

After 156 Years, It's Hong Kong, China

In a Day of Pageantry and Protest, Glittering British Colony Returns to Rule by Beijing

By Keith B. Richburg
 Washington Post Foreign Service

HONG KONG, July 1 (Tuesday)—A proud China reclaimed control over the prosperous city of Hong Kong today, handing Beijing's Communist leaders the tricky task of managing one of the world's most sophisticated, modern economies—and 6 million people who have had a taste of democracy.

The historic handover ceremony, ending 156 years of British rule, was the emotional and dramatic climax of a long day and night of pageantry and protest. There were bagpipers and Chinese lion dancers, all-night parties and brilliant fireworks over the harbor. There were noisy demonstrations, which the city's new Chinese rulers made no attempt to impede. And there were more than a few poignant symbols that the city's colonial era has finally come to an end, leaving Hong Kong facing an uncertain future as the richest, freest city in China.

The transfer of sovereignty took place in a newly completed waterfront complex, on a stage draped in red. British and Chinese military bands played martial music, and then Britain's Prince Charles paid a brief and moving tribute to Hong Kong's economic success. "We shall not forget you," he said, his voice and manner subdued, "and we shall watch with closest interest as you embark on this new era of your remarkable history."

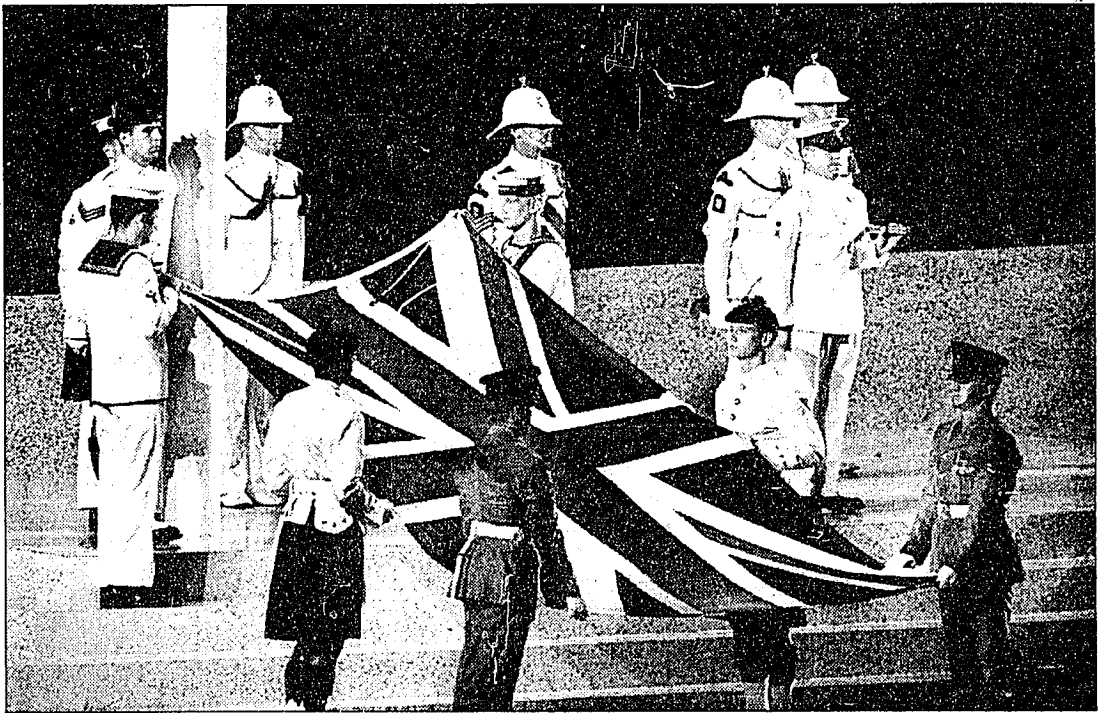
Then the Union Jack was lowered for the last time, to the strains of "God Save the Queen," reaching the bottom of the flagpole at the stroke of midnight. Immediately, on another flagpole on the other side of the stage, China's red banner with five gold stars was hoisted while the band played the Chinese national anthem.

Chinese President Jiang Zemin, the first head of state from the mainland to set foot here in all of Hong Kong's years as a colony, then told the assembled guests and an international television audience: "July 1, 1997, will go down in the annals of history as a day that merits eternal memory."

"I wish to extend my cordial greetings and best wishes to the 6 million or more Hong Kong compatriots who have now returned to the embrace of the motherland," Jiang said. Measuring his words, he said the new Chinese-run territory "shall gradually develop a democratic system that suits Hong Kong's reality."

After the ceremony, which lasted less than an hour, Prince Charles and Chris See HONG KONG, A14, Col. 1

■ Other stories on China's takeover of Hong Kong are on Pages A13-A15 and D1 and D3.



Members of Britain's Royal Marines take down the Union Jack for the last time at a farewell ceremony a few hours before the formal handover.



Hong Kong Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, right, greets Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

U.S. Bets on Firmer China Ties

Albright Stresses Long Pull in 'Multifaceted Relationship'

By Thomas W. Lippman
 Washington Post Staff Writer

HONG KONG, July 1 (Tuesday)—With the Chinese army's entry into Hong Kong this morning, the chips are on the table for the biggest foreign policy gamble of President Clinton's second term.

The president and his senior advisers are wagering that they can forge a constructive, mutually respectful relationship with China, a relationship that can overcome wide differences over trade, regional security, weapons proliferation and human rights. If the administration has developed a fallback strategy to put in place should the gamble fail, it is not apparent.

In Clinton's first term, he bet the farm, so to speak, on Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

He collected his winnings in Denver last month when a vigorous, freely reelected Yeltsin, acquiescent in the expansion of NATO, stood by his side as a partner in the Summit of the Eight.

The outcome of the wager on China may take longer to register. During her visit here for ceremonies marking the British colony's reversion to Chinese sovereignty, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright urged audiences to think of "a movie, not a snapshot," in which the content of reels not yet filmed will determine Washington's appraisal of China's behavior here.

She reproved China for its decision to disband Hong Kong's elected legislature and for its decision to send 4,000 troops over the border right away, which she described See ALBRIGHT, A15, Col. 1

NEWS ANALYSIS

Clinton Offers, Seeks Concessions on Tax Cuts

By John F. Harris and Eric Pianin
 Washington Post Staff Writers

Professing his eagerness to work with Republicans on tax cuts, President Clinton yesterday offered a spate of important concessions but warned that the GOP must do much more to help the middle class.

Clinton's new plan provides for significant capital gains tax cuts, despite the administration's previous complaints that this long-standing GOP priority mostly benefits the rich while doing little to advance its ostensible goal of spurring investment. Clinton's plan, unlike the Republicans', would not

affect rates but would exempt the first 30 percent of capital gains from taxation.

At the same time, Clinton adapted numerous other ideas included in tax-cut bills that passed through the House and Senate last week. For example, he proposed expanding eligibility for a planned \$500-per-child tax credit. Clinton's budget plan cut off the benefit for children over age 12, but he now favors increasing it to age 17 through 2002 and age 19 after that.

Clinton also endorsed the Senate's idea of "kidsave" tax-deferred savings accounts to help parents pay for education. He also embraced a 20-cent-per-pack increase in ciga-

rette taxes passed with bipartisan support last week in the Senate, provided that the money is dedicated entirely to expanding child health care. Finally, he made a nod toward GOP demands for estate tax relief, proposing to exclude family farms or businesses from taxes up to a value of \$2.1 million.

Clinton's budget bill cuts taxes by \$85 billion over five years, the same as the House, and \$8 billion more than the Senate. But there are still important differences over details—particularly the issue of how general See TAXES, A10, Col. 1

Pr. George's Busing Order Could Be Lifted

Court-Appointed Panel Says It Hasn't Worked

By Lisa Frazier
 Washington Post Staff Writer

A special panel has concluded that mandatory busing has done little to integrate Prince George's County schools, increasing the likelihood that a federal judge will end a quarter-century of court supervision over the nation's 17th-largest school system.

The four-member panel of education specialists, appointed in December by U.S. District Judge Peter J. Messitte, found that, in most areas, the school system has done all that is practical to promote integration and eliminate vestiges of past discrimination. Its capacity for further progress is limited, however, because of the demographics of a school system that is now about 73 percent black, the report says.

The panel asserted that involuntary busing actually may have made racial segregation more severe in some middle schools, because black children have been bused to schools that are predominantly black.

The report, which comes as even many NAACP members are beginning to question the continued need for busing, is scheduled for release today at an 11 a.m. news conference at the school administration building in Upper Marlboro. A source who asked not to be identified shared the panel's findings with The Washington Post, and a school official and a county official confirmed the conclusions.

Board of Education Chairman Kenneth E. Johnson (District 6) said he believes the report will allow the board to implement its neighborhood school plan, which proposes a gradual end to involuntary busing and a return to significantly enhanced or brand-new neighborhood See BUSING, A9, Col. 1

D.C. Police Say Boy's Father Is Uncooperative

Slain Child Recalled As Bright, Religious

By Ruben Castaneda and Bill Miller
 Washington Post Staff Writers



Dennis Ashton Jr. was fatally shot while in a car with his father.

Dennis Ashton Jr. was in church five nights a week for Bible study and again on Sunday. The bright 7-year-old read books to his little brother and told relatives he looked forward to attending a religious retreat next week.

Dennis Ashton Sr., who usually had his son on weekends, has been in and out of jail in recent years on drug and weapons charges. He told court officials last year that he had used marijuana recently.

But he wasn't telling homicide detectives yesterday who might have killed his son.

