-0 0. **Totals:** 39-61 16-21 107.

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## BOSTON

BOSTON	MIN	FG	FT	O-T	A	PF	PTS
Milwaukee	30	28	26	—	113		

BOSTON: Brown 4-13 5-6 14, Tatum 7-21 13-35 31, Horford 3-7 1-3, Holiday 3-15 1-2 15, White 6-12 0-0 15, Hauser 1-6 0-0 3, Tillman 0-0 0-0, Kornet 0-0 0-0 0, Queta 3-6 2-2 8, Pritchard 6-10 1-1 18. **Totals:** 38-96 24-27 113.

MILWAUKEE: Antetokounmpo 18-29 6-10 43, Prince 3-8 0-0 9, Lopez 2-6 0-0 6, Jackson Jr. 0-1 1-2, Lillard 4-15 5-5 14, Portis 6-12 2-15, Connaughton 2-3 2-7, Green 4-6 0-0 12, Rollins 0-1 0-0 0. **Totals:** 39-61 16-21 107.

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MILWAUKEE: Antetokounmpo 18-29 6-10 43, Prince 3-8 0-0 9, Lopez 2-6 0-0 6, Jackson Jr. 0-1 1-2, Lillard 4-15 5-5 14, Portis 6-12 2-15, Connaughton 2-3 2-7, Green 4-6 0-0 12, Rollins 0-1 0-0 0. **Totals:** 39-61 16-21 107.

THREE-POINT GOALS: Boston 19-54 (Pritchard 5-8, Tatum 4-12, White 3-6, Holiday 3-8, Horford 2-6, Brown 1-5, Hauser 1-5), Milwaukee 13-32 (Green 4-6, Prince 3-4, Lopez 2-5, Antetokounmpo 1-2, Connaughton 1-2, Portis 1-3, Lillard 1-8, Jackson Jr. 0-2). **Fouled Out:** None. **Rebounds:** Boston 42 (Tatum 12), Milwaukee 41 (Antetokounmpo 13). **Assists:** Boston 27 (Antetokounmpo 13), Milwaukee 21 (Lillard 6). **Total Fouls:** Boston 16, Milwaukee 18. At 17,341 (17,500)

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# The Washington Post CLASSIFIED

DH

washingtonpost.com/classifieds

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 2024

EZ

**Trustees Sale - DC** 840  
1311 Delaware Ave Sw, Unit S-846,  
Washington, DC 20024

In execution of the Superior Court for the District of Columbia's Decree of Sale in Case: 2023- CAB-004743 the undersigned OFFICER OF THE COURT will offer for sale the property known as 1311 Delaware Ave Sw, Unit S-846, Washington, DC 20024 at a public auction within the offices of, HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC. 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 On **December 10, 2024, AT 11:00 A.M.**, the land and premises situated in the District of Columbia, and designated as and being Lot 0819 in Square 0546, and more particularly described in the UCC FINANCING STATEMENT recorded in the Land Records of the District of Columbia, on JANUARY 25, 2021 as Instrument Number 2021009724. The property will be sold by OFFICER OF THE COURT, UCC FINANCING STATEMENT "as is" without any covenant, expressed or implied, in Fee Simple, subject to conditions, restrictions, easements, and all other recorded instruments superior to the UCC FINANCING STATEMENT referenced above, and subject to ratification by the Court

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of the lesser of \$20,000.00 or 10% of the sale price will be required at time of sale in cash or certified funds. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for the Noteholder and any of its successors or assigns. The Noteholder may bid up to the credit and may submit a written bid to the OFFICER OF THE COURT which shall be announced at sale. The balance of the purchase price is to be paid in cash within 60 days of final ratification of the sale by the Court.

**TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.** If purchaser fails to settle within the aforesaid sixty (60) days of the ratification, the purchaser agrees to pay the Trustees' reasonable attorney fees as ordered by the Court, plus all costs incurred, if the OFFICER OF THE COURT have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. Purchaser waives personal service of any paper filed with the Court in connection with such motion and any Show Cause Order issued by the Court and expressly agrees to accept service of any such paper or Order by certified mail and regular mail sent to the address provided by the purchaser and as recorded on the documents executed by the purchaser at the time of the sale. Service shall be deemed effective upon the purchaser 3 days after postmarked by the United States Post Office. It is expressly agreed by the purchaser that actual receipt of the certified mail is not required for service to be effective. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement the deposit shall be forfeited to the OFFICER OF THE COURT and all expenses of this sale (including attorney fees and full commission on the gross sales price of the sale) shall be charged against and paid from the forfeited deposit. In the event of resale the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property regardless of any improvements made to the real property. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate contained in the UCC FINANCING STATEMENT from the date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the OFFICER OF THE COURT. In the event that the settlement is delayed for ANY REASON WHATSOEVER, there shall be no abatement of interest. Taxes, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for the costs of all transfer taxes, documentary stamps and all other costs incident to settlement. Purchaser shall be responsible for physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss from the date of sale forward. The sale is subject to post sale audit by the Mortgage holder to determine whether the borrower filed bankruptcy, entered into any repayment/forbearance agreement, reinstated or paid off prior to the sale. In any such event the Purchaser agrees that upon notification by the OFFICER OF THE COURT of such event the sale is null and void and of no legal effect and the deposit returned without interest. OFFICER OF THE COURT No: 22-011564

JAMES E. CLARKE, OFFICER OF THE COURT  
C/O ORLANDS PC  
1602 Village Market Blvd SE, Suite 310  
Leesburg, VA 20175  
(703) 777-7101

HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.  
5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Ste 440  
Washington, DC 20015  
202-463-4567  
www.harveywestauctions.com

Nov 11, 18, 25, Dec 2 2024 0012475480

**1447 Autos Wanted**  
DONATE YOUR CAR/TRUCK/AV  
Lutheran Mission Society of MD  
Compassion Place ministries help local families with food, clothing, counseling, tax deductible. MVA licensed #W1044, 410-228-8437  
www.CompassionPlace.org

**1490 Sports Utility Vehicles**  
CHEVY '05 Equinox AWD 3 in SxK, Lthr, Roof, Pre-Strike Prices Starting @ \$17,777.  
dudymartin.com 888-634-9211

Mercedes-Benz GL450 2009 2009 Mercedes-Benz GL-Class. Please contact me with any questions or a test drive. Great condition, GL450 for sale. All wheel drive. Burwood trim interior. Owned less than 5 years, only put 20,000 miles on the car. It has always been kept in a garage, regularly serviced - new battery, tires and new catalytic converter in last few years. Back area circulation dog crate with extra space available. Full carfax service report available. Small ding on driver door. Please. **ONLY serious buyers and interest.** Cash or cashiers check or wire transfer only

Call or text 703.898.1333 for test drive or questions. Send email address for copy of auto service report.

**815 Legal Notices**  
ABC LICENSE: 1918 WINTER STREET MID-ATLANTIC LLC trading as Harris Teeter #398, 735 N. Saint Asaph St., Alexandria, VA 22314. The above establishment is applying to the VIRGINIA, (ABC) BEVERAGE CONTROL (ABC) AUTHORITY for a Convenience Grocery Store license to sell or manufacture beverages. Kevin McNamara, EVP, CFO, and Treasurer of 1918 Winter Street Mid-Atlantic LLC. NOTE: Objections to the issuance of this license must be submitted to ABC no later than 30 days from the publishing date of the first of two required newspaper legal notices. Objections should be registered at www.abc.virginia.gov (abc.virginia.gov) or (800) 552-3200.

**850 Montgomery County**  
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MARYLAND  
VIMLA JASHNANI Plaintiff  
v.  
ALLOUSIUS OCHENI, et al. Defendants  
Case No. C-15-CV-22-002273  
NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE SALE  
NOTICE is hereby given that this 24 day of October, 2024, by the Circuit Court for Montgomery County, Maryland, in the above captioned proceeding, described as 5115 Brenford Drive, Rockville, Maryland 20852 (the "Property"), and reported by Vimla Jashnani, Plaintiff, shall be ratified and confirmed, unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 25 day of November, 2024, provided that a copy of this NOTICE be published at least once a week in each of three (3) successive weeks in some newspaper of general circulation published in Montgomery County, Maryland, before the 25 day of November, 2024. The Report of Sale states the amount of the sale of the Property to be \$230,000.00.

BY THE COURT: KAREN A. BUSHELL, Clerk of the Circuit Court  
Orlans 22-004657  
Nov 11, 18, 25, 2024 0012476097

**WELL+BEING**  
Tips and guidance on food, fitness and mental health.  
Karon A. Bushell  
CLERK, CIRCUIT COURT  
FOR MONTGOMERY COUNTY  
Oct 28, Nov 4, 11 2024 0012475302

**Trustees Sale - DC** 840  
1621 D STREET NE, WASHINGTON DC 20002

In execution of the Superior Court for the District of Columbia's Decree of Sale in Case : 2023-CA 003115 the undersigned Trustee(s) will offer for sale the property known as 1621 D STREET NE, WASHINGTON DC 20002 at a public auction within the offices of, HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC. 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 On **NOVEMBER 26, 2024 AT 11:00 A.M.**, the land and premises situated in the District of Columbia, and designated as and being Lot 0123 AND Square 4563, and more particularly described in the Deed of Trust recorded in the Land Records of the District of Columbia, on DECEMBER 19, 2012 as Instrument Number 2012137672

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of the lesser of \$25,000.00 or 10% of the sale price will be required at time of sale in cash or certified funds. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for the Noteholder and any of its successors or assigns. The Noteholder may bid up to the credit and may submit a written bid to the Trustee which shall be announced at sale. The balance of the purchase price is to be paid in cash within 30 days of final ratification of the sale by the Court.

**TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.** If purchaser fails to settle within the aforesaid thirty (30) days of the ratification, the purchaser agrees to pay the Trustees' reasonable attorney fees as ordered by the Court, plus all costs incurred, if the Trustees have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. Purchaser waives personal service of any paper filed with the Court in connection with such motion and any Show Cause Order issued by the Court and expressly agrees to accept service of any such paper or Order by certified mail and regular mail sent to the address provided by the purchaser and as recorded on the documents executed by the purchaser at the time of the sale. Service shall be deemed effective upon the purchaser 3 days after postmarked by the United States Post Office. It is expressly agreed by the purchaser that actual receipt of the certified mail is not required for service to be effective. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement the deposit shall be forfeited to the Trustees and all expenses of this sale (including attorney fees and full commission on the gross sales price of the sale) shall be charged against and paid from the forfeited deposit. In the event of resale the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property regardless of any improvements made to the real property. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the Trustees. In the event that the settlement is delayed for ANY REASON WHATSOEVER, there shall be no abatement of interest. Taxes, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for the costs of all transfer taxes, documentary stamps and all other costs incident to settlement. Purchaser shall be responsible for physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss from the date of sale forward. The sale is subject to post sale audit by the Mortgage holder to determine whether the borrower filed bankruptcy, entered into any repayment/forbearance agreement, reinstated or paid off prior to the sale. In any such event the Purchaser agrees that upon notification by the Trustees of such event the sale is null and void and of no legal effect and the deposit returned without interest. Trustees' File No 22-010772

JAMES E. CLARKE AND DANIEL K. EISENHAUER  
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE  
C/O ORLANDS PC  
1602 Village Market Blvd SE, Suite 310  
Leesburg, VA 20175  
(703) 777-7101

HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.  
5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Ste 440  
Washington, DC 20015  
202-463-4567  
www.harveywestauctions.com

Oct 28, Nov 4, 11, 18 2024 0012474833

**KASS LEGAL GROUP, PLLC**  
4301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW SUITE 434  
WASHINGTON, DC 20008  
(202) 658-6500

**UNIT OWNERS' ASSOCIATION SALE OF VALUABLE CONDOMINIUM UNIT CONTAINED WITHIN PREMISES AT 839 Kennedy Street, N.W #206, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20011.** Pursuant to District of Columbia Condominium Act of 1976, Section 313 and under the power of sale contained in the Declaration and Bylaws of the Condominium, recorded on June 8, 2020 as Instrument Number 2020067559, and as amended, recorded on November 13, 2020 as Instrument Number 2020139694, and in accordance with Public Law 90-566 and D.C. Code Section 42-1903.13, as amended, notice filed on October 17, 2024, and at the request of the Attorney for the Unit Owners' Association, we shall sell at public auction on **Thursday the 21st day of November 2024, at 12:15pm**, within the office of Alex Cooper Auctioneers, 4910 Massachusetts Ave, N.W., #100, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Unit 206 of the Eighty 39 Condominium Association designated on the Records of the Assessor of the District of Columbia for assessment and taxation purposes as Lot 2021 in Square 2993.

**Terms of sale:** Sold Subject to the provisions, restrictions, easements and conditions as set forth in the Declaration of Condominium, the By-laws relating thereto, and any and all amendments thereto existing deed(s) of trust and real estate taxes, as applicable; the purchase price above said trust(s) to be paid in cash. Also sold subject to any other prior liens, encumbrances and municipal assessments, if any, as applicable, further particulars of which may be announced at time of sale. A deposit of \$5,000.00 will be required at time of sale, such deposit to be in cash, certified check, or in such other form as the attorney for the Owners' Association may require in her sole discretion. All conveyancing, recording, recodation tax, transfer tax, etc. at purchaser's cost. All adjustments made as of date of sale. The balance of the purchase price, together with interest at the rate of 10% per annum from date of sale to date of receipt of the balance of the purchase price, must be paid in cash or by cashier's or certified check and all other terms to be complied with within 30 days, otherwise deposit is forfeited and the property may be re-advertised and sold at the discretion of the Owners' Association and at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser. Association shall convey a deed pursuant to D. C. Code Section 42-1903.13 (c) (1) and (3) as amended, and make no further representations or warranties as to title. The Association reserves the right in its sole discretion to rescind the sale at any time until conveyance of the deed. In the event of failure on the part of the Association to convey such deed, the purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit.

Michelle L. LaRue, Esq., Attorney for Owner's Association

ALEX COOPER  
4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Suite 100  
Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306  
www.alexcooper.com

Nov 11, 15, 20 2024 0012475318

**Trustees Sale - DC** 840  
1974 FENDALL STREET SE, WASHINGTON, DC 20020

In execution of the Superior Court for the District of Columbia's Decree of Sale in Case:2023-CAB-000188 the undersigned Trustee(s) will offer for sale the property known as 1974 FENDALL STREET SE, WASHINGTON, DC 20020 at a public auction within the offices of, HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC. 5335 Wisconsin Avenue NW Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015 202-463-4567 On **DECEMBER 10, 2024 AT 11:00 A.M.**, the land and premises situated in the District of Columbia, and designated as and being Lot 0040 in Square 5764, and more particularly described in the Deed of Trust recorded in the Land Records of the District of Columbia, on MARCH 11, 2010 as Instrument Number:2010021007 the property will be sold by Trustee's Deed "as is" without any covenant, expressed or implied, in Fee Simple, subject to conditions, restrictions, easements, and all other recorded instruments superior to the Deed of Trust referenced above, and subject to ratification by the Court

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of the lesser of \$15,000.00 or 10% of the sale price will be required at time of sale in cash or certified funds. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for the Noteholder and any of its successors or assigns. The Noteholder may bid up to the credit and may submit a written bid to the Trustee which shall be announced at sale. The balance of the purchase price is to be paid in cash within 45 days of final ratification of the sale by the Court.

**TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.** If purchaser fails to settle within the aforesaid forty five (45) days of the ratification, the purchaser agrees to pay the Trustees' reasonable attorney fees as ordered by the Court, plus all costs incurred, if the Trustees have filed the appropriate motion with the Court to resell the property. Purchaser waives personal service of any paper filed with the Court in connection with such motion and any Show Cause Order issued by the Court and expressly agrees to accept service of any such paper or Order by certified mail and regular mail sent to the address provided by the purchaser and as recorded on the documents executed by the purchaser at the time of the sale. Service shall be deemed effective upon the purchaser 3 days after postmarked by the United States Post Office. It is expressly agreed by the purchaser that actual receipt of the certified mail is not required for service to be effective. If the purchaser fails to go to settlement the deposit shall be forfeited to the Trustees and all expenses of this sale (including attorney fees and full commission on the gross sales price of the sale) shall be charged against and paid from the forfeited deposit. In the event of resale the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property regardless of any improvements made to the real property. Interest is to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date the funds are received in the office of the Trustees. In the event that the settlement is delayed for ANY REASON WHATSOEVER, there shall be no abatement of interest. Taxes, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for the costs of all transfer taxes, documentary stamps and all other costs incident to settlement. Purchaser shall be responsible for physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss from the date of sale forward. The sale is subject to post sale audit by the Mortgage holder to determine whether the borrower filed bankruptcy, entered into any repayment/forbearance agreement, reinstated or paid off prior to the sale. In any such event the Purchaser agrees that upon notification by the Trustees of such event the sale is null and void and of no legal effect and the deposit returned without interest. Trustees' File No 22-011064

JAMES E. CLARKE AND DANIEL K. EISENHAUER,  
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE  
C/O ORLANDS PC  
1602 Village Market Blvd SE, Suite 310  
Leesburg, VA 20175  
(703) 777-7101

HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.  
5335 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Ste 440  
Washington, DC 20015  
202-463-4567  
www.harveywestauctions.com

Nov 11, 18, 25, Dec 2 2024 0012475482

**KASS LEGAL GROUP, PLLC**  
4301 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, NW SUITE 434  
WASHINGTON, DC 20008  
(202) 658-6500

**UNIT OWNERS' ASSOCIATION SALE OF VALUABLE CONDOMINIUM UNIT CONTAINED WITHIN PREMISES AT 2127 California Street, N.W., #406, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008.** Pursuant to District of Columbia Condominium Act of 1976, Section 313 and under the power of sale contained in the Declaration and Bylaws of the Condominium, recorded on December 17, 1979 as Instrument Number 7900044082, and as amended, recorded on December 12, 1979 as Instrument Number 7900044083, and in accordance with Public Law 90-566 and D.C. Code Section 42-1903.13, as amended, notice filed October 18, 2024, and at the request of the Attorney for the Unit Owners' Association, we shall sell at public auction on **Thursday the 21st day of November, 2024 at 12:20 PM**, within the office of Alex Cooper Auctioneers, 4910 Massachusetts Ave, N.W., #100, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Unit 406 of the Le Bourget Condominium designated on the Records of the Assessor of the District of Columbia for assessment and taxation purposes as Lot 2112 in Square 2528.

**Terms of sale:** Sold Subject to the provisions, restrictions, easements and conditions as set forth in the Declaration of Condominium, the By-laws relating thereto, and any and all amendments thereto existing deed(s) of trust and real estate taxes, as applicable; the purchase price above said trust(s) to be paid in cash. Also sold subject to any other prior liens, encumbrances and municipal assessments, if any, as applicable, further particulars of which may be announced at time of sale. A deposit of \$7,000.00 will be required at time of sale, such deposit to be in cash, certified check, or in such other form as the attorney for the Owners' Association may require in her sole discretion. All conveyancing, recording, recodation tax, transfer tax, etc. at purchaser's cost. All adjustments made as of date of sale. The balance of the purchase price, together with interest at the rate of 10% per annum from date of sale to date of receipt of the balance of the purchase price, must be paid in cash or by cashier's or certified check and all other terms to be complied with within 30 days, otherwise deposit is forfeited and the property may be re-advertised and sold at the discretion of the Owners' Association and at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser. Association shall convey a deed pursuant to D. C. Code Section 42-1903.13 (c) (1) and (3) as amended, and make no further representations or warranties as to title. The Association reserves the right in its sole discretion to rescind the sale at any time until conveyance of the deed. In the event of failure on the part of the Association to convey such deed, the purchaser's sole remedy shall be return of deposit.

Michelle L. LaRue, Esq., Attorney for Owner's Association

ALEX COOPER  
4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Suite 100  
Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306  
www.alexcooper.com

Nov 11, 15, 20 2024 0012475317

**Trustees Sale - DC** 840  
MILES & STOCKBRIDGE P.C.  
1201 Pennsylvania Ave., Suite 900, Washington, DC 20004  
(202) 737-9600

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE  
COMMERCIAL OFFICE BUILDING**  
601 Indiana Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20004

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in that certain Deed of Trust, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing from BHB Limited Partnership ("Borrower"), dated as of June 1, 2016, and recorded with the District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds ("Land Records") as Instrument No. 2016055722 for the benefit of Jackson National Life Insurance Company and as affected by the Deed of Trust Modification Agreement and Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustee, dated September 29, 2023, and recorded with said Land Records as Instrument No. 2023085320 (collectively, the "Deed of Trust"), and that certain Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property, which was recorded in the Land Records on September 25, 2024 as Instrument No.: 2024090373 pursuant to Sections 42-815 and 42-818 of the D.C. Code, the holder of the indebtedness secured thereby, Jackson National Life Insurance Company (or any assignee, including without limitation 601 Indiana LLC, the "Beneficiary"), having appointed John T. Farnum and Jessica L. Duwall as Substitute Trustees by instrument duly executed, acknowledged and recorded among the Land Records as Instrument No.: 2024050312, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust and at the request of the Beneficiary, the undersigned Substitute Trustees will offer the following property for sale at Public Auction:

**Sale to be held at the Offices of Alex Cooper Auctioneers, Inc.**  
4910 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 100  
Washington, DC 20016  
On Thursday, November 21, 2024 at 11:30 a.m.

