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Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, JANUARY 7, 2021 • \$2

Trump mob storms Capitol

PRESIDENT INCITES CROWD TO ACTS OF INSURRECTION, VIOLENCE

DEMOCRATS WIN GA. RUNOFFS — AND CONTROL OF U.S. SENATE | PAGE A6



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



AMANDA VOISARD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

BY REBECCA TAN,
PETER JAMISON,
MEAGAN FLYNN
AND JOHN WOODROW COX

As President Trump told a sprawling crowd outside the White House that they should never accept defeat, hundreds of his supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol in what amounted to an attempted coup that they hoped would overturn the election he lost. In the chaos, law enforcement officials said, one woman was shot and killed by Capitol Police.

The violent scene — much of it incited by the president's incendiary language — was like no other in modern American history, bringing to a sudden halt the congressional certification of Joe Biden's electoral victory.

With poles bearing blue Trump flags, a mob that would eventually grow into the thousands bashed through Capitol doors and windows, forcing their way past police officers unprepared for the onslaught. Lawmakers were evacuated shortly before an armed standoff at the House chamber's entrance. The woman who was shot was rushed to an ambulance, police said, and later died. Canisters of tear gas were fired across the Rotunda's white marble floor, and on the steps outside the building, rioters flew Confederate flags.

"USA! USA!" chanted the
SEE CAPITOL ON A11

Congress nears confirmation after chaos

BY ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN,
KAROUN DEMIRJIAN,
SEUNG MIN KIM
AND JOSH DAWSEY

Members of Congress, shaken and angry following a violent assault on the U.S. Capitol by a mob of President Trump's supporters, moved closer late Wednesday to putting a final stamp on President-elect Joe Biden's victory and bringing an end to a historically turbulent post-election period.

In a show of defiance, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi said she had consulted with House leaders, the Pentagon, the Justice Department and Vice President Pence before concluding that Congress should move ahead with the ceremony interrupted earlier in the day by rioters provoked to action by Trump at a morning rally.

"Today, a shameful assault was made on our democracy. It
SEE CONGRESS ON A16

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: A rioter's face can be seen through the broken glass door of the House chamber as security agents point their weapons. Congressional staff members are evacuated by the Capitol Police after the building was breached. Tear gas is fired at rioters surrounding the Capitol. One woman was fatally shot by police during the chaos, and the riots abruptly halted the congressional certification of Joe Biden's electoral victory.

To Black Lives Matter activists, policing of White rioters was gentle

BY ROBERT KLEMKO,
KIMBERLY KINDY,
KIM BELLWARE
AND DEREK HAWKINS

When Chanelle Helm helped organize protests after the March 13 killing of Breonna Taylor, Louisville police responded with batons, stun grenades and tear gas. The 40-year-old Black Lives Matter activist still bears scars from rubber bullets fired at close range.

So Helm was startled and frustrated Wednesday to see a White, pro-Trump mob storm the U.S. Capitol — breaking down barricades, smashing windows and striking police officers — without obvious consequence.

"Our activists are still to this day met with hyper-police violence," Helm said. "And today you see this full-on riot — literally a coup — with people toting guns, which the police knew was coming and they just let it happen. I don't understand where the 'law and order' is. This is what white supremacy looks like."

Helm and other activists across the country who spent much of 2020 facing off with law enforcement officers while protesting police brutality and racial inequality watched with a mixture of outrage and validation as the president's supporters stormed the Capitol building during sessions of the House and Senate.

SEE RIOTERS ON A8

After mob invades with ease, questions about security failures

BY CAROL D. LEONNIG,
AARON C. DAVIS,
DAN LAMOTHE
AND DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD

The storming of the U.S. Capitol by a mob of President Trump's supporters on Wednesday was a disastrous failure of security: In a city on high alert, in a building with its own 2,000-officer police department, people forced their way into the sanctuaries of American democracy with nothing more than flagpoles, riot shields and shoves.

Nobody stopped them — and some officers were captured on video appearing to stand back as rioters streamed inside.

On Wednesday, while police

were still struggling to eject the last intruders from the Capitol, current and former law enforcement officials said it appeared the U.S. Capitol Police and other agencies had failed to anticipate the size and intentions of the crowd that Trump urged to march up Pennsylvania Avenue to where lawmakers were gathered.

On the streets of Washington, federal law enforcement agencies and the National Guard — which had been intimidatingly visible during protests this summer following the death of George Floyd — kept a much lower profile.

And at the Capitol itself, police
SEE SECURITY ON A10

The day American democracy was brought to the brink

BY PHILIP RUCKER

The "American carnage" that Donald Trump vowed to end at the dawn of his presidency was revived in terrifying, treacherous form at its sunset Wednesday, as Trump made a fiery last stand and incited his supporters to storm and sack the U.S. Capitol as part of an attempted coup.

The extraordinary anarchy that interrupted the tallying of electoral college votes in a joint session of Congress brought America's democracy to the brink.

After Trump rallied thousands of people outside the White House by demanding the results be overturned and declaring his

duly elected successor "an illegitimate president," pro-Trump rioters breached police barricades, scaled walls and smashed windows to enter the Capitol.

The marauders freely roamed the building's stately halls, some carrying Confederate flags. They occupied the Senate and House chambers and rummaged through desks. They vandalized the offices of congressional leaders. They assaulted police and other public servants. They trampled on the gleaming white platform constructed for President-elect Joe Biden's inauguration. One tried to replace the U.S. flag flying above the balcony with a Trump campaign flag.

SEE TRUMP ON A12

The Take: Democracy suddenly gave way to political anarchy. **A13**

A call to arms: After stoking mob, Trump cited more falsehoods. **A17**

The world watches: Reaction ranged from shock to grief. **A18**

Critic's Notebook: A reality that will sicken us for generations. **C1**

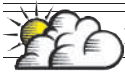
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Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, JANUARY 14, 2021 • \$2

"In all this, President Trump gravely endangered the security of the United States and its institutions of Government. He threatened the integrity of the democratic system, interfered with the peaceful transition of power, and imperiled a coequal branch of Government. He thereby betrayed his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States."

Article of impeachment, Full text on A6

Trump impeached again

An isolated president has few willing to defend him

BY PHILIP RUCKER, JOSH DAWSEY AND ASHLEY PARKER

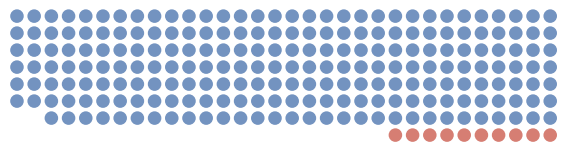
When Donald Trump on Wednesday became the first president ever impeached twice, he did so as a leader increasingly isolated, sullen and vengeful.

With less than seven days remaining in his presidency, Trump's inner circle is shrinking, offices in his White House are emptying, and the president is lashing out at some of those who remain. He is angry that his allies have not mounted a more forceful defense of his incitement of the mob that stormed the Capitol last week, advisers and associates said.

Though Trump has been exceptionally furious with Vice President Pence, his relationship with lawyer Rudolph W. Giuliani, one of his most steadfast defenders, is also fracturing, according to people with knowledge of the dynamics between the men.

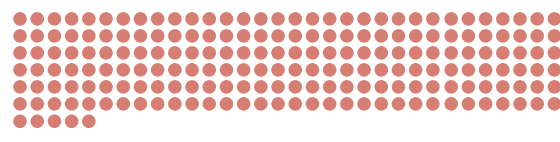
Trump has instructed aides not to pay Giuliani's legal fees, two officials said, and has demanded that he personally approve any reimbursements for the expenses Giuliani incurred while traveling on the president's behalf to challenge election results in key states. They said Trump has privately expressed concern with some of Giuliani's moves and did not appreciate a

SEE TRUMP ON A7



Incitement of insurrection
President Trump is accused of inciting the mob that stormed the Capitol

232 to 197



Republicans who voted in favor of impeachment: Reps. Liz Cheney (Wyo.), Jaime Herrera Beutler (Wash.), John Katko (N.Y.), Adam Kinzinger (Ill.), Fred Upton (Mich.), Dan Newhouse (Wash.), Peter Meijer (Mich.), Anthony Gonzalez (Ohio), Tom Rice (S.C.) and David G. Valadao (Calif.)

Senate trial is likely to occur after departure

BY MIKE DEBONIS AND PAUL KANE

The House made history Wednesday by impeaching a president for a second time, indicting President Trump a week before he leaves office for inciting a riot with false claims of a stolen election that led to the storming of the Capitol and five deaths.

Unlike Trump's first impeachment, which proceeded with almost no GOP support, Wednesday's effort attracted 10 Republicans, including Rep. Liz Cheney, the No. 3 party leader in the House. The Senate now appears likely to hold a trial after Trump's departure, an unprecedented scenario that could end with lawmakers barring him from holding the presidency again.

The final vote was 232 to 197. One of the final dramas of a tumultuous presidency, the impeachment unfolded against the backdrop of near-chaos in the House and uncertainty about where Trump's exit leaves the GOP. Democrats and Republicans exchanged accusations and name-calling throughout the day, while Trump loyalists were livid at fellow Republicans who broke ranks — especially Cheney — leaving the party's leadership shaken.

But despite the emotions stirred by the Capitol assault, the

SEE IMPEACHMENT ON A6



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi presides over a vote to impeach President Trump on Wednesday, exactly one week after a mob breached the Capitol. Ten Republicans broke ranks and joined Democrats in the effort. See excerpts from the debate at wapo.st/Impeachment0114.

Seeds of siege in QAnon's radicalization of the right

BY DREW HARWELL, ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER, RAZZAN NAKHLAWI AND CRAIG TIMBERG

The siege on the U.S. Capitol played out as a QAnon fantasy made real: The faithful rose up in their thousands, summoned to Washington by their leader, President Trump. They seized the people's house as politicians cowered under desks. Hordes wearing T-shirts emblazoned with the "Q" symbol and toting Trump flags closed in to deliver justice, armed with zip-tie handcuffs and rope and guns.

The "#Storm" envisioned on far-right message boards had arrived. And two women who had died in the rampage — both QAnon devotees — had become what some were calling the first martyrs of the cause.

The siege ended with police retaking the Capitol and Trump being rebuked and losing his Twitter account. But the failed insurrection illustrated how the paranoid conspiracy theory QAnon has radicalized Americans, reshaped the Republican Party and gained a forceful grip on right-wing belief.

Born in the Internet's fever swamps, QAnon played an unmistakable role in energizing rioters during the real-world attack on Jan. 6. A man in a "Q" T-shirt led the breach of the Senate, while a shirtless, fur-clad

SEE QANON ON A12

D.C. security footprint swells ahead of inauguration

BY MISSY RYAN, MATT ZAPOTOSKY, ALEX HORTON AND DAN LAMOTHE

National Guard forces from a growing list of states moved into positions around Washington on Wednesday as authorities scrambled to understand the extent of threats surrounding President-elect Joe Biden's inauguration and prevent a repeat of last week's deadly insurrection at the U.S. Capitol.

Federal officials led tabletop exercises to rehearse inauguration security and strengthen coordination among a massive patchwork of police, National Guard troops and federal personnel that is expected to fan out ahead of protests this weekend and the Jan. 20 transfer of power.

By next week, the D.C. police chief said, upward of 20,000 guardsmen were expected to be in place to guard against violence, days after supporters of President Trump smashed their way into the Capitol as lawmakers

SEE SECURITY ON A10



STEFANI REYNOLDS/GETTY IMAGES

National Guardsmen rest in the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday. D.C.'s acting police chief said that upward of 20,000 guardsmen were expected to be in place as Inauguration Day approached.

One year later, a very different nation seethes

BY DAN BALZ

President Trump fixed a place in history once again Wednesday as the first president to be twice impeached. But the background

and circumstances of this latest rebuke are likely to be remembered as much as or more than the vote itself — set against a country seething with anger and with the streets

of the capital patrolled by thousands of troops ahead of the coming transfer of power.

Over the nearly six-year span encompassing Trump's entry into politics and the life of his presidency, the country has been changed dramatically, but never as much as in the time between the two impeachment votes. When Trump's term ends, he will leave behind a country not just divided and in disrepair but one

that has been seeded with combustible obstacles in the path of President-elect Joe Biden.

There will be no clean break from one administration to another. The effects of Trump's presidency will spill over into the early days — and perhaps longer — of Biden's administration, from a Senate impeachment trial to threats of violence and unrest that have shown no real sign of

SEE TAKE ON A7

MORE COVERAGE INSIDE

McConnell breaks with Trump
Majority leader has not ruled out conviction in Senate trial. **A8**

Facebook and #StopTheSteal
Research sheds light on how site was used to boost the riot. **A20**

Officer's actions saved lives
Eugene Goodman lured rioters away from Senate chambers. **B1**

Media and Trump: Facing facts
A look at how journalists covered a president like no other. **C1**

Middle East: Israel strikes Syria, targeting Iranian military positions and forces loyal to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. **A14**

Virus vaccinations: A contentious debate unfolds in D.C., with lawmakers saying White residents are edging out Black ones for appointments. **B1**

D.C. radio: Longtime WAMU-FM host Koyo Nnamdi will retire from his daily program but will still host "The Politics Hour" on Fridays. **C1**

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Biden: 'Unity is the path'

46TH PRESIDENT, HISTORY-MAKING VP HARRIS SWORN IN AT CAPITOL

Term begins with inaugural plea for a divided nation to end its 'uncivil war'



As crises rage, an urgent call for common cause

BY DAN BALZ

The inauguration of President Biden marked the traditional transfer of power that has taken place every four years through two centuries of the nation's history. This year the day was far more than that, a moment both somber and hopeful in a country reeling from a pandemic and economic distress in a capital city locked down by threats of violence from far-right extremists.

For Biden, Wednesday's ceremonies represented the fulfillment of decades of personal ambition to serve as president. But if it was a day for him to celebrate that achievement, it was also a day to reckon with what the four years of Donald Trump's presidency have done to the country and the monumental task of repair and restoration that is now the new president's responsibility.

Biden ran for president with a pledge to rebuild a sense of normalcy after the chaos and divisiveness of the Trump

SEE TAKE ON A27

Swift action to start reversing Trump policies

BY SEUNG MIN KIM

President Biden signed a blizzard of executive orders Wednesday on the coronavirus, immigration and climate change — launching a 10-day cascade of directives reversing policies of his GOP predecessor as Democrats pushed for even more-sweeping and prompt legislative action.

The most pressing of his priorities are measures to combat the deadly coronavirus pandemic. Biden signed executive actions to require masks on all federal grounds and asked agencies to extend moratoriums on evictions and on federal student loan payments.