Early Sunday evening, as the elder Ashton pulled his silver Ford Probe out of a Southeast Washington fast-food parking lot, another car cut him off. Someone in that vehicle fired a

half-dozen or more shots into the elder Ashton's car. The shots missed Ashton and two other men in the car.

But one shot pierced the front windshield and hit little Dennis in the forehead.

The attack was brazen. It occurred in daylight, about 6:30 p.m., in the parking lot of a Popeye's Famous Fried Chicken restaurant at 4525 Benning Rd. SE, in the heart of a major thoroughfare.

Despite the dozens of witnesses who saw all or part of the attack, detectives yesterday were See ASHTON, A6, Col. 1

Helping You Take the Route Less Traveled

New Information Service Offers Road, Transit Tips by Phone, Internet

By Alice Reid
 Washington Post Staff Writer

Starting today, Washington area commuters are being promised free, fresh information by telephone or computer on traffic congestion, road construction, accidents, subway delays or anything else that could hold up the trip to and from work.

SmarTraveler allows users to dial a phone number (202-863-1313, or from a cellular phone, #211) and

then punch in their route to learn about commuting conditions.

Users can call SmarTraveler weekdays between 5:30 a.m. and 7 p.m., plus occasional Sundays and holidays (as determined by officials).

The recorded information, updated continually, is never more than 10 minutes old, according to sponsors. The service also is available at www.smartraveler.com on the Internet.

Based on what they hear, commuters can alter their normal routes to avoid traffic jams, or they can delay heading out until the problem clears. Ultimately, its supporters say, the service could mean less stress and less time on the road for commuters in the Washington area, where traffic is worse than anywhere else in the nation except Los Angeles. "Most people when they head off to work have some options, what route to take and whether to use public transit. But See COMMUTERS, A7, Col. 5

INSIDE

Trash Talk

■ Scientists are trying to determine if an excess of garbage aboard a Russian space cargo vehicle caused it to collide with the Mir orbiter.

WORLD, Page A12

Va. Abortion Law

■ A federal appeals judge ordered that Virginia's parental-notice abortion law take effect as planned, just hours after a court had delayed it.

METRO, Page B1

Antitrust: Yes and No

■ The Federal Trade Commission has decided not to oppose Boeing's plan to buy aerospace rival McDonnell Douglas, sources say, but a federal judge backed the agency in blocking a merger between Staples and Office Depot, competitors in the retail office supply business.

BUSINESS, Page C1

Oriole All-Stars

■ The Orioles' Cal Ripken, Brady Anderson and Roberto Alomar will be in the American League starting lineup in baseball's All-Star Game on July 8 in Cleveland.

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Time Capsule
 A time capsule from the people of the year 2000 to the people of the year 3000: A hundred readers write a hundred words about themselves.
 SECTION M

The Lists
 The year 2000 means two lists for the price of one: our usual year-end out/in extravaganza and a millennial banished/indulged bonus.
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A Global Celebration
 From Asia to the Americas, Washington Post correspondents chronicle the dawn of a new era.
 WORLD, Page A9

Live, Television
 Thanks to technology, critic Tom Shales says, millennial broadcasts from around the world made viewers part of a global village.
 STYLE, Page C1

2000

World Celebrates Joyously As Y2K Worries Dissipate

By DAVID VON DREHLE
 Washington Post Staff Writer

Fears of technological disaster and apocalyptic violence gave way to giddy global celebration yesterday as the first day of the long-anticipated new year swept peacefully westward around the planet and across the United States.

The Year 2000—for generations a symbol of the distant, dazzling or daunting future—was greeted with joy and relief by crowds from Auckland to London to Washington and New York. On an unseasonably balmy evening, more than 300,000 people thronged the Mall despite tight security measures, while perhaps as many as 3 million crowded around Times Square in Manhattan.

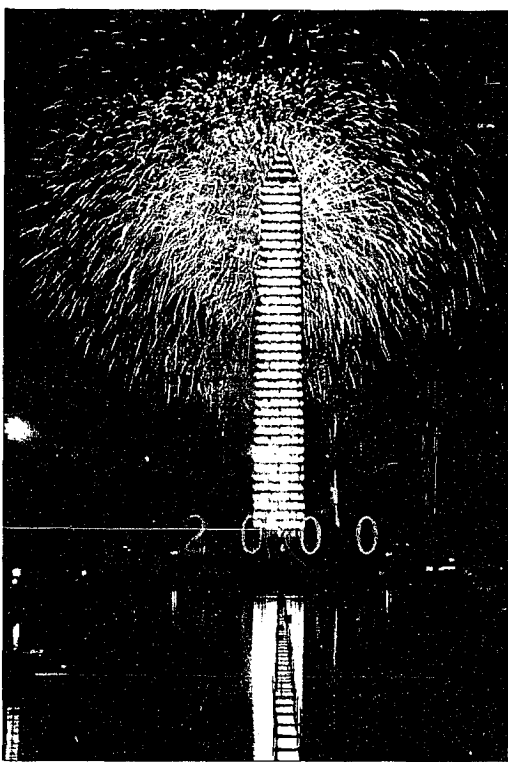
Spectacular fireworks illuminated some of the world's most famous sites—the pyramids, the Parthenon, the Eiffel Tower, Big Ben and the Washington Monument. Never was so much exploded for friendly reasons.

As midnight moved through the Greenwich Meridian—a crucial time standard for scientists, armies, pilots and other computer users around the world—there were no serious disruptions anywhere. Lights, water, phone service and bank machines met midnight without a hiccup along the East Coast. Computers did some funny things—the date on the screen as this story was being written read “1/1/00”—but most continued to function.

This overwhelmingly successful cure of the Y2K bug—an effort that stretched over several years and cost perhaps \$500 billion—ranks among the world's greatest technological mobilizations in peacetime.

It was a symbolic moment, but human beings live by symbolism. The date change felt like a summing up—and not only because it concluded months of millennial list-making and reflection. Americans looked back on a century that dawned on family farms lit by kerosene. There were 8,000 cars in the United States and 144 miles of surfaced roads. World wars, antibiot-

See MILLENNIUM, A1, Col. 1



Fireworks light the sky near an incandescent Washington Monument as 2000 began in the nation's capital. More than 300,000 flocked to the Mall, while more than a million converged on Times Square in New York.

A Capital Celebration

Huge Crowd Revels in Festival of Light, Sound

By SUSAN LEVINE
 Washington Post Staff Writer

With the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial as historic backdrops, the nation's capital had a long, exuberant goodbye to the 1900s yesterday, marking both end and beginning in a multimillion-dollar New Year's Eve extravaganza of music, dance, film and fireworks. More than 300,000 people from Washington and its suburbs and even from around the country, sat or stood in awe as the monument counted down the final seconds with flashes of light that rose to the top of the 555-foot obelisk. The gold-

and-white-colored climax followed an 18-minute collage of images by filmmaker Steven Spielberg that presented a panoramic view of America and the world. “As we marvel at the changes of the last 100 years, we dream of what changes the next hundred and the next thousand will bring,” President Clinton told the crowd. “And as powerful as our memories are, our dreams must be even stronger, for when our memories outweigh our dreams we become old, and it is the eternal destiny of America to remain forever young, always reaching beyond, always.”
 See CELEBRATE, A26, Col. 1

The Bug Didn't Bite

Computers Pass Their Date With Destiny

By RAJIV CHANDRASEKARAN
 Washington Post Staff Writer

The world's computers confronted their long-awaited day of digital reckoning without any catastrophic problems, confirming the success of a half-trillion-dollar global effort to prevent electronic devices from falling prey to a simple two-digit programming bug.

It was a dramatic triumph of mankind over machine at the end of a century defined by the march of technology, the result of an unprecedented worldwide mobilization of people and money to frenetically repair and test hundreds of

millions of computers to prevent them from grinding to a halt. “Much of the world has entered the new century without evidence, thus far, of significant Y2K-related problems,” John A. Koskinen, the White House's Y2K czar, said shortly after midnight. “We continue to have confidence that our major infrastructure systems will make a successful transition to the year 2000.”
 As midnight rolled around the globe, finally reaching the central United States, the much-feared date glitch
 See Y2K, A25, Col. 1

INSIDE
Richardson Dies
 Elliot L. Richardson, 79, Nixon's attorney general who resigned rather than fire the Watergate special prosecutor, died.
 OBITUARY, Page B7
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Afghan Hijack Drama Ends Peacefully

Gunmen Free Captives After India Releases Islamic Militants

By PAMELA CONSTABLE
 Washington Post Foreign Service

KANDAHAR, Afghanistan, Dec. 31—The 155 hostages aboard an Indian Airlines plane walked to safety here today after the Indian government delivered three jailed Islamic insurgents to hijackers who had seized the plane, bringing an eight-day ordeal to a dramatic and peaceful end.
 The hijackers surrendered to officials of Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia and were taken off the plane into government custody, still

armed and wearing ski masks, and were given 10 hours to leave the country. One unarmed Taliban official accompanied them as a hostage to guarantee their safety as they and the freed insurgents were driven to various consulates in Kandahar to seek asylum.
 Foreign diplomats escorted all the hostages off the stranded jet 15 minutes after the three former prisoners were turned over to the hijackers. The passengers—described by diplomats as being in generally good condition—were driven to two waiting aircraft and

flown immediately to New Delhi. Upon their arrival, some looked weary, but others grinned as they wobbled down the steps of the planes.
 Although it is believed that five hijackers were involved when the Airbus A300 was seized last Friday while en route from Kathmandu, Nepal, to New Delhi, only four hijackers emerged from the aircraft in southern Afghanistan today. Diplomats said they saw the body of a man on the plane and suggested
 See HIJACK, A32, Col. 1



Devji Sharan Sharma, the pilot of the hijacked jet, is mobbed by well-wishers after he and the other freed hostages were flown to New Delhi airport.

