

ELECTION 2016

Trump nears upset

REPUBLICAN SHOWS SURPRISING STRENGTH IN BATTLEGROUNDS

THE TAKE

Healing a nation: A task tougher than winning

The newly elected 45th president, whose identity remained unknown late into Tuesday night, will arrive in the Oval Office carrying the usual checklist: Boost the economy. Protect national security. Resolve knotty issues of immigration and health care. All those pale in the face of the real challenge, which will be to deal with the aftereffects of the rancorous and traumatic journey that was Election 2016.

The obstacles for the new president are enormous. The political system is broken. Goodwill has all but disappeared. Suspicion and hostility — so prevalent throughout the campaign year — provide the backdrop. In years past, Americans have generally greeted the results of presidential elections with a sense of hopefulness. This time, even before the votes were cast, battle lines were forming for the days ahead.

There was nothing normal about the campaign between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. Election Day arrived amid a stew of emotions: fear, hope, anger, passion, frustration, nervousness and, above all, relief and nervous anticipation. For most Americans, the 2016 campaign was a long and dispiriting contest that tested the strength and resiliency of a deeply divided nation.

This was an election about fundamentals and first principles, bringing to the surface an acrimonious

TAKE CONTINUED ON A28

Election stunner spurs a plunge in global markets

BY YLAN Q. MUI AND SIMON DENYER

Global financial markets plummeted Tuesday night as Donald Trump claimed the lead in the race to the White House, projected as the winner in key swing states such as Ohio and Florida.

On Wall Street, all three major stock indexes were down 4 percent or more late Tuesday evening in premarket trading, with futures for the Dow Jones industrial average sliding more than 700 points. Futures trading was temporarily halted for the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index amid a 5 percent loss. The Mexican peso — which has fallen as the Republican nominee rose in the polls during his campaign — nose-dived to an eight-year low, according to Bloomberg News. The panic stretched all the way to Asia, where Japan's Nikkei index plunged more than 900 points at one point, or 5.4 percent.

In a flight to safety, gold charged higher. U.S. Treasuries and the yen also surged.

The assumption that Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton would notch a comfortable victory had boosted markets earlier in the week. But on Tuesday night, investors began to grapple with the possibility that

MARKETS CONTINUED ON A37

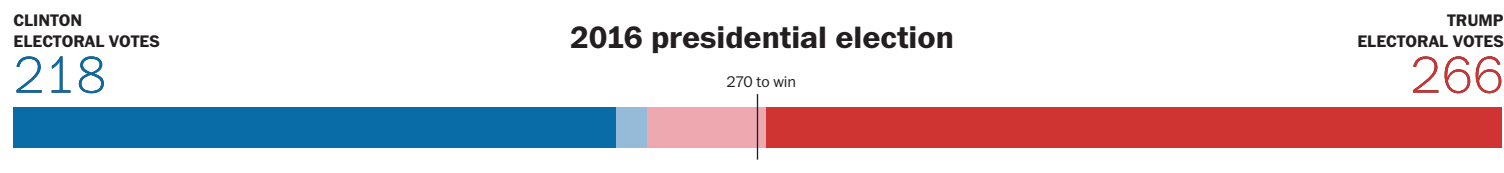


JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Donald Trump supporters cheer as results are announced Tuesday inside the New York Hilton Midtown. The Republican nominee captured many of Tuesday's top prizes, including Ohio, North Carolina and Florida. ABOVE: Supporters of Hillary Clinton at the Javits Center in Manhattan express concern as states in the Midwest are called for Trump. Clinton was underperforming in Rust Belt states.



Acrid campaign brought America's crass online 'underbelly' to surface

BY MARC FISHER

Eight years ago, unprecedented throngs of Americans rushed into the streets in the middle of the night. People cried, hugged strangers, kissed cops, shared champagne. The country had just elected its first black president, and it felt as if liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, were on the same team, if only for a rousing moment, and that team had just won the World Series.

Of course, it quickly became clear that Barack Obama had

won office in a divided nation hungry for change but also mistrustful of authority, suspicious of nearly everything. Tuesday night's election, whichever way it would turn out, seemed unlikely to provoke any such unifying surge of goodwill and pride.

Americans on election night of 2016 had the blues — anxious about the future, miffed about the lousy choices they faced, insecure about the nation's place in the world, bothered by each other.

A presidential election is a reflection of the national culture

and mood, and if the Obama election was a statement of optimism about the radical demographic, technological and social changes of recent decades, then what did Americans' choice of Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump really mean? It is, some voters said, an admission of exhaustion, a collective settling for the lesser of two evils in a country where people increasingly choose not to live near, associate with or listen to those who hold opposing political views. Not quite, other voters said. Even without Trump's ex-

traordinary appeal, Americans were determined this year to send the politicians a message about the pain caused by a decades-long collapse of certainties about what America looks like, what constitutes a family and how we earn a living.

Through traditional news media and new social media, an unusually captivated audience saw this campaign as a disorienting kaleidoscope of bloodcurdling anger at raucous rallies, waves of investigation and suspicion, and torrents of insults

AMERICA CONTINUED ON A29

Razor-thin margin hints at voter scorn for status quo

BY KAREN TUMULTY, PHILIP RUCKER AND ANNE GEARAN

Donald Trump was on the cusp of a breathtaking upset in the U.S. presidential election, claiming a quartet of prizes — Florida, North Carolina, Ohio and Pennsylvania — and wrestling with Hillary Clinton in other crucial battleground states well into the morning Wednesday.

The Republican nominee's stunning performance at the polls defied expectations and was a repudiation of the status quo. Trump's improbable candidacy was fueled by legions of aggrieved voters fed up with the political system and mistrustful of Clinton, a former first lady, senator and secretary of state.

The general election turned on the question of national identity. While Clinton sought to make history as the first female president by assembling a diverse coalition that she said reflected the nation's future, Trump built a more powerful and impassioned movement by fanning resentments over gender, race and religion.

The presumption, right up to the hours when polls began closing, was that Trump had a far narrower path to victory than the Democratic nominee. But he capitalized on nearly every opportunity across the electoral map. One by one on Tuesday night, electoral prizes that for hours had been too close to call fell into Trump's win column.

Clinton claimed Colorado and Virginia, but she was underperforming expectations in the traditionally Democratic-leaning

PRESIDENT CONTINUED ON A32

Trump's backers kept the faith as skeptics doubted

BY JENNA JOHNSON

YOUNGSTOWN, PA. — All day long and into the night, it was like a pilgrimage.

Donald Trump's supporters would first stop at polling locations across southwestern Pennsylvania, which was plastered with Trump signs on Tuesday, and then they would journey to a farmhouse on state Route 982 that's painted like an American flag.

Standing in the yard with a 14-foot-tall metal Trump, they talked about how by the end of the night, he would be their next president. There was a feeling of mutual agreement that the polls were wrong, the media were wrong and anyone telling them that Trump would lose was wrong. And at least as the day began, there was also a feeling of enduring optimism that their lives were at long last about to change.

"I've never voted in my life until this," said Dave Fisher, 49, who used to make good money salvaging metal and taking it to processing plants in the Pittsburgh area. He saw that work dry up eight years ago, forcing him to work construction and a host of odd jobs for a fraction of the pay. "There's never been anyone I really cared about. He put a spark in everything; he makes you want

VOTERS CONTINUED ON A35

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Trump takes power

NEW PRESIDENT VOWS TO END 'AMERICAN CARNAGE'



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump delivers his inaugural address at the Capitol. "What truly matters is not which party controls our government but whether our government is controlled by the people," he said.

FIRST ACTIONS

Signed order might start the gutting of ACA mandate

BY ASHLEY PARKER AND AMY GOLDSTEIN

President Trump signed an executive order late Friday giving federal agencies broad powers to unwind regulations created under the Affordable Care Act, which might include enforcement of the penalty for people who fail to carry the health insurance that the law requires of most Americans.

The executive order, signed in the Oval Office as one of the new president's first actions, directs agencies to grant relief to all constituencies affected by the sprawling 2010 health-care law: consumers, insurers, hospitals, doctors, pharmaceutical companies, states and others. It does not describe specific federal rules to be softened or lifted, but it appears to give room for agencies to eliminate an array of ACA taxes and requirements.

However, some of these are embedded in the law, so it is unclear what latitude the executive branch will have.

Though the new administration's specific intentions are not yet clear, the order's breadth and early timing carry symbolic value for a president who made repealing the ACA — his predecessor's signature domestic achievement — a leading campaign promise.

Additionally, the order's language about easing economic and regulatory burdens aligns with

ORDER CONTINUED ON A20



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

LEFT: Spectators, many wearing Trump's signature "Make America Great Again" hats, celebrate after Trump took the oath of office.

RIGHT: Demonstrations in downtown Washington became unruly as protesters clashed with Trump supporters.



MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST

THE INAUGURATION

Tone signals the start of a continued campaign

BY PHILIP RUCKER, JOHN WAGNER AND DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD

Donald John Trump was sworn in Friday as the nation's 45th president and delivered a fiery nationalist manifesto that promised a populist restoration by stripping power from Washington's elites and ending an era of "American carnage."

Framing his ascension as transformational and global in its impact, Trump delivered a dark inaugural address in which he pledged fealty to all Americans. But he made little overt attempt to soothe a nation still wounded from arguably the ugliest election season of modern times and signaled that he intends to govern as if waging a permanent political campaign.

As Trump addressed hundreds of thousands of supporters from the West Front of the Capitol — a crowd plainly more sparse and subdued than the record one for Barack Obama's historic inauguration eight years ago — scores of violent protesters clashed with police in the streets of downtown Washington.

Trump reprised the central arguments of his candidacy and harshly condemned the condition of the country he now commands. He said communities had fallen into disrepair with rampant crime, chronic poverty,

TRUMP CONTINUED ON A14

20 pages of expanded inauguration coverage, A13-A32

An outsider president rattles the establishment with a speech true to his campaign. **The Take, A25**

The Obamas quietly navigate the rituals that mark their exit from official Washington. **A31**

Demonstrators and police clash in often-heated exchanges, leading to more than 200 arrests. **A24**

Clad in a calming, sky-blue Ralph Lauren, the first lady sends a subdued message of hope. **C1**

THE SCENE

Peacefulness and violence from a polarized populace

BY ASHLEY HALSEY III, TAYLOR HARTZ AND ARELIS HERNÁNDEZ

The thousands who flocked to the District for President Trump's inauguration Friday reflected a divided and polarized nation.

There were multitudes of adoring followers, and there were thousands of protesters. Most condemned Trump peacefully, but others turned violent and clashed with police, leading to at least 217 arrests.

And under sodden skies that delivered a drizzle from time to time, there was the traditional parade up Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House — a route that took the 70-year-old real estate businessman past a new \$212 million hotel that bears the Trump name.

The mood was light and friendly along the parade route when bystanders told Harold McGrath, 61, of Solomons, Md., that protesters had turned violent

SCENE CONTINUED ON A15

THE SPEECH

A sharp break with the past, as well as his party

BY MARC FISHER

Donald Trump began his presidency with blunt, searing talk about a crippled nation in dire need of bold, immediate action. Breaking with more than two centuries of inaugural address history, the new president made clear, in case anyone had not yet gotten it, that his will be a very different presidency.

Trump spurned the poetry and grandeur of most inaugural speeches and instead delivered a

rallying cry, reminiscent of his stream-of-consciousness campaign talks, brimming with brash bravado about his intention to bring massive change: "This American carnage stops right here and stops right now."

"This was pure Trump, just a declaration of war against the Washington establishment and President Obama," said Craig Shirley, author of books on Ronald Reagan and a Republican political consultant. "It was not

SPEECH CONTINUED ON A19

Man on a mission
New Orleans coach takes extreme steps to keep his players alive **SPORTS**



'Repellent crimes'
Pope, in Ireland, confronts 'outrage' over sexual abuse crisis **WORLD, A17**



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A guide to this week's Library of Congress Book Festival **SPECIAL SECTION**

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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JOHN MCCAIN 1936 - 2018



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Always a fighter

McCain's rebelliousness started early, helping him survive years of torture in Vietnam and earn six terms as a senator

BY KAREN TUMULTY

U.S. Sen. John S. McCain, the son and grandson of four-star admirals, was bred for combat. He endured more than five years of imprisonment and torture by the North Vietnamese as a young naval officer and went on to battle foes on the left and the right in Washington, driven throughout by a code of honor that both defined and haunted him.

Sen. McCain, 81, died Aug. 25 at his ranch near Sedona, Ariz., his office announced in a statement. The senator was diagnosed last

Sen. John McCain died Saturday, more than a year after being diagnosed with brain cancer.

year with a brain tumor, and his family announced this week that he was discontinuing medical treatment.

During three decades of representing Arizona in the Senate, he ran twice unsuccessfully for president. He lost a bitter primary campaign to George W. Bush and the Republican establishment in 2000. He then came back to win the nomination in 2008, only to be defeated in the general election by Barack Obama, a charismatic Illinois Democrat who had served less than one term as a senator.

MCCAIN CONTINUED ON A10

Trump's lifelong wall of secrecy begins to erode

TRUSTED ALLIES DEAL WITH PROSECUTORS

President's barrier falls as legal challenges grow

BY DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD, JOSH DAWSEY AND ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN

President Trump's wall of secrecy — the work of a lifetime — is starting to crack.

His longtime lawyer, Michael Cohen, pleaded guilty last week to breaking campaign-finance laws and said he had arranged hush-money payments to two women at Trump's direction. A tabloid executive — who had served Trump by snuffing out damaging tales before they went public — and Trump's chief financial officer gave testimony in the case.

All three had been part of the

small circle of family, longtime aides and trusted associates who have long played crucial roles in Trump's strategy to shield the details of his personal life and business dealings from prying outsiders.

But, as their cooperation with prosecutors shows, a growing number of legal challenges — including the Russia investigation by special counsel Robert S. Mueller III and a raft of lawsuits and state-level probes in New York — is eroding that barrier.

The result has been a moment in which Trump seems politically wounded, as friends turn and

TRUMP CONTINUED ON A9

Manafort, Cohen cases expose cracks in laws

Dilution of tax, election regulations helps illegal behavior go unnoticed

BY DAMIAN PALETTA, ROBERT O'HARROW JR. AND MICHELLE YE HEE LEE

Paul Manafort's multiyear tax fraud and Michael Cohen's ability to easily arrange campaign contributions as hush money could have been intercepted sooner based on existing tax and campaign rules. But decisions by policymakers

and lawmakers to defang regulations and defund investigations, particularly through political pressure aimed at the Internal Revenue Service, helped the behavior to go unnoticed.

On Tuesday, Manafort, President Trump's former campaign chairman, was convicted of eight tax and bank fraud charges — the same day Cohen, Trump's former attorney, pleaded guilty to tax fraud and campaign finance violations. The felonies slipped past multiple agencies and were unearthed by prosecutors and journalists only after they began digging into Trump's inner circle.

AGENCIES CONTINUED ON A8

Unions rejoice as judge guts new federal employee rules

Trump sought to trim government workers' rights by executive order

BY LISA REIN

Unions representing federal workers on Saturday declared victory in what they have described as an assault by the Trump administration after a federal judge struck down key provisions of a set of executive orders aimed at making it easier to fire employees and weaken their representation.

The ruling, by U.S. District Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson in Washington, was a setback to the White House's efforts to rein in federal unions, which have retained significant power over working conditions even as pri-

vate-sector unions are in decline.

"It's a big win for us," said David Borer, general counsel for the American Federation of Government Employees. With 750,000 members, the AFGE was the largest of about a dozen unions to sue the administration to block the new rules affecting 2.1 million civil servants.

The AFGE and the other plaintiffs plan to demand that the administration immediately reverse the new rules, which were issued just before Memorial Day and had begun to take effect in several agencies.

In a 122-page decision, Jackson — nominated to the bench by President Barack Obama in 2013 — took issue with key elements of each order and immediately barred the administration from enacting them.

"They're going to have to unwind what they've already done,"

UNIONS CONTINUED ON A18



ALICE MARTINS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Women and children walk by a juice stand in Baghdad on July 7. A feeling of relaxation has returned to the Iraqi capital after years of war, its residents say.

Baghdad gets its groove back

As violence recedes, residents are having fun once again

BY LIZ SLY IN BAGHDAD

It's nearing midnight on a Thursday, and the streets are jammed with traffic. There are people heading home after dinner with family and friends, and people for whom the night has just begun.

At the newly opened Ibrahim Basha club, the party is just getting going. A Syrian singer with waist-length blond hair and sky-high pink heels is singing Arabic hits, accompanied by a talented Iraqi musician alternately playing the saxophone, the piano and the oud. When she breaks into old Iraqi favorites, the mostly male customers sitting at tables strewn with whiskey bottles get up and dance dabka, the traditional Arabic style that involves crescendos of rhythmic stomping.

Fifteen years after the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq plunged the country into a cycle of insurgency, dysfunction and war, Baghdad

BAGHDAD CONTINUED ON A16

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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Turkey suspects journalist was killed

'Murder' team attacked Jamal Khashoggi in Saudi Consulate, sources say

BY KAREEM FAHIM

ISTANBUL — Turkey has concluded that Jamal Khashoggi, a prominent journalist from Saudi Arabia, was killed in the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul last week by a Saudi team sent "specifically for the murder," two people with knowledge of the probe said Saturday.