He urged Americans to don face coverings for 100 days, while reviving a global health unit in the National Security Council — allowed to go dormant during the Trump administration — to oversee pandemic preparedness and response. Biden also began to reverse several steps taken by President Donald Trump by embracing the World Health Organization, revoking the permit for the Keystone XL pipeline and rejoining

SEE ACTIONS ON A40



PHOTOS BY JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Joe Biden, alongside his wife, Jill Biden, is sworn in as the 46th president of the United States by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. ABOVE: Vice President Kamala D. Harris celebrates with her husband, Doug Emhoff, after taking the oath of office, administered by Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor.

24 pages of expanded coverage, A23-A46

We survived war with our democracy, barely, Robin Givhan writes. **A24**
A locked-down capital marked an inauguration like no other. **A26**
Black Americans experienced waves of hope — and trepidation. **A30**
Biden aimed to restore democratic ideals, David Maraniss writes. **A43**

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Harris ascends with subtle nods to pathbreakers

BY CHELSEA JANES AND CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.

Kamala D. Harris was sworn in as vice president of the United States on Wednesday, shattering barriers not only as the first woman to hold a nationally elected office, but also the first Black woman and first Asian American to reach such heights.

As the world watched, Harris raised her right hand, face steely as it was through so many hearings and debates that it became her signature stare.

Then, as Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor read "so help me God," the stoicism broke. "So help me God," Harris repeated, overcome with a smile as her sister, Maya, broke into tears behind her. She hugged her husband. She found Joe Biden waiting, shaking his fists in triumph. Then she walked back to her seat and into history.

Harris, the 56-year-old daughter of a Jamaican father and Indian mother, then assumed an office that has been previously occupied solely by men. She was sworn in by Sotomayor, the first Latina to serve on the nation's

SEE HARRIS ON A29

Biden sets quick contrast with predecessor

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA AND ANNIE LINSKEY

Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. was sworn in Wednesday as the 46th president of the United States, pledging to confront an array of convulsing challenges and bring healing and unity to a deeply fractured nation.

"This is our historic moment of crisis and challenge," Biden said in an inaugural address that called on America to end its "uncivil war" and embrace a united front amid a series of daunting crises. "Unity is the path forward. And we must meet this moment as the United States of America. If we do that, I guarantee you we will not fail."

With his hand on his thick family Bible and with his wife, Jill Biden, by his side, Biden recited the oath administered by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. The moment marked the pinnacle of a career in public leadership that began a half-century ago.

Moments before, Kamala D. Harris took her oath of office, making her the country's first female vice president, and also the first Black American and first

SEE INAUGURATION ON A32



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GUILTY
Second-degree unintentional murder

GUILTY
Third-degree murder

GUILTY
Second-degree manslaughter

Chauvin convicted on all counts

Floyd's family say they can 'breathe again'

BY **TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA**
AND **ROBERT SAMUELS**

For the family of George Floyd, the murder conviction of the former police officer who killed him was a confirmation of something they knew but feared the justice system might never validate: that their loved one's life mattered.

"Today, we are able to breathe again," one of Floyd's younger brothers, Philonise, said during a news conference in Minneapolis after the verdict was released. "Justice for George means freedom for all."

After Derek Chauvin, who killed Floyd with a prolonged knee to the neck last year, was convicted of second-degree unintentional murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter, Floyd's family members hugged one another tightly and shed tears of joy.

The sense of relief was palpable as the group gathered in a downtown Minneapolis hotel for a post-verdict news conference that doubled as a kind of spiritual revival with prayers, applause and spontaneous shouts of "Amen!"

"Say his name!" Floyd's relatives chanted as they entered the room, fists raised in the air. "George Floyd!"

Terrence Floyd, another brother, underlined how significant Tuesday's resolution was for his family and to history. "I will miss him, but now I know he's in history," he said. "What a day to be a Floyd, man."

The moment came to represent the broader reaction throughout the Black community to the rare instance of a White police officer being found guilty of killing a person of color — a complicated mix of celebration, grief, exhaustion and determination. As family members and civil rights leaders such as the Rev. Al Sharpton and the Rev. Jesse Jackson spoke, activists took to the street holding "Black Lives Matter" signs and chanting Floyd's name.

The Floyd family attorney, Ben Crump, cast the verdict as a critical moment in America's troubled history of race, policing and criminal justice.

"We frame this moment for all



JOSHUA LOTT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Courtney Ross, center, the girlfriend of George Floyd, and Toshira Garraway react Tuesday outside the courthouse in Minneapolis after former police officer Derek Chauvin was convicted in the death of Floyd, on whose neck Chauvin had knelt for more than nine minutes.



POOL/REUTERS

An image from video shows a handcuffed Chauvin led away after the verdict was read, his bail revoked while he awaits sentencing.

Relief in D.C.

At Black Lives Matter Plaza, hugs and tears after Minn. verdict. **B1**

'It wasn't right'

Margaret Sullivan on a teenager's decision to record Chauvin. **C1**

THE CRITIQUE

In verdict, a message: 'He was somebody . . . his life mattered'

BY **ROBIN GIVHAN**

In the end, the jurors believed their eyes. They found former police officer Derek Chauvin guilty of murdering George Floyd.

The jurors believed the nine minutes and 29 seconds of videotape that showed Chauvin with his knee pressed into Floyd's neck as the frightened Black man cried out for mercy, for oxygen and then, in his final moments, for his mother. They had faith in the medical experts, who one by one sat in the witness chair in a Minneapolis courtroom and calmly explained that Floyd didn't die of an unhealthy heart, the drug

addiction that dogged him or carbon monoxide poisoning. They heard the truth in bystanders' testimony that overflowed with grief and haunting guilt because they had been forced to stand helplessly by as they watched a fellow human die.

The 12 jurors — Black, White and mixed race; men and women; old and young — reflected the mosaic of citizens who had marched in the streets over the summer, here and around the world, roused from their complacency by the sheer callousness of a crime they had borne witness to from the quiet intimacy of their homes.

SEE **GIVHAN** ON **A2**

TEARS, JUBILATION OUTSIDE COURT

Ex-police officer facing up to 40 years in prison

BY **HOLLY BAILEY**

MINNEAPOLIS — A jury on Tuesday convicted former police officer Derek Chauvin of murder and manslaughter in the death of George Floyd, nearly a year after a viral video of the Black man gasping for breath pinned beneath the White officer's knee sent millions into the streets demanding justice and forcing a national reckoning on race and policing.

Jurors found the former Minneapolis police officer guilty of second-degree unintentional murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter, sending a powerful message about police violence.

Chauvin's conviction, in a rare case without modern precedent, was called historic by Floyd's family and legal team, who said it symbolized that justice is attainable for all Americans.

"Let's pause for a moment to proclaim this historical moment, not just for the legacy of George Floyd, but for the legacy of America, the legacy of trying to make America for all Americans so that George Floyd's victory and America's quest for equal justice under the law will be intertwined," civil rights attorney Ben Crump, who represents the Floyd family, said at a news conference after the verdict was announced. "This is a victory for those who champion humanity over inhumanity, those who champion justice over injustice, those who champion morals over immorality."

Minnesota Attorney General Keith Ellison, whose office oversaw Chauvin's prosecution, praised the "bouquet of humanity" that tried to intervene at the scene on May 25 and recorded Floyd's final moments, providing much of the evidence for the state's case.

"They didn't know George Floyd. They didn't know he had a beautiful family. They didn't know that he was a proud father or had people in his life who loved him," Ellison said after hearing the verdict. "They stopped and they raised their voices because they knew what

SEE **VERDICT** ON **A6**

Europe greenlights the J&J vaccine

BY **MICHAEL BIRNBAUM**
AND **LOVEDAY MORRIS**

European regulators on Tuesday said the coronavirus vaccine made by Johnson & Johnson should carry a warning about rare blood clots, but they placed no restrictions on the use of the vaccine inside the European Union.

The decision by the European Medicines Agency was based on the same U.S. data that led American regulators last week to pause the use of the vaccine inside the

United States.

Johnson & Johnson said after Tuesday's announcement that it would resume distribution in Europe. But the U.S. hold remains in place as American authorities make an independent evaluation. New guidance is expected as

early as Friday, and top officials, including Anthony S. Fauci, say they expect the vaccine will be given a green light.

The European regulators said Tuesday that unusual blood clots with low blood platelets should be listed on the packaging of the vaccine as "very rare side effects," but they took no further action. The regulators assessed that, overall, the vaccine is safe and effective.

"The benefits of the vaccine continue to outweigh these risks,"

SEE **VACCINE** ON **A14**

U.S. aims to halve emissions by 2030

BY **BRADY DENNIS**
AND **JULIET EILPERIN**

President Biden this week will pledge to slash U.S. greenhouse gas emissions at least in half by the end of the decade, according to two people briefed on the plan, as part of an aggressive push to combat climate change at home and persuade other major economies around the world to follow suit.

The move comes as Biden convenes a virtual summit of more than three dozen world

aggressive goal seeks to build global momentum on eve of climate summit

leaders Thursday, aimed at ratcheting up international climate ambitions and reestablishing the United States as a leader in the effort to slow the planet's warming.

The planned U.S. pledge represents a near-doubling of the tar-

get that the nation committed to under the 2015 Paris climate agreement, when President Barack Obama vowed to cut emissions by 26 to 28 percent compared with 2005 levels.

Asked for comment, a White House official said a final decision had not been made.

The Paris accord, which President Donald Trump exited but Biden promptly rejoined, was designed with the expectation that countries would embrace bigger, bolder targets over time.

SEE **CLIMATE** ON **A4**

IN THE NEWS

India's virus tidal wave Hospitals and crematoriums are swamped as the nation accounts for a third of new global cases. **A12**

THE NATION President Biden overruled his secretary of state on refugees. **A18**

THE ECONOMY Biden takes up a long-running battle on corporate tax loopholes. **A20**

THE REGION History found Archaeologists believe they have discovered the site of Harriet Tubman's family home. **B1**

FOOD A story cast in iron Ubiquitous in kitchens, these durable pans are weighted with years of memories. **E1**

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Shower, storm 81/73 • Tomorrow: humid, storm 86/74 B8 Democracy Dies in Darkness MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 2021 • \$2

Militants face little resistance as they overtake Kabul, concluding a surge that far outpaced U.S. estimates

Pentagon rushes additional troops to capital to aid chaotic effort to evacuate U.S. personnel and allies

Afghanistan falls to Taliban

Desertions, illegal deals accelerate military collapse

BY SUSANNAH GEORGE

KABUL — The spectacular collapse of Afghanistan's military that allowed Taliban fighters to walk into the Afghan capital Sunday despite 20 years of training and billions of dollars in American aid began with deals brokered in rural villages between the militant group and some of the Afghan government's lowest-ranking officials.

The deals, initially offered early last year, were often described by Afghan officials as cease-fires, but Taliban leaders were in fact offering money in exchange for government forces to hand over their weapons, according to an Afghan officer and a U.S. official.

Over the next year and a half, the meetings advanced to the district level and then rapidly on to provincial capitals, culminating in a breathtaking series of negotiated surrenders by government forces, according to interviews with more than a dozen Afghan officers, police, special operations troops and other soldiers.

Within a little more than a week, Taliban fighters overran more than a dozen provincial capitals and entered Kabul with no resistance on Sunday, triggering the departure of Afghanistan's president and the collapse of his government. Afghan security forces in the districts ringing Kabul and in the city itself simply melted away. By nightfall, police checkpoints were left abandoned and the militants roamed the streets freely.

The pace of the military collapse has stunned many American officials and other foreign observers, forcing the U.S. government to dramatically accelerate efforts to remove personnel from its embassy in Kabul.

The Taliban capitalized on the uncertainty caused by the February 2020 agreement reached in Doha, Qatar, between the militant group and the United States calling for a full American withdrawal from Afghanistan. Some Afghan forces realized they would soon no longer be able to count on American air power and other crucial battlefield support and grew receptive to the Taliban's approaches.

"Some just wanted the money," SEE COLLAPSE ON A10



ZABI KARIMI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President flees, thousands clamor to board flights

BY SUSANNAH GEORGE, CLAIRE PARKER, JOHN HUDSON, KAREN DEYOUNG AND DAN LAMOTHE

KABUL — Taliban fighters took control of Kabul on Sunday, delivering the militant Islamist group the prize it has long sought: authority over all of Afghanistan as the Western-backed government collapsed, President Ashraf Ghani fled, and the long-dominant American presence appeared to be coming to an abrupt and chaotic end after nearly 20 years.

The takeover of the sprawling capital city had been years in the making but was ultimately accomplished in a single day. Insurgent fighters, fresh off their conquests in each of Afghanistan's provincial hubs over the previous week, faced little to no resistance as they entered the city through its major traffic arteries Sunday morning.

By evening, the Taliban was giving television interviews in the lavish presidential palace, just hours after Ghani had departed Afghanistan. A desperate exodus was underway at the airport, with thousands of people clamoring to board flights. And the Pentagon was speeding in additional troops to assist with the withdrawal of U.S. personnel after the American flag was lowered from a now-abandoned embassy.

The footage of rifle-toting Taliban fighters occupying the presidential palace and rolling up the Afghan national flag stood as a defining image of a failed U.S. effort to transform Afghan society at the cost of a trillion dollars and thousands of lives lost.

"Decades from now, these images will be invoked as a vivid example of the limits of U.S. power, and of its inability to fight modern wars effectively or to end them on favorable terms," said Michael Kugelman, an Afghanist scholar at the Wilson Center.

Asked about comparisons to the United States' departure from Vietnam in 1975, Secretary of State Antony Blinken said on ABC News's "This Week" that "this is manifestly not Saigon." But the frenzied rush to the exits SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A9

Afraid for lives, rights activists plead for help

BY MISSY RYAN AND KAREEM FAHIM

Afghan activists, journalists and advocates for women's rights scrambled to identify escape routes on Sunday as international civil society organizations intensified a chaotic effort to evacuate local allies under threat following the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan.

The stunningly swift collapse of the Afghan state injected a sense of desperation into a month-long effort by outside aid groups and religious and advocacy organizations to secure visas, flights or any kind of way out for Afghans seen as likely militant targets.

Human rights organizations in recent days have sent the State Department flurries of emails with spreadsheets laying out the identities and per- SEE EVACUATION ON A11



RAHMAT GUL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TOP: Taliban fighters assume control of the Afghan presidential palace in Kabul on Sunday, shortly after President Ashraf Ghani fled the country. ABOVE: A U.S. helicopter flies near the U.S. Embassy in the Afghan capital, where a frantic evacuation effort was underway.