**PROPERTY DESCRIPTION (the "Real Estate"):**

All of that certain lot or parcel of land situate and being in the District of Columbia, and more particularly described as follows:

Lots lettered "A", "B", "C" and "D" in Angelica Simpson's subdivision of part of Square 458, as per plat recorded in Liber C.H.B., at folio 347 in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia.

**NOTE:** At the date hereof the above described land is designated on the Records of the Assessor for the District of Columbia for assessment and taxation purposes as Lot 824 in Square 458.

Such property also being known as 601 Indiana Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20004.

**FIXTURES**

Pursuant to the Deed of Trust and the UCC-1s recorded in Land Records as Instrument Nos. 2016055724 and 2016055725, Beneficiary holds a security interest and lien on all of the tangible and intangible assets of Borrower and will sell at public auction on the same date and at the same time and place, ALL OF THE FIXTURES of Borrower located on or about the Real Estate that is subject to the security interest and lien of Beneficiary and not owned by any third party.

**TOGETHER WITH** any and all buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances now erected on the Real Estate, including, without limitation, all equipment, apparatus, machinery and fixtures of any kind or character forming a part of said buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances and located in, upon or about the Real Estate and any buildings thereon all as more particularly described in the Deed of Trust (collectively, the "Property"). The Property does not include any personal property owned by any tenants.

**CONDITIONS OF SALE:**

The Property will be sold in an "AS IS/WHERE IS" condition without any representations or express or implied warranties of any nature whatsoever. In particular, neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Beneficiary make any representation or warranty with respect to, without limitation: (1) the existence, nonexistence, or continued existence, validity, scope or nature of any zoning, land use, development, site plans, occupancy or other governmental permits or approvals; (2) fitness for any particular purpose or use; (3) floor zone designations; (4) compliance with any and all zoning or building laws, regulations and ordinances; (5) the fitness for habitation or the structural integrity or condition of any buildings or improvements; (6) ingress, egress or access to the Property or any portion thereof, whether vehicular, pedestrian or otherwise; (7) the rights of parties in possession, if any, or the existence, validity, terms, conditions or other matters with respect to any lease of all or any portion of the Property; (8) the existence of any security deposits or rental payments; (9) compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act; or (10) the condition of the Property, either patent or latent, of any nature whatsoever, including environmental contamination.

Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Beneficiary shall have any obligation to obtain possession of the Property. It shall be the purchaser's obligation, at the purchaser's sole cost, to obtain possession of the Property.

**RISK OF LOSS, INSURABLE OR OTHERWISE, SHALL PASS TO THE PURCHASER IMMEDIATELY AND AUTOMATICALLY AT THE TIME OF SALE.** Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Beneficiary shall have any obligation to obtain or maintain any insurance coverage with respect to the Property.

The Property shall be sold subject to: (1) any easements, restrictions, declarations, site plans, and restrictive covenants of record affecting the same, including, but not limited to any and all condominium restrictions, declarations, bylaws and plats and amendments thereto; (2) any and all disclosures and conditions on any plats of record affecting all or any portion of the Property; (3) any encroachments, overlaps, boundary line disputes and other matters which could be disclosed by an accurate survey of the Property; (4) any matters which would be disclosed by a physical inspection of the Property; (5) any and all environmental conditions, problems and/or violations, if any, that may exist on, affect or relate to the Property or any buildings or improvements thereon; and (6) any and all zoning laws, regulations, PUD overlays, and ordinances or governmental permits or approvals affecting the Property (including without limitation any housing or building code violations, the existence of any lead paint, asbestos or radon or any other hazardous or toxic substances).

**WAIVERS:**

The purchaser waives and releases the Substitute Trustees and the Beneficiary and each of their respective affiliates, agents, successors and assigns from any and all claims the purchaser may now have or may have in the future relating to: (1) any environmental condition or violation affecting all or any portion of the Property; (2) any existing or future building or zoning code problems or violations, and (3) the accuracy or validity of any information described herein.

**IMPROVEMENTS:**

The Property is believed to be improved by a commercial office building.

**TERMS OF SALE:**

This advertisement, as amended or supplemented by any oral announcements during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the Substitute Trustees' entire terms upon which the Property shall be offered for sale, sold or purchased. The Substitute Trustees reserve the unqualified right to postpone the sale, withdraw the Property from sale, in whole or in part, at any time before sale or to release the Property, in whole or in part, from the Deed of Trust at any time before the sale. If the Substitute Trustees determine that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. If any dispute arises among the bidders, the Substitute Trustees shall have the sole and final discretion either to determine the successful bidder or to reoffer and resell the Property. A cash deposit or certified check made payable to either of the Substitute Trustees (or as otherwise instructed by the Substitute Trustees) in the amount of \$500,000.00 will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale. The purchaser is required to increase its deposit to five percent (5%) of the bid price within five business days from the date of the auction. All cash deposits or certified checks shall be delivered to the Substitute Trustees c/o Miles & Stockbridge P.C., 1201 Pennsylvania Ave., Suite 900, Washington, DC 20004, Attn: John T. Farnum and shall be held by the Substitute Trustees in a non-interest-bearing account to be applied to the purchase price at the time of settlement. The Beneficiary, or its nominee or its assignee, if the successful bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. The balance of such purchase price, together with interest at the rate of ten percent (10%) per annum on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to date of settlement (as hereinafter specified) must be paid in cash or by certified check on the date of settlement.

All outstanding real property taxes shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser. All other taxes and assessments, including, but not limited to, rents, if any, ground rents, other public charges, sewer charges, water rents, regular and special assessments and utilities payable on an annual or other basis shall be adjusted as of the date of the foreclosure sale and paid by the purchaser at settlement. The purchaser shall pay all expenses and costs required for or incident to its settlement, including, without limitation all, state and local transfer taxes, documentary taxes, recording taxes and fees, title examination costs, title insurance premiums, and attorneys' fees.

The purchaser shall settle and comply with the sale terms within thirty (30) days after date of sale unless said period is extended by the Substitute Trustees, their successors or assigns, for good cause shown. **TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.**

If the purchaser defaults, in addition to any other legal or equitable remedies available to them, the Substitute Trustees may declare the entire deposit forfeited and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser. The purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profit resulting from any resale of all or any portion of the Property.

Neither the Substitute Trustees, the Auctioneer or the Beneficiary or its affiliates are liable individually or otherwise for any matter relating to the sale or to the Property, except that if title to the Property cannot be transferred in accordance with the terms hereof for any reason, such liability is limited solely to the return of the purchaser's deposit. There shall be no other rights or remedies against the Substitute Trustees, the Auctioneer and/or the Beneficiary or any of their respective affiliates, agents, successors and assigns, either in law or equity.

**NOTE:** The material contained herein describing the Property has been obtained from sources believed to be reliable; however, no express or implied warranty is made as to the accuracy of any description. All dimensions or areas referred to herein are approximate.

For further information regarding the sale and the Property, please contact the offices or visit the website of the Auctioneer.

JOHN T. FARNUM  
JESSICA L. DUWALL  
Substitute Trustees

ALEX COOPER  
4910 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. • Suite 100  
Washington, DC 20016 • 202.364.0306  
www.alexcooper.com

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S0108.442

S0114.43

Trustees Sale - DC
MCMACE, HOSEA, PA
6044 Ivy Lane, Suite 820
Greenbelt, Maryland 20770
301.441.2420

Trustees Sale - DC
Pardo & Drazin, LLC
Russell S. Drazin, Attorney
4400 Jenifer Street, NW, Suite 2
Washington, DC 20015
202-223-7900

Trustees Sale - DC
Pardo & Drazin, LLC
Russell S. Drazin, Attorney
4400 Jenifer Street, NW, Suite 2
Washington, DC 20015
202-223-7900

Trustees Sale - DC
Samuel I. White, P.C.
6100 EXECUTIVE BLVD.
SUITE 400
ROCKVILLE, MARYLAND 20852

Trustees Sale - DC
Axelton, Williamowsky Bender & Fishman, P.C.
1401 Rockville Pike, Suite 650
Rockville, MD 20852

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in that certain Refinance Deed of Trust, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing, (the "Deed of Trust"), dated March 8, 2023, from SBRT, LLC ("Borrower") to Richard Sugarman, the original Trustee named therein, for the benefit of Stormfield Capital Funding I, LLC (the "Lender") and recorded with the District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds ("Land Records") on April 15, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024034278, and the Lender having subsequently appointed Aaron D. Neal and Mark W. Schweitzer as Substitute Trustees (the "Substitute Trustees") under the Deed of Trust and in place of the prior Trustee by that certain Appointment of Substitute Trustees made September 17, 2024 and recorded September 25, 2024 in the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024050799, a default having occurred on the payment of the indebtedness secured thereby and the covenants contained therein, and at the request of the party secured thereby, and following mailing of Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit which was recorded on October 3, 2024 in the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024093798 and Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure, which was recorded on September 25, 2024 in the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024097078 the undersigned Substitute Trustees will sell, at public auction, within the office of ALEX COOPER AUCTIONEERS, INC., 4910 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 100, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016 on Thursday, November 21, 2024 at 12:00 P.M., that certain land and premises commonly described as 1823 Q Street, SE, Washington, DC 20020 and identified for tax purposes as Square 5594, Lot 0031, as is more fully described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust. TOGETHER WITH any and all buildings, structures, improvements and appurtenances now erected on the above-described land, including, without limitation, all equipment, apparatus, machinery and fixtures of any kind or character forming a part of said buildings, structures, improvements or appurtenances, and any furniture, furnishings, equipment, machinery and other personal property owned and located in, upon or about the above-described land and any buildings thereon as or more particularly described in the aforesaid Deed of Trust (the "Property"). Pursuant to Section 28.9-604 of the D.C. Code, the Substitute Trustees are proceeding against both the real property and the personal property described in the Deed of Trust.