Turkish investigators believe a 15-member team "came from Saudi Arabia. It was a preplanned murder," said one of the people. Both spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss the ongoing investigation.

They offered no specifics to back up the account. Earlier Saturday, however, Turkey's Anadolu news agency said the Istanbul public prosecutor's office had opened a probe into Khashoggi's disappearance. Turkish authorities have said that Khashoggi never left the consulate.

Saudi Arabia had vehemently denied that Khashoggi, who contributed to The Washington Post's Global Opinions section, was detained after he entered the mission.

In an interview with Bloomberg News last week, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman said Khashoggi had left the consulate shortly after he arrived Tuesday. Saudi officials have yet to provide any evidence for that assertion.

The Saudi consul-general in Istanbul allowed reporters from the Reuters news agency to tour the consulate Saturday, to show that Khashoggi was not inside.

"I would like to confirm that... Jamal is not at the consulate nor in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the consulate and the embassy are working to search for him," the consul-general, Mohammed al-Otaibi, was quoted as saying.

Later Saturday, the Saudi Press Agency released a statement saying that an unidentified official at the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul dismissed the reports that

KHASHOGGI CONTINUED ON A17

Kavanaugh confirmed and sworn in



JONATHAN ERNST/REUTERS

SUPREME COURT TILTS TO THE RIGHT

Bitter fight over justice could resound for years

BY SEUNG MIN KIM AND JOHN WAGNER

The Senate confirmed Brett M. Kavanaugh as the 114th Supreme Court justice on Saturday by one of the narrowest margins in history amid mass protests, ending a vitriolic battle over his nomination and solidifying a conservative majority on the court.

As a throng of angry demonstrators stood on the steps of the Capitol, the Senate finalized on a near party-line vote of 50 to 48 what will certainly be one of President's most enduring legacies: two Supreme Court justices in two years in an increasingly polarized nation.

The brutal confirmation fight is likely to have far-reaching implications in next month's midterm elections. Republicans are confronting an electrified Democratic base led by women infuriated by the treatment of Christine Blasey Ford, who detailed in emotional testimony her allegations that K-

KAVANAUGH CONTINUED ON A5

Extreme partisanship exposes nation hovering near 'rock bottom'

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND ROBERT COSTA

When Christine Blasey Ford accused Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh of sexual assault last month, she did more than open herself up to unwanted scrutiny. She held up a mirror to a country in crisis, revealing its political players and embattled institutions not for what they claimed to be but for what they really are.

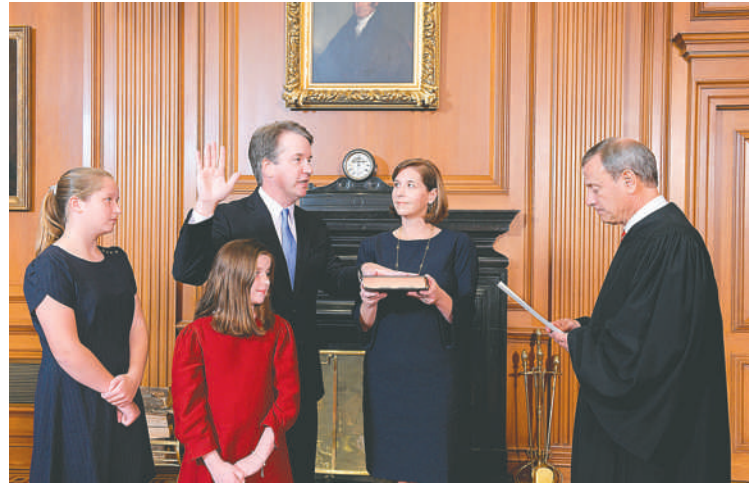
The painful 20-day passion play that followed — staged in committee rooms, Senate floor debates, hallway protests and millions of private conversations — did little to alter the future makeup of the Supreme Court. Kavanaugh was narrowly confirmed Saturday by the Senate, 50-48, in a vote that tracked

with only one Democrat and one Republican defecting from the party line.

But few of the players emerged from the process unchanged or unblemished, underscoring the uncharted territory of deepening distrust and polarization that now defines the American system. The events further distanced the Senate Judiciary Committee from its nearly forgotten bipartisan traditions and raised new questions about the potential for the Supreme Court to maintain an independent authority outside the maelstrom of politics.

Public denunciations of the continuing slide were frequent and bipartisan, while political strategists and lawmakers raised new alarms about the ominous

CRISIS CONTINUED ON A7



FRED SCHILLING/U.S. SUPREME COURT

TOP: Vice President Pence greets protesters Saturday after presiding over the Senate vote that confirmed Brett M. Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court. **ABOVE:** Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., right, administers the oath of office as Kavanaugh, accompanied by his family, joins the Supreme Court.

End of the 'mushy middle'
Activists on the right gain the edge on issues such as guns and abortion. **A9**

Dan Balz | The Take
The court saga has magnified divisions and may leave lasting scars. **A2**

High-court battle further divides electorate before the midterms

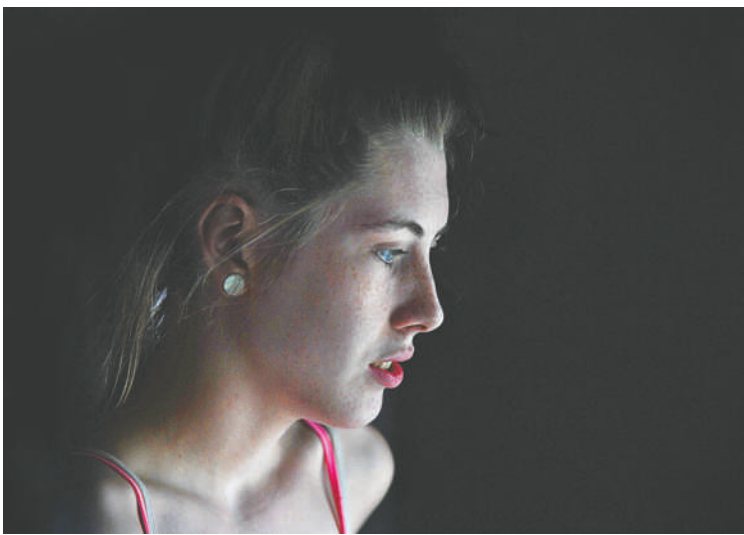
BY MATT VISER, TRACY JAN, KYLE SWENSON AND CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.

The nomination fight over Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh has injected new volatility into the midterm elections, reshaping races across the country and sharpening the already bitterly partisan tone for the final four-week stretch before Nov. 6.

Much uncertainty remains — not least because of the rapid-fire succession of evolving crises that have marked President Trump's term in office — but for now the weeks-long Kavanaugh saga appears to be pushing House races toward Democrats, even as it has given Republicans better odds of maintaining control of the Senate.

That division stems from the makeup of the races and the political

MIDTERMS CONTINUED ON A10



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

'You shouldn't be doing this.' She was 16. He was 25.

In the U.S., marriages involving minors are prevalent. States are facing increased pressure to ban them.

BY TERRENCE MCCOY

EVERETT, PA. — It was the day of the birthday party, and the husband and wife had invited everyone they knew. They'd spent the morning buying food — a sheet cake, jumbo hot dogs, ground beef, soda, chips — and were now standing around a picnic table covered with it all, along a long lake under a cloudless sky, hoping at least some people would show up to eat it.

Today was the first time both

sides of their family were supposed to come together, something that hadn't happened at their wedding four months before. On that day, not a single member of the husband's family had attended — not his brothers, who'd called him a fool for marrying like this, and not his parents, who'd told him the relationship would only get him into trouble. Just about the only people who'd gone that day, and were here so far on this day, had been the people involved in the

wedding itself.

There was Maria Vargas, a shy and brooding girl who looked older than her 16 years, and her husband, Phil Manning, 25, who often acted younger than his. And nearby, smoking a cigarette, was a slight woman with long, narrow features, Michelle Hockenberry, 39, the mother who'd allowed her daughter to marry.

Maria glances out the window of her home in late August. She adores her life with her husband, Phil, and her 2-year-old son, Douglas, but she also wants to graduate from high school.

Even in an era when the median age of marrying has climbed higher and higher, unions like Phil and Maria's remain surprisingly prevalent in the United States. Between 2000 and 2010, an estimated 248,000 children were married, most of whom were girls, some as young as 12, wedding men. Now, under pressure

MARRIAGE CONTINUED ON A14

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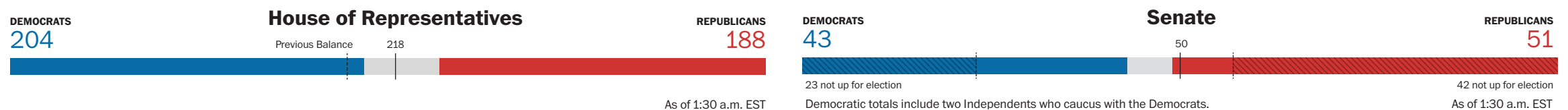
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ELECTION 2018

Democrats seize House

Party captures more than two dozen Republican seats to claim the majority in Congress's lower chamber

GOP picks up seats in N.D. and Missouri to expand hold on Senate; Cruz's close victory in Texas helps seal advantage



Three women flip key House seats in Va.; Kaine cruises

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

A trio of Democratic women defeated Republican incumbents in Virginia congressional districts Tuesday, and Democratic Sen. Tim Kaine cruised to reelection as voters turned out in strong numbers around the state.

State Sen. Jennifer T. Wexton defeated incumbent Rep. Barbara Comstock in the 10th District in suburban Washington, and newcomer Elaine Luria unseated Rep. Scott W. Taylor in the Hampton Roads area's 2nd District.

In a close race that went down to the last few precincts, Democrat Abigail Spanberger pushed past Rep. Dave Brat in the 7th District in the Richmond suburbs.

The wins exceeded expectations of even Democratic leaders and boosted the party's successful efforts to regain control of the House of Representatives — in a state that only a generation ago was reliably Republican. Yet again, female candidates delivered big for Democrats in Virginia, just a year after another slate of women made huge gains in House of Delegates races.

Comstock failed to win a third term in a district that had been comfortably Republican for almost 40 years. Wexton, a state senator and former prosecutor, rolled up wide margins in the increasingly diverse suburbs of Loudoun County.

Kaine, a popular former governor and Hillary Clinton's 2016 running mate, easily defeated

VIRGINIA CONTINUED ON A38

In otherwise deep-blue Md., voters maintain support for Hogan

BY ERIN COX, OVETTA WIGGINS AND RACHEL CHASON

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan won reelection Tuesday, defying a strong anti-Trump backlash to become the second Republican executive in state history to earn a second term.

The governor's promises to roll back taxes and work with Democrats, coupled with his high approval ratings, lifted him to victory over Democratic challenger and political newcomer Ben Jealous.

"Tonight, in a deep-blue state in this blue year, with a blue wave, it turns out I can surf," Hogan, 62, told a boisterous crowd in Annapolis. "The people of our great state voted for civility, for bipartisanship and for common-sense leadership."

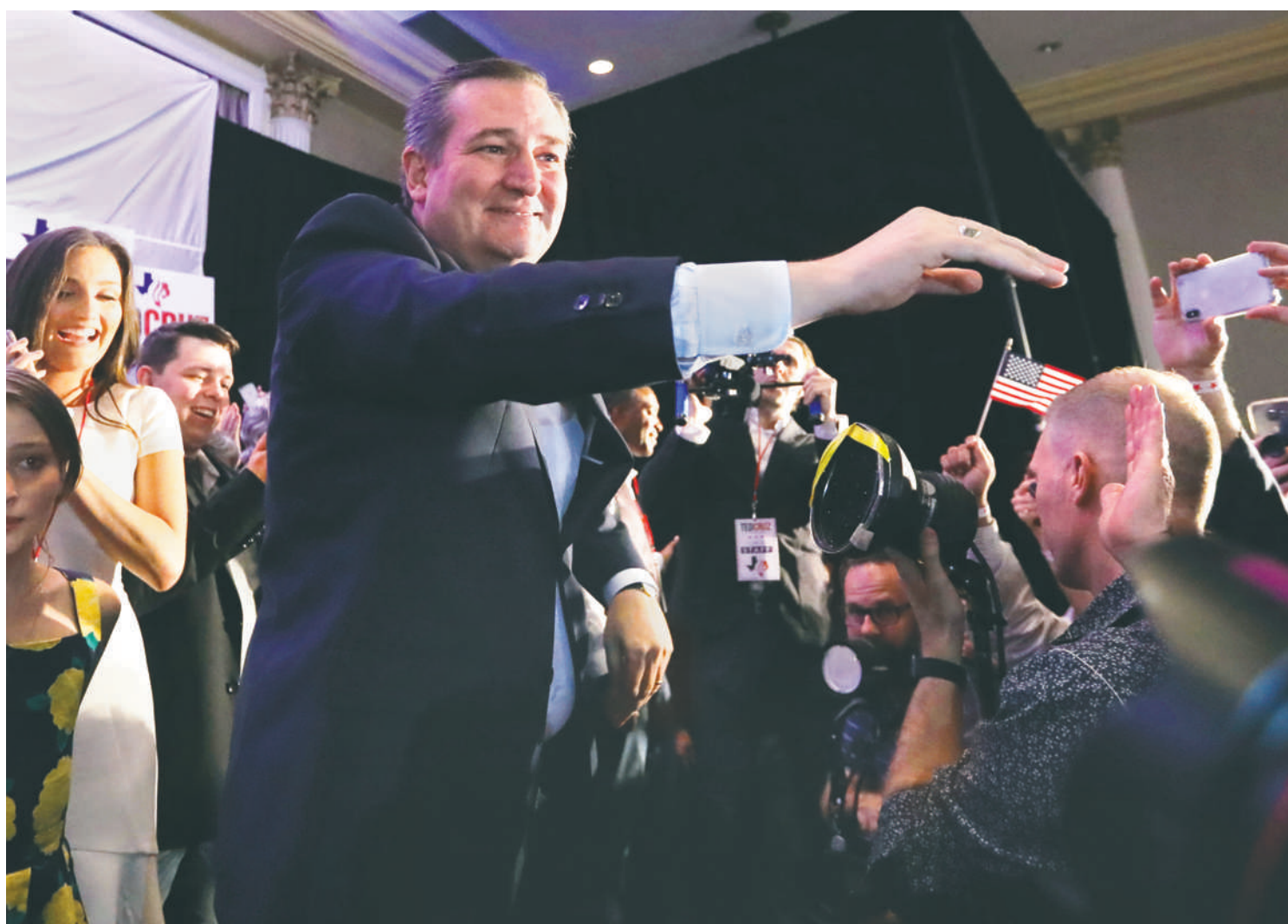
But Hogan's immunity to a Democratic surge did not extend to other Maryland GOP candidates, who lost three key county executive races and at least eight competitive General Assembly seats, according to unofficial returns.

Hogan and his running mate, Lt. Gov. Boyd Rutherford, defeated Jealous in a year when Democrats across the country turned out in droves to protest the presidency of Donald Trump at the

MARYLAND CONTINUED ON A45



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TOP: Democrat Jennifer Wexton, a Virginia state senator, is flanked by her husband and other supporters Tuesday night at a Dulles, Va., hotel after she beat incumbent Rep. Barbara Comstock (R) in the 10th District. She was one of at least two female Democrats in Virginia to best Republican incumbents. ABOVE: Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Tex.) celebrates his victory over Rep. Beto O'Rourke (D) in Houston.

President chooses fury and fear to determine his party's fate

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND JOSH DAWSEY

As he flew aboard Air Force One to an airport hangar rally in Mosinee, Wis., President Trump groused to aides about having to tone down his prepared remarks.

Pipe bombs had been mailed to several of his favorite foils, including to the homes of two former presidents and the New York offices of CNN. It was a moment for presidential leader-

ship, less than two weeks before the midterm elections that would deliver a verdict on his first two years in office.

But, according to two aides familiar with Trump's objections, the words set to be loaded into the teleprompter didn't match the president's own plans for closing the campaign, the details of which he had kept from other Republican leaders. He wanted controversy, fury and fear that would push limits and get ratings, paint a caravan of

Central American migrants as a mortal threat and color Democrats as their co-conspirators.

Now speechwriters were telling the man who encouraged fistfights at his 2016 campaign rallies to call for "all sides to come together in peace and harmony." They wanted the real estate promoter who dubbed his Democratic opponent "crooked" to demand an end to "treating political opponents as being morally defective."

The midterm elections were

always going to come down to a moment like this: President Trump, isolated and imperious, deciding the fate of his Republican Party's electoral hopes.

In three short years, he had become an omnipotent force in American life, overturning the customs of the White House, the values of the Republican Party and the rules of public debate. His opponents had reacted fiercely, with the largest street protests since the 1960s and the

TRUMP CONTINUED ON A30

In national referendum on Trump, a split outcome

BY PHILIP RUCKER, MATT VISER, ANNE GEARAN AND DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD

Democrats claimed control of the House late Tuesday and picked up some governorships, but Republicans were poised to expand their majority in the Senate, delivering a split verdict in the first national referendum on Donald Trump's presidency.