A presidential legacy
Ashraf Ghani's ambitions were dashed by war and rivalry. A15

Resolute support?
Kabul's fall raises doubts about other U.S. promises abroad. A14

The first emirate
The last period of Taliban rule offers a grim reference point. A14

Recalling fall of Saigon
As militants enter Kabul, it feels like history repeating itself. A13

Biden takes cold-eyed view of debacle

BY ANNE GEARAN AND CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.

With Taliban fighters poised to rout the U.S.-backed Afghan government — and with it the 20-year, multibillion-dollar effort to root Western-style democracy in Afghan soil — President Biden over the weekend first offered compassion for those left behind.

"Our hearts go out to the brave Afghan men and women who are now at risk," he said in a statement late Saturday as insurgents closed in on Kabul.

But then Biden pivoted to the cold calculation behind his decision to pull the plug on a mission that has cost more than 2,000 American lives.

"One more year, or five more years, of U.S. military presence would not have made a difference if the Afghan military cannot or will not hold its own SEE BIDEN ON A12

Tensions grow between DeSantis, local officials

BY TIM CRAIG AND MERYL KORNFELD

MIAMI — Rick Kriseman, mayor of St. Petersburg, knows there are a lot of things he can't predict as part of his job running a sprawling waterfront city of 260,000 residents.

He never knows when violent crime will spike or a destructive hurricane will slam into Florida's fifth-most-populated city. But there is one thing Kriseman can pretty much count on — he won't be talking to Gov. Ron DeSantis (R).

"I have never spoken to Ron DeSantis," said Kriseman (D), who has been mayor since 2014. "He's never called me, and the

times I have tried to reach out to him and talk to him, whether by phone or when I was in Tallahassee, I have never been granted permission or an opportunity for an audience with him."

Kriseman's distance from Florida's chief executive — a concern echoed by other mayors and county officials — highlights the tensions that have polarized the Sunshine State throughout DeSantis's tenure as he has steadily expanded the powers of his office while using it to blunt that of local officials.

The problem now, some say, is that his focus on concentrating control in the executive mansion is hurting their efforts to combat SEE DESANTIS ON A4

Haitian quake deaths near 1,300 as storm looms

BY INGRID ARNESEN AND ANTHONY FAIOLA



JOSEPH ODELYN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A firefighter searches for survivors inside a damaged building after Saturday's 7.2-magnitude earthquake in Les Cayes, Haiti.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI — An anguished cry in Creole echoed across the battered south of Haiti on Sunday as a devastated people sought to rescue friends, neighbors and loved ones from the rubble left by the 7.2-magnitude earthquake.

Anpil anpil victimes.
Many, many victims.

The death toll from the earthquake that shook this Caribbean nation on Saturday rose to nearly 1,300, authorities said, as government officials sought aid from U.S. first responders. Adding to the woes of a country that suffers a seemingly endless supply of them, Tropical Storm Grace was bearing down with heavy rains forecast for Monday, threatening to fur-

ther complicate relief efforts.

Haiti's public works ministry dispatched 55 rescue teams, composed of military and civil protection personnel, for search-and-rescue efforts, but it was not enough. In some communities, residents reported a lack of relief workers and took it upon themselves to act.

"It's the people from the neighborhood using their own hands who have been digging and rescuing anyone they can save," said Cassis Jean-David, a 31-year-old farmer in the city of Torbeck on the southwestern coast.

He and a group of neighbors aided a 21-year-old woman whose foot they could see protruding from a collapsed house. They were able to get her out alive. But they were unable to save a 47-year-old SEE HAITI ON A7

IN THE NEWS

Betting on Nebraska A research center in Omaha is a brain trust for DHS's changing fight against violent extremism. A2

Inside game Pete Buttigieg is deftly using his position at the center of infrastructure talks to build a network, potentially laying the groundwork for his political future. A3

THE NATION
The Biden administration approved a record increase for food assistance benefits. A5

THE WORLD
Iceland, once praised for its coronavirus response and vaccination

rate, is now seeing its highest levels of infection since the pandemic began. A6
Ebola has resurfaced in Ivory Coast for the first time in 25 years, health officials said. A8
Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

called a snap federal election for Sept. 20. A8

THE REGION
Lawyers for a Maryland school system argued this summer that a locker room attack by football players wielding a broomstick and charged with rape did not constitute a sexual assault. B1

A clearer picture of what this school year will look like in D.C. is starting to emerge, and officials say they intend to provide a detailed plan in coming days. B1
In Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, some nurses are choosing termination over mandatory vaccination. B1

STYLE
Out with a whimper
Andrew M. Cuomo and Bill de Blasio's clash of egos draws to an unanticipated close. C1

More bad behavior
After #MeToo, the timing of Cuomo's alleged sexual misconduct is galling. C1

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Mostly sunny 39/31 • Tomorrow: Snow 40/24 B8 Democracy Dies in Darkness THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 2022 • \$2

Justice Breyer will retire at end of term

Eyeing midterms, Democrats get the fight they were itching for

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND SEUNG MIN KIM

Justice Stephen G. Breyer's planned retirement set up a new election-year challenge as the deadlocked 50-50 Senate confronts a heated Supreme Court confirmation fight focused on some of the most contentious issues in the nation's ongoing cultural divide.

The news Wednesday came as a relief for liberal activists, who have worried that Democrats would lose control of the Senate before Breyer left the court, and a much-needed shot of confidence to Democratic leaders, who view the politics of the high court this year as a bright spot in an otherwise gloomy election season. President Biden has promised to nominate the first Black woman to the high court, a prospect his party hopes will excite his core supporters by delivering on a campaign promise, keeping the politics of abortion in the headlines and reminding Democrats of the importance of holding on to Senate control.

"Watching the previous administration and Mitch McConnell stacking the courts with individuals who would overturn *Roe v. Wade*, that is not lost on Nevadans," said Sen. Catherine Cortez Masto (D-Nev.), who is running for reelection in one of the most closely contested Senate races this fall. "People are going to be paying attention this year and next year. This is such an important, galvanizing issue in my state and across the country."

Republicans on Wednesday responded with efforts to mobilize their core voters in response, a familiar rallying around judicial matters that have long been an asset at the polls, and preemptively cast the yet-unnamed nominee

SEE POLITICS ON A6



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Supreme Court Justice Stephen G. Breyer, center, is seen with fellow justices on Capitol Hill in 2018. Breyer, 83 and a member of the court's liberal wing, has been under unprecedented pressure to retire while Democrats maintain narrow control of the Senate.

SPLIT SENATE ADDS TO BIDEN'S URGENCY

Court's oldest liberal had faced calls to step down

BY ROBERT BARNES

Justice Stephen G. Breyer will retire at the end of the Supreme Court's current term, giving President Biden a chance to reinforce its liberal minority and deliver on his campaign pledge to make history by nominating the first African American female justice.

Breyer, 83, is the court's oldest justice and was nominated to the court in 1994 by President Bill Clinton. Breyer has been under unprecedented pressure to retire while Democrats have narrow control of the Senate, which must confirm Supreme Court nominees. The current term concludes at the end of June.

As he promoted a book at the end of the summer and in early fall, Breyer came up with a standard reply when asked about retirement: "I don't think I'm going to die here — I hope," Breyer told *The Washington Post*. "There are a lot of considerations, and I've mentioned health, I've mentioned the considerations of the court. I'm aware of what's in the newspapers."

It had been expected that Breyer would retire this term, but the timing of an announcement was unknown. The Supreme Court would not comment, but the justice is expected to meet with Biden at the White House on Thursday, according to a person familiar with the matter who spoke on the condition of anonymity, citing the situation's sensitivity.

Biden was informed last week of Breyer's plans, the person said, and the White House began to call senators Wednesday about the news on Wednesday. NBC News was the first to report Breyer's

SEE BREYER ON A4

Breyer's legacy: Pragmatist judge sought real-world solutions. **A7**

New focus on Black female judges as potential picks

BY SEUNG MIN KIM AND ANN E. MARIMOW

The expected retirement of Justice Stephen G. Breyer this year abruptly puts a renewed spotlight on a small circle of Black female jurists who are positioned to be chosen as President Biden's first pick to the Supreme Court, potentially marking a milestone in the country's history.

That shortlist, which could grow, is topped by Judge Ketanji Brown Jackson, who was confirmed last year to the U.S. Court

of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit as one of Biden's first judicial nominees. Brown is a favorite of the Democrats' liberal base, in part because of her history as a former public defender, an unusual background for a Supreme Court justice.

Another strong candidate is Leandra Kruger, a California Supreme Court justice who has previously rebuffed offers from the White House to take a job in the administration.

And a confirmation hearing slated for next week will put the



From left, jurists Ketanji Brown Jackson, J. Michelle Childs and Leandra Kruger.

spotlight on yet another Black woman who is being catapulted into the vacancy discussion: J. Michelle Childs, a federal judge and a favorite of House Majority Whip James E. Clyburn (D-S.C.). Childs seized the attention of legal ob-

servers when Biden unexpectedly nominated her last month to serve on the high-profile D.C. Circuit, surprising Washington-area lawyers who had anticipated a pick with local ties.

SEE JUDGES ON A6

Fed prepares to raise rates as it tries to bust inflation

BY RACHEL SIEGEL AND ABHA BHATTARAI

The head of the Federal Reserve on Wednesday touted the strength of the job market and doubled down on the Fed's approaching moves to tackle inflation with more urgency through interest rate increases, a shift in policy that has fueled turmoil in financial markets all week.

"This is a very, very strong labor market," Fed Chair Jerome H. Powell said during an afternoon news conference. "My strong sense is we can move rates up without having to severely undermine it."

His comments reinforced the expectation that the Fed will begin raising interest rates at its next meeting in March, continuing with additional increases in 2022. Uncertainty over when and how aggressively the Fed will

SEE INTEREST RATES ON A15

Stocks fall: Gains are wiped out on another volatile day. **A17**

Colo. neighborhood in ruins is left with questions

A fire leveled a subdivision. Residents are wondering whether they've lost their community, too.

BY KARIN BRULLIARD

SUPERIOR, COLO. — The land was partly barren back then, but Steven Sellars saw the potential of the 171 houses being built. They would be minutes from Boulder and a short drive to Denver, abutting protected fields and offering glorious views of the foothills. He popped into the developer's trailer, looked at the floor plans on offer and put down a deposit for a four-bedroom on Mohawk Circle a few days later.

Sellars moved into his cookie-cutter home in the subdivision known as Sagamore in 1998, when the trees were still glorified twigs. Over the next 20 years, it became everything he and others hoped. The trees grew above rooflines. Tiny lots and two playgrounds helped neighbors forge deep bonds. A Costco and a Target went up on the east side, but the running trails and open space where elk bedded down remained pristine to the west. "People would drive to be right where we lived," said Sellars, 61,

SEE COLORADO ON A10



CHEAT STRANGE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Wendy Kramer visits the ruins of the house she owned — where her cousin and mother lived — in the Sagamore neighborhood in Superior, Colo. "I had a quarter of a million dollars into that house," she said. "Where is that money that I worked my entire adult life for? Gone." Last month's Marshall Fire was Colorado's most destructive ever, in terms of property loss.

A sharpened Russian force waits as Putin eyes Ukraine

BY PAUL SONNE, ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN AND MARY ILYUSHINA

When Russian forces rolled into neighboring Georgia in 2008, they carried the baggage of an outdated Soviet-era military: subpar communications, old equipment and poor coordination. They even accidentally shot down their own planes.

Nearly a decade and a half later, as the Kremlin considers mounting an equally overt invasion of neighboring Ukraine, the Russian military has advanced significantly — and Russian President Vladimir Putin has shown a willingness to use it to get his way in global affairs.

"While we may see that Russia's economic power is stagnant and global economic influence is in relative decline, Russian military power is not only not in decline

SEE RUSSIA ON A15

U.S. and NATO: Written replies to Kremlin's demands delivered. **A14**

IN THE NEWS



JEOPARDY! PRODUCTIONS INC./ASSOCIATED PRESS

'Jeopardy!' streak over Amy Schneider, who shot to fame with 40 straight wins, second of all time, went down to a Chicago librarian. **C1**

THE NATION

A day after finding a lone survivor from a capsized boat in the seas off Florida, the Coast Guard found one body but continued searching for dozens of others. **A2**
The Biden administration canceled two mining leases near the Boundary Waters region in Minnesota, reversing a Trump-era renewal. **A3**
City lawmakers in San Jose took a preliminary

vote to require gun owners to carry liability insurance and pay an annual fee. **A8**
U.S. hospitalizations of patients with covid have slowed, with the Northeast showing a steep decline. **A9**

THE WORLD

U.S.-backed Kurdish-led forces in Syria announced the defeat of Islamic State fighters in an almost week-long prison standoff. **A12**
An elderly Palestinian

American man who was found dead after being detained by Israeli soldiers in the West Bank suffered a stress-induced heart attack, an autopsy found. **A13**

THE ECONOMY

Amazon, citing workforce expansion needs, is using its political pull to get U.S. lawmakers to support the legalization of marijuana. **A22**

THE REGION

A Maryland board approved a new contractor to complete the long-delayed Purple Line for

an extra \$1.5 billion. **B1**
Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) of Virginia said he's "having a ball" during his first days in office and expressed surprise at reaction against some of his initial actions. **B1**
More than half of Virginia public school districts have opted to disobey the new governor's mask-optional order. **B1**
A man charged with shooting at D.C. police walked away last fall from a halfway house where he was completing a sentence for illegal firearm possession. **B4**

INSIDE



LOCAL LIVING

Old stuff, new life In America's supply chain crunch, vintage furniture has never looked better.

STYLE

History reframed "The Gilded Age" is Black storytelling done right. **C1**

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Supreme Court overturns nearly 50-year-old precedent, allowing states to outlaw abortion

Conservatives celebrate long-fought triumph as liberals mourn what Biden calls 'a sad day for the country'

Roe v. Wade struck down

Conservatives ignore public opinion with recent rulings

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

The U.S. Supreme Court's new majority boldly signaled with twin rulings this week that public opinion would not interfere with conservative plans to shift the nation's legal landscape.

The court rejected *Roe v. Wade*, a 49-year-old legal precedent that guaranteed the right to an abortion, after a string of national polls showed a clear majority of Americans wanted the opposite result. A similar court majority invalidated a 108-year-old New York state law restricting who can carry concealed guns that is supported by nearly 8 in 10 New Yorkers, according to a recent poll by Siena College.