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust, Security Agreement and Assignment of Leases and Rents ("Deed of Trust") dated July 27, 2022 and recorded on July 28, 2022 as Instrument No. 2022080221 and re-recorded on July 17, 2024 as Instrument No. 2024066711 from Burke Distributorship, LLC, a Maryland limited liability company, as grantor, to T. D. Service Company, a California corporation, as trustee, for the benefit of Velocity Commercial Capital, LLC ("Original Trustee"), a California limited liability company, as beneficiary, securing a Term Note dated July 27, 2022 in the principal amount of \$350,000.00 made by Burke Distributorship, LLC, a Maryland limited liability company, as maker, payable to the order of Velocity Commercial Capital, LLC, a California limited liability company, as payee, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and pursuant to a Deed of Appointment of Substitute Trustee removing Original Trustee and appointing Russell S. Drazin ("Substitute Trustee") as successor trustee, and following the mailing and recordation of an Affidavit of Non-Residential Mortgage Foreclosure and a Notice of Foreclosure Sale of Real Property or Condominium Unit, at the request of the current noteholder, Substitute Trustee will sell at public auction at the office of Harvey West Auctioneers, Inc., 5335 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, Suite 440, Washington, DC 20015, on

COURT APPOINTED SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE
JUDICIAL SALE OF REAL PROPERTY
1266 Meigs Place, NE
Washington, DC 20002
Lots 0137 and 0138 in Square 4055

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE OF VALUABLE RESIDENTIAL DWELLING KNOWN AS: 151 DANBURY STREET SW, WASHINGTON, DC 20032

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF 4 UNIT BUILDING IN THE "ECKINGTON NEIGHBORHOOD" 1905 2ND STREET, N.E. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002

IMPROVEMENTS: Believed to be improved by an 8-unit apartment building.

NOVEMBER 19, 2024 AT 2:00 PM

NOVEMBER 19, 2024 AT 1:55 PM

151 Danbury Street SW Washington, DC 20032 Lot Numbered 0930 and Square Numbered 6201

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2024 AT 10:30 AM

TERMS OF SALE: ALL CASH. The bid which yields the highest price for the Property will be accepted by the Substitute Trustees (unless the sale is postponed or cancelled) and the successful bidder shall be bound to complete the purchase of the Property and to pay the purchase price in full at the time of sale. Notwithstanding the foregoing, the Substitute Trustees absolutely reserve the right to postpone the sale and/or cancel the sale at any time until the auctioneer announces that the Property is "sold" and the deposit in the required amount and form is received by the Substitute Trustees. A deposit in the amount of \$100,000 will be required at the time of sale. The deposit must be increased to 10% of the purchase price within 2 business days after consummation of the sale and delivered to the Substitute Trustees in the same form of funds as the initial deposit. Such deposit must be by cashier's check or certified check or in such other form as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their sole discretion. The Noteholder (or any related party) shall be exempted by the Substitute Trustees from submitting any bidding deposit. The Substitute Trustees will, as a condition of the sale, require all potential bidders except the Noteholder (or any related party) to show the following before any bidding begins. The retained deposit of the successful purchaser shall be applied without interest, to the successful purchaser's credit at settlement, provided, however, that in the event the successful purchaser fails to consummate the purchase in accordance with the terms of sale as herein provided, such deposit, at the option of the Substitute Trustees, will be forfeited. The terms of sale must be complied with, and settlement consummated within thirty (30) days from the date of sale unless extended at the sole discretion of the Substitute Trustees. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. The balance of the purchase price over and above the retained deposit, with interest thereon at the Note post-default rate of 18% from the date of sale through the date of receipt of the balance of the purchase price, will be due at settlement in cash or certified funds; and if not so paid, the Substitute Trustees reserve the right to retain the deposit and the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser, after such advertisement as to such terms as the Substitute Trustees may deem proper, and to avail themselves and the Noteholder of any legal or equitable rights against the defaulting purchaser, including, without limitation, the recovery of all of Noteholder's costs, expenses and reasonable attorneys' fees to conduct both sales, plus any deficiency resulting from such subsequent sale and the cost of collecting same.

ALL THAT LOT OF GROUND AND THE IMPROVEMENTS THEREON (if any) situated in the City of Washington, District of Columbia, known as 1811 18th Street, SE, Washington, DC 20020 (Lot 0814 in Square 5613), and more fully described in the Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS" condition, with no warranty of any kind, and subject to conditions, restrictions, agreements, liens, and encumbrances of record affecting the same - except those encumbrances of record that are extinguished by operation of District of Columbia law by virtue of the foreclosure of the Deed of Trust. The sale will be subject to ratification by the Court.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, the ability of the purchaser to obtain title insurance or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to any assessments including assessment pursuant to D.C. Code Section 42-1903.13.

The following described property located in the District of Columbia:

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$40,000.00 by cashier's check will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Purchaser shall settle within thirty (30) days of sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash or certified funds at settlement. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to the date of settlement at the applicable interest rate set forth in the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust. Purchaser shall be responsible for payment of all settlement costs.

The property will be sold in an "AS IS" condition, with no warranty of any kind, and subject to conditions, restrictions, agreements, liens, and encumbrances of record affecting the same - except those encumbrances of record that are extinguished by operation of District of Columbia law by virtue of the foreclosure of the Deed of Trust.

Purchaser will take title to the property subject to all taxes and water/sewer charges, if any. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note (6% per annum) from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Trustees, payable in cash or certified funds within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. Adjustment of current year's real property taxes are adjusted as of the date of sale, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All other public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, whether incurred prior to or after the sale are to be paid by the purchaser. All costs of deed recordation including but not limited to title examination, conveyancing, city revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from date of sale. Time is of the essence for the Purchaser. If the Purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, Purchaser agrees that the property will be resold and the entire deposit retained by the Substitute Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the Memorandum of Sale for all correspondence including any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale. The defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into and repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event or if the sale is not ratified, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit without interest. Trustees File No. 79745

Lot numbered 47 in a subdivision made by National Savings and Trust Company of Lots in Square 3565 as per plat recorded in Liber 105 at Folio 194 in the Office of the Surveyor for the District of Columbia. Tax ID # 3565/0047. Which has the address of 1905 2nd Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

The Property is sold subject to the rights, if any, of any parties in possession, if such rights have priority over the Deed of Trust, and to any and all covenants, conditions, restrictions, easements, rights of way, and limitations of record. The Property will be sold "WHERE IS" and in "AS IS" condition without any warranty as to condition, express or implied, and without any representation or warranty as to the accuracy of the information furnished to prospective bidders by the Substitute Trustees or any other party, and without any other representations or warranty of any nature. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Property will be sold without representation or warranty as to (i) title to the Property, (ii) the nature, condition, structural integrity, or fitness for a particular use of any improvements, fixtures or personal property included within the Property, (iii) the environmental condition of the Property or the compliance of the Property with federal, state and local laws and regulations concerning the presence or disposal of hazardous substances, (iv) compliance of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act or any similar law, (v) compliance of the Property with any federal, state, or local laws, regulations or other applicable restrictions or (vi) compliance of the Property with any zoning laws or ordinances and any and all applicable safety codes, and acceptance of the Deed to the Property by the successful purchaser shall constitute a waiver of any claims against the Substitute Trustees or the Noteholder concerning any of the foregoing matters. The successful purchaser recognizes that any investigation, examination, or inspection of the Property is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession of the Property and not within the control of the Substitute Trustee or the Noteholder.

Purchaser will take title to the property subject to all taxes, water and sewer charges, and other utility charges, if any. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property.

TERMS OF SALE: A nonrefundable deposit of at least ten percent (10%) of the bid price by certified funds will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Substitute Trustee may condition the right to bid or acceptance of bids upon a showing of said deposits, and may reserve the right to reject any bid made by anyone who does not have the deposit in hand at the auction. Substitute Trustee shall hold any deposit in a non-interest bearing trust account. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for noteholder and any of noteholder's successors or assigns. Noteholder may bid up to the amount owed on the note plus all costs and expenses of sale on credit and may submit a written bid to Substitute Trustee that shall be announced at the sale. Substitute Trustee may enter into a contract of sale with the highest qualified bidder subject to ratification by the Court, and any memorandum of sale must indicate that the sale is subject to said ratification. If a third party bidder is successful at the auction, the bond filed in the Foreclosure Case shall be increased to the full amount of the purchase price, which shall be posted prior to ratification by the Court. Substitute Trustee shall file a Verified Report of Sale with the Court within thirty (30) days of the auction. The Verified Report of Sale shall specify the time, place, terms of the sale, the purchaser, the purchase amount, and the deposit held, together with an affidavit and documentation establishing that Substitute Trustee complied with the notice and advertisement requirements of the Deed of Trust and Sale Decree. Unless otherwise ordered at the time of ratification, settlement shall occur by payment of all sums due under the bid in certified funds to Substitute Trustee within thirty (30) calendar days from the entry of an order ratifying the sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in certified funds at settlement. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to the date of settlement at the applicable interest rate set forth in the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust. Noteholder and its affiliates, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest. Purchaser shall be responsible for payment of all settlement costs. If purchaser fails or refuses to settle within the allotted time frame, the deposit will be forfeited and Substitute Trustee may apply the deposit toward costs, fees and his compensation associated with the initial auction and the resale process. Any remaining amount shall be credited to the underlying debt. Defaulting purchaser shall be liable to Substitute Trustee for legal fees and costs incurred by Substitute Trustee in connection with such default. If Substitute Trustee is unable to settle as set forth herein, purchaser's sole remedy at law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect whatsoever. After purchaser's funds submitted to Substitute Trustee have cleared, Substitute Trustee shall execute and deliver a Substitute Trustee's Deed, transferring title to purchaser. The costs of recording the Substitute Trustee's Deed shall be the responsibility of purchaser. Substitute Trustee shall be entitled to recover his costs incurred, including reasonable attorney's fees and commissions as authorized by the Deed of Trust for the execution of duties performed in accordance with the foreclosure and the Sale Decree as part of the settlement. Within sixty (60) days of settlement, Substitute Trustee shall file evidence of the settlement including a copy of the Substitute Trustee's Deed, a proposed accounting and distribution of funds, and a proposed order ratifying the distribution. A copy of those documents shall be sent to the Borrower and all junior lien holders, together with a notice that any claim or dispute with the proposed accounting and distribution must be filed within fourteen (14) days, and that if no claim or objection is filed, the accounting and distribution may be ratified by the Court without further hearing. Any unclaimed funds due to junior lienholders, owners, or any other party, may be identified for payment into the Court registry, and upon payment thereof, Substitute Trustee may request a determination that his duties have been discharged and the Foreclosure Case be closed with the bond released. Substitute Trustee may establish additional terms of sale as may be appropriate in his judgment to promote the best price at the auction so long as any additional terms remain consistent with and do not alter the specific terms and conditions of the Deed of Trust and the Sale Decree.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$20,000.00 PAYABLE ONLY BY certified funds, shall be required at the time of sale. CASH WILL NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF DEPOSIT. The balance of the purchase price with interest on the unpaid purchase money at the current rate contained in the Deed of Trust Note (6% per annum) from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Trustees, payable in cash or certified funds within TEN DAYS after the final ratification of the sale. There will be no abatement of interest due from the purchaser in the event additional funds are tendered before settlement. Adjustment of current year's real property taxes are adjusted as of the date of sale, and thereafter assumed by the purchaser. All other public and/or private charges or assessments, to the extent such amounts survive foreclosure sale, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, whether incurred prior to or after the sale are to be paid by the purchaser. All costs of deed recordation including but not limited to title examination, conveyancing, city revenue stamps, transfer taxes, title insurance, and all other costs incident to settlement are to be paid by the purchaser. Purchaser is responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property, and assumes risk of loss or damage to the property from date of sale. Time is of the essence for the Purchaser. If the Purchaser fails to settle within ten days of ratification, Purchaser agrees that the property will be resold and the entire deposit retained by the Substitute Trustees as liquidated damages for all losses occasioned by the purchaser's default and purchaser shall have no further liability. The purchaser agrees to accept service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the Memorandum of Sale for all correspondence including any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale. The defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds resulting from said resale even if such surplus results from improvements to the property by said defaulting purchaser. The sale is subject to post-sale audit of the status of the loan with the loan servicer including but not limited to, determination of whether the borrower entered into and repayment agreement, reinstated or paid off the loan prior to sale. In any such event or if the sale is not ratified, the purchaser's only remedy is return of the deposit without interest. Trustees File No. 79745