The most expensive and consequential midterm elections in modern times came to a dramatic finish that underscored the nation's deep polarization, but fell short of delivering a sweeping repudiation of Trump that Democrats had hoped would put an exclamation point on the "resistance" movement.

Trump's racially charged warnings about illegal immigrants and his demonization of Democrats appeared to mobilize enough Republican voters to withstand the "blue wave" the party once feared.

The president helped Republicans win hotly contested Senate races in Indiana, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee and Texas, and he proclaimed the election's outcome a "tremendous success." Republicans held their grip throughout the South and in rural and exurban areas.

But Democrats — propelled by a rejection of Trumpism in the nation's suburbs, and from female and minority voters especially — notched victories in areas that just two years ago helped send

ELECTION CONTINUED ON A36

THE TAKE

A divided American electorate just digs in deeper

BY DAN BALZ

The deep divisions that have defined American politics in the era of President Trump played out across the country in Tuesday's midterm elections, as Democrats scored victories in key races in Republican-held suburban House districts but ran into a wall of opposition in red-state Senate contests.

All year long, Democrats talked optimistically about a blue wave that they believed was building around the country, one powerful enough to flip control of the House and even, against the odds, put the Senate in play as well. But a somewhat different reality began to set in early in the evening as the familiar contours of red and blue America powerfully reasserted themselves.

A change in the balance of power in the House would represent a pulling back from the president by key parts of the electorate, particularly by female voters. That alone could have a significant effect on the second half of Trump's first term, particularly in Washington.

But the overall voting patterns in House, Senate and gubernatorial contests signaled that the differences and divisions that

TAKE CONTINUED ON A33

Gubernatorial races: Gillum concedes in Florida. A24

Flipping the House: Democrats eager to curb on president. A27

Female force: A record number of women might enter Congress. A28

D.C. races: Mayor is reelected, but ally falls to council incumbent. A40

A first: Prince George's elects woman as county leader. A44



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SU V1 V2 V3 V4

Sunny, windy 35/26 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny 42/27 B8 *Democracy Dies in Darkness* THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2019 • \$2

Trump impeached

PRESIDENT IS THIRD IN U.S. HISTORY TO FACE SENATE TRIAL

BY PHILIP RUCKER,
FELICIA SONMEZ
AND COLBY ITKOWITZ

The House of Representatives voted late Wednesday to impeach President Trump on charges that he abused his office and obstructed Congress, with Democrats declaring him a threat to the nation and branding an indelible mark on the most turbulent presidency of modern times.

After 11 hours of fierce argument on the House floor between Democrats and Republicans over Trump's conduct with Ukraine, lawmakers voted almost entirely along party lines to impeach him. Trump becomes the third president in U.S. history to face trial in the Senate — a proceeding that will determine whether he is removed from office less than one year before he stands for reelection.

On Trump's 1,062nd day in office, Congress brought a momentous reckoning to an unorthodox president who has tested America's institutions with an array of unrestrained actions, including some that a collection of his own appointees and other government witnesses testified were reckless and endangered national security.

The Democratic-controlled House passed two articles of impeachment against Trump — abuse of power and obstruction of Congress — related to the president's attempts to withhold military aid to Ukraine and pressure its government to investigate former vice president Joe

SEE IMPEACHMENT ON A6



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) gaveling the close of voting Wednesday night on the second article of impeachment against President Trump, obstruction of Congress.

How the House members voted

Article 1: Abuse of power

President Trump is accused of using the power of the presidency for his own benefit.

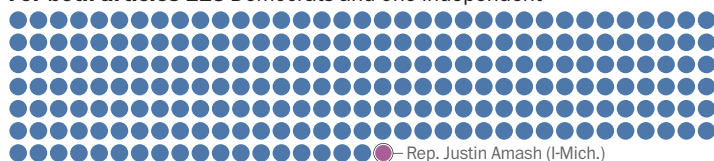
230 to 197

Article 2: Obstruction of Congress

Trump is accused of blocking Congress's investigation into his alleged wrongdoing.

229 to 198

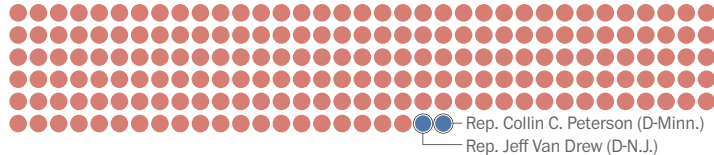
For both articles 228 Democrats and one independent



For one article One Democrat

Rep. Jared Golden (D-Maine)

Against both articles 195 Republicans and two Democrats



Rep. Tulsi Gabbard (D-Hawaii) voted present, three members did not vote and there are four vacancies in the 435-seat chamber.

MORE COVERAGE INSIDE

As proceedings move to the Senate, here's what happens next **A4**
In surreal split screen, president rallies supporters during historic vote **A9**
@PKCapitol: Pelosi becomes Trump's most powerful political adversary **A9**

An impeachment that mirrors his presidency: Disruption and division

BY MARC FISHER

Tumbling toward impeachment, Richard Nixon recognized the reality of collapsing political support and became the only American president to quit the office. A generation later, when the House voted to impeach Bill Clinton, the president oscillated between apologies for his Oval Office behavior and fervent pleas for Americans to turn away from "the politics of personal destruction."

As the House voted Wednesday evening to impeach Donald Trump, the president was staging a defiant campaign rally in Michigan.

Facing a historic rebuke by the Democratic-controlled House, Trump has countered with an exaggerated version of his life-long approach to conflict, aiming to win by dividing. He has slammed his opponents in lurid language. He has urged his supporters to wage battle against those who sneer and scoff at them and their beloved president. And he has expressed zero remorse.

If the other two impeachment processes of the past 45 years were marked by a certain solemnity, by members of Congress struggling publicly with their consciences and, in some cases,

SEE TRUMP ON A8



BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump greets supporters Wednesday during a rally in Battle Creek, Mich., as impeachment proceedings he called "a suicide march for the Democratic Party" neared a vote in Washington.

THE TAKE

In an endless fight, a momentous vote turns into just another moment

BY DAN BALZ

The impeachment of a president is a rare moment in the history of the country, and so Wednesday's vote in the House puts President Trump into the annals of the nation in the most ignominious of ways. The stain of the House action on his biography and legacy, whatever the final resolution in the Senate, is now part of his permanent record.

But in the annals of Trump's presidency, Wednesday's deliberations in the House reflected nothing particularly extraordi-

nary. Split sharply along party lines, with only the barest of defections among the Democrats and none among Republicans, the people's House became the nation in miniature, a people torn over the conduct of a president who has defied political odds and broken the rules of politics — and who is braced for more to come.

The word "history" can be an overused term about matters of the day, tossed around casually and often without good reason. That cannot be said about impeachment, which was included

SEE TAKE ON A11

Three-month battle tested the political will of both parties

BY RACHAEL BADE,
MIKE DEBONIS
AND JOSH DAWSEY

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi sat quietly at the head of the long table inside her ornate conference room early this month, listening as her deputies debated the last major decision in the impeachment of President Trump.

Her senior lieutenants argued for an expansive bill of charges encompassing the Mueller report. Others pressed for articles of impeachment focused solely on Trump's pressure on Ukraine to help his reelection bid.

Ultimately, it didn't matter.

Pelosi had all but made up her mind.

Two days earlier, while she was in a Madrid hotel for a climate conference, Pelosi took a call from anxious moderate members of her Democratic caucus who were feeling heat in their home districts about supporting impeachment. The speaker, they said, should resist liberal calls to expand the investigation.

Pelosi did not tip her hand on the call. But it was a compelling argument from her "majority makers," the group whose members flipped pro-Trump districts in 2018, helping make Pelosi speaker for the second time, and

SEE DECISION ON A12

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 2020 • \$2

WHO declares virus a global pandemic

D.C. calls state of emergency as cases rise

BY JENNA PORTNOY, FENIT NIRAPPIL AND DARRAN SIMON

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser declared a state of emergency Wednesday that allows her to enforce quarantines and cancellations to slow the spread of the coronavirus, as major churches and organizations in and around the nation's capital said they would shut down for the rest of the month.

The Episcopal Dioceses of Washington and Virginia said churches including Washington National Cathedral would close for two weeks. The Walter E. Washington Convention Center canceled upcoming events, as did the promoter of concerts at the Anthem, the 9:30 Club, the Lincoln Theater and U Street Music Hall.

Organizers said parts of the annual Cherry Blossom Festival would be shelved, the Rock 'n' Roll Marathon had its city permit pulled, and the St. Patrick's Day parade scheduled for Sunday was postponed indefinitely.

More colleges and schools announced plans to close for deep cleaning or move to online classes.

Bowser announced six new coronavirus cases, including two not linked to any known source of infection, bringing the total number of confirmed cases in the District, Maryland and Virginia to at least 33.

She said the city has leased an

SEE REGION ON A18



TED S. WARREN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Workers in protective suits and respirators enter the Life Care Center in Kirkland, Wash., to begin disinfection procedures. Washington state has the highest number of coronavirus cases and deaths in the United States, with many of the deaths linked to the Kirkland facility.

Job losses mount as fear jams the gears of industry

BY ABHA BHATTARAI, HEATHER LONG AND RACHEL SIEGEL

The coronavirus outbreak is taking a heavy toll on the U.S. economy, triggering hundreds of layoffs over the past week and halting a historic 11-year bull market in stocks.

Strong job growth and soaring financial markets have fueled the U.S. economic expansion over the past decade. Now, the rapid market decline and initial layoffs are heightening fears that the longest growth period in U.S. history could come to a sudden end, just a month after unemployment stood at a

half-century low.

The Dow Jones industrial average lost 1,465 points, or 5.9 percent, on Wednesday with every sector slumping after the World Health Organization designated the novel coronavirus a pandemic. The Dow closed in bear market territory, meaning it had dropped more than 20 percent from its high less than a month ago.

Airlines, hotels, travel agencies and event companies have all been suffering, but interviews with more than two dozen firms and workers reveal that the pain is translating into layoffs in a wider circle of industries, in-

SEE ECONOMY ON A12

NBA suspends season; NCAA bans fans from basketball tournaments

BY ADAM KILGORE AND BEN GOLLIVER

The U.S. sports world faced a day of reckoning in confronting the coronavirus Wednesday as the National Basketball Association suspended its season after a player tested positive and the National Collegiate Athletic Association banned spectators from its marquee basketball tournaments, a dual shock that underscored the pervasiveness of the outbreak.

As public health officials and local governments escalated recommendations and orders against large gatherings, sporting events became the most

prominent and most prevalent casualties, leaving Americans without one of their primary communal experiences as spring dawns amid a pandemic.

As the NCAA announced an unprecedented measure, the NBA became the first U.S. sports league to halt its season since the wake of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

In a startling scene, Utah Jazz and Oklahoma City Thunder players left the Chesapeake Energy Center court in Oklahoma City shortly before tip-off after league officials alerted the teams of Utah center Rudy Gobert's positive test.

SEE SPORTS ON A18

NATIONS RAMP UP THEIR RESPONSES

U.S. to clamp down on travel from Europe

BY KATIE ZEJIMA, TIM CRAIG, WILLIAM WAN AND FELICIA SONMEZ

The World Health Organization on Wednesday declared the coronavirus a global pandemic as countries and municipalities took increasingly dramatic measures to slow the spread of the deadly contagion, including President Trump's announcement that he is sharply restricting travel to the United States from Europe for 30 days, beginning Friday at midnight.

In an Oval Office address Wednesday night, Trump said that his European travel restrictions will not include the United Kingdom and will include exceptions for Americans who have received "appropriate screenings." He and administration officials later tweeted that the restrictions apply only to people, not goods and trade, and will not include a bar on U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents. Trump spoke sternly about what he called a "foreign virus" that "started in China and is now spreading throughout the world."

"The virus will not have a chance against us," Trump said. "No nation is more prepared or more resilient than the United States."

Though Trump repeated his assertion that the risk to most Americans is "very, very low," world leaders conceded Wednesday that the disease almost certainly will become a far worse problem amid a global scramble to keep people from traveling and gathering in public spaces. Trump administration officials also warned that the situation will deteriorate in the United States.

The WHO declaration was a reflection of the alarm that countries are not working quickly and aggressively enough to fight the virus and that the control measures now in place might have

SEE VIRUS ON A11

More coverage

'Not a bailout': White House could aid firms hurt by cancellations. **A13**

30-day ban: Trump suspends travel from most of Europe. **A14**

'Pandemic' declared: The WHO's move has global implications. **A15**

Blossom festival: Organizers cut events to reduce large crowds. **B1**

Tom Hanks: Actor and his wife, actress Rita Wilson, have virus. **C1**

ELECTION 2020

Scaling up his campaign, Biden turns focus to Trump

BY MATT VISER AND MICHAEL SCHERER

A day after another string of dominant victories that moved him closer to the Democratic presidential nomination, Joe Biden's campaign was working to reboot amid broad concerns within the party that his current operation is ill-equipped to match President Trump's behemoth reelection effort.

Biden pulled off the most stunningly swift turnaround in modern political history with a relatively small staff, underwhelming fundraising and a campaign occasionally marked by dysfunction and turmoil.

After he finished fifth in New Hampshire just four weeks ago, there were questions about how

his campaign could gracefully end. But Biden now has won at least 15 of the last 21 voting states, making him the candidate likeliest to face Trump in a highly polarized, extremely expensive general election.

Biden's advisers are taking steps to expand virtually all parts of his shoestring campaign operation, from finance, field and communications departments to the senior leadership team, answering the concerns of senior Democrats who are bracing for a new wave of assaults from Trump.

That effort will occur even as Biden continues to battle for delegations with Sen. Bernie Sanders

SEE BIDEN ON A4

Sanders stays in race: He plans to debate Joe Biden on Sunday. **A5**



JEENAH MOON/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

Tarale Wulff, right, a supporting witness in the sexual assault case against Harvey Weinstein, hugs her attorney, Gloria Allred, outside court Wednesday in New York after the sentencing hearing.

Weinstein gets 23-year sentence for sex assaults

BY SHAYNA JACOBS

NEW YORK — Harvey Weinstein was sentenced to 23 years in prison Wednesday for sexually assaulting two women, punctuating a landmark case against the once-powerful movie producer whose downfall brought attention to the #MeToo movement.

In its verdict Feb. 24, a jury found that Weinstein, 67, forced oral sex on former production assistant Mimi Haley, now 42, at his apartment in 2006 and raped onetime aspiring actress Jessica Mann, now 34, at a DoubleTree hotel in 2013.

The sentence is seen as a victory for the #MeToo movement, which has toppled numerous powerful men accused of sexual misconduct in recent years, trans-

SEE WEINSTEIN ON A10

IN THE NEWS



CAROLYN VAN HOUTEN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Immigration The Supreme Court allowed Trump's "Remain in Mexico" policy for asylum seekers to proceed during appeals. **A4**

THE NATION

Breaking with recent practice, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo singled out four adversary nations for abuses in an annual report on human rights without mentioning allies' transgressions. **A2**

U.S. authorities arrested hundreds across the nation associated with Mexico's Jalisco New Generation drug cartel. **A2**

The House passed a resolution limiting President Trump's ability to launch a military attack

against Iran without congressional approval. A veto is expected. **A3**

The House passed a compromise bill on changes to the government's surveillance authority while imposing new requirements on the FBI. **A3**

THE WORLD **Mali's tiny army** is facing a weapon and supply shortage as the world's fastest-growing Islamist insurgency gains ground in West Africa. **A6**

Russian lawmakers supported an amend-

ment that would give President Vladimir Putin a chance to keep his grip on power possibly into the next decade. **A7**

THE ECONOMY **Stocks fell** so far and so fast that the Dow officially tipped into a bear market, ending a record 11-year rally. **A8**

The rocket and spacecraft NASA plans to use to get astronauts to the moon may cost \$50 billion, a watchdog said. **A9**

In a furious exchange over the coronavirus, President Trump urged Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin to encourage the Federal Reserve

chair to stimulate the economy, three officials said. **A10**

THE REGION

A \$4.58 billion budget proposal in Prince George's County boosts funding for education and public safety. **B3**

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser signed emergency legislation banning kits used to make "ghost guns," which are untraceable. **B4**

Former D.C. Council member Jack Evans appeared to qualify for public funding in his campaign to retake the seat he resigned from in an ethics scandal. **B5**

INSIDE



LOCAL LIVING

Nourishing mom Traditional postpartum diets can feed the soul as well as the body.

STYLE

In 'be best' mode Melania Trump speaks at a national PTA conference without mentioning the coronavirus crisis. **C1**

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As shutdowns expand, Fed deploys its arsenal

States, cities close businesses, take strict measures as cases rise

BY NICK MIROFF,
HANNAH NATANSON,
KIM BELLWARE
AND KATHERINE SHAVER

State officials and mayors critical of the federal response to the coronavirus pandemic began imposing the most severe emergency measures to date on Sunday, with two governors ordering restaurants, bars and other businesses to shut their doors immediately.