Rather than ignore the dissonance, Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr., writing for the majority in the abortion decision, attacked the notion that the court should consider the public will. He quoted late chief justice William H. Rehnquist from a previous ruling: "The Judicial Branch derives its legitimacy, not from following public opinion, but from deciding

SEE POLITICS ON A16



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Savannah Craven, center, and other antiabortion activists celebrate the Supreme Court decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 case that guaranteed the right to abortion, and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, which affirmed it.

Roberts says court went too far, doesn't join majority

BY ROBERT BARNES AND ANN E. MARIMOW

The Supreme Court on Friday overturned the fundamental right to abortion established nearly 50 years ago in *Roe v. Wade*, a stunning reversal that could alter the nation's political landscape and leaves states free to drastically reduce or even outlaw a procedure that abortion rights groups say is key to women's equality and independence.

"*Roe* was egregiously wrong from the start. Its reasoning was exceptionally weak, and the decision has had damaging consequences. And far from bringing about a national settlement of the abortion issue, *Roe* and *Casey* have enflamed debate and deepened division," Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. wrote for the majority. "It is time to heed the Constitution and return the issue of abortion to the people's elected representatives."

The vote was 6 to 3 to uphold a restrictive Mississippi law. But Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. did not join the opinion and criticized his conservative colleagues for taking the additional step of overturning *Roe* and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, a subsequent case decided in the early 1990s that reaffirmed the constitutional right to abortion.

The decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* was the most anticipated of the court's term, with political tension surrounding the fight over abortion rights erupting in May with the leak of a draft opinion indicating a majority of justices intended to end the long-standing precedent. That the court delivered such a result was a long-sought triumph for conservatives, who celebrated Friday's outcome as liberals mourned the sweeping rollback of

SEE COURT ON A4

THE TAKE

A right is rolled back, and now, an angry nation is further divided

BY DAN BALZ

A handful of Supreme Court cases are etched in the America's collective consciousness. Friday's ruling in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* will now join that list — to be remembered for a historic reversal of a constitutional right enshrined for half a century and for further inflaming an already deeply divided country.

By overturning *Roe v. Wade* and ending the guaranteed right to abortion nationwide, the court's newly entrenched conservative bloc has set the country on a course toward legal and political warfare destined to last for years, a conflict perhaps even more intense than the one that has raged since *Roe* was decided in 1973.

The implications of the court's ruling are difficult to overstate and nearly impossible to predict.

SEE TAKE ON A7

FROM THE MAJORITY OPINION, WRITTEN BY JUSTICE SAMUEL A. ALITO JR.

"*Roe* was egregiously wrong from the start. Its reasoning was exceptionally weak, and the decision has had damaging consequences. And far from bringing about a national settlement of the abortion issue, *Roe* and *Casey* have enflamed debate and deepened division. It is time to heed the Constitution and return the issue of abortion to the people's elected representatives."

OTHER WRITINGS FROM THE COURT

In a joint dissent, Justices Stephen G. Breyer, Elena Kagan and Sonia Sotomayor wrote that the majority had curtailed the rights of women: "As of today, this Court holds, a State can always force a woman to give birth, prohibiting even the earliest abortions. A State can thus transform what, when freely undertaken, is a wonder into what, when forced, may be a nightmare."

The concurring opinion by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. criticized the majority's overturning of *Roe v. Wade* even as it went along with the decision to uphold Mississippi's law: "Surely we should adhere closely to principles of judicial restraint here, where the broader path the Court chooses entails repudiating a constitutional right we have not only previously recognized, but also expressly reaffirmed applying the doctrine of *stare decisis*."

Justice Clarence Thomas, in concurring with the decision, wrote that the court ought to reconsider other rulings based on the legal principle underlying *Roe* — including the right to same-sex marriage: "We could consider whether any of the rights announced in this Court's substantive due process cases are 'privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States' protected by the Fourteenth Amendment."

MORE COVERAGE INSIDE

Americans react to the decision with tears of joy, frustration. **A5**

President Biden braces for a battle that could mark his presidency. **A6**

Lawmakers are ready for a fight — and a defense. **A7**

LGBTQ Americans worry that their rights may be the next target. **A9**

Companies say they will cover travel costs for abortions. **A15**

Virginia's governor is seeking a ban on the procedure after week 15. **B1**

Chaos and tears as a Texas clinic abruptly shuts down

BY CAROLINE KITCHENER

HOUSTON — The phones started ringing, as they always did, moments after Houston Women's Reproductive Services opened for business at 9 a.m. on Friday — with patients in need of abortions calling to secure a spot on the schedule.

Then, 12 minutes later, it all came to a stop. The Supreme Court had overturned *Roe v. Wade*.

"Can we still do abortions today?" asked patient advocate Marjorie Eisen, thinking about the 20 women they already had on the schedule.

Several were already in the

waiting room, scrolling through their phones as they waited for their appointments.

"No," said Kathy Kleinfeld, a co-owner of the clinic. "We're done."

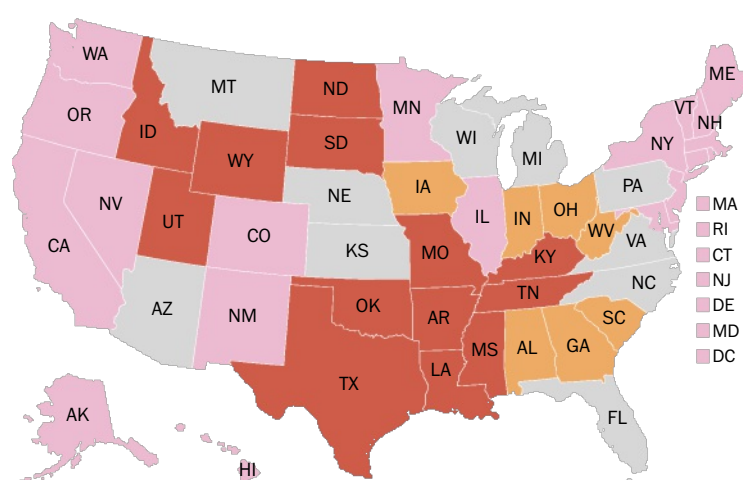
A silence settled over the staff as they reckoned with the stunning news — and what it would mean for the patients they served every day.

For the first time since 1973, Americans would not have a constitutional right to abortion. The seismic ruling will transform life for millions of women years into the future. But on this steamy Friday morning in Texas, it came as an abrupt, life-altering change

SEE CLINIC ON A8

The national abortion landscape

Trigger ban takes effect within a month | Likely to ban | Uncertain | Legal and likely to be protected



Note: This map accounts for laws that would ban most or all abortions. Sources: Guttmacher Institute, Center for Reproductive Rights, Post reporting

In many states, restrictions will be sweeping and swift

BY CAROLINE KITCHENER

The tremors from Friday's sweeping Supreme Court decision to strike down *Roe v. Wade* began rippling across the country immediately, with roughly half of all states poised to ban or drastically restrict abortion and some bans taking effect right away.

Thirteen states will outlaw abortion within 30 days with "trigger bans" that were designed to take effect as soon as *Roe* was overturned. These laws make an exception for cases where the mother's life is in danger, but most do not include exceptions for rape or incest.

In some states, trigger bans activated as soon as officials certified the decision in the hours after the court ruling.

"I'll be happy to see the butcher mill in Little Rock, Arkansas, shut down for good," said Arkansas state Sen. Jason Rapert (R), who has championed much of his state's antiabortion legislation, including the trigger ban that was certified Friday afternoon by the state's attorney general.

In Missouri, Attorney General Eric Schmitt moved minutes after the court opinion was released to activate the state's trigger ban, saying his office had "effectively ended abortion in Missouri."

SEE STATES ON A7

IN THE NEWS

Gun bill heads to Biden The measure, aimed at curbing mass shootings, quickly cleared the House after bipartisan Senate passage. **A3**

THE WORLD Ukraine retreats from Severodonetsk as Russia advances in the east. **A12**

THE REGION Tallies are delayed in D.C.'s primary by a flood of drop box ballots. **B1**

To our Sunday subscribers

Starting this week, we are ending the practice of delivering parts of the Sunday paper on Saturday. All sections of the Sunday Washington Post will be delivered to your home on Sunday.

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Mostly sunny 84/65 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 83/68 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2022 • \$3

QUEEN ELIZABETH II 1926-2022

A pillar of duty and devotion

Britain had braced, but end still came as a shock

BY WILLIAM BOOTH AND KARLA ADAM

LONDON — On the morning of her father's death, on the day she would become queen, 25-year-old Elizabeth was perched in a treehouse in Kenya watching a herd of elephants at a watering hole. Because of the distance and difficulty of communication, it took hours for her to get the news.

On Thursday, in just one marker of how much the world changed during her 70-year reign, the news of her own sudden illness and death spread in milliseconds, via the royal family's Twitter account. Flight tracking data revealed the paths of her children rushing to her bedside at Balmoral Castle. By the time the royal household staff posted the black-bordered death notice on the gates of Buckingham Palace, everybody knew. The BBC news anchors were already dressed in black.

It was still a shock, in its stunning, mortal rapidity.

As the only monarch the vast majority of Britons have ever known, she has been a constant in people's lives — her profile on the currency, on the stamps. She was there in times of celebration and sorrow and fear. As she aged, she became more and more a grandmotherly figure of warm and fuzzy affection, even for those who don't especially like the institution.

Her son Charles, Britain's longest-serving monarch-in-waiting, is now finally King Charles III. His wife, Camilla, will be known as "queen consort."

The ruddy-cheeked 73-year-old Charles, who has spent his life advocating organic farming and railing against modern architecture while wearing immaculately tailored pinstripes, will now become the 21st century's most

SEE BRITAIN ON A10

Timeline of transition

The monarch's death, on what becomes known as D-Day, sets in motion a scripted series of events.

D-Day+1: A council meets to begin the transition to King Charles III.

D-Day+2: The queen's body will be taken to Buckingham Palace, where she will lie in state.

D-Day+10: A state funeral is likely to be held at Westminster Abbey.

Succession: A rundown on who is in line to the throne. **A11**

End of empire: Tracing the decline of Britain's global status. **A12**

Operation London Bridge: Details of a long-awaited plan. **A13**

Washingtonians react: Finality lands with a heavy weight. **B1**

Monica Hesse: The queen made the ordinary look extraordinary. **C1**



CAMPRESS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Queen Elizabeth II in 1960 in Buckingham Palace. The monarch, who ascended to the throne in 1952 and had the longest reign of any ruler in Britain's thousand-year royal line, served as a constant and reassuring figure in Britain and on the world stage.

70-year reign was symbol of stability in a shifting world

BY ADRIAN HIGGINS

Queen Elizabeth II, the seemingly eternal monarch who became a bright but inscrutable beacon of continuity in the United Kingdom during more than seven decades of rule, died Sept. 8 at Balmoral Castle, her estate in the Scottish Highlands. She was 96.

Her death, of undisclosed causes, was announced by Buckingham Palace.

In her reign, which began in February 1952 after the death of her father, King George VI, Elizabeth served as a constant and reassuring figure in Britain and on the world stage as she helped lead her country through a period of profound shifts in geopolitical power and national identity.

The designs of postage stamps and bank notes changed through the decades, but they all depicted the same, if aging, monarch. The British national anthem now shifts to "God Save the King," but most Britons have known only the other version, for the queen.

Her son and heir, Charles, summed up the power of her constancy in a rare television documentary aired in 2012 to mark her 60th year as queen. "Perhaps subconsciously," he said, "people feel encouraged, reassured by something that is always there."

Her last major constitutional action came on Tuesday, when she accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Boris Johnson and asked his successor, Liz Truss, to form a new government.

In a monarchy dating back to at least the 10th century with King Athelstan, Elizabeth's reign was the longest. In 2015, she broke a record once thought unassailable, surpassing the 63-year rule of her great-great-grandmother, Queen Victoria. While Victoria retreated from her regal duties after the early death of her husband, Prince Albert, Elizabeth — with her outwardly stern demeanor, iron constitution and abiding handbag — remained fully engaged in her queenly duties for most of her life, and true to a pledge she made on her 21st birthday.

Then a fresh-faced princess on tour with her parents in South Africa, she broadcast to British Empire listeners around the globe: "I declare before you all

SEE QUEEN ON A8

Jan. 6 probe widens to include Trump PAC

Justice Dept. seeks files on fundraising in wake of his false 2020 claims

BY JOSH DAWSEY AND ISAAC ARNSDORF

The Justice Department is seeking details about the formation and operation of Donald Trump's post-presidential political opera-

tion, according to three people familiar with the probe, sending a raft of subpoenas in a significant expansion of the criminal investigation of the Jan. 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol and efforts to overturn the results of the 2020 election.

A federal grand jury sent subpoenas on Wednesday to a wide range of former campaign and White House staffers asking for information about the Save America PAC, according to the people, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss an ongoing

probe. They described the subpoenas as broad, seeking all documents and communications about opening the PAC and every dollar raised and spent.

At least one of the subpoenas also demanded information about the plan to submit slates of phony electors claiming Trump won pivotal states, including all communications with several key lawyers

SEE TRUMP ON A4

Mar-a-Lago documents: DOJ asks judge to restore its access. **A4**

Tennis ace is new pride of Pr. George's

BY DANIEL WU

Michael Glass Jr. had no idea that Frances Tiafoe, the swaggering 24-year-old tennis player belting forehands across the bar's TV screen, was from Hyattsville, just like him. He was finishing work at a Riverdale bar Wednesday afternoon when a man came in and asked the bartender to flip to the U.S. Open. Someone local was playing.

A Prince Georgian? In the

quarterfinals?

"We've got to put that on," Glass said, and he watched, hooked, as the Marylander closed in on a historic win — for Tiafoe, and for the county he'd represented on American tennis's biggest stage.

Glass rattled off a list of famous Prince George's athletes. Kevin Durant. Michael Beasley. Now, they have another one — this time in tennis — after Tiafoe beat Russian Andrey Rublev, 7-6 (7-3), 7-6 (7-0), 6-4, to advance to

Friday's semifinals.

"He's exemplifying the standard of what Prince George's County is," Glass said.

Tiafoe already has his fans in the county where he was born and raised. In College Park, dozens of players gathered at the Junior Tennis Champions Center to watch the tennis academy's most famous alumnus.