Yeltsin Resigns: 'I Did All I Could'

Premier Putin Assumes Power Pending Election

By DAVID HOFFMAN
 Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Dec. 31—President Boris Yeltsin, who led Russia out of the final throes of Soviet communism into a chaotic new world of democracy and a market economy, resigned unexpectedly today and appealed for “forgiveness because many of our hopes have not come true.”

Prime Minister Vladimir Putin became acting president under Russia's constitution. The constitution also requires early presidential elections to be held within three months, and officials said they probably will take place on March 26.

Putin, the hard-nosed former KGB agent who has prosecuted Russia's war against separatist rebels in Chechnya, is Yeltsin's chosen successor. Puts show he is the overwhelming favorite to succeed Yeltsin, but others are also planning to run.

“Russia must enter the new millennium with new politicians, new faces, new intelligent, strong and energetic people,” Yeltsin, 68, said in a televised address. “And for those of us who have been in power for many years, we must go.”

Referring to Putin, 47, Yeltsin asked rhetorically, “Why should I stand in his way? Why wait for another 100 days?”

Yeltsin, Russia's first democratically elected president, was due to step down after his second term ended in June. His first term began in 1991 while Russia was still part of the Soviet Union.

In a brief handover, he watched as Putin received the special control suitcase with electronic gear used for monitoring a possible nuclear attack. After Yeltsin's departure, Putin signed an order giving him immunity from prosecution, as well as guaranteeing him a security detail, medical care and other benefits.

The resignation surprised leaders around the world, many of whom praised Yeltsin's support for democratic reforms but criticized his handling of the war in Chechnya.

President Clinton praised Yel-

See RUSSIA, A30, Col. 1

Yeltsin's Legacy
 Boris Yeltsin brought a relatively peaceful end to the Soviet system and made strides toward building a democratic Russia, but his weaknesses will tarnish his legacy.
 WORLD, Page A21

Putin's Rapid Rise
 Barely known a few months ago, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin rose to power as acting president having pledged to end Russia's precipitous decline.
 WORLD, Page A21

U.S. Reaction
 U.S. aides are apprehensive about the no-nonsense former KGB colonel taking over from Yeltsin.
 WORLD, Page A20

Court Overturns Recounts, Giving Bush the Presidency

Divided Justices Cite Concerns With Timeframe

By DAN BAIZ and CHARLES LANE
Washington Post Staff Writers

A deeply divided U.S. Supreme Court last night overturned the Florida Supreme Court decision allowing continued manual recounts across the state and said there was no time to create a new standard for counting. The decision effectively ended the historic dispute over the presidential election and left Texas Gov. George W. Bush the winner over Vice President Gore.

"Upon due consideration of the difficulties identified to this point, it is obvious that the court cannot be conducted in compliance with the requirement of equal protection and due process without substantial additional work," the court said.

In an unsigned decision, the justices said the recounting process ordered by the Florida court was constitutionally flawed because it lacked uniform standards for counting the ballots.

A majority of seven justices agreed that there are constitutional problems, but the justices were far more fractured on the issue of whether there was any way to fashion a remedy that would allow more counting under a uniform standard before the electoral college meets next Monday to cast their votes.

The justices said that because the Florida Legislature had indicated its desire to take advantage of the provision of federal law that insulates state's electors from challenge so long as they are selected by Dec. 12, it would be unconstitutional for the court to now prolong the process.

"Because it is evident that any recount seeking to meet the Dec. 12 date will be unconstitutional... we reverse the judgment of the Supreme Court of Florida ordering the recount to proceed," the court said.

Four justices recommended that the case be remanded to Florida for additional counting under a uniform standard, despite the limited time available to complete the counting and any likely court challenges that would follow.

In its ruling, the court indicated its discomfort with the role it has been called on to play in determining the election.

See ELECTION, A29, Col. 5



Workers building an inaugural viewing stand in front of the White House are silhouetted against a cold winter sky.

Long Day's Wait for the Decision

By MIKE ALLEN and DAVID MONTGOMERY
Washington Post Staff Writers

On Capitol Hill, a rumor spread that a pomegranate had been moved from the table where copies of Supreme Court opinions are piled upon release.

In the cramped Supreme Court press room, a network legal analyst played the computer game Tetris.

In Austin, George W. Bush, Supreme Court petitioner and presidential candidate, skipped his beloved noon workout and stayed huddled up in the Texas governor's mansion.

After waiting 34 days and 34 nights for a president-elect, Americans had expected a final answer. Once again, that hope seemed just a tease.

The nine justices had halted the recounting of Florida ballots on Saturday, set Sunday as the deadline for legal papers and heard oral arguments on Monday. In a Fed-Ex culture, why not a ruling Tuesday?

Instead, the day passed, no word came and the political earth stood still. The 24-hour news channels began hovering lovingly over seating charts of the justices. Correspondents started trading their updates with "I would assume" and "I would imagine." On MSNBC, former Supreme Court clerks were reduced to analyzing the influence of what one called "Supreme Court carmines"—the departures of various justices from the building.

For many, the heightened drama added to the court's mystery and reinforced its role as one of the nation's most revered and trusted institutions.

See SCENE, A29, Col. 1

On Politics

www.washingtonpost.com/onpolitics
For complete coverage of the ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court, including text of the opinion and dissenters, go to washingtonpost.com's OnPolitics channel.

Day 35

- The U.S. Supreme Court issued an opinion in *Bush v. Gore*, reversing the decision of the Florida Supreme Court to order vote recounts.
- The Florida House approved a

resolution authorizing a state of Bush electors. The state Senate was to take up the resolution today.

- The Florida high court upheld two circuit court rulings that rejected requests to throw out 25,000 absentee ballots.

Marines Suspend Osprey Flights

Questions Recur After Crash Kills 4

By THOMAS E. RUCKS
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Marine Corps suspended all flights of its new V-22 Osprey aircraft after one of the tilt-rotor planes crashed Monday night outside Jacksonville, N.C., killing all four Marines aboard, Pentagon officials said.

The fiery accident was the second lethal crash of an Osprey this year and the third in eight years. It renewed questions about the safety of the hybrid aircraft, which takes off and lands like a helicopter but cruises like a plane.

Despite the Osprey's troubles, the Marine Corps has insisted that the planes are safe and has been proceeding with plans to buy 360 V-22s, at a cost of about \$40 billion. They would replace Vietnam-era helicopters as the backbone of its fleet for ferrying troops into combat.

But over the years, the doubter plane has had powerful opponents. They include Richard B. Cheney, the Republican vice presidential nominee, who tried to stop development of the Osprey in 1989 when he was defense secretary. Aides to Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said yesterday he would soon name a blue-ribbon panel to examine the V-22 program, and especially to scrutinize the performance and safety of the plane.

The Marine Corps also said it

See OSPREY, A20, Col. 1

Arctic Cold, Snow Disrupt Much of U.S.

D.C. Area Is Under Winter Storm Watch

By ESTHER M. BAUER and CHRISTINE HADGIMENY
Washington Post Staff Writers

DALLAS, Dec. 12—The combination of a huge frigid air mass and remnants of an early season blizzard, which shut down swaths of the upper Midwest, is disrupting transportation and plunging wind-chill temperatures here and elsewhere in the state to zero and below.

The bad weather shut down schools in 10 states today, and wind gusts as high as 80 mph damaged power lines from Ohio to parts of New England, leaving several hundred thousand customers without power.

The dominant force in this nearly nationwide mess is an Arctic air mass that began pushing into the United States from Canada late Sunday. The frigid air—the likes of which the nation has not seen in two years, according to forecasters—is pushing temperatures down to single digits as far south as Texas, which means any precipitation falling through it will be frozen. Whether that is snow, sleet or freezing rain depends on where you are.

The Washington area will escape the coldest air. But a winter storm watch has



Chris Wilson tries to keep warm while blowing snow off a sidewalk in Iowa City where Monday's storm dumped about 10 inches of snow.

been posted for the region for Wednesday night, with an 80 percent chance of precipitation starting as snow and changing into freezing rain later in the evening. Significant accumulations of ice are possible, according to the National Weather Service, before the precipitation changes into rain on Thursday.

North-central Texas is expected to be the epicenter of the frigid air that will also encompass much of Oklahoma, Arkansas

and the lower Mississippi Valley today and Wednesday before it moves further toward the East Coast.

"This is one of those where you hope you are wrong," said Skip Ely, a meteorologist with the National Weather Service in Fort Worth. "It's going to be a bad one. The only good news is that it won't last long here. But, all told, it's going to be a

See COL.D, A26, Col. 1

Montgomery Lets Village Ban Public Smoking

By MONTE REEL
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Montgomery County Council yesterday approved the nation's strictest tobacco ban, prohibiting smoking on all public property, including sidewalks and streets, in the village of Friendship Heights.

Under the measure, anyone caught smoking or discarding any tobacco product on village property will receive one warning before being fined \$100. The law takes effect immediately, but fines won't be levied until a public education campaign is completed.

The council's 5 to 4 vote in favor of the ban raised the battle against tobacco to new heights, and a spokesman for the tobacco industry said the village should be prepared for a swift legal challenge.

"See you in court," Bruce C. Berman, a lobbyist for the Maryland tobacco industry, said to village Mayor Alfred Muller after the council's decision. "Believe me, you're far from victory."