As the country braced for its first full week of widespread school and business closures, President Trump and other administration officials again gave mixed and sometimes confusing messages about the dangers ahead. At the White House, Trump told Americans to “relax” and stop panic-induced purchasing.

“We’re doing great. It will all pass,” he said.

Confirmed cases of the novel coronavirus jumped by nearly a third in just 24 hours — to 2,900 by Sunday, Vice President Pence announced. In Europe, Italy recorded its deadliest 24-hour period since its first cases emerged in late February — 368 deaths, up 25 percent from the previous day. That country’s death toll now exceeds 1,800.

Despite such alarming trajectories, and a new recommendation from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention that Americans cancel or postpone events of 50-plus people for the next eight weeks, some Republican lawmakers still shrugged off the urgent warnings.

Rep. Devin Nunes (R-Calif.), a close Trump ally, encouraged Americans to go out dining or drinking, directly contradicting public health officials’ admonitions for social distancing to slow the rate of infection.

SEE VIRUS ON A8



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

The dean of Washington National Cathedral leads a service, which was streamed after the cathedral was closed as a coronavirus precaution. Other area churches welcomed parishioners despite calls for social distancing. See story, B1

With most federal workers still commuting, Trump urges flexibility

BY LISA REIN,
IAN DUNCAN
AND TRACY JAN

Most of the nation’s 2.1 million federal employees will report to work Monday to tightly packed office cubicles and other workplaces where they serve the public, even as schools and colleges across the country have closed, businesses have sent their staffs home to work and governors have canceled public activities to

limit the spread of the coronavirus.

Top U.S. health officials are urging Americans to limit close contact with others, but the federal government appears to be hunkering down to limit disruption, creating widespread anxiety for employees who fear they are putting themselves and their families at risk.

Sunday night, in response to mounting criticism, the Trump

SEE WORKERS ON A7

Long a symbol of solidarity, the cafes of Paris turn off the lights

BY JAMES MCAULEY

PARIS — It was a surreal sight in the City of Lights: A Paris of dark cafes.

It’s neither an overstatement nor a cliché to say that the cafes of the French capital are its beating heart: A place to read papers in the morning, to sit with a friend in the afternoon or to sip a Bordeaux in the evening. A place to work, talk, think. It doesn’t matter what you drink,

or whether you drink at all. The cafe is chatter, chaos and community. And they never close — at least not until now.

Paris’s cafes remained open throughout virtually every historical challenge that has come their way: They didn’t go dark during the Nazi occupation in World War II or even after the terrorist attacks of November 2015, which targeted precisely the joie de vivre they represent.

SEE FRANCE ON A15

INTEREST RATES SLASHED TO ZERO

Central bank restarts crisis-era bond program

BY HEATHER LONG

The Federal Reserve announced on Sunday it would drop interest rates to zero and buy at least \$700 billion in government and mortgage-related bonds as part of a wide-ranging emergency action to protect the economy from the impact of the coronavirus outbreak.

The moves, the most dramatic by the U.S. central bank since the 2008 financial crisis, are aimed at keeping financial markets stable and making borrowing costs as low as possible as businesses around the country close and the U.S. economy hurtles toward recession.

The Fed, led by Chair Jerome H. Powell, effectively cut its benchmark by a full percentage point to zero. The benchmark U.S. interest rate is now in a range of 0 to 0.25 percent, down from a range of 1 to 1.25 percent.

In addition to rate cuts, the Fed announced it is restarting the crisis-era program of bond purchases known as “quantitative easing,” in which the central bank buys hundreds of billions of dollars in bonds to further push down rates and keep markets flowing freely. The Fed is also giving more generous loans to banks around the country so they can turn around and offer loans to small businesses and families in need of a lifeline.

“Economic policy experts must do what we can to ease hardship caused by the disruption to the economy,” Powell said in a 42-minute conference call Sunday evening. “We are prepared to use our full range of tools to support the flow of credit to households and businesses.”

Powell said Fed leaders met Sunday afternoon because they anticipate a “significant effect” on the U.S. economy in the coming months, including negative

SEE ECONOMY ON A19

ELECTION 2020

Biden pledges female VP pick; Sanders stops short

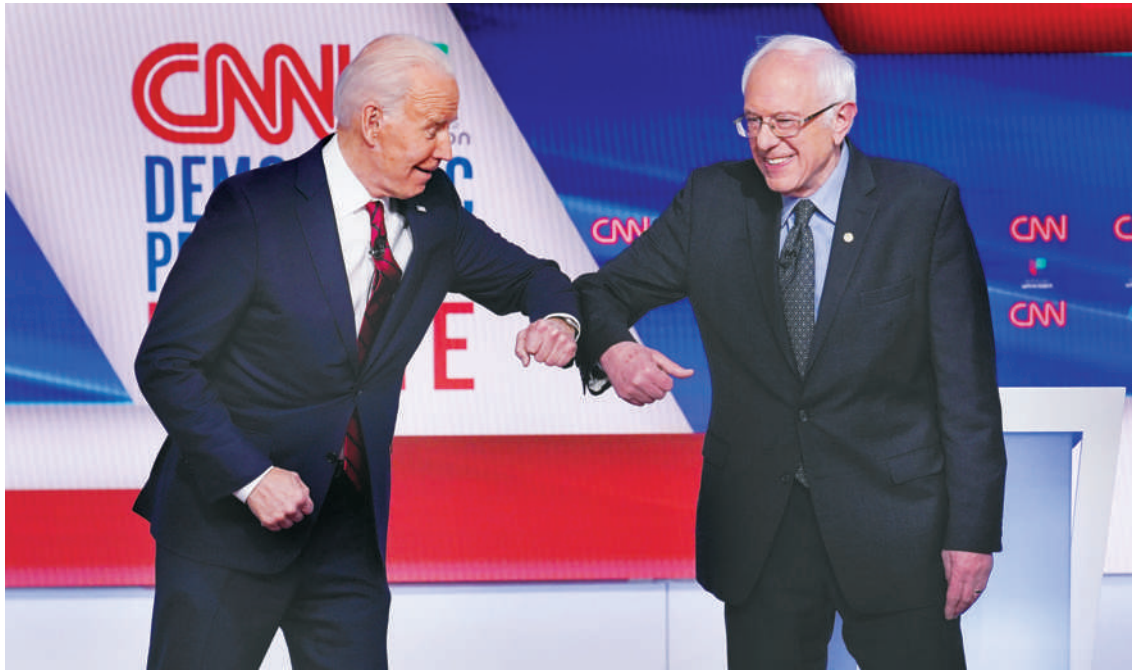
BY MATT VISER,
JENNA JOHNSON
AND MICHAEL SCHERER

Former vice president Joe Biden pledged Sunday to appoint a woman as his running mate if he wins the Democratic nomination and Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) said he would probably make the same decision, as they met in an extraordinary two-man debate conducted under circumscribed conditions to guard against the growing coronavirus pandemic.

“There are a number of women who are qualified to be president tomorrow. I would pick a woman to be my vice president,” Biden said, in what was the first debate of the 2020 primary race that did not have a woman onstage.

Sanders stopped just short of a

SEE DEBATE ON A4



EVAN VUCCI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Former vice president Joe Biden and Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) greet each other with an elbow bump instead of a handshake in light of coronavirus guidelines before the start of their debate.

The Take: The debate didn’t break new ground, Dan Balz writes. A4

Spike in U.S. cases could force rationing of beds and ventilators

BY ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA

In the Chinese city of Wuhan, the epicenter of the coronavirus pandemic, doctors made life-or-death decisions last month when 1,000 people needed ventilators to support their breathing, but only 600 were available.

In Iran, where numerous high-level officials have been infected, doctors sought unsuccessfully to get the international community to lift sanctions so they could purchase more lifesaving machines.

And in northern Italy, doctors took the painful step last week of issuing guidelines for rationing ventilators and other essential medical equipment, prioritizing treatment for the young and others with the best chance of survival.

Such tough choices could well be ahead for the United States, a nation with limited hospital capacity and grim epidemiological projections estimating that as

many as 40 to 60 percent of the country’s population of 327 million could eventually become infected.

“We are looking at a new war no one has seen before. We have never fought a virus like this with this potential consequence,” New York Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo (D) said Sunday afternoon. He warned, “It is only a matter of time before [intensive care] beds are full!”

The situation in the United

SEE RATIONING ON A13

More coverage

Local action: D.C.-area leaders try to stem spread of the virus. B1

Primaries: Intensifying fears rattle voters and election officials. A8

Lacking guidance: Americans are left to find their own solutions. A11

Coping in Italy: Though isolated, Milanese are feeling less aloof. A15

IN THE NEWS

A new effort Israel’s president said he would task former military general Benny Gantz with forming the next Israeli government, following a year of political stalemate. A18

Under fire As Brazilians and the world battle for the future of the rainforest, the sides can’t agree on basic facts. A17

THE WORLD
A single block near Afghanistan’s presidential palace has become ground zero in a war of nerves between two civilian politicians claiming to be the country’s legitimate leader. A18

THE REGION
For Northern Virginia, the state’s historic legislative session will mean numerous changes including local tax increases, collective bargaining for teachers and public employees, more money for transportation and education, and solar panels on government facilities. B1

SPORTS
NFL players narrowly ratified a new collective bargaining agreement with the league’s team owners, guaranteeing the sport another decade of labor peace and ushering in major

changes that will include an expanded playoff field and a 17-game regular season. D1

CAPITAL BUSINESS
The Pentagon asked a federal court to give it 120 days to “reconsider certain aspects” of its decision to turn to Microsoft for a JEDI cloud computing contract. A19

EDUCATION
The ‘in’ crowd Idaho admits students to community colleges and universities before they fill out a single form. B2

STYLE
Homebound The employees logging on remotely are now fighting cabin fever. C1

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\$2.2 trillion rescue bill clears Senate

Cases in region top 1,000 as virus's spread, testing accelerate

BY ANTONIO OLIVO, OVETTA WIGGINS, GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER AND DARRAN SIMON

The tally of novel coronavirus cases in the Washington region climbed past 1,000 Wednesday as Maryland, Virginia and the District reported their largest single-day increases — a grim marker that illustrates both the continued spread of the virus and the fact that more testing is being done to detect it.

Maryland announced 74 additional cases, bringing the state's total to 424, and extended its closure of public schools another four weeks, through April 24. Virginia reported 101 additional cases, for a total of 392. The District reported 48 new cases Wednesday, including an eight-week-old infant, for a total caseload of 235.

Overall, the region had 1,051 reported cases as of Wednesday evening, with 20 deaths.

"It's clear that we've got community spread now; that is quite obvious," said Virginia Gov. Ralph Northam (D), a physician by training who on Wednesday directed hospitals to stop performing elective surgeries so that supplies of masks, gloves and other personal protective equipment are not depleted.

"We are just at the beginning of this. We are not at the middle," Northam said. "We are talking about months, and we are going to see these numbers, unfortunately, continue to rise."

The 1,000-case milestone for the Washington region happened as the nation and countries around the world continued to battle a pandemic that has caused more than 21,000 deaths. New York, the hardest-hit state, reported an additional 5,000 cases, and New York City's public hospital system said 13 people died of

SEE REGION ON A15

PERSPECTIVE

We will miss Opening Day, but sense of joy will return soon

BY THOMAS BOSWELL

I once titled a book "Why Time Begins on Opening Day." For others, time may seem to begin when gardens bloom, ski slopes open or a Kennedy Center opera season launches. Elk season, no doubt, lifts some hearts, though not those of elk.

But I was somewhat serious. The start of the baseball season, which would have been Thursday for the World Series champion Washington Nationals and every other team, means that for 60 percent of the year there will be major league baseball almost every day. The weight of that — or rather the buoyancy of it — is no small gift.

I have said that baseball is a great support to people who have emotional voids, gaps, difficulties. That is to say: all of us. Those parts of us that don't function well. Those parts of us that are sad or depressed — not every day — can really use baseball. It isn't just the child in a wheelchair or the shut-in senior citizen listening to the radio that needs the game. Part of us, part of everyone, is a baseball fan who needs the game at that level.

After the Sept. 11 attacks, when life was suddenly more serious more of the time, there also was more need for it to be fun at least some of the time. I wrote then that, as soon as

SEE BOSWELL ON A16



BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

A pedestrian waits Wednesday to cross a deserted M Street during what normally would be rush hour in Washington's Georgetown neighborhood. The District ordered all nonessential businesses to close as of 10 p.m. Wednesday and urged residents to stay home.

Lawyer's tweet picking economy over the elderly enrages America

BY MARC FISHER

Scott McMillan had it with being cooped up, with the whole country being closed, with the collapsing market and the isolation, the constant worry and the politicians who didn't take the coronavirus seriously when they could have.

On Sunday night, McMillan, a 56-year-old lawyer in La Mesa, Calif., near San Diego, saw President Trump's tweet about how "WE CANNOT LET THE CURE BE WORSE THAN THE PROBLEM ITSELF." The lawyer took to Twitter to add his own two cents:

"The fundamental problem is whether we are going to tank the entire economy to save 2.5% of the population which is (1) generally expensive to maintain, and (2) not productive."

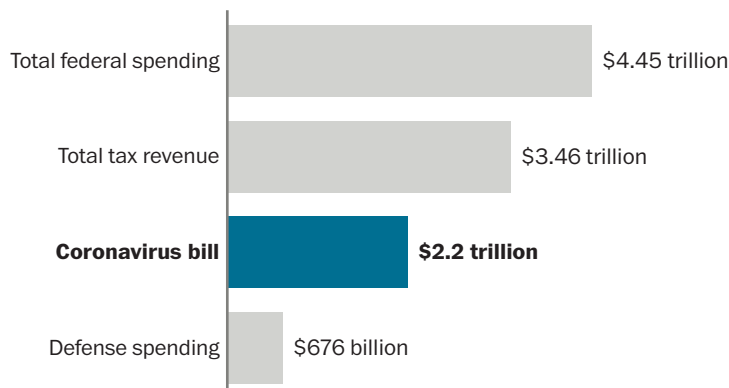
At which point, McMillan instantly became Scrooge, a "ghoul," an advocate for the

SEE ELDERLY ON A24

Recently ascendant firms swell queue for taxpayer aid

How big is the coronavirus relief bill?

How the proposed coronavirus bill compares to government spending and revenue in 2019



Source: Congressional Budget Office

THE WASHINGTON POST

BY JONATHAN O'CONNELL

When airline executives realized a few years ago that they could charge passengers extra fees for just about anything — meals, checking bags, even choosing seats — their businesses seemed bulletproof.

"I don't think we're ever going to lose money again," American Airlines chief executive Doug Parker told giddy investors in 2017. As such companies continued to thrive, they also undertook share buybacks, boosting investor value. President Trump and congressional Republicans sweetened the outlook for big businesses further when they passed a \$1.5 trillion tax cut that slashed the corporate rate beginning in 2018.

That seems so long ago. Now airlines, hotels, cruise lines, coal-mining companies and others strangled by coronavirus shutdowns are lining up to receive slices of a \$2 trillion aid package funded by taxpayers.

Yet many of these companies behaved in ways before the current economic crisis that are making a bailout tough to swallow.

SEE COMPANIES ON A18

More coverage

- Inmates:** Local and state officials have released thousands. **A3**
- Police hold back:** Many new restrictions are going unenforced. **A4**
- Health workers:** Some resist pressure to work without protection. **A7**
- Brazil:** Bolsonaro dismisses measures, calling virus 'a little cold.' **A12**
- Local funerals:** Families are forced to rethink how to say goodbye. **B1**
- Silent nights:** Where clubs once thrived, a stillness in Philadelphia. **C1**

Militaries across the globe get marching orders as lockdown enforcers

BY KEVIN SIEFF

Around the world, as a consensus has formed around the need for quarantine and social distancing to fight the coronavirus, a more delicate question has emerged: How do you enforce those new rules?

In every region, under all kinds of political systems, governments are turning to increasingly stringent measures — and deploying their armed forces to back them up.

Countries as varied as China, Jordan, El Salvador and Italy have sent service members into the streets. Guatemala has detained more than 1,000 people. In Peru, those who flout government restrictions can be jailed for up to three years. In Saudi Arabia, it's five.

At no time since World War II have so many nations wrestled with what it means to be in a state of emergency and how to impose fundamental and sudden changes in human behavior.

Deploying troops is a startling but often effective way to keep people indoors, but its impact

SEE SOLDIERS ON A13



ALTAF QADRI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Soldiers stand guard as authorities clear the Shaheen Bagh protest site on Tuesday in New Delhi. A number of countries are using their militaries to help enforce coronavirus containment measures.

UNANIMOUS VOTE AS ECONOMY STAGGERS

Pelosi expects House approval on Friday

BY ERICA WERNER, MIKE DEBONIS AND PAUL KANE

The Senate unanimously passed a \$2.2 trillion emergency relief bill Wednesday night aimed at limiting the financial trauma that the coronavirus pandemic is inflicting on the United States, and lawmakers acted with unusual speed to produce the largest economic rescue package in the nation's history.