The property is believed to be a partially renovated, 4-unit building.

Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustees' Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after the date of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. Adjustment of all taxes, ground rents, public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage, and other public improvements will be made as of the date of sale and are to be assumed and paid thereafter by the successful purchaser, whether assessments have been levied or not. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for fuel, gas, electricity, utilities, and other operating charges accrued before or after the sale and all such charges shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser from the date of sale. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for any violations, fines, conditions, notices, infractions, tax liens, municipal fines or licensing requirements that accrued or applied before or after the sale and all such issues shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser whether arising before or after the date of sale. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recordation taxes and charges, all transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and all other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. If the Substitute Trustees cannot convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy is a return of deposit. Further particulars may be announced at the time of sale. For further information, please contact Paul Cooper at 443.470.1437.

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$40,000.00 by cashier's check will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Purchaser shall settle within thirty (30) days of sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash or certified funds at settlement. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to the date of settlement at the applicable interest rate set forth in the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust. Purchaser shall be responsible for payment of all settlement costs.

TERMS OF SALE: A nonrefundable deposit of at least ten percent (10%) of the bid price by certified funds will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Substitute Trustee may condition the right to bid or acceptance of bids upon a showing of said deposits, and may reserve the right to reject any bid made by anyone who does not have the deposit in hand at the auction. Substitute Trustee shall hold any deposit in a non-interest bearing trust account. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for noteholder and any of noteholder's successors or assigns. Noteholder may bid up to the amount owed on the note plus all costs and expenses of sale on credit and may submit a written bid to Substitute Trustee that shall be announced at the sale. Substitute Trustee may enter into a contract of sale with the highest qualified bidder subject to ratification by the Court, and any memorandum of sale must indicate that the sale is subject to said ratification. If a third party bidder is successful at the auction, the bond filed in the Foreclosure Case shall be increased to the full amount of the purchase price, which shall be posted prior to ratification by the Court. Substitute Trustee shall file a Verified Report of Sale with the Court within thirty (30) days of the auction. The Verified Report of Sale shall specify the time, place, terms of the sale, the purchaser, the purchase amount, and the deposit held, together with an affidavit and documentation establishing that Substitute Trustee complied with the notice and advertisement requirements of the Deed of Trust and Sale Decree. Unless otherwise ordered at the time of ratification, settlement shall occur by payment of all sums due under the bid in certified funds to Substitute Trustee within thirty (30) calendar days from the entry of an order ratifying the sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in certified funds at settlement. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to the date of settlement at the applicable interest rate set forth in the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust. Noteholder and its affiliates, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest. Purchaser shall be responsible for payment of all settlement costs. If purchaser fails or refuses to settle within the allotted time frame, the deposit will be forfeited and Substitute Trustee may apply the deposit toward costs, fees and his compensation associated with the initial auction and the resale process. Any remaining amount shall be credited to the underlying debt. Defaulting purchaser shall be liable to Substitute Trustee for legal fees and costs incurred by Substitute Trustee in connection with such default. If Substitute Trustee is unable to settle as set forth herein, purchaser's sole remedy at law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect whatsoever. After purchaser's funds submitted to Substitute Trustee have cleared, Substitute Trustee shall execute and deliver a Substitute Trustee's Deed, transferring title to purchaser. The costs of recording the Substitute Trustee's Deed shall be the responsibility of purchaser. Substitute Trustee shall be entitled to recover his costs incurred, including reasonable attorney's fees and commissions as authorized by the Deed of Trust for the execution of duties performed in accordance with the foreclosure and the Sale Decree as part of the settlement. Within sixty (60) days of settlement, Substitute Trustee shall file evidence of the settlement including a copy of the Substitute Trustee's Deed, a proposed accounting and distribution of funds, and a proposed order ratifying the distribution. A copy of those documents shall be sent to the Borrower and all junior lien holders, together with a notice that any claim or dispute with the proposed accounting and distribution must be filed within fourteen (14) days, and that if no claim or objection is filed, the accounting and distribution may be ratified by the Court without further hearing. Any unclaimed funds due to junior lienholders, owners, or any other party, may be identified for payment into the Court registry, and upon payment thereof, Substitute Trustee may request a determination that his duties have been discharged and the Foreclosure Case be closed with the bond released. Substitute Trustee may establish additional terms of sale as may be appropriate in his judgment to promote the best price at the auction so long as any additional terms remain consistent with and do not alter the specific terms and conditions of the Deed of Trust and the Sale Decree.

Daniel J. Pesachowitz, Esquire
Attorney for Trustees
HARVEY WEST AUCTIONEERS, INC.
3336 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Suite 440
Washington, DC 20015
202-453-6567
www.harvestrusteetrustees.com

TERMS OF SALE: A deposit of \$50,000.00 cash or certified funds will be required of the purchaser(s) at the time and place of Auction Sale. Balance due in cash or certified funds at settlement which shall occur within thirty (30) days of sale date. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase price at the rate of 20% per annum from day of Auction Sale to date of settlement. Time shall be of the essence with respect to settlement by the purchaser(s). The Substitute Trustees reserve the right, in their sole discretion, to (i) reject any and all bids, (ii) to modify or waive the requirements for deposits from bidders and other terms of sale or settlement, and (iii) to withdraw the property from sale at any time before or at the Auction. The party secured herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or pay interest. In the event the purchaser(s) fails to go to settlement as required, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property resold at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser(s). If the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect. Taxes, ground rent, water rent and all other public charges and assessments, payable on an annual basis shall be adjusted to date of Auction Sale, however, not to exceed an adjustment of \$500.00 against the Substitute Trustees and shall be assumed thereafter by the purchaser. The purchaser is responsible for any amount in excess of \$500.00 of outstanding civil citation, penalty and/or code violation liens, if any, incurred prior to the date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps, transfer taxes, document preparation, title insurance, survey costs, and all other settlement expenses incidental to the conveyance of the property shall be borne by the purchaser(s). The property will be sold in an "AS IS" condition, without any warranties or guarantees either express or implied as to the nature, condition or description of the improvements thereon and subject to all easements, conditions, restrictions, rights of redemption, covenants, encumbrances, such state of facts that an accurate survey or physical inspection of the property might disclose and agreements of record affecting the same, if any. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. In addition, the property will be sold subject to all existing housing, building and zoning code violations, and subject to all environmental problems and violations which may exist on or with respect to the property and subject to all matters and restrictions of record affecting the same, if any. The purchaser(s) at the foreclosure sale shall assume the risk of loss for the above-referenced property immediately after the Auction Sale takes place. Conveyance shall be by Trustee's Deed without covenant or warranty, express or implied. All other terms of sale to be announced at the sale. The information contained herein was obtained from sources deemed to be reliable, but is offered for information purposes only. The Substitute Trustees, Auctioneer and Secured Party do not make any representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy of this information. For further information, please contact Jeremy K. Fishman, Esquire, at 301-738-7684.

Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustees' Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after the date of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. Adjustment of all taxes, ground rents, public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage, and other public improvements will be made as of the date of sale and are to be assumed and paid thereafter by the successful purchaser, whether assessments have been levied or not. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for fuel, gas, electricity, utilities, and other operating charges accrued before or after the sale and all such charges shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser from the date of sale. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for any violations, fines, conditions, notices, infractions, tax liens, municipal fines or licensing requirements that accrued or applied before or after the sale and all such issues shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser whether arising before or after the date of sale. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recordation taxes and charges, all transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and all other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. If the Substitute Trustees cannot convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy is a return of deposit. Further particulars may be announced at the time of sale. For further information, please contact Paul Cooper at 443.470.1437.

The noteholder and its affiliates, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest.