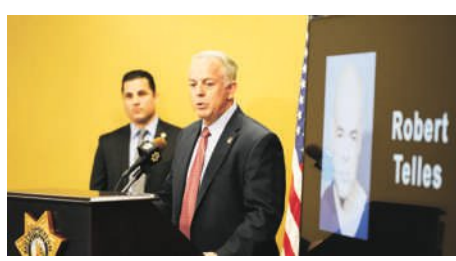
SEE TIAFOE ON A22

Sally Jenkins: Tiafoe brings noise into the solemn world of tennis. **D1**

IN THE NEWS

Arrest in journalist's killing

A county official has been charged in the fatal stabbing of Las Vegas investigative reporter Jeff German, who had been covering the public administrator for months. **A5**



JOHN LOCHER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

THE NATION

A 19-year-old man was charged with murder after four people died in shootings Wednesday in Memphis, one of which was live-streamed. **A2**
A Climate Central analysis detailed that hundreds of thousands

of properties could slip below swelling tide lines in coming decades. **A3**

THE WORLD

A warming Mediterranean is forcing Lebanese fishing crews to rethink their catch, and its chefs to rethink menus. **A7**

THE ECONOMY

Truth Social, Donald

Trump's social network, is in limbo after a loss in a vote by shareholders of an investment ally. **A17**
Federal Reserve leaders have an increasingly direct message on inflation: They will not stop hiking interest rates until it is under control. **A18**

THE REGION

D.C. Mayor Muriel E.

Bowser declared a public emergency over the influx of asylum seekers being bused to the city, freeing up \$10 million in city funds to aid them. **B1**
The region's airports authority has agreed to pay the lead contractor on the Silver Line rail extension \$207 million, documents show. **B1**

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Year 145, No. 278



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Missile hit in Poland is deemed an accident

Escalation fears subside as NATO, Warsaw say it wasn't a Russian attack

BY EMILY RAUHALA, DAVID L. STERN AND FRANCESCA EBEL

BRUSSELS — The missile that landed in Poland, killing two people Tuesday, was not part of a Russian attack, the leaders of NATO and Poland said Wednesday, easing fears of an escalation with Moscow after more than 20 hours of intense worry and speculation.

NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg said Wednesday that an explosion in the town of Przewodow was probably caused by an errant Ukrainian air defense missile launched in response to Russian strikes. In separate remarks, Polish President Andrzej Duda also said the evidence suggested an unfortunate accident.

Both figures stressed that Russia was ultimately to blame for having instigated a barrage of strikes that required Ukraine to defend itself. And President Volodymyr Zelensky continued to insist the stray missile was not from Ukrainian forces. "I have no doubt that it was not our missile or our missile strike," he said. But fear of an imminent direct military conflict between Russia and NATO had clearly subsided.

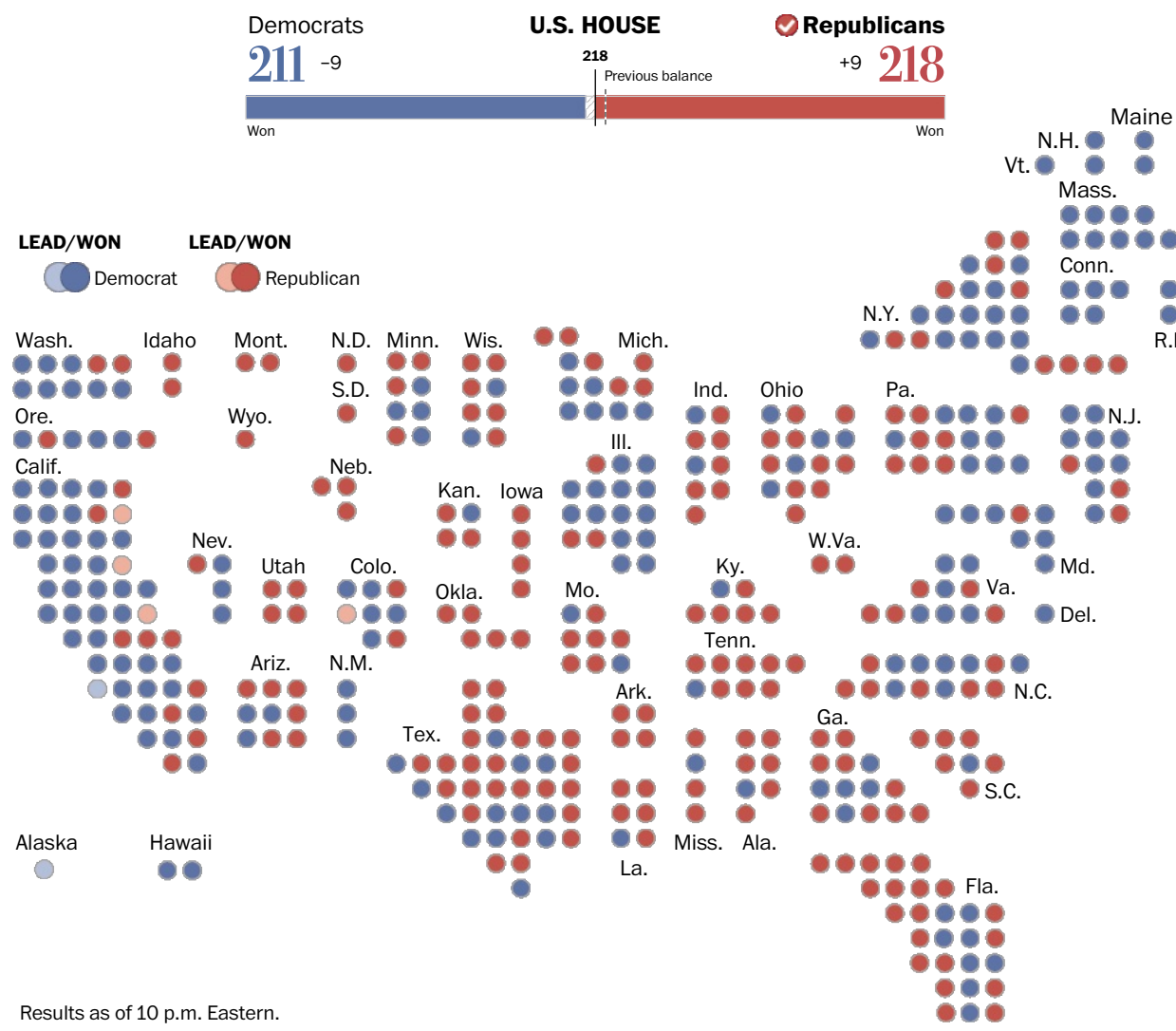
Separately, the U.S. intelligence community obtained new information substantiating that Tuesday's explosions were from one or possibly two Ukrainian S-300 surface-to-air missiles that went off course, said a person familiar with the intelligence, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive intelligence matters.

SEE UKRAINE ON A10

Poland: Border village copes with the fallout from war next door. **A10**

MIDTERM ELECTIONS

Republicans flip House, split Congress



Results as of 10 p.m. Eastern.

DEMOCRATS DEFEY FORECAST OF A ROUT

Slim majority may be a thorn for Biden's agenda

BY HANNAH KNOWLES, MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR AND COLBY ITKOWITZ

Republicans on Wednesday were projected to win back control of the U.S. House with a narrow majority, dealing a blow to President Biden and his agenda — even as Democrats defied predictions of a rout to limit the GOP's power.

Republicans needed to flip at least five seats to retake the House and fulfilled that goal with little room to spare after a campaign in which they sought to harness dismay at inflation, crime and the direction of the country. Their gains fell well short of the red wave they once envisioned, as Democrats countered with campaigns centered on abortion rights and fighting GOP extremism.

Democrats' show of strength enabled them to hold onto the Senate and come up just short of a historic upset in the House, creating a split Congress that left Republicans in both chambers battling over who is to blame and who should lead the party forward. Still, a coming shift in power — which in January will end two years of unified Democratic control in Washington — is sure to complicate the second half of Biden's term, as Republicans gain the ability to launch investigations and block legislation.

The decisive win came eight days after Election Day in California's 27th Congressional District, where Rep. Mike Garcia (R) fended off Democratic challenger Christy Smith, clinching the

SEE HOUSE ON A4

@PKCapitol: Trump takes another blow in party leadership races. **A2**

Probes continue: DOJ weighs how to handle Trump investigations. **A3**

Ex-'Young Gun' McCarthy rode right flank to edge of speakership

BY MICHAEL KRANISH

Kevin McCarthy's rise to power began in the wake of President Barack Obama's election, when he became the chief strategist among a trio of self-described Republican "Young Guns" in the House who vowed to retake Washington as "common sense conservatives." The strategy helped Republicans pick up a stunning 63 seats in the 2010 midterms and vaulted the native of Bakersfield, Calif.,

into the job of majority whip. A dozen years later, after leading a tighter-than-expected midterm push to reclaim the House, McCarthy awaits an even loftier prize: speaker of the House.

But this time around, after watching the two other Young Guns depart following a withering political assault from the party's right wing, McCarthy is a survivor and victor in part because of how much he has trans-

SEE MCCARTHY ON A6

Trump's 2024 announcement fails to rally GOP around him

BY MICHAEL SCHERER, ASHLEY PARKER, JOSH DAWSEY AND ISAAC ARNSDORF

Former president Donald Trump has told associates and advisers that he wants his third White House bid to resemble the first, limiting himself to a small, improvisational operation and positioning himself as an upstart outsider.

But his official campaign announcement on Tuesday echoed

his original 2015 launch in other ways that are less to his favor — lacking the advantages of incumbency and a unified party at his back.

Republican leaders in Washington and around the country are openly blaming Trump for leading the party to its third consecutive electoral letdown. A conservative press that cheered his presidency reprised the hostile tone many right-leaning outlets took when he first ap-

SEE TRUMP ON A4

Viruses keeping kids out of school, parents out of work

Job absences for child-care reasons are putting economic strain on families and businesses

BY ABHA BHATTARAI

This fall has been a blur of runny noses, body aches and lost paychecks for Jacob Terry.

His 18-month-old daughter came home from day care with respiratory syncytial virus a few weeks ago. Now he's got it, too, while trying to juggle child-care responsibilities with his job as a marketing freelancer.

"My daughter's at home, she's sick, I'm sick," said Terry, 40, who lives near Los Angeles. "If I don't work, I don't eat. I'm medicating myself and staying up all night to catch up. It's one big mess."

A new round of viral infections — flu, RSV, covid-19 and the common cold — is colliding with staffing shortages at schools and day-care centers to create unprecedented challenges for parents and teachers. More than 100,000 Americans missed work last month because of child-care problems, an all-time high that's surprisingly even greater than during

SEE CHILD CARE ON A15



JENNA SCHOENFELD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Jacob Terry, a marketing freelancer, takes care of his daughter, Mahaluna, while working Saturday at their home in Santa Clarita, Calif. "She's sick, I'm sick," he says. "If I don't work, I don't eat."

Election denialism sank like a rock in Great Lakes states

Region's voters delivered bigger defeats than those that happened elsewhere

BY PATRICK MARLEY

Voters rejected election deniers across the country last week. But they did so with particular verve along the Great Lakes.

In Minnesota, the Democratic secretary of state defeated by a 10-point margin a Republican challenger who baselessly called the 2020 election rigged and pushed for restricting early voting. In Wisconsin, voters handed Gov. Tony Evers (D) a second term, declining to reward a candidate backed by former president Donald Trump who left open the possibility of trying to reverse the last presidential election. In Pennsylvania, Attorney General Josh Shapiro (D) crushed Republican Doug Mastriano, who had

highlighted his willingness to certify voting machines if he won the governorship.

But perhaps the biggest statement on democracy came in Michigan, where voters by large margins rebuffed a slate of Republican election deniers running for governor, attorney general and secretary of state. They also embraced an amendment to the state constitution that expands voting rights and makes it much more difficult for officials to subvert the will of voters. In the process, they flipped the legislature with the help of new legislative maps drawn by a nonpartisan commission, giving Democrats complete control of state government for the first time in 40 years.

All of that led Michigan Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson (D) to make a bold prediction, one that might have seemed far-fetched before the vote: "Democracy ultimately will emerge from this time period stronger than

SEE ELECTIONS ON A5

IN THE NEWS



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

A long-awaited liftoff NASA's SLS rocket, designed to fly humans to the moon, finally launched to cheers after years of delays. **A13**

THE NATION
U.S. Rep. Karen Bass defeated fellow Democrat Rick Caruso to become the next mayor of Los Angeles, the first woman chosen to lead the city and just its second Black mayor. **A2**
A Senate report found that dozens of ICE detainees went through "excessive" gynecological procedures. **A3**
The Senate cleared the way for the passage of a bill to protect same-sex marriage. **A5**

THE WORLD
Indonesia flaunted its climate agenda hosting the G-20 summit, but the country has had a difficult time weaning itself off coal. **A8**
Intelligence services in Iran are threatening dissidents and journalists abroad as the government tries to quell an uprising at home. **A9**

THE ECONOMY
Elon Musk issued an ultimatum to his remaining Twitter staff:

Make a "hardcore" commitment or leave. **A17**
A lawsuit filed by one of the nation's most prominent attorneys seeks to extract billions of dollars from a cryptocurrency executive and his star-studded cast of paid endorsers. **A18**

THE REGION
A witness told police that the U-Va. student accused of killing three football players seemed to be aiming at particular people. **B1**
A fire caused by a possible explosion injured 12 people at an apartment

in Gaithersburg, Md. **B1**
A former intelligence officer and Oath Keepers associate downplayed Jan. 6 violence in his testimony. **B1**
Jury deliberations began in D.C. in the trial of a woman charged in the theft of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's laptop. **B1**

OBITUARIES
George Booth, 96, for generations populated the pages of the New Yorker with his cartoons of cross-eyed dogs, grumpy cats and neurotic but good-natured humans. **B6**

INSIDE



LOCAL LIVING
Dog mudrooms What to know about installing a shower for your pup.

STYLE
Exclusive vows Naomi Biden's White House wedding will put her in rare company. **C1**

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Democracy Dies in Darkness

FRIDAY, MARCH 31, 2023 • \$3

N.Y. grand jury indicts Trump

The throughline of a life: 50 years of investigation on many fronts

BY MARC FISHER

For a half-century, Donald Trump has portrayed himself as the consummate dealmaker — and the ultimate escape artist, a serial entrepreneur turned politician who managed to avoid major consequences despite having been investigated in every decade of his adult life by federal and state agencies, by bankers and casino regulators, by legions of prosecutors and competitors.

He's been investigated over matters small and huge: over alleged lobbying violations in New York state and whether he played

a role in the Russian government's effort to interfere with the 2016 U.S. presidential election. He was the only president to be impeached twice, yet he was acquitted both times.