The sprawling legislation, which passed 96 to 0, would send checks to more than 150 million American households, set up enormous loan programs for businesses large and small, pump money into unemployment insurance programs, greatly boost spending on hospitals, and much more.

Illustrating how grave the situation has become in the United States, the most liberal and conservative senators joined to support the mammoth spending bill.

The legislation's goal is to flood the economy with money at a time of nearly unprecedented financial chaos, with entire states on lockdown, many businesses closed, and the number of infections and deaths from the coronavirus quickly on the rise.

The Senate vote sends the bill to the House, where Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) expects it to be approved Friday morning. President Trump said he intends to sign it immediately.

"Our nation obviously is going through a kind of crisis that is totally unprecedented in living memory," Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said ahead of the vote, after which the Senate intended to recess until April 20 unless urgent legislative action is needed before then.

"Let's stay connected and continue to collaborate on the best ways to keep helping our states

SEE STIMULUS ON A19

Hospitals debate do-not-resuscitate orders over fears for staffers' health

BY ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA

Hospitals on the front lines of the pandemic are engaged in a heated private debate over a calculation few have encountered in their lifetimes — how to weigh the "save at all costs" approach to resuscitating a dying patient against the real danger of exposing doctors and nurses to the contagion of coronavirus.

The conversations are driven by the realization that the risk to staff members amid dwindling stores of protective equipment — such as masks, gowns and gloves — may be too great to justify the conventional response when a patient "codes," and their heart or breathing stops.

Northwestern Memorial Hospital in Chicago has been discussing a do-not-resuscitate policy for infected patients, regardless of the wishes of the patient or their family members — a wrenching decision to prioritize the lives of the many over the one.

Richard Wunderink, one of Northwestern's intensive-care medical directors, said hospital administrators would have to ask Illinois Gov. J.B. Pritzker for help in clarifying state law and whether it permits the policy shift.

"It's a major concern for everyone," he said. "This is something about which we have had lots of communication with families, and I think they are very aware of the grave circumstances."

Officials at George Washington University Hospital in the District say they have had similar conversations.

SEE HOSPITALS ON A5

IN THE NEWS

War's latest brutal chapter In Syria's Idlib province, fighting leaves millions of struggling civilians trapped between rival forces. **A10**

THE NATION Joe Biden is working to significantly escalate his public presence. **A2**

THE WORLD Turkey indicted 20 Saudis in the killing of Jamal Khashoggi. **A11**

LOCAL LIVING

Staying calm in the storm

A psychologist offers tips for emotional resilience during the pandemic.



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The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

M2 V1 V2 V3 V4

Mostly sunny, cooler 74/54 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny 76/59 C14 Democracy Dies in Darkness SUNDAY, MAY 31, 2020 • \$3.50

Wave of rage and anguish sweeps U.S. cities

At time of crisis, a keen search for leaders to heal

BY MARC FISHER

As protests quickly flipped from peaceful to fiery in more than two dozen U.S. cities, President Trump said little Saturday about the frustrations that drove thousands of people to crowd into downtown streets in the middle of a pandemic. Instead, the president defaulted to his usual style of leadership: tearing people down and talking tough.

“Mayor Jacob Frey of Minneapolis will never be mistaken for the late, great General Douglas MacArthur [sic] or great fighter General George Patton,” Trump tweeted Saturday of the Democrat whose city was in flames. “How come all of these places that defend so poorly are run by Liberal Democrats? Get tough and fight (and arrest the bad ones). STRENGTH!”

Trump blasted demonstrators who had confronted Secret Service agents outside the White House as “professionally managed so-called ‘protesters’” who “were just there to cause trouble.” And he seemed to savor a confrontation.

SEE LEADERSHIP ON A14

‘For generations our voices have not been heard’

BY SHEILA REGAN, ROBERT KLEMKO AND JENNA JOHNSON

MINNEAPOLIS — The protests started peacefully Tuesday night, as hundreds marched to the 3rd Precinct police headquarters to demand accountability for the officer who jammed his knee into George Floyd’s neck for more than eight minutes as he gasped for breath.

Tensions quickly escalated. By the second night, people had looted nearby businesses and set them on fire.

By the third night of protests, the police precinct was also on fire. By the fourth, dozens of buildings were set ablaze, and anger once directed just at the police exploded into all-out mayhem.

This Midwestern city is now consumed by fear and unease triggered by the anarchy playing out after dark in certain neighborhoods — and worries that the

SEE TENSIONS ON A13



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



KEREM YUCEL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES



RINGO H.W. CHIU/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TOP: Protesters on Saturday surround the White House, where some launched fireworks and threw bottles at police officers, who swung batons and fired pepper-spray projectiles. Demonstrations have swelled in dozens of cities since George Floyd died after a Minneapolis police officer knelt for several minutes on his neck. BOTTOM LEFT: Protests continue in Minneapolis. BOTTOM RIGHT: A police car burns in Los Angeles.

Guard deployed as clashes persist in D.C.; Bowser lashes out at Trump

BY MARISSA J. LANG, MICHAEL E. MILLER, HANNAH NATANSON AND PETER JAMISON

Crowds protesting the killing of George Floyd clashed with U.S. Secret Service and Park Police officers in the nation’s capital

Saturday afternoon and evening, the second outburst of violent confrontations in less than 24 hours between federal law enforcement and activists decrying police brutality.

By nightfall, nearly 1,000 protesters were circling the perimeter of the White House grounds,

which was fortified with law enforcement vehicles, metal barriers and rows of armored Secret Service, D.C. police and U.S. Park Police.

Sweating, packed closely together and shouting through masks worn to protect themselves from the deadly coronavirus

still consuming the Washington region, the protesters launched fireworks and threw bottles at the officers, who swung batons and fired pepper-spray projectiles to push them back. As the sun began to set, D.C. National Guard trucks rumbled through

SEE D.C. ON A10

PROTESTS GROW OVER KILLING

Fearing night of unrest, states summon Guard

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER, COLBY ITKOWITZ AND MERYL KORNFIELD

The United States edged closer to nationwide upheaval on Saturday as protests gained force from coast to coast and authorities confronted another night of unrest over the death of George Floyd.

The killing of the 46-year-old black man in police custody has ignited furor as Americans marked the grim milestone of 100,000 lives lost to the novel coronavirus. Video of the fatal encounter in Minneapolis brought crowds rushing back to the streets after weeks of stay-at-home restrictions, in a return marked by spasms of violence that further frayed the social fabric of a country beset by health and economic emergencies.

The escalating street protests recalled recent activism by the Black Lives Matter movement, while also evoking pivotal moments in the turbulent history of racial and economic struggle, from the convulsions of 1968 to the riots that broke out in Los Angeles in response to the April 1992 acquittal of the officers charged in the beating of Rodney King. Ongoing eruptions had yet to reach these levels, as mayors and governors implored their citizens to stay calm, while President Trump urged authorities to “get tougher.”

“People are fighting for their lives,” said Rashad Robinson, the president of the racial justice group Color of Change.

At the epicenter of the national anguish, Minnesota Gov. Tim Walz (D) mobilized his state’s entire National Guard for the first time. Bracing for a fifth night of violence and riots, he warned that the destruction of past nights could be “dwarfed” by events on Saturday night. Governors in other states also activated National

SEE PROTESTS ON A8

More coverage

Criminal charges: Prosecutors face hurdles in cases against officers. **A9**

Violence: Minn. officials blame outsiders, offer little blame. **A12**

Minneapolis unrest: White House offers active-duty soldiers. **A14**

Sally Jenkins: Colin Kaepernick’s protest still reverberates. **D1**

More coverage

Reopening: Black pastors in St. Louis are preaching caution. **A3**

Tourism: Europe faces an unusual summer without Americans. **A20**

Outlook: Eateries are barely making it. Delivery apps aren’t helping. **B1**

Virus: Testing rates in the District are far below capacity. **C1**

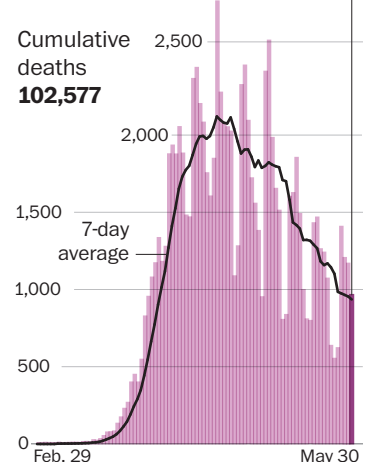
Sports: Virus adds new challenges to reach at-risk youths. **D1**

Arts & Style: 20 summer reads, for while you’re staying home. **E1**

Business: The new rules of retirement. **G1**

New deaths in the U.S., by day

As of 8 p.m.



VOICES FROM THE PANDEMIC

‘It was me. I know it was me.’

Francene Bailey, on passing the coronavirus to her mother

AS TOLD TO ELI SASLOW

They keep telling me it’s not my fault, and I’d give anything to believe that. The doctor called after my mom went to the hospital and said: “Don’t blame yourself. You didn’t do anything wrong.”

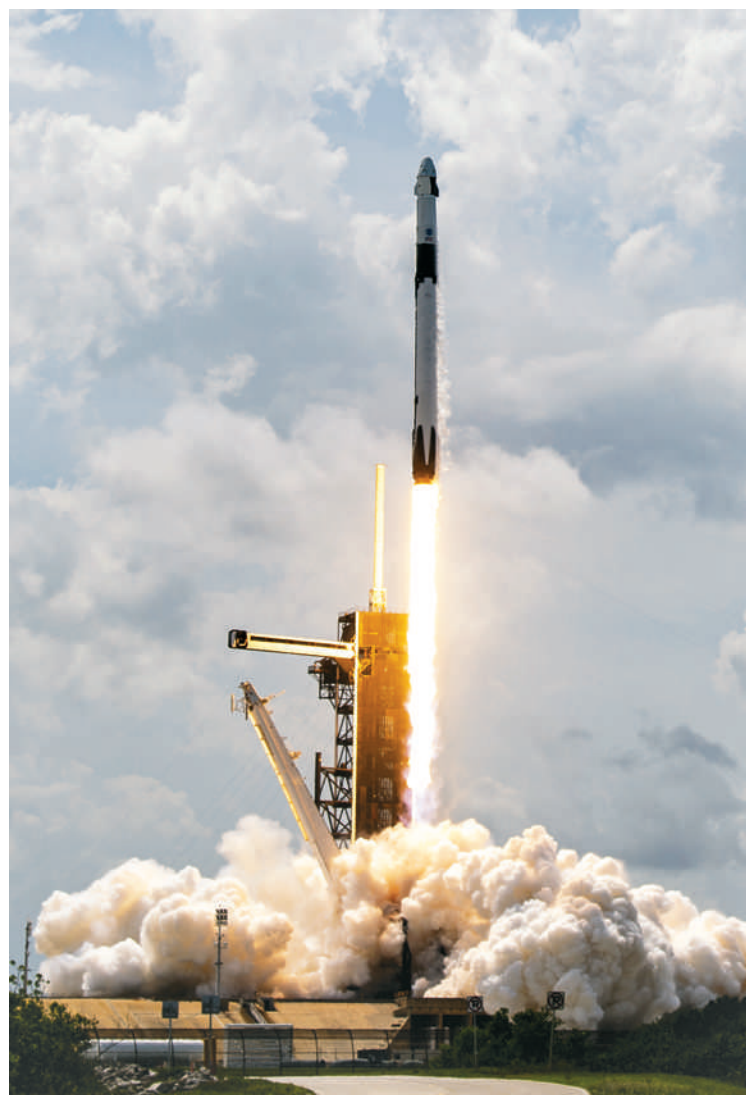
The pastor said basically the same thing at her funeral. “Let it go. You had nothing to do with this.” I know they’re trying to make me feel better, but it’s a lie. I had everything to do with it. This virus doesn’t just appear in your body out of nowhere. It has to pass from one person to the next. It has to come from somebody, and this time I know it came from me.

I keep thinking: What if I’d stopped going to work when the first people started to get sick? What if I didn’t live with my mom? What if I’d stayed

upstairs in my room like I’d been doing all week? What if I’d kept my mask on? What if I’d turned away when she reached out to hug me? We only had close contact that one time, and it barely lasted a few minutes, but that was all it took. A week later she was in the hospital. Ten days after that she was gone. That’s the timeline I have to live with, and it points right back to me. I got sick and then she got sick. I lived and she died. How am I supposed to let go of that?

The thing is, I was trying so hard to be careful from the very beginning. It’s not like I was one of those people who didn’t pay attention. I work at a nursing home. I knew how fast this virus could spread. As soon as a few of the residents started spiking fevers in March, I went online to buy extra masks. We didn’t have the right protective supplies, and you can’t social distance

SEE VOICES ON A5



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

The SpaceX Falcon 9 takes off from the Kennedy Space Center with two NASA astronauts bound for the International Space Station.

SpaceX takes historic flight headed for space station

BY CHRISTIAN DAVENPORT AND JACOB BOGAGE

CAPE CANAVERAL, FLA. — With the country wracked by the coronavirus and racial strife, the United States opened a new chapter in space exploration Saturday when a SpaceX rocket blasted off from the Kennedy Space Center in Florida, carrying two astronauts to orbit from American soil for the first time in nearly a decade.

It was a historic moment for SpaceX, which became the first private corporation to launch people into orbit, and for NASA, which has struggled to regain its footing after retiring the space shuttle in 2011, leaving the U.S. no option but to rely on Russia to ferry its astronauts to space for as much as \$90 million a seat.

But it also comes at the end of a historic and tragic week in America. Fatalities from the coronavirus pandemic passed 100,000 in recent days and sometimes-violent protests and looting erupted overnight in major cities, including New York, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., over the death of

SEE SPACE ON A18

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SAVE SUNDAY COUPON INSERTS \$272

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High court affirms LGBTQ worker protections

Ruling shines spotlight on election-year challenge for president

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Donald Trump ran for president four years ago with a conflicted message on gay rights meant to simultaneously broaden his appeal and fire up his base. He vaguely embraced the rhetoric of social progress while also saying he would “seriously consider” a Supreme Court justice who would once again outlaw same-sex marriage.

But the court’s decision Monday to extend workplace protec-

tions to gay and transgender employees underscored the significant challenge Trump will face as he continues to try to play both sides of the rapidly evolving issue during his reelection campaign.

While still celebrating the idea of social change — recently boasting of appointing the first openly gay man to the level of Cabinet secretary — his administration has repeatedly opted to resist or roll back protections for gay, lesbian and transgender people in a nod to his more conservative supporters. And his first pick to the high court, Neil M. Gorsuch, is now responsible for writing the most impactful ruling for gay rights since same-sex marriage was codified as a constitutional

SEE RIGHTS ON A6



Joseph Fons, holding a Pride flag, stands in front of the Supreme Court on Monday after the justices’ 6-to-3 ruling.

CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

TRUMP NOMINEE WRITES HISTORIC DECISION

Gay, transgender rights recognized in civil rights law

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court ruled Monday that a landmark federal civil rights law from the 1960s protects gay and transgender workers, a watershed ruling for LGBTQ rights written by one of the court’s most conservative justices.

Justice Neil M. Gorsuch and Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. joined the court’s liberals in the 6-to-3 ruling. They said Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination “because of sex,” includes gay and

transgender employees.

The decision was a surprise, and not the only one of the day. Even though the court’s conservative majority has been strengthened, it announced Monday that it was turning down a batch of challenges from gun rights groups eager to expand Second Amendment rights. And it rejected the Trump administration’s request to review California’s attempts to provide sanctuary to undocumented immigrants.

The court’s LGBTQ rights ruling is the major decision of the
SEE SUPREME COURT ON A4

Drivers hit protesters, echoing 2017 attack

‘Pattern’ of incidents comes amid resurgence of violent memes online

BY NEENA SATIJA, EMILY DAVIES AND DALTON BENNETT

Emily Bloom said she barely had time to dive to safety before a gray Kia with its engine revving was driven through the intersection where she had stood moments earlier in downtown Gainesville, Fla., protesting police brutality.

While marching with fellow protesters in the Richmond suburb of Lakeside, Rachel Kurtz said she, her husband and her 11-year-old son had to leap to the sidewalk and out of the path of a blue pickup truck.

In the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Seattle, Dan Gregory fell to the ground, shot in the shoulder, after he attempted to stop a black Honda Civic headed toward a group of protesters, he said. And in front of the Bakersfield Police Department in California, Lexi Colebrook said, she watched in horror as an SUV hit her friend, who managed to stumble toward the sidewalk and escape serious injury.

The incidents are among at least 19 cases in the past few weeks
SEE DRIVERS ON A13

In Ferguson, emotions still raw
Activists say little has changed since Michael Brown’s death. **A14**

London protester called a hero
He carried to safety a suspected right-wing counterprotester. **A19**



DUSTIN CHAMBERS/GETTY IMAGES

A city erupts with demands for justice

Protesters take part in the March on Georgia, organized by the NAACP, in downtown Atlanta. The march was in response to the killing of Rayshard Brooks by police outside a Wendy’s last week. Brooks’s wife, Tomika Miller, right, holds their daughter during a news conference on Monday.