TERMS OF SALE: A nonrefundable deposit of at least ten percent (10%) of the bid price by certified funds will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Substitute Trustee may condition the right to bid or acceptance of bids upon a showing of said deposits, and may reserve the right to reject any bid made by anyone who does not have the deposit in hand at the auction. Substitute Trustee shall hold any deposit in a non-interest bearing trust account. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for noteholder and any of noteholder's successors or assigns. Noteholder may bid up to the amount owed on the note plus all costs and expenses of sale on credit and may submit a written bid to Substitute Trustee that shall be announced at the sale. Substitute Trustee may enter into a contract of sale with the highest qualified bidder subject to ratification by the Court, and any memorandum of sale must indicate that the sale is subject to said ratification. If a third party bidder is successful at the auction, the bond filed in the Foreclosure Case shall be increased to the full amount of the purchase price, which shall be posted prior to ratification by the Court. Substitute Trustee shall file a Verified Report of Sale with the Court within thirty (30) days of the auction. The Verified Report of Sale shall specify the time, place, terms of the sale, the purchaser, the purchase amount, and the deposit held, together with an affidavit and documentation establishing that Substitute Trustee complied with the notice and advertisement requirements of the Deed of Trust and Sale Decree. Unless otherwise ordered at the time of ratification, settlement shall occur by payment of all sums due under the bid in certified funds to Substitute Trustee within thirty (30) calendar days from the entry of an order ratifying the sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in certified funds at settlement. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to the date of settlement at the applicable interest rate set forth in the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust. Noteholder and its affiliates, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest. Purchaser shall be responsible for payment of all settlement costs. If purchaser fails or refuses to settle within the allotted time frame, the deposit will be forfeited and Substitute Trustee may apply the deposit toward costs, fees and his compensation associated with the initial auction and the resale process. Any remaining amount shall be credited to the underlying debt. Defaulting purchaser shall be liable to Substitute Trustee for legal fees and costs incurred by Substitute Trustee in connection with such default. If Substitute Trustee is unable to settle as set forth herein, purchaser's sole remedy at law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect whatsoever. After purchaser's funds submitted to Substitute Trustee have cleared, Substitute Trustee shall execute and deliver a Substitute Trustee's Deed, transferring title to purchaser. The costs of recording the Substitute Trustee's Deed shall be the responsibility of purchaser. Substitute Trustee shall be entitled to recover his costs incurred, including reasonable attorney's fees and commissions as authorized by the Deed of Trust for the execution of duties performed in accordance with the foreclosure and the Sale Decree as part of the settlement. Within sixty (60) days of settlement, Substitute Trustee shall file evidence of the settlement including a copy of the Substitute Trustee's Deed, a proposed accounting and distribution of funds, and a proposed order ratifying the distribution. A copy of those documents shall be sent to the Borrower and all junior lien holders, together with a notice that any claim or dispute with the proposed accounting and distribution must be filed within fourteen (14) days, and that if no claim or objection is filed, the accounting and distribution may be ratified by the Court without further hearing. Any unclaimed funds due to junior lienholders, owners, or any other party, may be identified for payment into the Court registry, and upon payment thereof, Substitute Trustee may request a determination that his duties have been discharged and the Foreclosure Case be closed with the bond released. Substitute Trustee may establish additional terms of sale as may be appropriate in his judgment to promote the best price at the auction so long as any additional terms remain consistent with and do not alter the specific terms and conditions of the Deed of Trust and the Sale Decree.

Nov 11,18,25,Dec 3 2024 0012474542
Montgomery County Montgomery County

Final Mediation Certificate No. 10-09-27-00001-1 was recorded on October 15, 2024 among the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024097035 and expires on October 9, 2025.

Conveyance shall be by Substitute Trustees' Deed, without covenant or warranty, express or implied. The risk of loss or damage by fire or other casualty to the Property from and after the date of sale will be upon the successful purchaser. Adjustment of all taxes, ground rents, public charges, assessments, sewer, water, drainage, and other public improvements will be made as of the date of sale and are to be assumed and paid thereafter by the successful purchaser, whether assessments have been levied or not. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for fuel, gas, electricity, utilities, and other operating charges accrued before or after the sale and all such charges shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser from the date of sale. The Noteholder and Substitute Trustees assume no liability for any violations, fines, conditions, notices, infractions, tax liens, municipal fines or licensing requirements that accrued or applied before or after the sale and all such issues shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser whether arising before or after the date of sale. All costs incident to the settlement and conveyancing including, without limitation, examination of title, conveyancing, all recordation taxes and charges, all transfer taxes and charges, title insurance premiums, notary fees, settlement fees and all other costs incident to settlement shall be at the cost of the successful purchaser. If the Substitute Trustees cannot convey title, the purchaser's sole remedy is a return of deposit. Further particulars may be announced at the time of sale. For further information, please contact Paul Cooper at 443.470.1437.

In the event that purchaser does not settle as required for any reason, purchaser shall be in default. Upon such default, the deposit shall be forfeited to Trustee and all of the expenses of this sale (including legal fees and costs, and full commission on the gross sale price) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit. Substitute Trustee may resell the property at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser. The defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property. Defaulting purchaser shall be liable to Substitute Trustee for legal fees and costs incurred by Substitute Trustee in connection with such default.

TERMS OF SALE: A nonrefundable deposit of at least ten percent (10%) of the bid price by certified funds will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Substitute Trustee may condition the right to bid or acceptance of bids upon a showing of said deposits, and may reserve the right to reject any bid made by anyone who does not have the deposit in hand at the auction. Substitute Trustee shall hold any deposit in a non-interest bearing trust account. The deposit required to bid at the auction is waived for noteholder and any of noteholder's successors or assigns. Noteholder may bid up to the amount owed on the note plus all costs and expenses of sale on credit and may submit a written bid to Substitute Trustee that shall be announced at the sale. Substitute Trustee may enter into a contract of sale with the highest qualified bidder subject to ratification by the Court, and any memorandum of sale must indicate that the sale is subject to said ratification. If a third party bidder is successful at the auction, the bond filed in the Foreclosure Case shall be increased to the full amount of the purchase price, which shall be posted prior to ratification by the Court. Substitute Trustee shall file a Verified Report of Sale with the Court within thirty (30) days of the auction. The Verified Report of Sale shall specify the time, place, terms of the sale, the purchaser, the purchase amount, and the deposit held, together with an affidavit and documentation establishing that Substitute Trustee complied with the notice and advertisement requirements of the Deed of Trust and Sale Decree. Unless otherwise ordered at the time of ratification, settlement shall occur by payment of all sums due under the bid in certified funds to Substitute Trustee within thirty (30) calendar days from the entry of an order ratifying the sale. TIME SHALL BE OF THE ESSENCE WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENT BY PURCHASER. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in certified funds at settlement. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to the date of settlement at the applicable interest rate set forth in the debt instrument secured by the Deed of Trust. Noteholder and its affiliates, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit or to pay interest. Purchaser shall be responsible for payment of all settlement costs. If purchaser fails or refuses to settle within the allotted time frame, the deposit will be forfeited and Substitute Trustee may apply the deposit toward costs, fees and his compensation associated with the initial auction and the resale process. Any remaining amount shall be credited to the underlying debt. Defaulting purchaser shall be liable to Substitute Trustee for legal fees and costs incurred by Substitute Trustee in connection with such default. If Substitute Trustee is unable to settle as set forth herein, purchaser's sole remedy at law and in equity shall be limited to a refund of the deposit and the sale shall be considered null and void and of no effect whatsoever. After purchaser's funds submitted to Substitute Trustee have cleared, Substitute Trustee shall execute and deliver a Substitute Trustee's Deed, transferring title to purchaser. The costs of recording the Substitute Trustee's Deed shall be the responsibility of purchaser. Substitute Trustee shall be entitled to recover his costs incurred, including reasonable attorney's fees and commissions as authorized by the Deed of Trust for the execution of duties performed in accordance with the foreclosure and the Sale Decree as part of the settlement. Within sixty (60) days of settlement, Substitute Trustee shall file evidence of the settlement including a copy of the Substitute Trustee's Deed, a proposed accounting and distribution of funds, and a proposed order ratifying the distribution. A copy of those documents shall be sent to the Borrower and all junior lien holders, together with a notice that any claim or dispute with the proposed accounting and distribution must be filed within fourteen (14) days, and that if no claim or objection is filed, the accounting and distribution may be ratified by the Court without further hearing. Any unclaimed funds due to junior lienholders, owners, or any other party, may be identified for payment into the Court registry, and upon payment thereof, Substitute Trustee may request a determination that his duties have been discharged and the Foreclosure Case be closed with the bond released. Substitute Trustee may establish additional terms of sale as may be appropriate in his judgment to promote the best price at the auction so long as any additional terms remain consistent with and do not alter the specific terms and conditions of the Deed of Trust and the Sale Decree.

Nov 11,18,25,Dec 3 2024 0012474542
Montgomery County Montgomery County

Final Mediation Certificate No. 10-09-27-00001-1 was recorded on October 15, 2024 among the Land Records as Instrument No. 2024097035 and expires on October 9, 2025.

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In the event that purchaser does not settle as required for any reason, purchaser shall be in default. Upon such default, the deposit shall be forfeited to Trustee and all of the expenses of this sale (including legal fees and costs, and full commission on the gross sale price) shall be charged against and paid out of the forfeited deposit. Substitute Trustee may resell the property at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser. The defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the property. Defaulting purchaser shall be liable to Substitute Trustee for legal fees and costs incurred by Substitute Trustee in connection with such default.

TERMS OF SALE: A nonrefundable deposit of at least ten percent (10%) of the bid price by certified funds will be required of purchaser at the time and place of sale. Substitute Trustee may condition the right to bid or acceptance of bids upon a showing of said deposits, and may



851 Prince Georges County
IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MARYLAND
ROBERT A. JONES, et al
Plaintiffs, Substitute Trustees
v.
MIGUEL ANGEL CRUZ ESPINDOLA
MARIA M. HERRERA
Defendants
Civil Action No. C-16-CV-24-002634
NOTICE
Notice is hereby given this 24th day of October, 2024, by the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, Maryland, that the sale of the property mentioned in these proceedings and described as 828 Clovis Avenue, Capitol Heights, MD 20743 will be ratified and confirmed, unless cause to the contrary thereof be shown on or before the 25th day of November, 2024, provided a copy of this NOTICE be published at least once a week in each of three successive weeks in some newspaper of general circulation published in said County before the 25th day of November, 2024. The Report of Sale states the amount of the sale to be \$211,200.00.