The law doesn't prohibit smoking in vehicles, on private lawns or on residential balconies and patios. Nor does it apply to Wisconsin or Willard avenues, which the county and state maintain. But fighting up will be illegal just about everywhere else

See SMOKE, A23, Col. 1

Israelis Question Army's Use of Force

Shooting of Journalist Adds to Growing Public Concern

By LEE HOCKSTADER
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Dec. 12—Yala Monakhov, a fresh-faced American who traded a job as a graduate-student teacher of Italian literature for a fledgling career as a photographer, was not one of the graver threats the Israeli army has faced lately.

So in the weeks since she was shot in the abdomen and seriously wounded by an Israeli soldier while covering the Palestinian uprising in Bethlehem, Monakhov's case has helped some Israelis reach an unwelcome conclusion—that their army has used excessive and at times indiscriminate force to quell

the 10-week-old revolt.

Such accusations have been voiced since the start by Palestinian and international human rights workers, physicians and some journalists. Now, as the casualty list mounts almost daily, some Israelis are reluctantly joining in.

In the last week, the respected Israeli human rights group B'Tselem has issued a report concluding that the army has routinely opened fire on unarmed Palestinian protesters, including children and teenagers, even when they posed no lethal threat to the troops. And Israeli newspapers have started to carry sharply

See ISRAELI, A39, Col. 1

INSIDE

End of the Road For Oldsmobile

Oldsmobile, the oldest name in American automobiles, will be phased out over the next three to five years as part of a reorganization that will also cut jobs and production at General Motors.

See BUSINESS, Page E1

Microsoft Settles

Microsoft agreed to pay \$96.7 million to settle two lawsuits brought by workers who claim they lost benefits because they were wrongly classified as temporary.

See BUSINESS, Page E1

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Terrorists Hijack 4 Airliners, Destroy World Trade Center, Hit Pentagon; Hundreds Dead

Bodies Pulled From Pentagon; Troops Patrol District Streets

By STEVE TWOMEY and ARTHUR SANTANA
Washington Post Staff Writers

Rescuers fought through tons of debris in quest of victims at the Pentagon last night after terrorists seized an airliner out-bound from Dulles International Airport and plunged it into the heart of American military power, killing an estimated several hundred people.

Hampered by fires that still raged as evening fell, emergency teams had carried out only six bodies, but they were preparing to remove many more, and rescuers were using dogs and listening devices to search for people they believed might be trapped alive.

Precise figures were hard to come by because portions of the building were under construction, and many of the military and civilian personnel had been temporarily relocated, according to Arlington Fire Chief Edward P. Plaughter.

Coming less than an hour after two hijacked passenger jets slammed into the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center, the assault on the Pentagon began an unprecedented day of office and school closings, panicked phone calls, wild rumor and extraordinary security in the Washington area.

Last night, downtown streets were largely deserted as D.C. National Guard units joined police in patrolling the city. D.C. Mayor Anthony A. Williams (D), Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening (D) and Virginia Gov. James S. Gilmore III (R) declared states of emergency that broadened their power to govern without legislative authority.

Most of the region's school systems will be closed today, although President Bush announced that the federal government would reopen, after having shut down within an hour of yesterday's Pentagon attack.

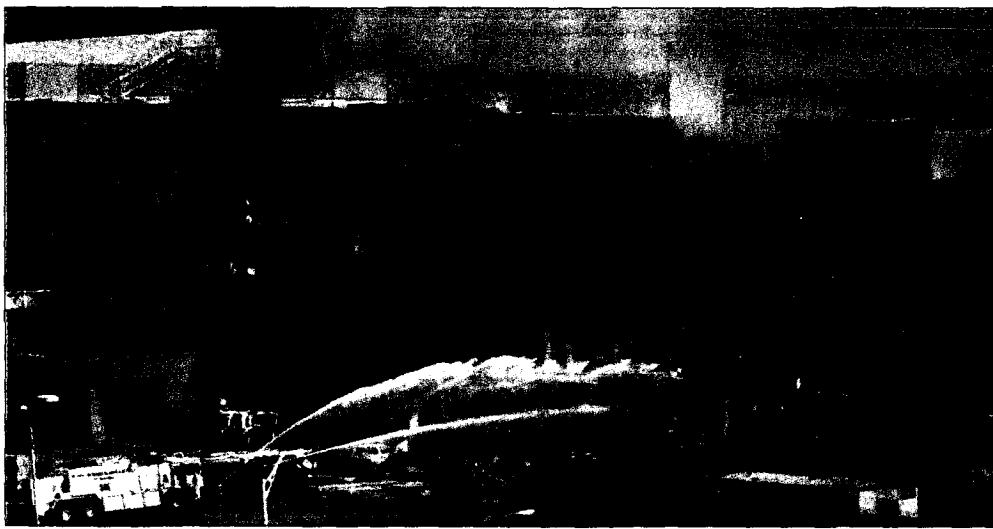
At a late-evening news conference, D.C. Police Chief Charles H. Ramsey said that the attacks here and in New York would forever change security operations in Washington and that there was no longer such a thing as "business as usual" here.

Originally headed for Los Angeles, the American Airlines Boeing 757—carrying 64 people and loaded with 30,000 pounds of fuel for the long flight to the West Coast—

See PENTAGON, A14, Col. 1



Minutes after an American Airlines plane crashed into the World Trade Center in New York City, a United airliner is about to hit the complex.



Firefighters battle blazes at the Pentagon, which was hit by a plane that had been hijacked after taking off from Dulles International Airport.

Bush Promises Retribution; Military Put on Highest Alert

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

Terrorists unleashed an astonishing air assault on America's military and financial power centers yesterday morning, hijacking four commercial jets and then crashing them into the World Trade Center in New York, the Pentagon and the Pennsylvania countryside.

There were no reliable estimates last night of how many people were killed in the most devastating terrorist operation in American history. The number was certainly in the hundreds and could be in the thousands.

It was the most dramatic attack on American soil since Pearl Harbor, and it created indelible scenes of carnage and chaos. The commandeered jets obliterated the World Trade Center's twin 110-story towers from their familiar perch above Manhattan's skyline and ripped a blazing swath through the Defense Department's imposing five-sided fortress, grounding the domestic air traffic system for the first time and plunging the entire nation into an unparalleled state of anxiety.

U.S. military forces at home and abroad were placed on their highest state of alert, and a loose network of Navy warships was deployed along both coasts for air defense.

The terrorists hijacked four California-bound planes from three airports on the Eastern Seaboard; the airliners were loaded with the maximum amount of fuel, suggesting a well-financed, well-coordinated plot. First, two planes slammed into the World Trade Center. Then an American Airlines plane out of Dulles International Airport ripped through the newly renovated walls of the Pentagon, perhaps the world's most secure office building. A fourth jet crashed 80 miles southeast of Pittsburgh, shortly after it was hijacked and turned in the direction of Washington.

None of the 266 people aboard the four planes survived. There were even more horrific but still untallied casualties in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, which together provided office space for more than 70,000 people. At just one of the firms with offices in the World Trade Center, the Marsh & McLennan insurance bro-

See ATTACK, A13, Col. 1

Washington

On Flight 77: 'Our Plane Is Being Hijacked'

By MARC FISHER and DON PHILLIPS
Washington Post Staff Writers

There was not even the grace of instant death. Instead, there was time to call from the sky over Virginia, fingers pumping cell phones, terrified passengers talking to loved ones for one final time.

Herded to the back of the plane by hijackers armed with knives and box-cutters, the passengers and crew members of American Airlines Flight 77—including the wife of Solicitor General Theodore Olson, a Senate staffer, three D.C. schoolchildren and three teachers on an educational field trip and a University Park family of four headed to Australia for a two-month adventure—were ordered to call relatives to say they were about to die.

About an hour after takeoff from Dulles International Airport yesterday morning, Flight 77, a Boeing 757 headed for Los Angeles with 64 people aboard, became a massive missile aimed at the White House. The target would change suddenly, but the symbolism was equally devastating.

By about 9:40 a.m., when the diving plane carved out a massive chunk of the Pentagon, its passengers had experienced unspak-



Shaken Pentagon worker Tracy Williams watches the flames.

able terror, hundreds died, and the nation's greatest symbol of security lay shattered, thick plumes of smoke camouflaging a gaping hole in its heart.

Barbara K. Olson, the former federal prosecutor who became a prominent TV commentator during the impeachment of President Bill Clinton, called her husband twice in the final minutes. Her last words to him were, "What do I tell

See FLIGHT, A11, Col. 1

U.S. Intelligence Points To Bin Laden Network

By DAN EGGEN and VERNON LOEB
Washington Post Staff Writers

The U.S. government has strong evidence from multiple sources that the suicidal terrorists who carried out yesterday's catastrophic attacks in New York and Washington were connected to Saudi fugitive Osama bin Laden, who previously was linked to the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, senior officials said.

One senior official said the probability that bin Laden is behind the deadly assaults is in "the high 90s," while another U.S. official said investigators gathered evidence "strongly suggesting" that bin Laden's organization, al Qaeda, was involved.

The evidence pointing to bin Laden was gathered following the attacks in a joint effort by the CIA and the FBI, with information from domestic and overseas sources, a senior official said.

"It is more than just the analytical surmise that it would take an organization with incredible com-

mand and control capability, which bin Laden's has, to stage an attack like this," one U.S. official said. "There is other information that has been obtained after the attack against the World Trade Center pointing in the direction of bin Laden."