CURTIS COMPTON/ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Latest death puts Atlanta at epicenter of protests

Rayshard Brooks’s family decries killing as mayor orders changes in policing

BY FENIT NIRAPPIL, MATT ZAPOTOSKY AND MIRANDA GREEN

ATLANTA — Relatives of Rayshard Brooks — the 27-year-old man fatally shot by an officer outside a Wendy’s here last week — called for law enforcement reform during an emotional news conference Monday, as hundreds of demonstrators marched in the streets to protest another black man’s death at the hands of police.

Crying and hugging one another, each took a turn at the microphone as they described how Brooks’s death had taken from them a loving husband and father.

“The trust that we have with the police force is broken, and the only way to heal some of these wounds is through a conviction and a drastic change with the police department,” said Tiara Brooks, Rayshard Brooks’s cousin.

Mayor Keisha Lance Bottoms (D) on Monday announced she was signing a series of administrative orders calling for changes in police policies, including requiring officers to use de-escalation techniques before using deadly force and imposing a duty on po-

SEE PROTESTS ON A12

Chief concerns
Progressives in the top police job sometimes have brief tenures. **A16**

Capturing the moment
Smithsonian staff are collecting protest keepsakes and stories. **B1**

Many ready to risk lives for vaccine

As thousands sign up to be exposed to virus, scientists face dilemma

BY BEN GUARINO AND CAROLYN Y. JOHNSON

Lehua Gray, a 32-year-old product manager in Austin, wants to risk her life for a coronavirus vaccine. A cloud of potentially deadly microbes would be sprayed up her nose — if she’s allowed to participate in what’s called a human challenge trial.

It’s built on a deceptively simple premise: Researchers inject healthy volunteers with an experimental vaccine and then expose

them to a pathogen. If the vaccine prevents volunteers from getting sick, the study can accelerate development of a promising formula.

This approach has been used to test malaria and cholera vaccines — and now, in laboratories and conference rooms, preliminary discussions are unfolding about the feasibility of employing it in the quest to find a weapon against the novel coronavirus.

The obstacles are formidable. Infecting healthy people with a potentially lethal virus, with no treatment to save them from severe illness or death, raises some of the most fraught ethical, scientific and philosophical issues in the history of medicine. Exposure to pathogens in challenge trials is usually permitted only for diseases

that aren’t fatal or that have treatments available. No such assurances exist for the coronavirus, which has killed more than 435,000 people worldwide.

Francis Collins, director of the National Institutes of Health, said in an interview that challenge trials are “on the table for discussion — not on the table to start designing a plan.”

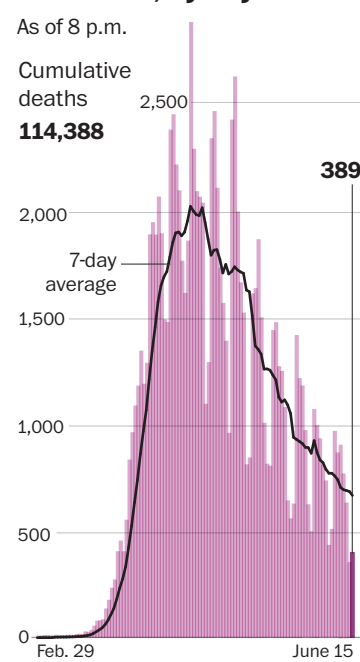
Large-scale trials of coronavirus vaccine candidates are slated
SEE VACCINE ON A10

Beijing: Over 77,000 people tested for infections linked to market. **A20**

Cares Act oversight: Inspectors general issued new concerns. **A21**

Oscars delayed: The show will be in April instead of February. **C1**

New coronavirus deaths in the U.S., by day



Virus guidance ignored as case numbers rise

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN, RACHEL WEINER AND JOEL ACHENBACH

Coronavirus infections continued to rise in many parts of a divided nation on Monday, with public health recommendations under attack from communities tired of staying home and officials eager to restart local economies.

Even as the number of infections rose and hospital beds filled in some places, voices clamored for an end to mandatory mask-wearing. And relaxation of restrictions designed to curb the novel coronavirus continued.

“They’re either just over it, or they’ve come to believe it’s a phony

pandemic because their own personal grandmother hasn’t been affected yet,” said Andrew Noymer, an epidemiologist at the University of California at Irvine, in Orange County. Elected officials last week forced the county health department to scale back a mask-wearing order. “People just think this is a nothingburger. So they think the risk is exaggerated.”

Two associations of local health officials released a statement warning that “public health department officials and staff have been physically threatened and politically scapegoated,” and “the vital work of public health departments is also being challenged.”

SEE GUIDANCE ON A7

IN THE NEWS

Trump’s niece to tell all The president has said his family is unified after a financial row, but her book may explode that image. **A3**

THE WORLD
Russia sentenced an American to 16 years on a spying conviction. **A20**

THE REGION
The Supreme Court eased the way for the Atlantic Coast Pipeline. **B1**

HEALTH & SCIENCE

The heart issue

A debate over stress tests, facts about drugs and covid-19, the benefits of fasting, and more. **E1**



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Democracy Dies in Darkness

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 2020 • \$2

Justices reject Trump's immunity claims

President's angry reaction to rulings underscores political vulnerability

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA AND JOHN WAGNER

President Trump reacted angrily to a pair of Supreme Court rulings about his financial records Thursday, taking to Twitter to call them "not fair to this Presidency or Administration!" and describing himself as the victim of a "political prosecution."

Hours later, the White House released a statement saying Trump was "gratified" by one of the decisions and had been "protected" in the other.

The disjointed responses underscore what in some ways represented a split decision for the president, marked by political and legal ramifications that hold both risks and advantages ahead of the November election.

While it appears that Trump will be able to keep his financial records and tax returns out of the public eye between now and the election, the court rejected his lawyers' claims of "absolute immunity" and sent one of the cases back to the lower court for further litigation. The decision will give Democrats, including presumptive presidential nominee Joe Biden, more ammunition in their attempts to raise ethical questions about a president who has fought relentlessly to keep his financial records out of the public eye, said

SEE TRUMP ON A11



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump's press secretary called the decisions a win, but Trump said he was the victim of a "political prosecution."

Trump's taxes: Why the Supreme Court decisions won't lead to the president's financial information becoming public anytime soon. A11

COURT SPLITS RULINGS ON RECORDS ACCESS

Subpoena may proceed in N.Y.; Congress must wait

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court on Thursday rejected President Trump's bold claims of immunity from local law enforcement and congressional investigators, delivering a nuanced and likely landmark lesson on the separation of powers and limits of presidential authority.

In one of two lopsided 7-to-2 rulings, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. rejected Trump's argument that he did not have to comply with a subpoena from Manhattan District Attorney Cyrus R. Vance Jr., and said Vance had authority to pursue

the president's personal and business financial records.

In the other, the court said the restrictions the president proposed on congressional demands for private, nonprivileged information "risk seriously impeding Congress in carrying out its responsibilities."

Still, the court put a hold on the congressional subpoenas, suggesting overreach on the part of the lawmakers. The court sent the cases back to lower courts, where, the justices said, Trump also could challenge the specifics of Vance's inquiry.

On the whole, the rulings were SEE COURT ON A10

ELECTION 2020

Biden plan parries Trump on economy

Initiative would infuse \$700 billion into U.S. manufacturing, research

BY SEAN SULLIVAN AND JEFF STEIN

Joe Biden unveiled a proposal Thursday to spend \$700 billion on American products and research, challenging President Trump's "America First" agenda with a competing brand of economic nationalism and setting the stage for an election-year showdown over the country's financial future.

In one of his most far-reaching plans since emerging as the presumptive Democratic nominee, Biden called for the federal government to spend \$400 billion over four years on materials and services made in the United States, as well as \$300 billion on U.S.-based research and development involving electric cars, artificial intelligence and similar technologies.

He also advocated a 100-day "supply chain review" that could require federal agencies to buy only medical supplies and other goods manufactured in the United States. And he urged an end to loopholes that let procurement officers and federal contractors get around existing "Buy American" clauses.

"When we spend taxpayers' money — when the federal government spends taxpayers' money — we should use it to buy American products and support American jobs," Biden said in a speech at a metal works plant in Dunmore in Pennsylvania, a crucial battleground state.

The announcement marked an effort by Biden to begin laying out his agenda in more detail after months in which his central mes-

SEE BIDEN ON A22



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mask-wearing mannequins at a store in Austin's South Congress neighborhood. Texas is among the states that have rolled back their reopenings amid a spike in coronavirus cases. Florida also reversed course on loosened restrictions after Gov. Ron DeSantis (R) pushed for a quick recovery. For video, visit wapo.st/FloridaShutdown.

CDC walks a tightrope as pandemic meets politics

BY LENA H. SUN AND JOSH DAWSEY

The June 28 email to the director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention was ominous: A senior adviser to a top Health and Human Services Department official accused the CDC of "undermining the President" by putting out a report about the potential risks of the coronavirus to pregnant women.

The adviser, Paul Alexander, criticized the agency's methods and said its warning to pregnant women "reads in a way to frighten women ... as if the

President and his administration can't fix this and it is getting worse."

As the country enters a frightening phase of the pandemic with new daily cases surpassing 57,000 on Thursday, the CDC, the nation's top public health agency, is coming under intense pressure from President Trump and his allies, who are downplaying the dangers in a bid to revive the economy ahead of the Nov. 3 presidential election. In a White House guided by the president's instincts, rather than by evidence-based policy, the CDC

SEE CDC ON A6

Growing chorus pushes for renewed shutdown orders

BY GRIFF WITTE

They raced to shut down their economies in March, and many opened them just as quickly in May.

Now, governors across the country are facing growing pressure from public health experts and local leaders to reimpose stay-at-home orders as the only way to regain control of coronavirus outbreaks that threaten to overwhelm hospitals and send the death count rocketing.

The push appeared to receive a boost from Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's top infectious-

disease official, who suggested in comments released late Wednesday that struggling states "should seriously look at shutting down."

He took a more measured approach on Thursday, emphasizing that stay-at-home orders should remain a last resort and suggesting a pause in reopening plans instead.

So far, that has been the preferred method for governors seeking to arrest climbing case loads while not alienating a virus-weary public. Yet, with scant evidence of progress in states across the Sun Belt — and SEE SHUTDOWN ON A8

Much of east Okla. is ruled Indian land

Gorsuch joins liberal justices in case affecting nearly 2 million residents

BY ANN E. MARIMOW

The Supreme Court said Thursday that a large swath of eastern Oklahoma remains an American Indian reservation, a decision with potential implications for nearly 2 million residents and one of the most significant victories for tribal rights in years.

The land at issue contains much of Tulsa, the state's second-largest city. The question for the court was whether Congress officially eliminated the Muscogee (Creek) Nation reservation when Oklahoma became a state in 1907.

In a 5-to-4 decision invoking the country's long history of mistreating Native Americans, the court said "we hold the government to its word" and the land Congress promised to the Creek Nation is still Indian land.

"If Congress wishes to withdraw its promises, it must say so. Unlawful acts, performed long enough and with sufficient vigor, are never enough to amend the

SEE OKLAHOMA ON A10

The court ruled that the Muscogee (Creek) Nation reservation in eastern Oklahoma was never disestablished by Congress.



The ruling specifically addresses the Creek Nation. But it could also apply to the other four tribes with reservations in eastern Oklahoma, all created by treaties during the same time period and home to a total of 1.8 million residents.

IN THE NEWS



AMANDA ANDRADE-RHOADES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

D.C.'s youngest lawmaker Brooke Pinto has established herself as a swing vote among her liberal colleagues on the city council. B1

Border arrests Detentions of migrants along the U.S.-Mexico border soared 40 percent in June, defying a crackdown. A15

THE NATION Michael Cohen, President Trump's former personal lawyer, was taken back into federal custody after the Bureau of Prisons said he "refused the conditions of his home confinement." A2

The judge in ex-Trump adviser Michael Flynn's case asked the full appeals court in Washington to review the government's bid to drop the prosecution. A3

The ousted U.S. attorney who investigated associates of Trump says Attorney General William P. Barr pushed him

to resign. A4

Senate Republicans in tight reelection races are avoiding the president's name in campaign ads, a sign of a tough political position for the GOP. A12

THE WORLD Marseille, the site of Europe's last plague, has so far managed to escape the worst of the current pandemic. A13

Australia suspended its extradition treaty with Hong Kong and invited migration by city residents, in particular highly skilled workers and entrepreneurs. A14

The Egyptian government has pressured its critics in the United States by harassing and threatening their relatives living in Egypt, victims and human rights groups say. A14

THE ECONOMY Amazon announced plans to disclose merchant names to curb sales of counterfeit and dangerous products. A18

Uber's purchase of Postmates will deliver only bad tidings for restaurants and customers, columnist Steven Pearlstein writes. A18

THE REGION D.C. police have arrested a suspect in the fatal

shooting of an 11-year-old boy at a stop-the-violence cookout on the Fourth of July. B1

The Metro board will study proposals to provide free rides or reduced-fare travel to low-income users of Metrobus. B1

Loudoun County officials voted to remove a Confederate statue from the county courthouse and return it to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. B2

A banner proclaiming Black Lives Matter in the mostly white Virginia town of Clifton was denounced by the wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. B8

INSIDE



WEEKEND Guides to the past Driving tours allow for exploration and perspective while staying in your bubble.

STYLE Vying for visas Broadcaster Voice of America could lose many of its international journalists under a new overseer appointed by Trump. C1

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100 YEARS AFTER SUFFRAGE
The long struggle for a voice for women at ballot box **SPECIAL SECTION**



ELECTION 2020
An unconventional year and a race like no other **SPECIAL SECTION**



PARENTING
Back-to-school help to cut through the confusion **SPECIAL SECTION**

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

M2 V1 V2 V3 V4

T-storm 90/76 • Tomorrow: Showers, t-storms 82/73 **B10** Democracy Dies in Darkness WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 2020 • \$3.50

In historic move, Biden selects Harris for VP

Black women express overwhelming level of joy

BY ANNIE LINSKEY AND VANESSA WILLIAMS

Kamala D. Harris's leap onto the Democratic ticket Tuesday sparked a surge of emotion across the nation as Americans for the first time witnessed a woman of color ascend to the country's highest political levels.

Harris's selection as the potential next vice president was met with excitement and relief that Black women, in many ways the heart of the Democratic Party, finally have one of their own on the national ticket. Harris, 55, the daughter of Jamaican and Indian immigrants, makes history on two fronts — as the first Black woman and first Asian American to reach this level.

"I'm jumping for joy," said Johnnetta Cole, who was the first Black female president of Spelman College, the historically Black all-female college in Atlanta. "Today, 401 years after the first enslaved Africans came to what was then British Virginia, look what has happened. Anyone who does not feel the significance of this, I have to ask, 'Who are they? Where have they been?'"

Several women said they were surprised by their own reactions, given that Harris was considered a lackluster primary candidate and is hardly a trailblazing activist, and that her own presidential aspirations fizzled last year.

"I have tears in my eyes but joy in my soul," Rep. SEE HISTORY ON A6



Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.), shown last year, emerged as Joe Biden's choice after a months-long process that included vetting nearly a dozen women as potential vice-presidential nominees.

The Take: The safest candidate won out, though it might not have been an easy choice, Dan Balz writes. **A5**

SENATOR IS 1ST BLACK WOMAN TO RUN ON MAJOR-PARTY TICKET

Beyond election, pick positions her for lead role in Democratic Party's future

BY MATT VISER AND SEAN SULLIVAN

Presumptive Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden on Tuesday picked Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.) as his running mate, a historic decision that elevates the first Black woman and first Asian American to run for vice president on a major-party ticket at a moment when the country is grappling with its racial past and future.

Biden's announcement, made in a text and tweet, aligns him with a former presidential rival whose most electric campaign performance came when she criticized his record on school integration during a debate.

The decision is the most consequential of Biden's presidential campaign and has major implications not only for the November election but for the future of the Democratic Party. Biden, 78 years old by Inauguration Day, would be the oldest president ever and has said he considers himself "a transition candidate." The choice places Harris, who was a more vibrant and energetic presence on the campaign trail but was also at times unsteady, at the SEE HARRIS ON A7



Big Ten and Pac-12 nix football for this fall

College sports splinter and teeter as universities try to navigate pandemic

BY ADAM KILGORE

The Big Ten and Pac-12 became the first college football conferences at the sport's highest level to cancel their fall seasons Tuesday, the culmination of 48 fractious hours within the sport that included players organizing in unprecedented fashion, President Trump advocating for a season to happen, conferences following differing medical guidance and coaches hinting at rebellion against their own conference leadership to play amid the coronavirus pandemic.

The Big Ten's and Pac-12's decisions were the latest steps toward the full cancellation of an American sporting staple that has unfolded every autumn for 150 years. But with the sport lacking a central authority, other major conferences have indicated they either intend to play this fall or will wait before deciding, and presidents from the Big 12 voted Tuesday night to move forward with the season, according to multiple reports. The Big Ten and Pac-12 said they could play football in the spring, although the logistics of doing so remain unclear.