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
7302 Wintergreen Ct
Greenbelt, MD 20770
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MANYI SESAY, dated May 13, 2021 and recorded in Liber 45601, folio 235 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-000690; Tax ID No.21-2405538) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
1714 Blount Dr
Fort Washington, MD 20744
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from CARLY A. HOLLAND, dated September 15, 2020 and recorded in Liber 44175, folio 246 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-001082; Tax ID No.05-0366260) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
3400 Accokeek Rd
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from QIANA R. CURRY, dated May 11, 2022 and recorded in Liber 47709, folio 281 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-23-005042; Tax ID No.05-0278077) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
3400 Accokeek Rd
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from ROBERT A. HAWKINS, dated July 9, 2007 and recorded in Liber 6419, folio 632 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000476; Tax ID No.06-173241) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 12:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
2011 English Oak Ct
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MARGARET M. PRESSLEY, dated December 7, 2006 and recorded in Liber 6346, folio 735 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000131; Tax ID No.06109297) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 12:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
6014 Pecarry Street
Waldorf, MD 20603
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from ROBERT A. HAWKINS, dated July 9, 2007 and recorded in Liber 6419, folio 632 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000476; Tax ID No.06-173241) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 12:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

856 Frederick County
MILES & STOCKBRIDGE P.C.
100 Light Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202
(410) 385-3406
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE OF FIVE (5) TRACTS OF FEE SIMPLE AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY TOTALING 471.39 ACRES
Under the power of sale contained in that certain Indemnity Deed of Trust dated November 19, 2009 from Ramsburg Family, LLC and Ramsburg Farms, LLC (the "Deed of Trust") recorded among the Land Records of Frederick County, Maryland (the "Land Records"), in Book 7620, page 229, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust, the holder of the indebtedness secured thereby (the "Lender") secured thereby, having subsequently appointed Patricia B. Jefferson as Substitute Trustee by instrument recorded among the Land Records, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust, and at the request of the party secured thereby (Civil Case No.C-10-cv-24-00748), the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer the following property for sale at Public Auction on:
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 2024 at 3 P.M.
Sale to be held at the Courthouse Door of the Circuit Court for Frederick County
100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701
PROPERTY DESCRIPTION (the "Property"):

TRACT ONE: Approximately 215.48 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400951 located at Ramsburg Road north of Bottomley Road, improved by one or more agricultural buildings
TRACT TWO: Approximately 59.59 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400986 located at Old Frederick Road and Links Bridge Road
TRACT THREE: Approximately 47 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-391979 located at Old Frederick Road north of Hessong Bridge Road
TRACT FOUR: Approximately .72 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-406739 located at Old Frederick Road
TRACT FIVE: Approximately 148.5994 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400978 located at Bottomley Road
For a full metes and bounds legal description of the Property, please contact Patricia Jefferson of Miles & Stockbridge P.C. at 410-385-3406 or by email at pjjefferson@milestockbridge.com.

CONDITIONS OF SALE: The Property will be sold in an "AS IS/WHERE IS" condition without any representations or express or implied warranties of any nature whatsoever. In particular, neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender make any representation or warranty with respect to: (1) the existence, validity, scope, or nature of any zoning, land use, development, site plans, occupancy or other governmental permits or approvals with respect to the Property; (2) fitness for any particular purpose or use, including the structural integrity of any improvements on the Property; (3) flood zone designations of the Property; (4) compliance of the Property with any zoning or building laws, regulations and ordinances; (5) ingress, egress or access to the Property; (6) the rights of any parties in possession, or the existence, validity, terms or conditions of any lease of all or any portion of the Property; (7) the existence of any security deposits or rental payments; (8) compliance of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act; or (9) the condition of the Property, of any nature whatsoever, including environmental contamination.
Neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender shall have any obligation to obtain possession of the Property. It shall be the purchaser's obligation, at the purchaser's sole cost, to obtain possession of the Property.
RISK OF LOSS SHALL PASS TO THE PURCHASER IMMEDIATELY AND AUTOMATICALLY AT THE TIME OF SALE. Neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender shall have any obligation to obtain or maintain any insurance coverage with respect to the Property.
The Property shall be sold subject to: (1) any easements, restrictions, declarations, site plans, and restrictive covenants of record affecting the same; (2) any and all disclosures and conditions on any plats of record affecting all or any portion of the Property; (3) any encroachments, overlaps, boundary line disputes and other matters which would be disclosed by an accurate survey of the Property; (4) any matters which would be disclosed by a physical inspection of the Property; (5) any environmental conditions, problems and/or violations, that may exist on or relate to the Property or any improvements thereon; and (6) any and all zoning laws, regulations, PUD overlays, and ordinances or governmental permits or approvals affecting the Property (including any housing or building code violations, the existence of any lead paint, asbestos or radon or any other hazardous or toxic substances).

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
7302 Wintergreen Ct
Greenbelt, MD 20770
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MANYI SESAY, dated May 13, 2021 and recorded in Liber 45601, folio 235 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-000690; Tax ID No.21-2405538) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
1714 Blount Dr
Fort Washington, MD 20744
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from CARLY A. HOLLAND, dated September 15, 2020 and recorded in Liber 44175, folio 246 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-001082; Tax ID No.05-0366260) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
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851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
3400 Accokeek Rd
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from QIANA R. CURRY, dated May 11, 2022 and recorded in Liber 47709, folio 281 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-23-005042; Tax ID No.05-0278077) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
2011 English Oak Ct
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MARGARET M. PRESSLEY, dated December 7, 2006 and recorded in Liber 6346, folio 735 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000131; Tax ID No.06109297) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 12:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
6014 Pecarry Street
Waldorf, MD 20603
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from ROBERT A. HAWKINS, dated July 9, 2007 and recorded in Liber 6419, folio 632 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000476; Tax ID No.06-173241) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 12:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

856 Frederick County
MILES & STOCKBRIDGE P.C.
100 Light Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202
(410) 385-3406
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE OF FIVE (5) TRACTS OF FEE SIMPLE AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY TOTALING 471.39 ACRES
Under the power of sale contained in that certain Indemnity Deed of Trust dated November 19, 2009 from Ramsburg Family, LLC and Ramsburg Farms, LLC (the "Deed of Trust") recorded among the Land Records of Frederick County, Maryland (the "Land Records"), in Book 7620, page 229, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust, the holder of the indebtedness secured thereby (the "Lender") secured thereby, having subsequently appointed Patricia B. Jefferson as Substitute Trustee by instrument recorded among the Land Records, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust, and at the request of the party secured thereby (Civil Case No.C-10-cv-24-00748), the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer the following property for sale at Public Auction on:
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 2024 at 3 P.M.
Sale to be held at the Courthouse Door of the Circuit Court for Frederick County
100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701
PROPERTY DESCRIPTION (the "Property"):

TRACT ONE: Approximately 215.48 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400951 located at Ramsburg Road north of Bottomley Road, improved by one or more agricultural buildings
TRACT TWO: Approximately 59.59 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400986 located at Old Frederick Road and Links Bridge Road
TRACT THREE: Approximately 47 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-391979 located at Old Frederick Road north of Hessong Bridge Road
TRACT FOUR: Approximately .72 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-406739 located at Old Frederick Road
TRACT FIVE: Approximately 148.5994 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400978 located at Bottomley Road
For a full metes and bounds legal description of the Property, please contact Patricia Jefferson of Miles & Stockbridge P.C. at 410-385-3406 or by email at pjjefferson@milestockbridge.com.

CONDITIONS OF SALE: The Property will be sold in an "AS IS/WHERE IS" condition without any representations or express or implied warranties of any nature whatsoever. In particular, neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender make any representation or warranty with respect to: (1) the existence, validity, scope, or nature of any zoning, land use, development, site plans, occupancy or other governmental permits or approvals with respect to the Property; (2) fitness for any particular purpose or use, including the structural integrity of any improvements on the Property; (3) flood zone designations of the Property; (4) compliance of the Property with any zoning or building laws, regulations and ordinances; (5) ingress, egress or access to the Property; (6) the rights of any parties in possession, or the existence, validity, terms or conditions of any lease of all or any portion of the Property; (7) the existence of any security deposits or rental payments; (8) compliance of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act; or (9) the condition of the Property, of any nature whatsoever, including environmental contamination.
Neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender shall have any obligation to obtain possession of the Property. It shall be the purchaser's obligation, at the purchaser's sole cost, to obtain possession of the Property.
RISK OF LOSS SHALL PASS TO THE PURCHASER IMMEDIATELY AND AUTOMATICALLY AT THE TIME OF SALE. Neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender shall have any obligation to obtain or maintain any insurance coverage with respect to the Property.
The Property shall be sold subject to: (1) any easements, restrictions, declarations, site plans, and restrictive covenants of record affecting the same; (2) any and all disclosures and conditions on any plats of record affecting all or any portion of the Property; (3) any encroachments, overlaps, boundary line disputes and other matters which would be disclosed by an accurate survey of the Property; (4) any matters which would be disclosed by a physical inspection of the Property; (5) any environmental conditions, problems and/or violations, that may exist on or relate to the Property or any improvements thereon; and (6) any and all zoning laws, regulations, PUD overlays, and ordinances or governmental permits or approvals affecting the Property (including any housing or building code violations, the existence of any lead paint, asbestos or radon or any other hazardous or toxic substances).

MANNER OF SALE: The five tracts of Real Property will be offered as an entirety.
WAIVERS: The purchaser waives and releases the Substitute Trustee and the Lender and each of their respective agents, successors and assigns from any and all claims the purchaser and/or its successors and assigns may now have or may have in the future relating to: (1) any condition, problem or violation affecting the Property; (2) any existing or future building or zoning code problems or violations, and (3) the accuracy or validity of any information described herein. Purchaser has not relied on anything in the foreclosure advertisement but rather has relied solely on such investigations, examinations or inspections of the Property as the purchaser has made.
TERMS OF SALE: This advertisement, as amended by any oral announcements during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the Substitute Trustee's entire terms upon which the Property shall be offered for sale, sold or purchased. The Substitute Trustee reserves the right to withdraw the Property or release it from the Deed of Trust, in whole or in part, at any time before sale. If the Substitute Trustee determines that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. If any dispute arises among the bidders, the Substitute Trustee shall have the sole and final discretion either to determine the successful bidder or to reoffer and resell the Property. A cash deposit or certified check made payable to the Substitute Trustee in the amount of \$75,000 will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale. The purchaser is required to increase its deposit to 10% of the bid price within three (3) business days of the sale. All cash deposits or certified checks shall be delivered to the Substitute Trustee c/o Miles & Stockbridge P.C., 100 Light Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202. All deposits shall be held by the Substitute Trustee in a non-interest bearing escrow account to be applied to the purchase price at the time of settlement. The Lender, or its nominee, if the successful bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. The balance of such purchase price, together with interest at the rate of ten percent (10%) per annum on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to date of settlement (as hereinafter specified) must be paid on the date of settlement.