Now, 50 years after federal officials first accused Trump and his father of violating laws that barred racial discrimination in apartment rentals, the former president has been indicted, according to multiple people briefed on the matter. While the indictment has not been made public, a Manhattan grand jury has been investigating the payment of hush

SEE HISTORY ON A4



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Former president Donald Trump was indicted Thursday by a Manhattan grand jury, although the charges remain under seal.

FIRST EX-PRESIDENT CHARGED WITH A CRIME

Plans afoot for possible arraignment early next week

BY SHAYNA JACOBS, JACQUELINE ALEMANY, JOSH DAWSEY AND DEVLIN BARRETT

NEW YORK — A Manhattan grand jury has voted to indict former president Donald Trump, making him the first person in U.S. history to serve as commander in chief and then be charged with a crime, and setting the stage for a 2024 presidential contest unlike any other.

The indictment was sealed, which means the specific charge or charges are not publicly

known. But the grand jury had been hearing evidence about money paid to adult film actress Stormy Daniels during Trump's 2016 presidential campaign, allegedly to keep her from saying she'd had a sexual encounter with Trump years earlier. Trump advisers were discussing a possible Tuesday surrender and court appearance, according to a person familiar with the discussions.

Trump, who is campaigning to

SEE INDICTMENT ON A6

What's next? Breaking down how a historic first is likely to proceed. A6

To start the season, MLB picks up the pace

Pitch clock is among new rules debuting on baseball's Opening Day

BY CHELSEA JANES, SCOTT ALLEN, BEN STRAUSS AND GENE WANG

NEW YORK — For more than a century of Opening Days, Major League Baseball held treasured status as the only major team sport not governed by a clock. America's pastime was always unique in — and at times even proud of — its ability to pass time, to proceed unhurried by reality until the game decided it was complete.

But under sunny skies in Washington and Boston, Chicago and New York on Thursday afternoon, a digital clock with yellow numbers gleamed behind home plate and in center field. It was the first day MLB's potentially transformative new rules were used across the field, including a limit on how long pitchers can take between pitches, a ban on infield shifting and bigger bases.

The first official pitch clock violation came in Chicago, where Cubs starter Marcus Stroman watched a 1-2 count on Milwaukee Brewers outfielder Christian Yelich become a 2-2 count when

SEE BASEBALL ON A18

What's new?

A pitch clock is being introduced for the first time in baseball history.

A new, more balanced schedule will have every team play one another at least once, and division foes will play 13 times instead of 19.

A new broadcast infrastructure is likely on the way, which could help MLB in the streaming era.

And after years of testing in the minors, other new rules **banning exaggerated shifts** and **capping the number of pickoff throws** will be in place.

Nats drop opener: Abrams, Corbin struggle in 7-2 loss to Braves. D1

AMERICAN ICON A series examining the AR-15, a weapon with a singular hold on a divided nation



A Colorado Springs police officer at the annual Medal of Valor ceremony in September. The city's police department has responded to several mass shootings in recent years, and many of its officers now carry AR-15s.

THE POLICING PARADOX

As officers patrol the nation's gun-saturated streets, the AR-15 can be a deadly threat — or a source of protection

STORY BY ROBERT KLEMKO
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JOSHUA LOTT
IN COLORADO SPRINGS

High-capacity-magazine bans, if they hold up in court, could save lives

BY MARK BERMAN AND TODD C. FRANKEL

The first gunshot cracked through the air just after 1 a.m.

Then came another shot, and another. They kept coming, again and again, each shot thundering across downtown Dayton, Ohio. In just half a minute, more than three dozen gunshots echoed through the crowded streets.

Chris Burns tore the AR-15 out of his patrol cruiser, wrapping the rifle sling around his body, feeling he might be forced to shoot a man for the first time in more than two decades as a police officer.

He was training his weapon on a man who had leaped from a wrecked stolen car and appeared to be carrying a tactical rifle of his own. The man had stopped outside a car parked at a gas station fuel pump. Burns didn't know if anyone was inside the vehicle.

For Burns, it was the nightmare scenario: Hefting the weapon of war he'd started carrying after the 1999 Columbine High School massacre, hoping for a fighting chance as he confronted a threat, knowing the bullet-resistant vests he and his fellow officers were wearing would fail if the man sent a fusillade of high-speed bullets their way.

"We might as well have been naked," he said, recalling that crisp day in April 2021.

SEE POLICING ON A8

parked cars and scrambling into nearby bars and clubs, piling on top of one another as they huddled on the floor.

"It was like war," Green said. "And I got angry. Because why was there a full-on war going on in the middle of the street?"

Thirty-two seconds after that first shot, the barrage ended when police killed the gunman. But the toll was already immense.

SEE MAGAZINES ON A10

Dion Green recalls hitting the sidewalk next to his father and fiancée, who had come out with him in August 2019. It had been a routine Saturday night: people dancing, drinking, standing in line to get into a bar, waiting for tacos outside. Green barely had time to drop down as the masked shooter ran by and kept firing. All around Green, bullets ripped into people's heads, chests, backs, arms and legs. People ran from the carnage, diving behind

IN THE NEWS



JAY MALLIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Mark Russell, 1932-2023 The social-political satirist poked fun at foibles and flaws with pithy one-liners and musical ditties. B1

THE NATION

Nine soldiers were killed when two helicopters crashed after an apparent collision in Kentucky, sparking an inquiry and a broad effort to notify family. A3

A Texas federal judge ruled against an Affordable Care Act mandate that guarantees free preventive services to every American with private health insurance. A4

A train carrying ethanol derailed and sparked a fire in a Min-

nesota town, prompting a federal probe and an evacuation, although no one was injured. A5

House Speaker Kevin McCarthy signaled that the GOP could forge ahead with its own bill to raise the debt ceiling and slash spending. A7

THE WORLD

Months after the liberation, apartment residents in the Ukrainian city of Lyman continue to live underground. A11

Turkey voted to ap-

prove Finland's NATO membership bid, clearing the final hurdle for the Nordic country to join the alliance. A15

THE ECONOMY

In a Washington Post test of China's answer to ChatGPT, Ernie Bot shut down the conversation when asked about anything sensitive. A16

The Disney World oversight board installed by Florida Gov. Ron DeSantis accused its predecessor of shunting the new board's powers and boosting Disney's sway over the

Florida park. A17

THE REGION

President Biden would veto a GOP-led measure that aims to block D.C.'s major police accountability legislation, the White House said. B1

Maryland voters will determine next year whether to enshrine abortion rights in the state constitution. B1

The departure of two D.C. Housing Authority staffers after an investigation comes amid federal scrutiny of the agency's low-income voucher program. B1

INSIDE



WEEKEND 6 dining spots before tax day

A dish from the Bazaar, a Tom Sietsema pick.

STYLE

Weekly refreshes at 'The Daily Show' Guest hosts re-energize a stale format. C1

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U.S. says Liberty violated safety law

Initial report finds Va. university underreported crime, destroyed records

BY SUSAN SVRLUGA

Liberty University has failed for years to keep its campus safe and repeatedly violated the federal law that specifies how it should do so, according to preliminary confidential findings from an Education Department inquiry.

The initial report on the school's Clery Act compliance — which the university can respond to and dispute before the department makes a final determination — paints a picture of a university that discouraged people from reporting crimes, underreported the claims it received and, meanwhile, marketed its Virginia campus as one of the safest in the country.

Liberty failed to warn the campus community about gas leaks, bomb threats and people credibly accused of repeated acts of sexual violence — including a senior administrator and an athlete — according to the report, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Post. Two people familiar with the conclusions, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the confidential nature of the document, confirmed the findings.

The draft also contends officials at Liberty destroyed evidence after a government inquiry began.

"This is the single most blistering Clery report I have ever read. Ever," said S. Daniel Carter, a campus safety consultant who reviewed a copy of the initial report obtained by The Post. Earlier in his career, Carter filed Clery Act complaints against multiple universities, including Liberty, as a victims advocate. "I cannot think of a single other comparable case in the entire 32-year history of the Clery Act."

Under the Clery Act, colleges that participate in federal financial aid programs — Liberty received \$874 million for student loans and grants from the Education Department in 2020-2021 —

SEE LIBERTY ON A20

On the motion to vacate the speakership

YES 216
8 GOP
208 DEM.

NO 210
210 GOP
0 DEM.

Seven House members did not vote (three Republicans and four Democrats)

McCarthy voted out as speaker



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) leaves the Capitol on Tuesday night after the vote to strip him of the speakership. "I feel fortunate to have served Americans," he said. The House has adjourned until next week, when candidate forums will begin for those who seek the job.

ANALYSIS

Bad blood, trust issues cost an embattled leader

BY PAUL KANE

Kevin McCarthy learned a painful lesson: There's a price to pay for helping set fire to an institution and then asking the fire department to come save your office.

The California Republican spent nine months as House speaker trying to placate an intractable group of hard-right Republicans, bowing to their demands in ways that hurt the

House as an institution. They were never satisfied and turned on McCarthy, setting in motion Tuesday's vote to expel him as speaker.

By late Monday, after enough Republicans had made their intentions known, it was clear that McCarthy could not win just from votes on his side of the aisle, as is the House tradition. So he turned to Democrats to ask for help putting out the fire

SEE KANE ON A4



JONATHAN ERNST/REUTERS

Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.), who led the effort to oust McCarthy, quickly became the target of blowback from fellow Republicans.

HE SAYS HE WON'T SEEK TOP JOB AGAIN

Historic move sets up GOP battle for position

This article is by Marianna Sotomayor, Leigh Ann Caldwell, Amy B Wang, Paul Kane and Mariana Alfaro

Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) was ousted as House speaker Tuesday after failing to withstand a rebellion among far-right dissidents, as the House voted for the first time in history to remove its leader and entered a period of unpredictability and paralysis. McCarthy later announced he would not seek the position again, setting up an expected intraparty battle for the position second in line to the presidency.

Tuesday's dramatic vote was the culmination of a bitter power struggle between McCarthy and hard-line Republican lawmakers that has persisted throughout his roughly nine months as speaker, after the Californian helped lead the GOP to a narrow majority in last year's midterm elections.

It was a step never before taken in the more-than-240-year history of the House of Representatives, pushed by an increasingly radicalized Republican faction that, emboldened since the rise of the tea party, has repeatedly shut down the government and led the country to the brink of a default on its debt. House Republicans now need to select a new leader and find consensus for funding the government by mid-November or again risk a shut-down.

McCarthy's removal is an earthquake for the fractious House GOP conference, which has been marked by long-standing tensions among ideological factions that are now expected to come to a head. The House has adjourned until Tuesday, when candidate forums will begin for those who seek the speakership. House Republicans also wanted time for emotions to settle and to prevent increased animosity among GOP lawmakers if they

SEE MCCARTHY ON A4

In fight against deadly brain tumor, a 6-year-old pioneer

At Children's National Hospital, S.C. girl becomes 2nd child in world to receive new treatment

BY MARK JOHNSON

First, the little girl gets to choose the smell of the anesthetic that will put her to sleep: cotton candy. Then doctors place a helmet over her head so that hundreds of tiny metallic devices inside it can fire sound waves through her skull into the tumor in her brain. The goal: to open the brain's protective barrier, clearing a path for a chemotherapy drug nicknamed the Red Devil.

By day's end, Callie Weatherford, the Florence, S.C., girl clutching a worn stuffed animal named Lamby, will have become just the second child in the world to receive the full treatment, taking pediatric medicine in a new direction against an old foe.

But before all that, before the procedure begins on this morning in mid-July, 6-year-old Callie draws a picture of a vanilla ice cream bar dipped in chocolate as she waits with her mother in the radiology department at Children's National Hospital in

SEE TREATMENT ON A15



MINH CONNORS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Callie Weatherford, 6, lets out a laugh at Children's National Hospital in D.C., where she is taking part in a clinical trial that uses ultrasound technology to treat a childhood cancer called DIPG.

ELECTION 2024

Biden, his climate law a tough sell to voters

BY TIMOTHY PUKO

LAS VEGAS — Eleanor Cantu is the kind of climate-conscious voter that President Biden and Democrats need in 2024 to hold on to power in Washington.

An executive casino host who describes herself as a supporter of Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), Cantu, 41, wants government to act aggressively on climate change. But she also thinks that the president and congressional Democrats from her state haven't done enough to meet that mark.

Asked about the Inflation Reduction Act — Biden's signature legislative achievement, which is pumping billions of dollars into clean energy and other climate programs — she said she thought that it was mostly about raising interest rates, a misconception that illustrates how even the name of the law can be confusing.

"I don't know what they are really doing" regarding climate,

she said, while on her way out of a coffee shop south of Las Vegas. "I only hear the bad stuff. If [Biden's] doing good stuff — I don't know. I don't know a single Democrat who's excited about Biden."

Such is the conundrum for Biden, his environmentalist supporters and Democrats, including several lawmakers in Nevada whose reelection campaigns might determine control of Congress. They passed the largest climate bill in history last year, but many voters aren't giving them any credit for it. Some aren't even aware of the Inflation Reduction Act, or the IRA, as it is known inside the Beltway.

According to a July poll by The Washington Post and the University of Maryland, 71 percent of Americans have heard "little" or "nothing at all" about the law one year after its passage. Administration officials

SEE IRA ON A14

IN THE NEWS

Gag order A New York judge barred Donald Trump from making public comments about court staff during his civil fraud trial. A2

Congressman carjacked Rep. Henry Cuellar (D-Tex.) was robbed at gunpoint in D.C., which has seen a spike in violent crime. B1

THE NATION Hunter Biden pleaded not guilty to gun and false statement charges in federal court. A2
The fraud trial of FTX co-founder Sam Bankman-Fried started with jury selection. A3

THE WORLD East Timor is outspoken in supporting the Myanmar resistance. A8
Three scientists were awarded the Nobel Prize in physics for their experiments in probing electrons. A10

THE ECONOMY President Biden and the UAW's Shawn Fain have forged an uneasy alliance that may reverberate across the labor sector and the 2024 election. A13
Michelle Singletary debunks persistent myths about what affects credit scores. A14

THE REGION Amtrak's new Acela fleet, which was expected to enter service 2½ years ago, might face more delays, an audit said. B1
Electric utility Pepco agreed to pay more than \$57 million to the District over decades of pollution. B1

STYLE Jack Smith, the special counsel handling Trump's federal cases, is dogged, but he's not infallible. C1
FOOD A happy accident in ancient times, beer has evolved into a cultural mainstay and flavorful art form. E1

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Sunshine 64/47 • Tomorrow: Clouds and sun 66/49 C10

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8, 2023 • \$5

Bodies are left in the streets, and dozens of hostages are feared seized

'To all civilians in Gaza, I say, get out of there,' Israeli leader pleads

Death toll continues to climb as sides unleash fusillade of airstrikes, rockets

Israel 'at war' after Hamas attack

Sneak assault at dawn stokes fear, shock, bitter rage

BY NOGA TARNOPOLSKY, SHIRA RUBIN AND MIRIAM BERGER

JERUSALEM — Around dawn Saturday morning, as most of the country slept, thousands of rockets rained down on Israel, as far north as Tel Aviv and as far east as Jerusalem. Then came the infiltrators, who stormed unsuspecting towns in the south, killing civilians and taking hostages.