Unprecedented in scope and sophistication, the coordinated assault on the world's financial and political capitals caught the United States completely off guard—despite a massive intelligence and law enforcement network devoted to detecting and thwarting such attacks. With efforts focused largely on guarding against bomb threats to overseas targets, U.S. authorities conceded they were ill-prepared for hijacked jetliners purposely crashed on American soil.

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), a member of the Senate intelligence committee, said he was told in a briefing that electronic intercepts yesterday showed "representatives affiliated with Osama bin Laden over the airwaves reporting that

See TERRORISTS, A20, Col. 1

New York

'I Saw Bodies Falling Out—Oh, God, Jumping, Falling'

By BARTON GELLMAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Sept. 11—Valerie Johnson stared, transfixed, at the inferno a thousand yards to her south and west. Tears streamed furrows through a film of ash on her face. Her mind tried to grasp what her eyes beheld: a blazing gash across the tower of wealth that symbolized New York for her all her life. The fire marched downward, floor by floor, windows bursting out ahead of the flames.

Then Johnson screamed a guttural, wordless wail. A sound like nothing she ever heard—low as thunder, but louder and longer—pressed in on her chest for ten seconds or more, resounding through Centre Street at Foley Square. The northern tower, the taller of the two, was gone. It was 10:29 a.m., an hour and three quarters after the first of two jetliners ripped through New York's twin emblems of global prestige.

"Oh God, oh God, my niece works in that building," Johnson breathed. "Oh God."

Where we stood there now came a roiling cloud—smoke and ash, ten stories tall, building speed as they reached the canyons of Manhattan's southern tip. Survivors streamed, choked and gagging, behind the cloud. Among them, stumbling



Two women hold each other as they watch the World Trade Center burn.

blindly toward the fountain at Foley Square, were Elizabeth Belleau and Melissa Morales, strangers grasping hands with all their might as they ran. Belleau plunged her head into the cooling waters and retched, coughing out ash and phlegm. The fountain enclosed a sculpture: "Triumph of the Human Spirit."

Belleau had been running for nearly two hours. Her morning commute on the BM-3 bus had stalled,

See SCENE, A17, Col. 1

ATTACK ON AMERICA

- Guide to coverage, A2
- Latest updates, www.washingtonpost.com



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The Washington Post Company

Today: Mostly sunny, cool.
High 60. Low 40.
Tuesday: Mostly sunny, cool.
High 60. Low 40.

Details, Page B8

124TH YEAR No. 307 M2 DM VA

Inside: Washington Business
Today's Contents on Page A2

25¢

Prices may vary in areas outside metropolitan Washington. (See box on Page A4)

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 2001

U.S., Britain Launch Airstrikes Against Targets in Afghanistan

'We Will Not Falter. And We Will Not Fail,' Bush Pledges

By DAN BALZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

U.S. and British forces launched airstrikes at terrorist training camps and military targets throughout Afghanistan yesterday, opening what President Bush pledged would be a "sustained, comprehensive and relentless" campaign against those responsible for the worst terrorist attacks in American history.

Using sea-based cruise missiles, long-range bombers and fighter aircraft, the allied strikes hit their first targets about 12:30 p.m. Eastern time—about 9 p.m. in Afghanistan—and continued throughout the night, pounding anti-aircraft sites, military headquarters, terrorist camps, airfields and a concentration of Taliban tanks.

Speaking from the White House Treaty Room barely half an hour after the strikes began, Bush promised a tireless assault against the threat of terrorism. "The battle is now joined on many fronts," he said. "We will not waver. We will not tire. We will not falter. And we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail."

With the threat of additional terrorist attacks in the wake of the military strikes, federal and state authorities stepped up security precautions at home and abroad. The FBI ordered law enforcement agencies across the country to move to their "highest level of vigilance."

Bush said the "carefully targeted actions" were aimed at disrupting the al Qaeda terrorist network of Saudi fugitive Osama bin Laden and the military capacity of the Taliban militia ruling most of Afghanistan. He said that

the campaign was aimed at "the barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder," and that it was not against the Muslim world.

Shortly after the first missiles hit Afghanistan, bin Laden, who has been in hiding since the Sept. 11 attacks, appeared in a video exulting over the destruction of the World Trade Center and calling on Muslims to join a war against the United States. The video appeared to have been prepared before the strikes began.

Dressed in camouflage fatigues with a rifle at his side, bin Laden branded Bush as an "infidel" and delivered a chilling warning to the United States. "Neither America nor the people who live in it will dream of security before

See STRIKES, A6, Col. 1



In his televised address, President Bush promised the nation a tireless assault against the threat of terrorism.

Initial Aim Is Hitting Taliban's Defenses

U.S. Also Seeks Data As Bin Laden Reacts

By THOMAS E. RICKS and VERNON LOEB
Washington Post Staff Writers

The U.S.-led airstrikes in Afghanistan yesterday were aimed at crippling the ruling Taliban militia's small but worrisome air defenses, punishing that regime for supporting terrorists and undercutting its ability to defend itself against rebel forces, Pentagon officials said.

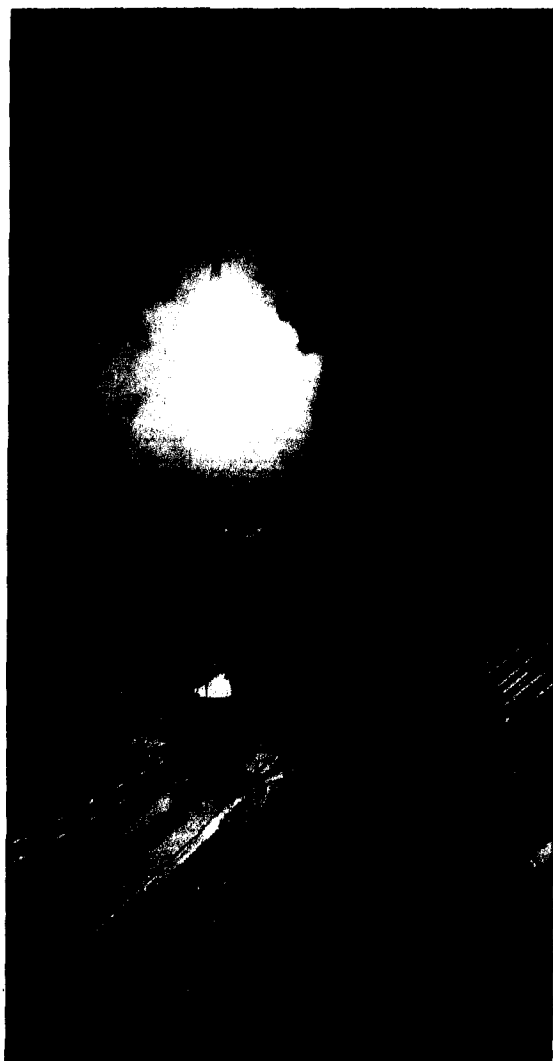
The fiercest part of yesterday's opening raid was concentrated on the training camps associated with Osama bin Laden's global terrorist network. Those camps in the valleys of eastern Afghanistan were flattened in concentrated B-52 strikes with hundreds of old-style unguided "iron" bombs, officials said.

Yesterday's relatively small but focused strikes, involving 40 aircraft and 50 cruise missiles, were the first phase of what Pentagon officials say will be a sustained operation. Another round of bombing was being readied last night that could strike targets associated with the leadership of the Taliban, officials said.

"The effect we hope to achieve

See MILITARY, A8, Col. 1

■ The scene on the carrier USS Carl Vinson. | Page A8



A Tomahawk cruise missile is launched from the USS Philippine Sea during the strikes against al Qaeda training camps and Taliban military installations in Afghanistan. The ship is at sea as part of Operation Enduring Freedom.

Dual Strategy of Assault, Reward

By KAREN DEYOUNG and ALAN SPRESS
Washington Post Staff Writers

The cruise missiles and bombers that opened the war on terrorism were part of a much broader strategy inside and outside Afghanistan that includes intensive efforts to convince the Afghan people and Muslims the world over that the attacks are not directed at them and to persuade Taliban adherents to switch

sides, administration officials said.

U.S. aircraft began dropping food and medicine to a large concentration of displaced Afghans near the southern border with Pakistan as the bombardment of Taliban offensive and communications facilities continued. At the same time, warplanes were poised to shower Taliban-controlled areas with leaflets promising to "protect and reward" anyone sharing information with the United States about Osama bin Laden

and his associates.

In addition, a U.S. C-130 aircraft flying near Afghanistan's borders will broadcast the same information on various radio frequencies. Neither the leaflets nor the broadcasts detailed how people with information should get it into American hands, or how to defect. Both include a warning that "this is a fight you don't want to get into," as a Pen-

See STRATEGY, A8, Col. 5

In Afghanistan

Kabul and Kandahar Hit In Attacks Through Night

Opposition Prepares To Move on Capital

By PETER BAKER
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOBDARA, Afghanistan, Oct. 7—U.S. and British warplanes and cruise missiles streaked across a clear, moonlit sky tonight to deliver strikes on Taliban military targets in the capital, Kabul, the southern Taliban stronghold of Kandahar and two other locations, focusing on anti-aircraft defenses, command centers and air bases.

The white flash of explosions and red traces of artillery fire could be seen from this mountainside village of mud houses overlooking the front line north of Kabul. The artillery fire came from opposition fighters aiming at Taliban positions near the air base at Bagram, 25 miles north of the capital.