Big Ten Commissioner Kevin Warren said in a statement that after hours of discussion with infectious-disease experts from the conferences, "it became abundantly clear that there was too much uncertainty regarding potential medical risks to allow our student-athletes to compete this fall."

"Unlike professional sports, college sports cannot operate in a bubble," Pac-12 Commissioner Larry Scott said in a virtual news conference. "Our athletic programs are part of broader campuses in communities where in many cases the prevalence of covid-19 is significant."

When the pandemic halted college sports and the rest of SEE FOOTBALL ON A12

The Chapel Hill campus begins its semester in person with masks, sanitizer and caution



People walk past the Old Well at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, which has face-to-face teaching in more than half its classes. Students traditionally sip from the fountain for luck, but the university has shut off the water as a pandemic precaution.

At UNC, class is back in session

BY NICK ANDERSON
IN CHAPEL HILL, N.C.

Six masked students joined a masked professor here this week in a small seminar room at Carroll Hall for the debut of a course on interactive media. Rolling chairs were set several feet apart in a floor plan specially marked to deter any-

one who might feel the rule-breaking impulse to scoot around and sit next to a classmate.

Thirteen more students, unmasked, were linked in simultaneously through cameras from elsewhere in the United States and as far away as Singapore and China. Their faces hovered in an array of

Zoom boxes projected onto video screens.

"This is a unique day," Steven King told his class Monday at the outset of a fall term unlike any other in the long history of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "We all know things are different." So different that the university must reckon with whether the mere

act of holding classes such as this, part remote and part in person, will hasten the spread of the novel coronavirus.

His own mother, King told them, has been fighting covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus, in a hospital for nearly two weeks and was just taken off a ventilator. SEE COLLEGES ON A8

The fate of a U.S. coronavirus vaccine lies with an FDA civil servant

BY LAURIE MCGINLEY

Peter Marks, a self-effacing cancer doctor known for his maniacal work ethic and straight-arrow approach, is sitting on the hottest of hot seats.

A top Food and Drug Administration career official, Marks is likely to decide in the next several

months whether a coronavirus vaccine is safe and effective enough to be given to tens of millions of Americans. That may be among the most critical decisions in the history of the agency, one with sweeping health, economic and political consequences.

It's a ruling of intense interest

to President Trump, who has not hesitated to attack government health officials he deems politically unhelpful, and who has boasted about pushing officials to speed up vaccine development. Just last week, Trump said in a radio interview that a vaccine might be available "right around" the Nov. 3 election — months

earlier than Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's leading infectious-disease expert, has predicted.

Such statements have scientists, health experts and lawmakers watching anxiously for political pressure on the FDA, in addition to possible technical foul-ups and mistakes in scientific judgment. SEE MARKS ON A11

Searchers face a dusty hellscape at Beirut port

Focus shifts to finding human remains, giving families closure

BY SARAH DADOUCH

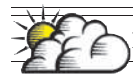
BEIRUT — The force of the explosion lifted the ship clear out of the water, depositing the battered hull on the concrete pier. The side of the Amadeo II that had faced the blast was blown open, its metal innards spilling out toward the sea, its disfigured facade stripped of paint and reduced to a faded rust color covered with blotches of disgorged sea bottom.

The scene on the Beirut waterfront after the devastating explosion last week looks straight out of "Mad Max," a tortured landscape washed in sepia, littered with the husks of cars. The expanse is dotted with small signs of previous lives: torn fabric, ice-pop boxes, a cookbook somehow still intact and open to a recipe for spaghetti squash with clam-and-mushroom sauce. An unidentified black liquid, perhaps the residue of melted garbage bags, continues to slither down hills of dirt and concrete, sticking to the shoes of search teams.

When 2,750 tons of highly volatile ammonium nitrate exploded in a warehouse, the blast left a crater nearly 50 yards deep and destroyed the port's towering grain silos, spewing torrents of yellow corn that piled up into mountains and spilled into the water. At least 171 people were killed.

"If this had happened a few hours earlier, we would have around 5,000 deaths," said a civil defense worker, who could not give his name because of tight restrictions placed by the Lebanese army on speaking to the media. Because the explosion occurred shortly after 6 p.m., the port was largely empty, mainly staffed by security personnel at that time, the civil defense worker said.

The shock wave shattered buildings more than a mile from SEE BEIRUT ON A20



RUTH BADER GINSBURG 1933-2020

A pioneer devoted to equality

Court vacancy galvanizes both sides in already chaotic election

BY PHILIP RUCKER,
MATT VISER,
SEAN SULLIVAN
AND ROBERT COSTA

An already chaotic and corrosive presidential campaign was jolted anew Friday night by the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, as a sudden vacancy on the Supreme Court just 46 days before the election immediately galvanized both political parties.

The impending fight for the Supreme Court thrusts issues of civil rights, abortion rights and health care to the forefront of a campaign that had been centered on the coronavirus pandemic, the economy and race relations, and it could boost voter enthusiasm and turnout numbers.

Democratic and Republican leaders assembled for all-out political war. Despite Ginsburg's dying wish that her successor not be determined until after the election, White House officials said President Trump is preparing to nominate a replacement in the coming days. And Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said that nominee would receive a vote in the Republican-controlled Senate — a departure from McConnell's refusal to consider a nominee chosen by President Barack Obama before the 2016 election.

"President Trump's nominee will receive a vote on the floor of the United States Senate," McConnell said in a statement.

Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden warned the Senate not to hold an election-year confirmation vote to fill Ginsburg's seat.

"Tonight and in the coming days we should focus on the loss of the justice and her enduring legacy. But there is no doubt — let me be clear — that the voters should pick the president and the president should pick the justice for the Senate to consider," he told reporters in a hastily arranged appearance.

SEE CAMPAIGN ON A11



NIKKI KAHN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, pictured in 2013, when she marked 20 years on the Supreme Court, was nominated by President Bill Clinton. After joining Sandra Day O'Connor on the high court before she retired in 2006, another landmark moment came in 2011, when the court for the first time opened its term with three female justices.

Justice's death sets off political fight over her replacement, court's future

BY ROBERT BARNES

A conservative replacement for liberal icon Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who died Friday night at age 87, could shift the Supreme Court's majority markedly to the right for generations, and transform its jurisprudence on issues such as gun rights, affirmative action and the right to abortion established in *Roe v. Wade*.

More immediately, Ginsburg's death for now leaves the court with only eight members to confront potentially history-shaping issues resulting from one of the nation's most contentious presi-

dential elections.

The court has already refereed a number of battles between Republicans and Democrats regarding voting rights. A majority of six conservative justices could potentially decide a host of other issues raised by the election itself. The court's ruling in *Bush v. Gore* in 2000 essentially decided the presidential election for George W. Bush.

With Ginsburg's death, the court now has five conservative justices nominated by Republican presidents and three liberals nominated by Democrats. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr.

SEE COURT ON A9

As McConnell pledges to hold vote for a nominee, Senate conflict looms

BY SEUNG MIN KIM

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, who has made judicial confirmations a hallmark of his legacy, is now confronting an extremely fraught Supreme Court fight that will challenge his pledge to leave no vacancy behind amid charges of hypocrisy and as his party's control of the Senate hangs in the balance.

McConnell (R-Ky.), who blocked President Barack Obama's final nominee to the Supreme Court for the near entirety of 2016, said Friday that President Trump's nominee to the Supreme Court will get a vote

on the floor of the Senate, although he did not say when that vote would be held.

"Americans reelected our majority in 2016 and expanded it in 2018 because we pledged to work with President Trump and support his agenda, particularly his outstanding appointments to the federal judiciary," McConnell said in a statement Friday following the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. He added: "President Trump's nominee will receive a vote on the floor of the United States Senate."

In early 2016, McConnell said he would not give Merrick Gar-

SEE MCCONNELL ON A9

NATION'S 2ND FEMALE JUSTICE DIES AT 87

Her principled stances made her a liberal icon

BY ROBERT BARNES
AND MICHAEL A. FLETCHER

Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the second woman to serve on the high court and a legal pioneer for gender equality whose fierce opinions as a justice made her a hero to the left, died Sept. 18 at her home in Washington. She was 87.

The death was announced in a statement by the U.S. Supreme Court. She had recently been treated for pancreatic cancer.

Born in Depression-era Brooklyn, Justice Ginsburg excelled academically and went to the top of her law school class at a time when women were still called upon to justify taking a man's place. She earned a reputation as the legal embodiment of the women's liberation movement and as a widely admired role model for generations of female lawyers.

Working in the 1970s with the American Civil Liberties Union, Justice Ginsburg successfully argued a series of cases before the high court that strategically chipped away at the legal wall of gender discrimination, eventually causing it to topple. Later, as a member of the court's liberal bloc, she was a reliable vote to enhance the rights of women, protect affirmative action and minority voting rights and defend a woman's right to choose an abortion.

On the court, she became an iconic figure to a new wave of young feminists, and her regal image as the "Notorious RBG" graced T-shirts and coffee mugs. She was delighted by the attention, although she said her law clerks had to explain that the moniker referred to a deceased rapper, the Notorious B.I.G. She also was the subject of a popular film documentary, "RBG" (2018).

When she was named one of Time magazine's 100 most influential people in 2015, her colleague and improbable close friend, conservative Justice Antonin Scalia, wrote about her

SEE GINSBURG ON A2A

China, Russia bend rules to get ahead in vaccine race

BY EVA DOU
AND ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN

SEOUL — China and Russia have begun a mass rollout of their coronavirus vaccines before clinical tests are complete, in what is emerging as an unexpectedly complex geopolitical challenge for the United States.

China's Sinopharm announced this week that it would provide emergency doses of one of its two trial vaccines to the United Arab Emirates, prioritizing the U.S. ally over the vast majority of Chinese. China is now the sole supplier of coronavirus vaccine to the Middle East.

Meanwhile, Russia's sovereign wealth fund signed a deal this week to supply India with 100 million doses of the Sputnik V vaccine.

SEE VACCINE ON A11

ELECTION 2020

Urgency, unease abound as early voting begins

BY MICHELLE YE HEE LEE
AND HOLLY BAILEY

MINNEAPOLIS — Jason Miller, a house painter in Minneapolis, had been itching to vote. So on the first day of early voting, the sun barely up on a chilly Friday morning, he became one of the first people in the country to cast his vote in person for Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden.

"I've always said that I wanted to be the first person to vote against Donald Trump," said Miller, 33. "I just couldn't wait. I just couldn't. . . . And for four years I have waited to do this, so here I am."

Early voting for the November election kicked off Friday in four states as voters showed up in person to cast their ballots, driven by a sense of urgency about the divisive presidential election, growing unease over the timely delivery of mail ballots, and fear of exposure to the novel coronavirus

SEE VOTING ON A5



JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A voter gets instructions from a clerk at the Minneapolis Elections & Voter Services Building on Friday. Early voting began in four states, and many voters had concerns over potential mail delays.

U.S. will ban WeChat, TikTok from app stores

BY JEANNE WHALEN,
RACHEL LERMAN
AND ELLEN NAKASHIMA

The Trump administration announced Friday that it is banning China's TikTok and WeChat services from mobile app stores beginning late Sunday, an unprecedented move that further unravels the United States' quickly deteriorating relationship with China.

Administration officials called the bans necessary to protect national security and prevent Beijing from exploiting the apps to collect user data or disseminate propaganda. But the measures drew quick criticism from First Amendment defenders such as the American Civil Liberties Union and even from TikTok rival Instagram.

Current and previous adminis-

SEE TIKTOK ON A13

IN SUNDAY'S POST

Fall home buyers guide

Even organized people can hit bumps in the road. Real Estate The Real Estate section will be distributed in the Sunday paper and will be packaged with the comics.

Scissors icon

\$192 SUNDAY'S COUPONS

INSIDE

THE NATION

Probe of donations urged

A complaint says the FEC should scrutinize GOP donations involving the postmaster general. **A4**

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The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington.

M2 V1 V2 V3 V4

Mostly sunny 67/49 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 69/55 B6 Democracy Dies in Darkness SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 2020 • \$2

Trump hospitalized with coronavirus

Country sees ominous trend of rising cases in past month

BY BRADY DENNIS AND JOEL ACHENBACH

Coronavirus cases have risen in 33 states and Puerto Rico since late August, and at least a dozen states have reported rising hospitalizations in recent days, according to data analyzed by The Washington Post.

The coronavirus map shows flare-ups coast to coast and from the Canadian to the Mexican border. Brooklyn is once again dealing with a spike in cases, and the state of New York on Friday reported its highest one-day case count since May 28.

New Jersey and Delaware have experienced rising numbers, as has Texas, which just recently endured a midsummer surge. Wisconsin, a critical swing state in the presidential election, has been hammered. It had logged record highs in case counts for 20 straight days as of Thursday, and recorded more than 17,000 new confirmed infections in a single week.

Among the latest data points in the early-autumn surge: President Trump's coronavirus diagnosis Friday, which instantly rocked the presidential campaign, became the biggest news story on the planet and provided a reminder, if any were needed, that this pandemic shows no signs of diminishing.

Covid-19, the disease caused by the novel coronavirus, has killed at least 208,000 people in the United States and is continuing to spread easily through many regions of the country. Infectious-disease experts had hoped transmission could be driven to low levels before cold weather arrived. That hasn't happened, and Trump and first lady Melania Trump on Friday became part of ominous daily case counts that alarm the nation's top doctors.

"I'm concerned we are going into the fall and ultimately the winter season, when the weather changes, [and] we are stuck at this baseline of 40,000 new infections every day," Anthony S. Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, said.

SEE CASES ON A10

Uncertain phase for campaign
Debates remain in limbo as both camps adjust to Trump's news. **A6**

A rejection of precautions
In Trump's circle, masks were rare even after a positive test in July. **A8**



AMANDA VOISARD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump, rarely seen in public with a mask, walks to Marine One en route to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center for treatment of the novel coronavirus. He is expected to stay — and work — at the hospital for several days out of an abundance of caution.

At Walter Reed, president can be treated if disease quickly worsens

BY LENNY BERNSTEIN, LAURIE MCGINLEY, JOEL ACHENBACH AND LENA H. SUN

The decision to move President Trump to a military hospital Friday probably reflects a lesson about covid-19 learned painfully during the pandemic: A patient's symptoms can turn serious swiftly, according to experts following the president's case.

The transfer to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center demonstrates his doctors' desire to keep Trump under close observation in a medical center where

they can administer oxygen and other therapies quickly if necessary to treat covid-19, the disease caused by the coronavirus, they said.

"The reason someone would go to the hospital would include closer observation, oxygen therapy and perhaps consideration of other therapies," said Helen Boucher, chief of infectious diseases at Tufts Medical Center in Boston.

Those could include the steroid dexamethasone, which has helped covid-19 patients with serious breathing problems; blood

SEE HEALTH ON A9

Virus spread in White House with culture of invincibility

BY PHILIP RUCKER, JOSH DAWSEY, ASHLEY PARKER AND ROBERT COSTA

The ceremony in the White House Rose Garden last Saturday was a triumphal flashback to the Before Times — before public health guidelines restricted mass gatherings, before people were urged to wear masks and socially distance.

President Trump and first lady Melania Trump welcomed more than 150 guests as the president formally introduced Judge Amy Coney Barrett, his nominee for

the Supreme Court. A handful of Republican senators were there, including Mike Lee of Utah, who hugged and mingled with guests. So was Kellyanne Conway, the recently departed senior counselor to the president, as well as the Rev. John I. Jenkins, the president of the University of Notre Dame, who left his Indiana campus where a coronavirus outbreak had recently occurred to celebrate an alumna's nomination.

Spirits were high. Finally, Trump was steering the national discussion away from the corona-

SEE TIMELINE ON A7

SEVERAL POSITIVE TESTS IN HIS ORBIT

Infection jolts dynamics of race in home stretch

BY JOSH DAWSEY, ASHLEY PARKER, COLBY ITKOWITZ AND TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA

President Trump was taken to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center on Friday for a stay that was expected to last several days, a move the White House said was made out of an abundance of caution after he tested positive for the deadly coronavirus and experienced symptoms.

"I want to thank everybody for the tremendous support. I'm going to Walter Reed hospital," Trump said Friday in a videotaped statement released on Twitter less than 24 hours after he and his wife, Melania, tested positive for the coronavirus. "I think I'm doing very well, but we're going to make sure that things work out."

Trump was experiencing fatigue, and the first lady was coughing with a headache on Friday, the White House doctor said, describing the physical impacts of a White House coronavirus outbreak that has upended the nation's capital and disrupted American politics one month before a presidential election.

Trump, who is 74, began taking a cocktail of drugs as a "precautionary measure," according to doctor Sean Conley, who provided only limited information about Trump's condition or the reasons for his extended stay at Walter Reed.

"In addition to the polyclonal antibodies, the President has been taking zinc, vitamin D, famotidine, melatonin and a daily aspirin," Conley said in a White House memo Friday afternoon, describing Trump as "fatigued but in good spirits."

Conley said Trump received an 8-gram dose of Regeneron's polyclonal antibody cocktail via "infusion without incident."