The combined land, sea and air attack was spearheaded by Hamas, the Islamist militant group that rules the Gaza Strip, and supported by Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a smaller Gaza-based group that has fought with Israel in the past.

Israelis are accustomed to conflict, but they had never experienced a day like this. Two hundred fifty are dead and more than 1,000 are wounded, the country's emergency services said.

The attack caught Israel's vaunted military and intelligence services off guard, and it sparked bitter recriminations after months of warnings from security officials about the country's deteriorating capacity for deterrence.

"Israel was humiliated and defeated today," wrote Yossi Verter, a columnist in the left-leaning Haaretz newspaper. "Even if Gaza is destroyed... that will not atone for the most serious security failure since the Yom Kippur war," he

SEE ISRAEL ON A12

Onslaught may imperil Biden's diplomacy efforts

BY KAREN DEYOUNG

The Biden administration moved quickly into crisis mode Saturday in response to Hamas's surprise attack against Israel, condemning the "terrorist" assault from Gaza and reiterating "rock solid" U.S. support for Israeli security in public statements and calls to officials in Jerusalem.

"The United States stands with Israel," President Biden said in brief remarks after he phoned Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. "We will not ever fail to have their back. We'll make sure they have the help their citizens need so they can continue to defend themselves. ... Israel has the right to defend itself and its people. Full stop."

A somber Secretary of State Antony Blinken stood at Biden's side as he spoke. Blinken and other top officials gathered at the White House as the situation developed with incoming video of exploding buildings and captured Israeli soldiers. CIA Director William J. Burns canceled a scheduled talk at a security conference on the Georgia seacoast to stay in Washington "to help provide support to the President and national security discussions as the crisis in Israel unfolds," a CIA spokesperson said.

Among a flurry of administration calls, Biden spoke with Jordan's King Abdullah II, Blinken

SEE GAZA ON A14



SAID KHATIB/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Rockets fired from Gaza head toward Israel early Saturday. Israeli media was flooded with pleas from families looking for loved ones.



LOAY AYYOUB FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

■ Cities hit by rocket fire, airstrikes



Source: Reuters THE WASHINGTON POST

ABOVE: Palestinians inspect the damage Saturday in Gaza's Al-Rimal neighborhood after the Israeli air force launched airstrikes throughout the area. **RIGHT:** Survivors in Tel Aviv mourn Saturday at the site where a rocket landed.

Grist for U.S. politics: Republicans pin blame on Biden's policies. **A11**

How it unfolded: A look at the surprise operation by Hamas. **A15**



ITAI RON/REUTERS

Hundreds killed; Netanyahu readies reprisals

This article is by Noga Tarnopolsky, Claire Parker, Shira Rubin, Hazem Balousha and Deolin Barrett

JERUSALEM — Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declared Saturday that "we are at war" after Hamas militants from Gaza launched a surprise, multi-pronged attack across central and southern Israel, killing an estimated 250 Israelis and wounding 1,000 more.

The assault began early Saturday when Hamas launched thousands of rockets toward Israeli cities and sent militants into Israeli territory overland and by using paragliders and speedboats. Gunmen seized control of pockets of southern Israel, taking hostages and leaving bodies of civilians in the streets.

The Israeli air force launched airstrikes throughout the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian Health Ministry said at least 232 people were killed and 1,697 wounded in Gaza.

As night fell, the death toll kept climbing and Hamas said it fired a fresh fusillade of roughly 150 rockets at Tel Aviv.

Israel ordered residents of towns along the Gaza border to remain inside, as gun battles raged through the day. There were active hostage situations in the southern communities of Kibbutz Beeri and Ofakim, according to the Israeli military, which said militants were holding civilians in their homes and at a community dining hall.

Earlier, Palestinian militants claimed to have taken dozens of Israelis captive — including senior military officers, Hamas deputy chief Saleh al-Arouri told Al Jazeera. He indicated that Hamas wants to trade its hostages for militants imprisoned in Israel.

Israeli social media and radio stations were flooded with desperate pleas from families looking for loved ones.

Tom Weintraub Louk, 30, told The Washington Post that her first cousin, Shani Louk, was missing after militants overran an outdoor dance party near Kibbutz Urim on Saturday morning.

As news of the attack circulated, family members tried to contact Shani, who is in her early 20s. "We knew she was in the party. She didn't answer," said Louk. Family members also failed to get through to her Mexican boyfriend.

Later in the morning, as videos of hostage-takings flew across social media, another cousin recognized Shani in one of them — in the back of a pickup truck, surrounded by armed militants. Louk has not been able to bring herself to watch the video, but Shani's parents have. "We recognized her by the tattoos, and she has long dreadlocks," she said.

The family is still waiting for news. "We have some kind of hope," Louk said. "Hamas is responsible for her and the others."

A photograph released by SEE ATTACK ON A14

IMPERFECT UNION

Illinois Democrats drew new congressional maps. The changes pushed the state GOP right.

BY KEVIN SULLIVAN AND CLARA ENCE MORSE

TAYLORVILLE, ILL. — On a warm Friday night in the St. Mary's Catholic Church parking lot, sweating men sipping cold beers dipped fish fillets into bubbling deep fryers as children played on the bouncy castle.

This down-home fish fry used to be a regular stop for U.S. Rep.

Such gerrymandering strengthens the parties' fringes, experts say

Rodney Davis, a moderate Republican who grew up in this former coal town in Central Illinois. But that was before new district lines drawn in 2021 pushed him into far more con-

servative terrain — and into competition with a fellow GOP incumbent.

To keep his job in Congress, Davis had to square off with Rep. Mary E. Miller, a member of the right-wing Freedom Caucus who closely aligned herself with former president Donald Trump. In the primary campaign, she assailed Davis for his willingness to compromise with Democrats and

to acknowledge Joe Biden's victory in the 2020 presidential election.

Miller, the hard-liner, won the 2022 race. Davis, the consensus-seeker, was out.

The bitter Republican feuding was not merely a symptom of the broader civil war in the national party. Rather, it was prompted by the actions of Illinois Democrats, who used their supermajority in

the legislature to redraw district lines in a way that would strengthen their already titanium-solid lock on power.

The strategy worked, adding one Democratic seat to the Illinois delegation and trimming two Republican ones as GOP voters were packed into fewer districts.

The new map also accomplished what experts say gerry-

mandering does with ruthless efficiency, regardless of whether Democrats or Republicans are responsible: hollowing out the moderate political center and driving both parties further toward the ideological fringes.

"Gerrymandering undermines a key element of democracy, which is competition," said Harvard University government

SEE GERRYMANDERING ON A6

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Mostly sunny 77/57 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny 82/64 B6 Democracy Dies in Darkness FRIDAY, MAY 31, 2024 • \$3

34 CRIMINAL CONVICTIONS

COUNT 1	COUNT 2	COUNT 3	COUNT 4	COUNT 5	COUNT 6	COUNT 7	COUNT 8	COUNT 9	COUNT 10	COUNT 11	COUNT 12	COUNT 13	COUNT 14	COUNT 15	COUNT 16	COUNT 17
GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY
COUNT 18	COUNT 19	COUNT 20	COUNT 21	COUNT 22	COUNT 23	COUNT 24	COUNT 25	COUNT 26	COUNT 27	COUNT 28	COUNT 29	COUNT 30	COUNT 31	COUNT 32	COUNT 33	COUNT 34
GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY	GUILTY

Trump found guilty

HISTORIC VERDICT IN SCHEME TO ILLEGALLY INFLUENCE 2016 ELECTION

Campaign readies a script of martyrdom: 'Very innocent'

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, JOSH DAWSEY AND MARIANNE LEVINE

NEW YORK — Around 4:15 p.m. Thursday, Donald Trump strode into a Manhattan courtroom, looking cheerful with his usual entourage of lawyers and advisers as he took his seat at the defense table. The judge said he would soon dismiss the jury for the day, and Trump sat whispering, smiling and laughing with attorney Todd Blanche, seemingly enjoying himself.

Then the judge revealed that the jury didn't want to go home: They had reached a verdict, they just needed a few more minutes to finish filling out the lengthy form with all 34 counts. Instantly Trump's demeanor changed: He crossed his arms, knitted his brow, puckered his lips, and prepared for judgment.

The sudden turnabout made for a dramatic end to the seven-week criminal trial that stands to define the current campaign and this entire chapter in American history, at once making Trump the first former president convicted of a felony. "We'll fight till the end and we'll win," he said after the verdict.



SETH WENIG/POOL/REUTERS

Donald Trump, found guilty on 34 counts of falsifying business records in a scheme that prosecutors said was designed to illegally aid his 2016 campaign, became the first former president convicted of a felony. "We'll fight till the end and we'll win," he said after the verdict.

Nation heads into uncharted waters in wait for sentencing

BY SHAYNA JACOBS, DEVLIN BARRETT, DEREK HAWKINS AND MARK BERMAN

NEW YORK — A New York jury on Thursday found Donald Trump guilty on 34 counts of falsifying business records to conceal a hush money payment to an adult-film actress, delivering a historic verdict that could shape the November election and that makes Trump the first former U.S. president convicted of a crime.

The verdict is an extraordinary loss for the presumptive GOP nominee, who delivered near-daily tirades outside the courtroom throughout the trial — exonerating the justice system and declaring his innocence.

Twelve jurors, whose names were shielded by the judge from public view, spent a little more than a day weighing the felony counts against Trump before returning their judgment unanimously saying otherwise.

Trump, 77, faces a maximum sentence of 1½ to four years in prison after being deemed a felon in the city where he first rose to prominence. Given his age and lack of a prior criminal record, he could serve a shorter sentence or no term of incarceration at all.

New York Supreme Court Justice Juan Merchan scheduled the former president's sentencing for July 11 — just days before the start of the Republican National Convention, where Trump is set to be formally nominated by his party.

The verdict propels the country into unprecedented territory, and its impact will reverberate across U.S. politics in the coming months. While awaiting his sentence, Trump will continue to campaign to reclaim the White House. Trump, who has been charged in three other criminal cases, is expected to appeal the New York verdict; neither the conviction nor any sentence he may receive prevents him from serving as president.

After the verdict was read, Trump was told he could go free without bail. He turned to his son Eric and the two shared a grim smile. SEE GUILTY ON A7

Despite outcome of trial, attacks deal a 'body blow' to judicial system

BY SARAH ELLISON AND JOSH DAWSEY

For months, top advisers to Donald Trump expected that he would be convicted by a New York jury on all 34 felony counts. So Trump and his team waged an all-out war against the judicial system before the verdict came in, hoping to blunt the political damage and position him as a martyr.

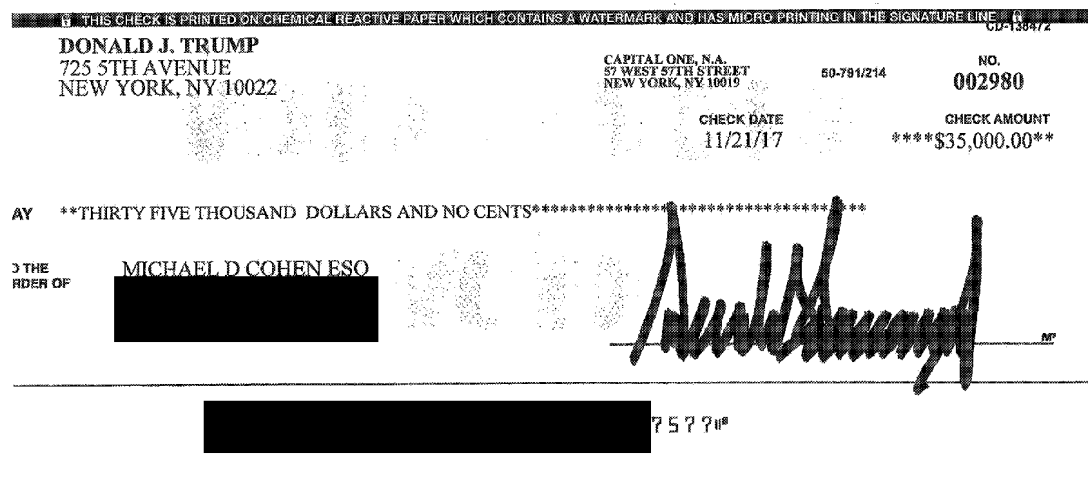
They sent hundreds of fundraising appeals attacking the prosecutors and the system, raising millions of dollars on false claims. They lined up allies outside the courthouse almost every day to question the fairness of the proceedings. Trump attacked the judge, the judge's daughter and,

finally, even the jury — ordinary, anonymous New Yorkers called to perform their basic civic duty.

On Thursday, that jury convicted Trump, and the foundational democratic principle that no one is above the law withstood the first-ever criminal trial of a former American president. Despite the attacks, the system worked as designed, analysts said.

"Human beings have their weaknesses and our institutions have their weaknesses, but a jury trial is as good as we can do," Nancy Marder, a Chicago-Kent College of Law professor who studies jury trials, said in an interview.

But amid the relentless offense by Trump and his allies on the campaign trail, the system held firm. SEE DEMOCRACY ON A8



Prosecutors said Trump's payments to Michael Cohen, which his company classified as legal fees, were in fact compensation for hush money paid to Stormy Daniels. See A7 for a breakdown of the payouts.

An unchanging race Biden's operational advantage over Trump hasn't moved the polls. A4

For jurors, challenges await They now face a choice about how much to say about deliberations. A8

The Critique In an extraordinary case, 12 Americans did their civic duty. A9

Biden to let Ukraine use U.S. arms to strike inside Russia

BY MICHAEL BIRNBAUM, JOHN HUDSON, EMILY RAUHALA AND ELLEN NAKASHIMA

President Biden will allow Ukraine to use U.S.-provided weaponry against limited military targets inside Russia, officials said Thursday, a dramatic reversal of a long-standing precautionary measure that comes as Kyiv struggles to defend its second-largest city from a withering onslaught.