All taxes (except outstanding real property taxes, which shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser) and assessments, including, but not limited to, rents, ground rents, public charges, sewer charges, water rents, assessments, utilities or similar items, if any, payable on an annual or any other basis shall be adjusted as of the date of the foreclosure sale and thereafter assumed and paid by the purchaser at settlement. The purchaser shall pay all expenses and costs required for or incident to its settlement, including, without limitation, all state and local transfer taxes, documentary taxes, agricultural taxes, recording taxes and fees, title examination costs, title insurance premiums, and attorneys' fees.
The purchaser shall settle and comply with the sale terms within ten (10) days after the Circuit Court for Frederick County, Maryland finally ratifies the sale, unless said period is extended by the Substitute Trustee, their successors or assigns, for good cause shown. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.
If the purchaser defaults, in addition to any other legal or equitable remedies available to them, the Substitute Trustee may declare the entire deposit forfeited and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser. The purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profit resulting from any resale of all or any portion of the Property.
Neither the Substitute Trustee, the Auctioneer, nor the Lender are liable for any matter relating to the sale or to the Property, except that if title to the Property cannot be transferred in accordance with the terms hereof for any reason, such liability is limited solely to the return of the purchaser's deposit.
NOTE: The material contained herein describing the Property has been obtained from sources believed to be reliable; however, no express or implied warranty is made as to the accuracy of any description.
For further information regarding the sale and the Property, please contact the offices of the Substitute Trustee or visit the website of the Auctioneer.
Patricia B. Jefferson, Substitute Trustee

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
7302 Wintergreen Ct
Greenbelt, MD 20770
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MANYI SESAY, dated May 13, 2021 and recorded in Liber 45601, folio 235 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-000690; Tax ID No.21-2405538) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
1714 Blount Dr
Fort Washington, MD 20744
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from CARLY A. HOLLAND, dated September 15, 2020 and recorded in Liber 44175, folio 246 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-001082; Tax ID No.05-0366260) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
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851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
3400 Accokeek Rd
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from QIANA R. CURRY, dated May 11, 2022 and recorded in Liber 47709, folio 281 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-23-005042; Tax ID No.05-0278077) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
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855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
2011 English Oak Ct
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MARGARET M. PRESSLEY, dated December 7, 2006 and recorded in Liber 6346, folio 735 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000131; Tax ID No.06109297) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 12:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CHARLES COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

855 Charles County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
6014 Pecarry Street
Waldorf, MD 20603
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from ROBERT A. HAWKINS, dated July 9, 2007 and recorded in Liber 6419, folio 632 among the Land Records of CHARLES COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-08-CV-24-000476; Tax ID No.06-173241) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the CHARLES COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at 200 CHARLES STREET ( IN THE BREEZEWAY BETWEEN CIRCUIT AND DISTRICT COURTS ), LA PLATA, MD 20646, on
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856 Frederick County
MILES & STOCKBRIDGE P.C.
100 Light Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202
(410) 385-3406
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE OF FIVE (5) TRACTS OF FEE SIMPLE AGRICULTURAL REAL PROPERTY TOTALING 471.39 ACRES
Under the power of sale contained in that certain Indemnity Deed of Trust dated November 19, 2009 from Ramsburg Family, LLC and Ramsburg Farms, LLC (the "Deed of Trust") recorded among the Land Records of Frederick County, Maryland (the "Land Records"), in Book 7620, page 229, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust, the holder of the indebtedness secured thereby (the "Lender") secured thereby, having subsequently appointed Patricia B. Jefferson as Substitute Trustee by instrument recorded among the Land Records, default having occurred under the terms of said Deed of Trust, and at the request of the party secured thereby (Civil Case No.C-10-cv-24-00748), the undersigned Substitute Trustee will offer the following property for sale at Public Auction on:
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 2024 at 3 P.M.
Sale to be held at the Courthouse Door of the Circuit Court for Frederick County
100 W. Patrick St., Frederick, MD 21701
PROPERTY DESCRIPTION (the "Property"):

TRACT ONE: Approximately 215.48 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400951 located at Ramsburg Road north of Bottomley Road, improved by one or more agricultural buildings
TRACT TWO: Approximately 59.59 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400986 located at Old Frederick Road and Links Bridge Road
TRACT THREE: Approximately 47 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-391979 located at Old Frederick Road north of Hessong Bridge Road
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TRACT FIVE: Approximately 148.5994 acres, Tax Parcel ID No. 20-400978 located at Bottomley Road
For a full metes and bounds legal description of the Property, please contact Patricia Jefferson of Miles & Stockbridge P.C. at 410-385-3406 or by email at pjjefferson@milestockbridge.com.

CONDITIONS OF SALE: The Property will be sold in an "AS IS/WHERE IS" condition without any representations or express or implied warranties of any nature whatsoever. In particular, neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender make any representation or warranty with respect to: (1) the existence, validity, scope, or nature of any zoning, land use, development, site plans, occupancy or other governmental permits or approvals with respect to the Property; (2) fitness for any particular purpose or use, including the structural integrity of any improvements on the Property; (3) flood zone designations of the Property; (4) compliance of the Property with any zoning or building laws, regulations and ordinances; (5) ingress, egress or access to the Property; (6) the rights of any parties in possession, or the existence, validity, terms or conditions of any lease of all or any portion of the Property; (7) the existence of any security deposits or rental payments; (8) compliance of the Property with the Americans with Disabilities Act; or (9) the condition of the Property, of any nature whatsoever, including environmental contamination.
Neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender shall have any obligation to obtain possession of the Property. It shall be the purchaser's obligation, at the purchaser's sole cost, to obtain possession of the Property.
RISK OF LOSS SHALL PASS TO THE PURCHASER IMMEDIATELY AND AUTOMATICALLY AT THE TIME OF SALE. Neither the Substitute Trustee nor the Lender shall have any obligation to obtain or maintain any insurance coverage with respect to the Property.
The Property shall be sold subject to: (1) any easements, restrictions, declarations, site plans, and restrictive covenants of record affecting the same; (2) any and all disclosures and conditions on any plats of record affecting all or any portion of the Property; (3) any encroachments, overlaps, boundary line disputes and other matters which would be disclosed by an accurate survey of the Property; (4) any matters which would be disclosed by a physical inspection of the Property; (5) any environmental conditions, problems and/or violations, that may exist on or relate to the Property or any improvements thereon; and (6) any and all zoning laws, regulations, PUD overlays, and ordinances or governmental permits or approvals affecting the Property (including any housing or building code violations, the existence of any lead paint, asbestos or radon or any other hazardous or toxic substances).

MANNER OF SALE: The five tracts of Real Property will be offered as an entirety.
WAIVERS: The purchaser waives and releases the Substitute Trustee and the Lender and each of their respective agents, successors and assigns from any and all claims the purchaser and/or its successors and assigns may now have or may have in the future relating to: (1) any condition, problem or violation affecting the Property; (2) any existing or future building or zoning code problems or violations, and (3) the accuracy or validity of any information described herein. Purchaser has not relied on anything in the foreclosure advertisement but rather has relied solely on such investigations, examinations or inspections of the Property as the purchaser has made.
TERMS OF SALE: This advertisement, as amended by any oral announcements during the conduct of the sale, constitutes the Substitute Trustee's entire terms upon which the Property shall be offered for sale, sold or purchased. The Substitute Trustee reserves the right to withdraw the Property or release it from the Deed of Trust, in whole or in part, at any time before sale. If the Substitute Trustee determines that the final bid is not commensurate with the value of the Property, they may reject the bid and withdraw the Property from sale. If any dispute arises among the bidders, the Substitute Trustee shall have the sole and final discretion either to determine the successful bidder or to reoffer and resell the Property. A cash deposit or certified check made payable to the Substitute Trustee in the amount of \$75,000 will be required of the purchaser at the time and place of sale. The purchaser is required to increase its deposit to 10% of the bid price within three (3) business days of the sale. All cash deposits or certified checks shall be delivered to the Substitute Trustee c/o Miles & Stockbridge P.C., 100 Light Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202. All deposits shall be held by the Substitute Trustee in a non-interest bearing escrow account to be applied to the purchase price at the time of settlement. The Lender, or its nominee, if the successful bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. The balance of such purchase price, together with interest at the rate of ten percent (10%) per annum on the unpaid purchase money from the date of sale to date of settlement (as hereinafter specified) must be paid on the date of settlement.

All taxes (except outstanding real property taxes, which shall be the sole responsibility of the purchaser) and assessments, including, but not limited to, rents, ground rents, public charges, sewer charges, water rents, assessments, utilities or similar items, if any, payable on an annual or any other basis shall be adjusted as of the date of the foreclosure sale and thereafter assumed and paid by the purchaser at settlement. The purchaser shall pay all expenses and costs required for or incident to its settlement, including, without limitation, all state and local transfer taxes, documentary taxes, agricultural taxes, recording taxes and fees, title examination costs, title insurance premiums, and attorneys' fees.
The purchaser shall settle and comply with the sale terms within ten (10) days after the Circuit Court for Frederick County, Maryland finally ratifies the sale, unless said period is extended by the Substitute Trustee, their successors or assigns, for good cause shown. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.
If the purchaser defaults, in addition to any other legal or equitable remedies available to them, the Substitute Trustee may declare the entire deposit forfeited and resell the Property at the risk and cost of the defaulting purchaser. The purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profit resulting from any resale of all or any portion of the Property.
Neither the Substitute Trustee, the Auctioneer, nor the Lender are liable for any matter relating to the sale or to the Property, except that if title to the Property cannot be transferred in accordance with the terms hereof for any reason, such liability is limited solely to the return of the purchaser's deposit.
NOTE: The material contained herein describing the Property has been obtained from sources believed to be reliable; however, no express or implied warranty is made as to the accuracy of any description.
For further information regarding the sale and the Property, please contact the offices of the Substitute Trustee or visit the website of the Auctioneer.
Patricia B. Jefferson, Substitute Trustee

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
7302 Wintergreen Ct
Greenbelt, MD 20770
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from MANYI SESAY, dated May 13, 2021 and recorded in Liber 45601, folio 235 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-000690; Tax ID No.21-2405538) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
NOVEMBER 27, 2024 at 2:30 PM
ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
1714 Blount Dr
Fort Washington, MD 20744
Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from CARLY A. HOLLAND, dated September 15, 2020 and recorded in Liber 44175, folio 246 among the Land Records of PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.C-16-CV-24-001082; Tax ID No.05-0366260) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE, located at FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772, on
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851 Prince Georges County
ORLANDS PC
1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310
LEESBURG, VA 20175
703-777-7101
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY
3400 Accokeek Rd
Waldorf, MD 20601
Under a power of sale