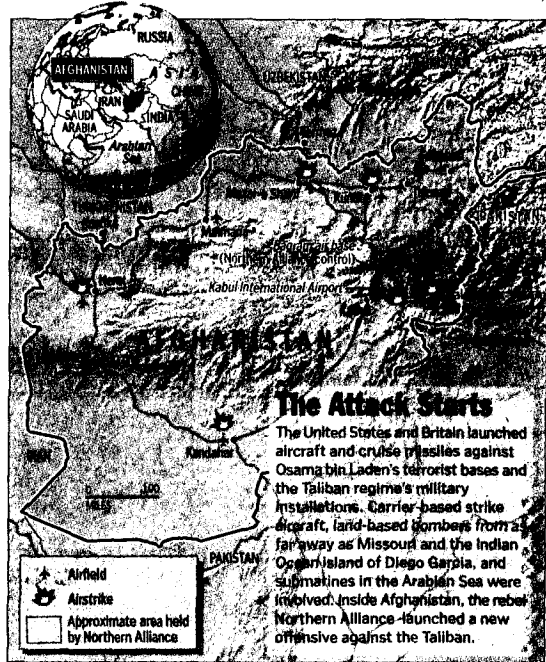
Louder explosions echoed from beyond the mountain in the direction of Kabul, and the sky was illuminated with red sparkles resembling fireworks as Taliban anti-aircraft batteries attempted to shoot down U.S. and British jets.

The opposition, a loose coalition of often fractious ethnic groups known as the Northern Alliance, received warning of tonight's attacks and was preparing to move on Kabul in the coming days. Opposition forces began evacuating two small villages near the front line north of Kabul tonight in anticipation of fighting Monday morning. Several dozen people were gathering their belongings and heading up the road to the next town, Charikar, in a middle-of-the-night escape.

Following the first wave of bombs and cruise missiles, Taliban ambassador Abdul Salam Zaeef told reporters in Islamabad, Pakistan, that Taliban leader Mohammad Omar and suspected terrorist Osama bin Laden were still alive. Bin Laden and his al Qaeda network have been identified by the United States and Britain as the organizers of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in the United States.

Tonight's aerial assault began after dark, about 9:20 local time. U.S. and British planes and cruise missiles aimed initially at targets in Kan-

See AFGHAN, A14, Col. 1



In Pakistan

Leader Purges Top Ranks Of Military, Spy Services

By KAMRAN KHAN and MOLLY MOORE
Washington Post Foreign Service

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan, Oct. 7—Seeking to preempt threats to the stability of his government on the first day of U.S.-led attacks on Afghanistan, President Pervez Musharraf today purged key senior officers in the Pakistani military and intelligence services, agencies that helped to create and support the Afghan Taliban militia, according to military sources.

Musharraf's sudden overhaul, which included pushing the coun-

try's intelligence chief, Gen. Mahmud Ahmad, into "premature retirement," was intended to rid his security agencies of top officers unwilling to abandon their support of militant Islamic groups and to prevent them from undercutting orders to sever Pakistan's ties with the Taliban, the sources said.

Musharraf's decision last week to aid the U.S.-led campaign against terrorism has angered militant Muslim groups here, many of which have long-standing ties to Pakistan's military and

See MUSHARRAF, A15, Col. 1

■ In backing U.S., Musharraf faces big risk. | Page A15

INSIDE

Redskins Lose 4th

The Washington Redskins remained winless, losing to the New York Giants, 23-9.
SPORTS, Page D1

U.S. Soccer Gets In

The U.S. men's soccer team defeated Jamaica, 2-1, to qualify for the 2002 World Cup.
SPORTS, Page D1



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October 8, 2001
The Washington Post Company

Herblock, Longtime Post Cartoonist, Dies

By J.Y. SMITH
Special to The Washington Post

Herblock, 91, the Washington Post cartoonist whose witty, satirical and frequently ferocious drawings provided some of the most memorable images in the history of American political discourse and earned him the highest honors of his profession and the nation, died last night at Sibley Memorial Hospital. He had pneumonia.

His career began before the stock market crash of 1929 heralded the Great Depression and lasted into the 21st century. Herbert L. Block, in illustrations of stunning power and simplicity, illuminated and helped to define the great issues of the age: the rise of Hitler and the spread of fascism and dictatorship in Europe and Asia in the 1930s; World War II; the Cold War; the sea

changes that marked American life in the postwar era; the collapse of the Soviet Union; and the prosperity and scandals of the Clinton years in the 1990s.

He chronicled every president from Herbert Hoover to George W. Bush. He coined the term "McCarthyism" for the smear tactics of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, the red-baiting Wisconsin Republican who was eventually censured by the Senate. His drawings of a fat and patient humanoid A-bomb encapsulated the menace of nuclear weapons.

He took the side of the have-nots of the world against the haves. He favored civil rights and candor in government. He distrusted all efforts to curb constitutional rights. He believed in the values underlying

See HERBLOCK, A20, Col. 1



Herblock reacts to an ovation at the opening of his Library of Congress exhibition in 2000.

WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

Bin Laden Defiant

In new remarks on video, Osama bin Laden hails Sept. 11 attacks that left America "full of fear."
Page A12

Tightened Security

U.S. Washington beef up measures against possibility of terrorist retaliation.
Page A3, Page B1

Latest War Updates

www.washingtonpost.com

Today: Windy, rain.
High 48. Low 47.
Friday: Some sun, shower
late. High 72. Low 50.

Details, Page B8

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THURSDAY, MARCH 20, 2003

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Washington. (See box on Page A2)

U.S. Opens War With Strikes On Baghdad Aimed at Hussein

In Baghdad

Explosions Rip Through The Quiet Of Morning

By ANTHONY SHADID
Washington Post Foreign Service

BAGHDAD, March 20 (Thursday)—At 5:34 a.m. explosions thundered over a city still asleep. The attack caught Baghdad's defenders by surprise: A minute passed before air raid sirens began to wail, and more time still before the answer of antiaircraft fire. For the next hour, long pauses were interrupted by tracer bullets racing across the sky and more antiaircraft rounds.

Instead of the "shock and awe" of a massive air assault that many Baghdad residents still expect to arrive, the opening volley of the war seemed a brief and almost modest tremor on the southern outskirts of the capital. No destruction was visible from the heart of the city, only a fireball rising on the horizon followed by a column of black smoke.

Officials moved quickly to dispel any rumors that President Saddam Hussein, the apparent target of the attack, might have been killed or injured. State television repeated an announcement through the early morning that Hussein would address the country shortly.

He appeared nearly three hours after the missiles struck. Wearing a military uniform and owl-shaped reading glasses he rarely uses in public, Hussein called on Iraqis to resist the U.S. attackers. Reading gravely from a stenographer's pad, he denounced the American president as "the little Bush" and proclaimed that "Iraq will be victorious and our nation and our humanity will triumph. Evil will be defeated."

The rallying speech was rich with religious language and the refrain, "God is great."

See IRAQ, A23, Col. 4

U.S. Reaps New Data On Weapons

By BARTON GELLMAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. government has obtained potentially valuable new information on Iraq's biological and chemical weapons programs in recent days from scientists and intelligence agents confronted outside Iraq with threats that failure to cooperate could mean unpleasant consequences when Baghdad falls, according to two U.S. officials with direct knowledge of the effort.

In a top-secret adjunct to an openly reported diplomatic initiative, U.S. and allied intelligence services summoned scores of Iraqi operatives in foreign capitals to present a stark choice. They were told "they could either 'turn,'" said one official, using an expression for switching sides, or be expelled back to Iraq "to enjoy your very short stay in Baghdad."

Another official with access to written accounts of the conversations said the Iraqis were told that when the United States sorts friends and enemies after toppling President Saddam Hussein, "they'll be putting themselves and their families at the mercy of the new Iraqi government."

The State Department announced on March 6 that it had asked 60 friendly governments to expel alleged Iraqi intelligence operatives who lived abroad under diplomatic or commercial cover. Spokes-

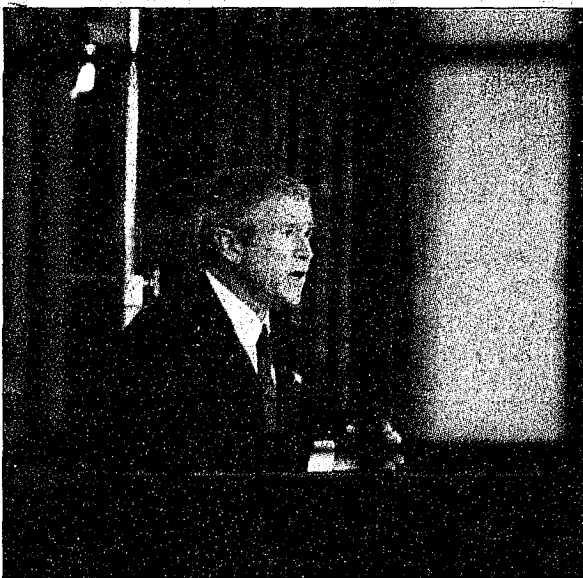
See WEAPONS, A19, Col. 4



An explosion is seen in Baghdad early this morning as the United States launched a war on Iraq with cruise missiles and 2,000-pound bombs.

'No Outcome but Victory,' Bush Vows

President Pledges Maximum Force and Warns Public of Difficulties



President Bush speaks from the Oval Office on the beginning of war with Iraq. Bush sought to reassure the Iraqi people that U.S. goals are limited to changing the regime, not conquering the country.

In the Oval Office

CIA Had Fix on Hussein

Intelligence Revealed 'Target of Opportunity'

By BARTON GELLMAN and DANA PRIEST
Washington Post Staff Writers

Around 4 p.m. yesterday, Director of Central Intelligence George J. Tenet offered President Bush the prospect—improbable to the point of fantasy, yet somehow at hand—that the war against Iraq might be transformed with its opening shots. The CIA, Tenet said, believed it had a fix on President Saddam Hussein.