A few hours later, Trump walked to Marine One wearing a mask, then was transported to Walter Reed.

The president otherwise remained out of sight and publicly silent through much of the day.

SEE TRUMP ON A12

'The virus spares no one'
World leaders react with sympathy, criticism of Trump's diagnosis. **A13**

Questions on Trump's health
The White House can't be trusted, Margaret Sullivan writes. **C1**

Launch firm helps revive NASA site

BY CHRISTIAN DAVENPORT

WALLOPS ISLAND, VA. — Over the Chesapeake Bay Bridge, down past Chincoteague toward the southern tip of the Eastern Shore, sits an isolated spit of shoreline, near a wildlife refuge, that is home to one of the most unusual and little-known rocket launch sites in the country.

Born as a Navy air station during World War II, it has launched more than 16,000 rockets, most of them small sounding vehicles used for scientific re-

Rocket Lab's plans would make Va. facility 2nd to Cape Canaveral

search. But the Wallops Flight Facility, which at the dawn of the Space Age played a role as a test site for Project Mercury, is about to reinvent itself at a time when the commercial space industry is booming and spreading beyond the confines of Florida's Cape

Canaveral. After the Federal Aviation Administration last month granted Rocket Lab, a commercial launch company, a license to fly its small Electron rocket from the facility, Wallops could soon see a significant increase in launches as the company joins Northrop Grumman in launching from this remote site. While Rocket Lab is largely focused on national security missions, Northrop Grumman launches its Antares rocket to send a spacecraft to the Inter-

SEE WALLOPS ON A17

Key issue absent in grand jury audio

BY MARISA IATI, HANNAH KNOWLES, JEFF GREER AND MARK BERMAN

Police and civilian witnesses sharply disagreed about whether Louisville officers announced themselves before breaking down Breonna Taylor's door in March and shooting her, newly revealed grand jury recordings show, laying bare a core disagreement about what happened in the moments before she was killed. These divergent accounts were

No revelation on whether charges in Taylor's death were recommended

among those included in a trove of audio recordings made public Friday, a highly unusual release that pierced the typical secrecy shrouding the grand jury process. But prosecutors' recommendations to jurors weighing whether any officers should be charged in

Taylor's death were not recorded, Kentucky Attorney General Daniel Cameron's office said, an absence that legal analysts said leaves pivotal questions unanswered about how his office handled the case.

In a court motion this week, an unidentified grand juror requested release of the audio and permission to speak publicly about the proceedings, accusing Cameron (R) of "using grand jurors as a shield to deflect accountability and responsibility" for the charge-

SEE TAYLOR ON A5

IN SUNDAY'S POST



DAVID BURNETT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

<< Mind meld Power-hungry President Trump has teamed up with an attorney general dedicated to endowing Oval Office occupants with expansive muscle. **Magazine**

A voyage of discovery On a trip inspired by Steinbeck, a small-vessel cruise reveals the rich underwater world of Mexico's Sea of Cortez. **Travel, E15**



MONICA SCHIPPER/GETTY IMAGES

<< Catching up with Gloria Washington Post film critic Ann Hornaday re-connects with her mentor, feminist icon Gloria Steinem, left, the subject of "The Glorias," a movie about her life directed by Julie Taymor. **Arts & Style**

Scissors icon
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Craving community
Active adult residences entice home buyers seeking a sense of fellowship in these isolated times.

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Bracing for Nov. 3 unrest
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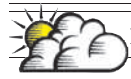
THE REGION
Battle over diversity plan
A proposal to boost minorities at a top magnet school by switching to a lottery roils Northern Virginia. **B1**

STYLE
Layoffs at Smithsonian
The 237 employees worked in retail shops and theaters, most of which remain shuttered. **C1**

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Hospitals nationwide see flood of patients

Covid-19 surge sparks fresh fears that facilities will have to ration care

BY JOEL ACHENBACH, KARIN BRULLIARD, BRITTANY SHAMMAS AND JACQUELINE DUPREE

Hospitals in many regions of the country — the Upper Midwest, the Mountain West, the Southwest and the heart of Appalachia — are seeing record levels of patients suffering from covid-19, the disease caused by the novel coronavirus.

More than 42,000 people were hospitalized nationally with the virus Monday, a figure that is steadily climbing toward the mid-summer peak caused by massive outbreaks in the Sun Belt. In the places hit the hardest, this is nudging hospitals toward the nightmare scenario of rationing care.

The country is not there yet, but the recent rise in confirmed coronavirus infections — which set a single-day record Saturday of more than 83,000 — is an ominous leading indicator of an imminent surge of patients into hospitals. The pattern of this pandemic has been clear: Infections go up, hospitalization rates follow in a few weeks, and then deaths spike.

SEE VIRUS ON A2

Mail voting: As virus cases rise, five states won't loosen limits. A10

VMI leader quits amid allegations of racism

BY IAN SHAPIRA

The superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute resigned Monday morning, after Black cadets described relentless racism at the nation's oldest state-supported military college and

Gov. Ralph Northam ordered an independent probe of the school's culture.

Retired Gen. J.H. Binford Peay III, 80, had been superintendent of the 181-year-old school since 2003.

In his resignation letter to John Boland, president of VMI's Board of Visitors, Peay said that he'd been told by the governor's chief of staff that Northam (D) and other state legislators had "lost confidence in my leadership" and "desired my resignation."

SEE VMI ON A11

Barrett confirmed to Supreme Court

6-3 CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY CEMENTED

No bipartisan support for first time since 1869

BY SEUNG MIN KIM

A bitterly divided Senate confirmed Amy Coney Barrett as the 115th justice to the Supreme Court on Monday, elevating just the fifth woman to the court in its 231-year history and one who further cements its conservative shift — a legacy that will last even if Republicans lose power in next week's elections.

The vote was 52 to 48 for Barrett, President Trump's third nominee to the Supreme Court. The 48-year-old jurist solidifies a judicial legacy for the White House and Senate Republicans that also includes dozens of younger and more ideologically conservative judges to the federal appeals courts. An acolyte of the late Justice Antonin Scalia, Barrett is certain to diverge dramatically from the woman she will succeed: Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who died Sept. 18 and was for decades an enduring icon for liberals.

The battle to confirm Barrett — whose installation occurred as more than 60 million people had already cast their ballots for president — also plunged a Senate already bruised by years of tit-for-tat skirmishes in the judicial wars into deeper partisan acrimony. Incensed Democrats charged Republicans with hypocrisy for blocking President Barack Obama's Supreme Court nominee for eight months in 2016 and repeatedly pointed out that no justice has been confirmed this close to a presidential election.

But Republicans asserted their raw power, muscling Barrett's nomination through in just over four weeks and with no bipartisan support — the first time that has occurred for a Supreme Court nominee in generations and a

SEE BARRETT ON A5



Trump supporters at an Allentown, Pa., rally on Monday. Republicans muscled Amy Coney Barrett's nomination through in four weeks.

SAUL LOEB/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

THE 45TH PRESIDENT

On judiciary, a future playbook for Democrats

BY SEUNG MIN KIM

President Trump's first-term record on the federal judiciary — which reached its apex Monday with the confirmation of Amy Coney Barrett as his third Supreme Court justice — will be difficult to roll back even if Democrats win both the White House and the Senate majority.

But the pipeline of conservative judges and the fast-track

Barrett's placement is just the latest milestone in Trump's legacy

procedures Republicans have used to confirm them give a potential President Joe Biden and a Democratic-led Senate a rough playbook to try to install

their own stream of liberal nominees.

The judicial legacy set by Trump but engineered primarily by Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) includes several significant milestones, including the trio on the Supreme Court and the fact that for the first time in 40 years, there were no openings on the circuit courts. That has been a monumental achievement for a

majority leader whose mantra has been "leave no vacancy behind" and for a president who simply likes to win.

"I have three Supreme Court justices. I have a great one coming," Trump said Saturday at a campaign rally in Circleville, Ohio. Inflating the total number of judges confirmed under his tenure, the president added: "Think of that, 300

SEE COURTS ON A4

Trump emboldens the rise of Patriot Churches

Congregations are part of Christian nationalist movement experts say is thriving under the president

BY SARAH PULLIAM BAILEY
IN KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Standing in a circle, the dozen or so men and women, young and old, lay their hands on their pastor, Ken Peters, as he raises their requests to God.

He prays that "communism and socialism and transgenderism and homosexuality and abortion will not have their way in this land."

"Yes, Lord," someone cries.

He prays that the nation's "Christian roots" will remain, that the church of Jesus Christ will be a "restraining power."

"God, this nation is a miracle for you," Peters continues. "You rescued us, and you gave us our independence for a purpose."

After another "amen," the service begins with everyone's hands raised to "Here I Am to Worship," a popular contemporary Christian song performed in many evangelical churches.

This is a Patriot Church, part of an evolving network of nondenominational start-up congregations that say they want to take the country back for God. While most White conservative Christian church-

SEE CHURCHES ON A18



Tennessee worshipers this month attend one of three Patriot Churches that were formed in September. The other two are in Virginia and Washington state.

STACY KRANITZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Just ahead of bankruptcy, executives saw windfalls

BY ABHA BHATTARAI
AND DANIELA SANTAMARIÑA

The coronavirus recession tipped dozens of troubled companies into bankruptcy, setting off a rush of store closures, furloughs and layoffs. But several major brands, including Hertz Global, J.C. Penney and Neiman Marcus, doled out millions of dollars in executive bonuses just before filing for Chapter 11 protection, according to a Washington Post analysis of regulatory filings and court documents.

Since the pandemic took hold in March, at least 18 large companies have rewarded executives with six- and seven-figure payouts before asking bankruptcy courts to shield them from landlords, suppliers and other creditors.

SEE BONUSES ON A16

IN THE NEWS



ROCCO RORANDELLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Risk in Italy's rules Averse to another lockdown, the country is enforcing piecemeal restrictions, but infections are surging. A14

Lunar water A pair of studies have confirmed the existence of water on the moon, which could be a resource for U.S. astronauts. A3

THE NATION Democratic challenger Jaime Harrison is betting on a "New South" coalition in his bid to unseat GOP Sen. Lindsey O. Graham in South Carolina. A7

A legal fight in Michigan has highlighted concerns over what could happen when voters show up to the polls with guns. A9

White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows's handling of the coronavirus and other crises has dismayed many West Wing staffers and campaign officials. A19

The head of a civil serv-

ice advisory council resigned over an executive order to strip protections against political interference in the hiring and firing of career federal employees. A20

THE WORLD Days after announcing an asymptomatic coronavirus case, authorities in China's Kashgar area said they tested 4.5 million residents, nearly the entire population. A12

The mother of Austin Tice, a journalist captured in Syria, accused Secretary of State Mike Pompeo of undercutting negotiation efforts. A13

The Taliban is nominally participating in talks with Afghan leaders in Qatar, but fighters show no intention of reducing violence. A14

THE ECONOMY President Trump's Carrier deal came with a promise to end a manufacturing exodus, but in Indiana this year, companies have sent far more jobs overseas than were saved. A15

U.S. markets slumped as investors grappled with uncertainty over an economic stimulus and coronavirus cases. A17

THE REGION A crowded D.C. Council race has exposed clashing agendas and divisions over who should wield power in a gentrifying city. B1

Supporters of Democrat Joe Biden are fueling an unprecedented early-voting surge in Virginia, a poll found. B1

Crowds turned out in Maryland for the first day of in-person early voting, though many had requested ballots by mail. B1

INSIDE



HEALTH & SCIENCE Frustrating search for source of pain An Albuquerque accountant struggled for years to find treatment for her debilitating abdominal condition. E1

STYLE A lone journalist The only full-time news staffer at a rural Virginia paper is fired, leaving a void in local coverage. C1

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The Washington Post

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Mostly sunny, warm 73/53 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny, warm 73/59 C12

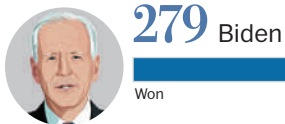
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ELECTION 2020

Biden defeats Trump

WITH HARRIS, HE REBUILDS 'BLUE WALL,' CALLS FOR 'A TIME TO HEAL'



270 to win



TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

President-elect Joe Biden and Vice President-elect Kamala D. Harris appear together Saturday outside the Chase Center on the Riverfront in Wilmington, Del., where they addressed the nation in victory speeches. Biden vowed to unify the nation and focus on beating back the coronavirus.

President presses legal challenges, won't concede

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA, ANNIE LINSKEY AND PHILIP RUCKER

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. was elected the nation's 46th president Saturday in a repudiation of President Trump powered by legions of women and minority voters who rejected his handling of the coronavirus pandemic and his divisive, bullying conduct in office.

Biden's victory was the culmination of four years of struggle for Democrats and others who have resisted Trump. It was celebrated by an emotional outpouring in cities coast to coast that ended with a tailgate-style victory party in Biden's hometown of Wilmington, Del. The election took four days to be resolved after the former vice president was projected to win a series of battleground states, and was clinched by the state where he was born, Pennsylvania.

Voters also made history in electing as vice president Kamala Devi Harris, 56, a senator from California and daughter of Jamaican and Indian immigrants who will become the country's first woman, first Black person and first Asian American to hold the No. 2 job.

Trump, who was at his Virginia golf course when Biden was declared the winner, did not concede.

In a prime-time speech to flag-waving supporters outside the Chase Center in Wilmington, Biden made no mention of Trump's intransigence, instead offering an olive branch to the president's supporters and imploring all Americans to "put away the harsh rhetoric" and end "this grim era of demonization."

SEE BIDEN ON A26

How covid stirred Biden and doomed Trump

BY ASHLEY PARKER, JOSH DAWSEY, MATT VISER AND MICHAEL SCHERER

Air Force One was descending into Detroit when President Trump posed a question that would come to define his entire approach to the deadly coronavirus pandemic: "Do you think I should wear a mask?" he asked the aides and advisers gathered in the plane's front cabin.

Trump was headed to visit a Ford Motor plant in Ypsilanti, Mich., which by May was already a coronavirus hot zone, with more than 5,000 dead, thousands more sickened — and cases still spiking — in the critical Midwest battleground state.

But the responses were nearly unanimous, with senior White House officials arguing that wearing a mask was unnecessary and would send a bad signal to the public about the magnitude of the crisis.

You're the leader of the free world, they told him, and the

SEE TRUMP ON A40

Following this election, can promise of unity be kept?

BY DAN BALZ

President-elect Joe Biden spent three decades in pursuit of the presidency, but it is doubtful he ever imagined the challenges he will inherit when he takes the oath of office. What awaits him will require tapping into everything he has learned from more than four decades in public office and more.

The issue agenda alone is crushing, from the coronavirus pandemic to a weakened and unequal economy, to the threats posed by climate change, to cries for an overdue reckoning on race and justice. Those are just the top layer of the president-elect's inbox and together they could consume most of his initial term in office.

Beyond that, the conditions under which he will assume the presidency will add significantly to the demands on his leadership capabilities.

Biden ran on a pledge to unite

SEE TAKE ON A32



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Crowds amass near the White House to cheer Joe Biden's victory and the looming end of the presidency of Donald Trump, whom voters in the region rejected by big margins. Story, Page C1.

24-page special section

A tempest: Maps show shifting political winds of change. **A12**

Historic moment: Posters of Biden and Harris. **A25, A48**

'I have been waiting': Women of color celebrate Harris. **A28**

Biden's career: A political arc with few parallels. **A29**

Political realities: Biden faces health, economic crises. **A31**

Facing failure: Trump becomes what he hates most. **A37**

Defiant: Trump supporters insist the race isn't over. **A38**

How we got here: What led to this national moment. **A44**

Harris makes history as first woman of color in role

BY CHELSEA JANES

A vice president-elect stepped forward on Saturday, and, for the first time in American history, she was not a man.

Kamala Devi Harris, a daughter of Indian and Jamaican immigrants, is set to become the highest-ranking woman in the nation's 244-year existence, as well as a high-profile representation of the country's increasingly diverse composition.

Harris's victory comes 55 years after the Voting Rights Act abolished laws that disenfranchised Black Americans, 36 years after the first woman ran on a presidential ticket and four years after Democrats were devastated by the defeat of Hillary Clinton, the only woman to win the presidential nomination of a major party.

She emerged in all white, a nod to the uniform of the suffragists who fought to enfranchise women 100 years ago, an embodiment of what was once just a dream for so many.

SEE HARRIS ON A27

Biden to use executive orders to roll back Trump agenda

BY MATT VISER, SEUNG MIN KIM AND ANNIE LINSKEY

President-elect Joe Biden is planning to quickly sign a series of executive orders after being sworn into office Jan. 20, immediately forecasting that the country's politics have shifted and that his presidency will be guided by radically different priorities.

He will rejoin the Paris climate accords, according to those close to his campaign and commitments he has made in recent months, and he will reverse President Trump's withdrawal from the World Health Organization. He will repeal the ban on almost all travel from some Muslim-majority countries, and he will reinstate the program allowing "dreamers," who were brought to the United States illegally as children, to remain in the country, according to people familiar with his plans.

Although transitions of power can always include abrupt

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