The policy shift, disclosed by U.S. officials on the condition of anonymity to discuss the president's decision, authorizes Ukrainian commanders to "hit back against Russian forces that are attacking them or preparing to attack them" in and around Kharkiv, near the border in northeast Ukraine. President Volodymyr Zelensky and other top officials in his government have campaigned for the shift with increasing urgency as Russia has pressed its assault there, emboldened by the Kremlin's knowledge of Washington's red lines, officials in Kyiv say.

The decision draws Biden even deeper into a war in which Russian President Vladimir Putin has won a major strategic victory. SEE UKRAINE ON A5

Frayed ties: Views on NATO and fraud divide Kyiv and the West. A13

OpenAI finds that its tech fuels global propaganda

BY GERRIT DE VYNCK

SAN FRANCISCO — ChatGPT maker OpenAI said Thursday that it caught groups from Russia, China, Iran and Israel using its technology to try to influence political discourse around the world, highlighting concerns that generative artificial intelligence is making it easier for state actors to run covert propaganda campaigns as the 2024 presidential election nears.

OpenAI removed accounts associated with well-known propaganda operations in Russia, China and Iran; an Israeli political campaign firm; and a previously unknown group originating in Russia that the company's researchers dubbed "Bad Grammar." The groups used OpenAI's tech to write posts, translate them into various languages and build software that helped them automatically post to social media.

None of these groups managed to get much traction; the social media accounts associated with them reached few users and had just a handful of followers, said Ben Nimmo, principal investigator on OpenAI's intelligence and investigations team. Still, OpenAI's report shows that propagandists who've been active for years on social media are using AI tech to boost their campaigns.

SEE OPENAI ON A5

IN THE NEWS

Gaza pier's operations suspended The Biden administration insisted that it can salvage the aid delivery structure despite mishaps, including a section floating away. A11

A perplexing charge D.C.'s dining industry has been upended by service fees added to comply with the city's minimum wage law. B1

THE NATION The IRS announced that it will make its free online tax-filing platform permanent. A2
The Supreme Court ruled unanimously in favor of the NRA in a free speech case. A3

THE WORLD A Hong Kong court found pro-democracy activists guilty of subversion. A10
Britain's Parliament was dissolved, and the election campaign drama got underway. A11

THE ECONOMY Families of victims of two 737 crashes hailed a decision saying Boeing breached a deferred prosecution deal. A14

OBITUARIES Albert S. Ruddy, 94, won Academy Awards for producing "The Godfather" and "Million Dollar Baby." B4

THE REGION The mother of former D.C. police officer Michael Fanone was "swatted" at her home hours after her son criticized Donald Trump. B1
The trial of a D.C. lawyer opened with emotional testimony from the woman accusing him of sexual assault. B1

STYLE From an array of conservatives, an Olympian effort is underway to curry favor with Donald Trump. C1

WEEKEND Looking for a laugh in the D.C. area? We find places where you can find humor in increasingly unfunny times.

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Partly sunny 96/77 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 99/77 C8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

SUNDAY, JULY 14, 2024 • \$5

Federal officials investigate incident as an attempted assassination

One spectator is killed, and two others are critically wounded

Trump injured in rally shooting



DOING 'FINE' AFTER RUSHED OFFSTAGE

Rooftop gunman was also killed, officials say

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, HANNAH KNOWLES, MERYL KORNFELD AND DEVLIN BARRETT

BUTLER, PA. — Former president Donald Trump on Saturday was rushed offstage with blood dripping down his face after a shooting that the authorities are investigating as an assassination attempt. One attendee was killed and two others were critically injured at the campaign rally, the Secret Service said, a shocking turn in a tense election season where concerns about violence had already been running high.

During the rally, "a suspected shooter fired multiple shots toward the stage from an elevated position outside of the rally venue," according to Secret Service spokesman Anthony Guglielmi. The suspected shooter is dead, said Guglielmi, who confirmed the other death and injuries.

Trump, in a social media post Saturday night, said he was shot in his upper right ear and offered his thanks to law enforcement. He also extended his condolences to the families of the person who was shot and killed and the person who was injured. A campaign spokesman said the former president was taken to a medical facility but is "fine."

SEE TRUMP ON A6

With blood on his face, former president Donald Trump raises his fist during a campaign rally in Butler, Pa., on Saturday. Shots were fired minutes into his remarks.

JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

Election: The shooting upends the already dark presidential race. A9

Conservatives blame Biden, Democrats for rhetoric

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

Top allies of Donald Trump quickly accused President Biden and his supporters of using rhetoric that led to a shooting and potential assassination attempt Saturday at a Trump campaign rally in Butler, Pa., even as Biden condemned the attack and called on the nation to unite against political violence.

Sen. J.D. Vance (R-Ohio), a potential Trump running mate, said in a statement on social media that the shooting was "not just some isolated incident."

"The central premise of the Biden campaign is that President Donald Trump is an authoritarian fascist who must be stopped at all costs," Vance wrote. "That rhetoric led directly to President Trump's attempted

assassination."

At the time of that statement, there was no public reporting on the motives of the shooter. Trump said he was wounded in his ear at the event, and was rushed from the scene. His campaign released a statement saying "he is fine," while being checked out at a nearby medical facility.

SEE REACTION ON A6

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF AND JABIN BOTSFORD

BUTLER, PA. — The gunshots were high-pitched pops, slight and hollow in the open air.

Donald Trump, the former president set to accept the Republican nomination in days, was less than 10 minutes into his speech here to a crowd of tens of thousands. A miles-long line of

cars crawled for hours to pass through metal detectors and bag inspections, just like any Trump event, until these green fairgrounds became a sea of red hats.

Trump was almost an hour late, and his supporters waited impatiently under the blazing sun amid thumping music. In the middle of the crowd, opposite the stage, a platform of TV cameras pointed at the stage, with report-

ers huddled underneath for shade.

Finally Trump walked out, as usual, to chants of "USA" and marveled: "This is a big crowd. This is a big, big, beautiful crowd." A bright-red MAGA cap shaded his eyes, and his white shirt was open-collared in the heat as he leaned his arms on the lectern.

SEE SCENE ON A7

90 killed as Israeli attack targets a top Hamas leader

This article is by Kareem Fahim, Mohamad El Chamaa, Hajar Harb, Jonathan Baran and Louisa Loveluck

Israeli strikes on a stretch of Gaza filled with displaced residents killed at least 90 people on Saturday, according to the local health ministry, an attack Israel said had targeted top Hamas military commander Mohammed Deif.

It was not clear whether Deif, who heads Hamas's armed wing, the Izzedine al-Qassam Brigades, was killed in the strike. "There is still no absolute certainty" that Deif was among the dead, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said at a news conference Saturday. "But one way or another, we will reach every senior member of Hamas."

In a statement, Hamas called

SEE GAZA ON A20

Ancestry, slavery and a political dynasty

A Maryland man discovers that Bush presidents' ancestors owned his forebears

BY TARA BAHRAMPOUR

Charles Holman had been researching his family tree for more than half a century when he stumbled upon a piece of information that left him slack-jawed.

Holman, 66 and African American, had spent much of his life collecting loose threads — stories passed down through the generations, birth and death certificates, centuries-old bills of sale, Census Bureau records and DNA matches. His training as a lawyer had taught him to be thorough, and his gentle manner had won over strangers through letters and emails and in person. He had connected with distant relatives both Black and White, who had helped him weave a family tapestry that mirrored America's complicated and fraught racial history.

Along the way, he had attended a gathering of White relatives who shared his name and whose ancestors had enslaved his. He had visited the sites of three

SEE SLAVERY ON A12



Charles Holman had spent decades piecing together his family tree, poring over documents and connecting with White and Black relatives, when he discovered his ties to the Bush family.

BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

RUTH WESTHEIMER 1928-2024

Sex therapist was known for her frank advice on the art of love

BY EMILY LANGER

Ruth Westheimer, a child survivor of the Holocaust who became known to millions as Dr. Ruth, the perky sex therapist whose frankness on her long-running radio and television call-in shows made her a go-to guide for tips on the art and science of lovemaking, died July 12 at her home in Manhattan. She was 96.

Her death was confirmed by Pierre Lehu, a publicist and her co-author on several books, but no cause was noted.

Described as the first superstar sex therapist, Dr. Westheimer was over 50 when she debuted in 1980 on New York's WYNY with "Sexually Speaking." The radio program initially aired in 15-minute installments and was later syndicated and extended to two hours to

SEE WESTHEIMER ON A14

BOOK WORLD

Books that can help us make sense of our politics-besieged nation.

ARTS & STYLE

Maika Monroe, star of "Longlegs," has become a defining horror actor.



SPORTS

Barbora Krejčíková beats Jasmine Paolini to prevail at Wimbledon.

BUSINESS

"The Sims" is more than a video game. It helped some change their lives.



OBITUARIES

Richard Simmons, the "pied piper of pounds," has died at 76. A19

TRAVEL

Want to drive through Europe? Try a route from Amsterdam to Paris.

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Heavy t-storms 83/73 • Tomorrow: A p.m. t-storm 89/74 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, JULY 22, 2024 • \$3

“I believe it is in the best interest of my party and the country for me to stand down and to focus solely on fulfilling my duties as President for the remainder of my term.”

President Biden, in a letter announcing the end of his reelection campaign

BIDEN EXITS RACE

Triumph, tragedy define 50-year political career

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA

President Biden's momentous decision to drop out of the 2024 presidential race marks the sunset of a consequential career in public service that spanned more than 50 years, during which he traversed the thrills and troughs of American politics while also navigating personal tragedy.

Biden, whose quest for the presidency began three decades before he finally fulfilled it in 2021, becoming the oldest ever to hold the office, is bowing out of politics reluctantly and under pressure, at a moment he has called a critical “inflection point” for America.

The move caps a turbulent journey in Washington for a self-described “great respecter of fate” who tried to protect his legacy by bowing to the conclusion drawn by many Democratic leaders and allies that, at 81 and showing increasing signs of aging, he did not have a viable path to defeating Donald Trump.

“It has been the greatest honor of my life to serve as your President,” Biden wrote in a letter he posted to social media Sunday. “And while it has been my intention to seek reelection, I believe it is in the best interest of my party and the country for me to stand down and to focus solely on fulfilling my duties as President for the remainder of my term.”

In the end, the doubts that emerged from his halting and politically disastrous performance in the June 27 debate with Trump proved too great for Biden to overcome. Leaving the race just months before voters cast ballots, Biden becomes the first

SEE CAMPAIGN ON A13



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

How it happened: An account of the campaign's last days. **A4**

President's health: A new question about fitness arises. **A5**

Campaign funds: GOP questions ability to transfer war chest. **A4**

FAQ: What happens next? And has this ever happened before? **A7**

Harris: She has top Democrats' backing but faces hurdles, too. **A7**

The nomination: A step-by-step look at possible scenarios. **A8**

Editorial: Mr. Biden chose. What will Democrats decide? **A18**

Commentary: Von Drehle, Marcus, Ignatius, Norris and others. **A19**

PRESIDENT BACKS HARRIS AS NOMINEE

Some lawmakers call for open nomination process

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA AND PATRICK SVITEK

REHOBOTH BEACH, DEL. — President Biden abruptly ended his reelection campaign Sunday, sending shock waves through the political world and plunging the Democratic Party into an unprecedented scramble to choose a new nominee to face former president Donald Trump.

“It has been the greatest honor of my life to serve as your President,” Biden, 81, wrote in a letter he posted to social media Sunday afternoon. “And while it has been my intention to seek reelection, I believe it is in the best interest of my party and the country for me to stand down and to focus solely on fulfilling my duties as President for the remainder of my term.”

In a separate social media post Sunday, Biden endorsed his vice president, Kamala D. Harris, to replace him as the Democratic Party's standard-bearer ahead of its national convention Aug. 19-22.

“Today I want to offer my full support and endorsement for Kamala to be the nominee of our party this year,” Biden said in a post shared on X. “Democrats — it's time to come together and beat Trump. Let's do this.”

Biden's exit leaves his party in an almost unprecedented position just months ahead of the Nov. 5 election. In a presidential race that has already been rocked by a felony conviction and an assassination attempt, the latest plot twist added to the sense of tumult that has gripped

SEE BIDEN ON A6

Trump slams Biden, prepares for new faceoff

BY HANNAH KNOWLES, JOSH DAWSEY, MARIANNE LEVINE AND ASHLEY PARKER

Donald Trump and his allies confronted a new electoral landscape on Sunday as President Biden ended his bid for reelection, a move that upended a period of steady political gains for the Republican nominee and forced his campaign to regroup with a new blueprint less than four months before the election.

Fresh off weeks of mounting confidence over Biden's stumbles and reams of polling showing the former president ahead in key swing states, Trump at one point appeared frustrated at Biden's exit, writing on social media that he was “forced to spend time and money” against Biden and now has to “start all over again.”

The Republican nominee and his advisers still sought to project confidence about the path forward and the prospect of taking on Vice President Harris, whom Biden endorsed as his successor. Trump said any new opponent

SEE TRUMP ON A11

After miscues and revivals, history opens a door

Harris's contention for the Democratic nod marks the biggest comeback in a career full of them

BY PETER JAMISON AND CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.

Throughout her history-making and often rocky ascent to the summit of American public life, Kamala D. Harris has shown an uncanny ability to revive her political fortunes.

Now she is on the verge of a more momentous test: With just over 100 days before the presidential election, can she revive the fortunes of the Democratic Party?

If Democrats choose Harris to replace President Biden atop the ticket, as Biden asked them to do when he announced his withdrawal from the race on Sunday, she would become the first Black woman, and first person of South Asian descent, to be nominated for the presidency by a major party. It would represent a remarkable comeback for a politician who not long ago seemed destined to join the long list of promising state elected officials who flame out on the national stage.

Harris stands to become the

SEE HARRIS ON A10



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Vice President Harris said in a statement Sunday that she was “honored to have the President's endorsement” and that “my intention is to earn and win this nomination.”

Indelible moment sets Democrats on uncertain path

BY DAN BALZ

The words “unprecedented” and “historic” have been used so often to describe the state of American politics in recent years that they have become a devalued currency — until Sunday that is, when President Biden sent a lightning bolt through the country with his decision to stand down from the 2024 campaign.

This milestone will remain indelibly in the annals of politics, a sitting president pressured by fellow leaders of his party to give up his candidacy. The script for 2024 continues to be rewritten at warp speed, an election year of twists and turns that seem never ending. This has left the electorate fearful and reeling, from Donald Trump becoming the first former president convicted of a felony to the assassination attempt against him and now, just eight days later, the decision by Biden to withdraw. What next?

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