Hussein and others in "the most senior levels of the Iraqi leadership," ordinarily among the most elusive of men, had fallen under U.S. surveillance. The unforeseen glimpse of the enemy was not expected to last, and so presented what one administration official called "a target of opportunity" that might not reappear. Not only did the

agency know where Hussein was, according to the official's description of Tenet's briefing, but it believed with "a high probability" that he would remain there for hours to come—cloistered with his war council in an isolated private residence in southern Baghdad.

Bush listened calmly—as his aides portrayed the scene—while Tenet described the sources and limits of his information, the likelihood that it was true and the length of time Hussein could be expected to spend at the site. The Iraqi president, a man of many palaces, avoids them at moments of maximum risk. He is said by analysts to be a kind of refugee in the country he rules, moving constantly and without

See MILITARY, A15, Col. 1

By DAN BALZ and MIKE ALLEN
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush announced last night that U.S. forces had begun "the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq," vowing to wage a "broad and concerted campaign" to drive Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from power and eliminate the threat from the regime's weapons of mass destruction.

Bush addressed the nation from the Oval Office at 10:15 p.m., little more than two hours after the deadline for Hussein to give up power had passed and shortly after a massive strike aimed at the Iraqi leadership hit Baghdad.

The president warned that the conflict "could be longer and more difficult than some predict"—the first time he had hinted at the potential duration and cost of the war—and pledged "every effort to spare innocent civilians from harm." He also asserted that Hussein had committed "a final atrocity" against his people by putting troops into civilian areas in an effort to Iraqis as shields.

Bush said the United States had entered the war reluctantly, but now that it had begun, he would apply maximum force. "I assure you, this will not be a campaign of half measures, and we will accept no outcome but victory," he said.

The announcement that hostilities had begun came suddenly after a fitful day of waiting and watching in Washington, and after an early evening meeting between the president and his national security advisers—their third of the day—that sealed the final planning by the military and sent the country off to war.

See PRESIDENT, A22, Col. 1



Iraqi President Saddam Hussein in what was billed as a live appearance on Iraqi television a few hours after the first U.S. cruise missiles and bombs hit Baghdad.

Iraqi Leader Defiant in TV Address After Attack

By RAJIV CHANDRASEKARAN
and THOMAS E. RICKS
Washington Post Foreign Service

KUWAIT CITY, March 20 (Thursday)—U.S. forces opened an assault on Iraq early today with a barrage of 40 Tomahawk cruise missiles that slammed into three targets around Baghdad in an attempt to hit President Saddam Hussein, military officials said.

Radar-evading F-117A stealth aircraft also dropped 2,000-pound bombs in the first phase of an onslaught intended to end Hussein's rule. The attack appeared to be aimed at a residence in southern Baghdad where intelligence reports had pinpointed Hussein, officials said.

But three hours after the bombing, Hussein appeared on Iraqi state television, looking subdued and puffy and wearing a military uniform. Reading from a text, he vowed that Iraq would "stand up to the evil invaders" and added, "They will face a bitter defeat."

The salvo of cruise missiles was fired from six Navy ships—three cruisers, a destroyer and two submarines—in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, Navy officials said.

Rear Adm. John M. Kelly told reporters on the USS Abraham Lincoln that most of the missiles headed toward their targets, but one missile failed on launch. He said Operation Iraqi Freedom was underway as warplanes took off from the carrier.

Explosions and antiaircraft fire erupted in the Iraqi capital at dawn. At the same time, armored vehicles of the U.S. 3rd Infantry Division began moving into position to cross a sand berm into Iraq from Kuwait. Many of the 250,000 U.S. and British forces in the region began forming into what were termed "ground assault convoys" along the Iraq-Kuwait border in preparation for the invasion.

On Wednesday, U.S. forces had prepared the battlefield by intensifying bombing and stepping up reconnaissance operations inside Iraq. These operations were carried out by an unknown number of Special Operations troops and specialized Marine and Army units, U.S. defense officials said. They were accompanied by a series of U.S.

See WAR, A18, Col. 1

WAR IN IRAQ

In the Field

As some U.S. troops laid the groundwork for invasion, others made final preparations for rescuing fallen comrades, securing Iraqi prisoners and the possibility of dying in battle. Pages A16-17.

War Protests in D.C.

Protesters in Washington took their opposition to the war to Capitol Hill and the White House yesterday, in a series of actions that led to nearly 30 arrests. Page A11

In Business

Oil prices, climbing since last fall with concerns about a military strike, reflect growing U.S. demand for gasoline and stalled fuel-economy efforts. Page E1

■ Full coverage inside,
Pages A12-23

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INSIDE

The Post on the Internet:
washingtonpost.com



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Energy Defeat for Bush

The Senate rejected a proposal allowing drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, handing President Bush a new defeat on one of his top energy priorities.

NATION, Page A3

Bill of Rights Copy Found

Lost since a Union soldier stole it from North Carolina during the Civil War, an original copy of the U.S. Bill of Rights was offered for sale in Philadelphia and recovered in an FBI sting operation.

NATION, Page A2

Mall Standoff Ends

As the standoff on the Mall ended, other North Carolinians expressed sympathy for the farmer who held police at bay for two days to call attention to trouble in the tobacco business.

METRO, Page B1

U.S. Afghan Raid

About 1,000 U.S. troops launched a raid on villages in southeastern Afghanistan, hunting for members of the al Qaeda terrorist network in the biggest U.S. operation there in a year.

WORLD, Page A24

9 Charged Over Tax Shelters In KPMG Case

Accounting Firm Agrees to Pay As More Indictments Expected

By CARRIE JOHNSON
Washington Post Staff Writer

Federal prosecutors yesterday unsealed conspiracy charges against eight former KPMG LLP officials and a lawyer accused of helping wealthy clients evade billions of dollars in taxes in what authorities called the largest criminal tax fraud case in history.

The charges are expected to be the first in a wave of actions against professionals who profited from aiding high-net-worth customers shield income from the Internal Revenue Service during the economic boom, prosecutors said. The tax evasion deals, which required the participation of accountants, lawyers, investment bankers and their wealthy clients, cost the government at least \$2.5 billion.

The indictment of the individuals occurred as a federal judge yesterday approved a deal to defer prosecution of KPMG itself. At a Washington news conference, Attorney General Alberto R. Gonzales acknowledged that the government had considered "collateral consequences," including the fate of 18,000 employees, in striking the \$456 million pact with the accounting firm over its role in marketing the tax shelters.

"The conviction of an organization can affect innocent workers . . . and can even have an effect on the national economy," Gonzales said. The U.S. Supreme Court earlier this year reversed the criminal conviction that helped push accounting firm Arthur Andersen LLP out of business three years ago.

IRS Commissioner Mark W. Everson said the tax avoidance schemes amounted to a "direct assault" on the American tax system and enriched already wealthy clients and KPMG partners.

See KPMG, A8, Col. 4

Military Wrestles With Disharmony Among Chaplains

By ALAN COOPERMAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

The growing influence of evangelical Protestants is roiling the military chaplain corps, where their desire to preach their faith more openly is colliding with long-held military traditions of pluralism and diversity.

After accusations this summer that evangelical chaplains, faculty and coaches were pressuring cadets at the Air Force Academy, the Air Force yesterday issued new guidelines on respect for religious minorities. In the Navy, evangelical Protestant chaplains are fighting what they say is a legacy of discrimination in hiring and promotions, and they are bridleing at suggestions they not pray publicly "in the name of Jesus."

Much of the conflict is in two areas that, until now, have been nearly invisible to civilians: how the military hires its ministers and how they word their public prayers. Evangelical chaplains — who are rising in numbers and clout amid a decline in Catholic priests and mainline Protestant ministers — are challenging the status quo on both questions, causing even some evangelical commanders to worry about the impact on morale.

"There is a polarization that is beginning to set up that I don't think is helpful. Us versus them," said Air Force Col. Richard K. Hum, an Evangelical Free Church minister who is the executive director of the Armed Forces Chaplains Board. "I don't know whether it's an overflow of what's happening in society. But this sort of thing is so

See CHAPLAINS, A4, Col. 1

Air Force Sets Rules Limiting Prayer

New guidelines discourage religious expression by officers and limit prayers at official events. **NATION, A4**

HURRICANE KATRINA

Storm Thrashes Gulf Coast

Dozens Are Reported Dead in One Mississippi County



BY MARK WALLHEISER — REUTERS

In the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, David Diaz examines the damage to the Sadler Apartments on the waterfront in Biloxi, Miss., where he and his brother had lived.



BY CHRIS GRAYTHEN — GETTY IMAGES

Chest-deep water dumped by Hurricane Katrina collects in New Orleans streets late in the afternoon.

The View From New Orleans

Amid the Devastation, Some Feel Relief

By PETER WHORISKEY and SAM COATES
Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 29 — The idea of the Big One, a hurricane doomsday scenario of floods and death, has long haunted this city, and Hurricane Katrina looked to many like its terrifying incarnation.

But on Monday evening, as crowds began filtering back onto city streets and inspecting the damage from glass-shattering winds and surging water, many here said with conviction that they were relieved.

"This wasn't it," concluded Demetrius

Ralph, 42, as he surveyed the scene in the shuttered French Quarter while out walking his dog. Streets were littered with debris, but they were not covered with water, as many had feared.

In outlying eastern areas, where officials had yet to completely assess the damage, entire neighborhoods were flooded up to the roof-lines. Scores of people fled to their attics, punched holes in their roofs, and awaited rescue by boat or helicopter.

Downtown, Canal Street and other fabled

See VIEW, A7, Col. 1

Storm Coverage

■ **Oil Price Concerns**
Gas and oil markets get a price jolt amid warnings that it may take days to assess the damage. **D1**

■ **Counting the Losses**
The storm could cost insurers \$25 billion; business travelers find no guarantees. **Section D**

■ **How to Help**
Local and national groups launch relief efforts. **A7**

No Direct Hit In New Orleans, But Extensive Destruction

By PETER WHORISKEY
and GUY GUGLIOTTA
Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 29 — Hurricane Katrina barreled into the Gulf Coast on Monday morning, its fierce winds cutting a 125-mile swath of destruction stretching from coastal Alabama across Mississippi to the French Quarter and the Superdome. At least 55 people were killed.

The storm's leading edge, wielding winds up to 145 mph across the Gulf of Mexico, made landfall as a fearsome Category 4 hurricane at 7:10 a.m. Eastern time near the Louisiana bayou town of Buras, about 63 miles southeast of New Orleans.

Katrina then wheeled into western Mississippi, bringing a 20-foot storm surge along the coast near Biloxi. It headed north later Monday to inundate most of the Mississippi Delta, spun off dozens of tornadoes through the South and promised drenching rains later in the week as far north as the Ohio Valley.

By late afternoon Monday the storm was downgraded to Category 1, with winds of 95 mph. But authorities in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, forced to hunker down for most of the day, were only beginning to take stock of the damage.

"The high water is keeping us out of some areas, and the high winds are keeping our aircraft grounded," Louisiana Gov. Kathleen Babineaux Blanco (D) told reporters at a Baton Rouge news confer-

See HURRICANE, A6, Col. 1

Students, and Challenges, Converge

Academic Labors And More Await on First Day of School

By V. DION HAYNES
and LORI ARATANI
Washington Post Staff Writers

In Room 100 at the District's Ketcham Elementary School yesterday, teacher Tracy Johnson wasted no time telling the 25 fifth-graders what lay in store.

There would be no easing into the new school year, she said, instructing the students to craft eight sentences on what they did over the summer. "You're going to write a well-written paragraph, not a sloppy paragraph," she added.

And there would be homework on Day 1 that had better be turned in the next day. "I don't take excuses for homework or classroom behavior," Johnson said.

Whether it was about raising academic expectations or over-



BY LOIS RAIMONDO — THE WASHINGTON POST

At Ketcham Elementary, Principal Joyce Grimes welcomes students, including Tyisha Christian, 10, on the first day of the school year in the District.

coming the shock of gang violence, the first day of school for many Washington area teachers and principals was about moving forward and dealing with pres-

sures on multiple fronts. In the District, where more than half the schools are on a fed-

See SCHOOLS, A8, Col. 1

INSIDE

Teaching Kids About Risks of Steroid Use

Pro athletes have been the focus of efforts to curtail the use of steroids, but new ads hope to teach teens about the risks of steroid use and abuse. **HEALTH, F1**

George Washington In the Flesh

Life-size figures of the Father of Our Country, based on scientists' theories of his looks at 19, 45 and 57, are coming to Mount Vernon. **STYLE, C1**

Today's contents are on A2

The Post on the Internet:
[washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)



Contents © 2005 The Washington Post Company

Sadr's Disciples Rise Again To Play Pivotal Role in Iraq

Freed Aides Join Newly Robust Movement

By ANTHONY SHADID
Washington Post Foreign Service

NAJAF, Iraq — Hazem Araj's résumé reads like a story of Iraq's recent past — and perhaps its near future.

In the tumult that followed the U.S. invasion in 2003, he hit the streets with a clique of fellow Shiite Muslim clerics to organize what became Iraq's first postwar popular movement. Their symbol was Moqtada Sadr, a young, radical clergyman and son of a revered ayatollah. The next year, Araj emerged as the group's public face, as it twice fought U.S. troops. He and others were arrested, and for nine months he languished in U.S. custody in Abu Ghraib prison, then at Camp Bucca.

Now, as the country enters a time

as politically uncertain as any since the fall of President Saddam Hussein, Araj is a free man. So are a handful of Sadr's other closest, most dynamic aides, men in their thirties who have helped shape the organization's combustible mix of Iraqi and Arab nationalism, millenarian religious ideology, grass-roots protest and gun culture. With customary bravado, Araj and the others today are sending a message: They are ready to make up for lost time.

"It's a new dawn," said the turbaned cleric, with a hint of a smile. He leaned against a wall plastered with Iraqi flags and portraits of the Sadr and those killed in last year's battles. "People have been released, and they're working harder than be-

See SADR, A13, Col. 1

- **Sunni leader says draft charter will survive.** | *World, A14*
- **Md. friends die days apart in Iraq, Afghanistan.** | *Metro, B1*

BEIJING OLYMPICS



BY GIL COHEN MAGEN — REUTERS

Spectators at a morning flag-raising ceremony at Tiananmen Square in Beijing shout slogans in praise of China, whose residents are reveling in national pride.

For China, It's Showtime

Games Offer Platform to Display Party's Achievements

By EDWARD CODY
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, Aug. 7 — In the lobby of a provincial Chinese hotel stood a 25-foot-high inflatable character, a beaming Olympic mascot cheerfully inviting one and all to enjoy the 2008 Beijing Games. But in small Mandarin characters stenciled neatly across its polyurethane rump was a discreet reminder: "For Government Use Only," it said.

The 29th Olympiad opening Friday evening in Beijing has from the beginning been a political as well as an athletic event, its impact extending far beyond the fields and stadiums where 16,000 athletes from 200 countries and regions

are set to vie for glory. As the giant plastic mascot suggested, the competitor with the most at stake is China's Communist Party, particularly President Hu Jintao and the eight others on the Politburo's elite Standing Committee who rule this vast nation of 1.3 billion people.

For them, the Beijing Games have provided a platform to herald the party's achievements over the past three decades in leading the world's largest country toward ever-increasing prosperity at home and growing acceptance as a reliable partner abroad. It has been a long journey from the Maoist ideology that guided the party for its first three dec-

See OLYMPICS, A13, Col. 1

Friday's Highlight

A guide to following today's Olympic events on washingtonpost.com or on TV:

OPENING CEREMONIES

China welcomes the world's athletes to Beijing at the gleaming new National Stadium.

washingtonpost.com: Continuous coverage, beginning at 8 a.m.

TV: Taped on WRC-4, WBAL-11 (7:30 p.m. - midnight)

More Coverage

As Bush Arrives, China Speaks Out: The government rejects criticisms about its record on human rights and other issues. **A10**

The Smog: Air quality plagues organizers. **E1**

Anthrax Case Raises Doubt On Security

Gaps in Lab Safeguards Prompt Calls for Investigations

By NELSON HERNANDEZ and PHILIP RUCKER
Washington Post Staff Writers

Revelations about anthrax scientist Bruce E. Ivins's mental instability have exposed what congressional leaders and security experts call startling gaps in how the federal government safeguards its most dangerous biological materials, even as the number of bioscience laboratories has grown rapidly since the 2001 terror attacks.

An estimated 14,000 scientists and technicians at about 400 institutions have clearances to access viruses and bacteria such as the *Bacillus anthracis* used in the anthrax attacks, but security procedures vary by facility, and oversight of the labs is spread across multiple government agencies.

Screening for the researchers handling some of the world's deadliest germs is not as strict as that for national security jobs in the FBI and CIA, federal officials said.

In Ivins's case, the microbiologist expressed homicidal thoughts to a therapist eight years ago and grappled with mental health problems long before he emerged as the FBI's lead suspect in the 2001 anthrax attacks. But his comments never came up in security and medical

New Details On Anthrax

A government official says that Fort Detrick scientist Bruce E. Ivins was away from his office when letters carrying anthrax were mailed from New Jersey. **Story, A14**

See LABORATORY, A14, Col. 4

Bin Laden Driver Gets 5½ Years; U.S. Sought 30

By JERRY MARKON and JOSH WHITE
Washington Post Staff Writers

GUANTANAMO BAY, Cuba, Aug. 7 — A former driver for Osama bin Laden was sentenced by a military jury Thursday to 5½ years in prison for supporting terrorism, a far shorter term than demanded by government prosecutors. The judge gave Salim Ahmed Hamdan credit for five years and one month of his pretrial incarceration at Guantanamo Bay, making him eligible for release from custody in five months.

The sentence was a stunning rebuke to prosecutors who had insisted on a prison term of at least 30 years and portrayed Hamdan throughout the trial as a hardened al-Qaeda warrior. The jury of six military officers convicted him Wednesday of supporting al-Qaeda by driving and guarding bin Laden and ferrying weapons for the terror group, but he was acquitted of terror conspiracy.

Hamdan's trial by the first U.S. military commission since World War II was viewed as a test case of a system

See HAMDAN, A12, Col. 4

Foreclosure Crisis Catching Renters Off Guard

By DINA ELBOGHADY
Washington Post Staff Writer

James Austin was stunned when a real estate agent showed up to snap photos of the house he was renting last year and casually informed him the place was in foreclosure.

Austin hastily found another house to rent in Bowie. But soon after he and his three teenage children settled

in, that house went into foreclosure, too.

"Twice, can you believe it?" said Austin, 38, a consultant for a home-security firm. "This last landlord, he didn't even seem like the type who would do that to somebody. But what is the type?"

Thousands of unsuspecting renters who have been paying their rent on time are getting enmeshed in the foreclosure crisis that is plaguing the housing market.

In many cases, their landlords, often individual real

estate investors, bought properties during the boom days, rented them out, then failed to keep up with their mortgages. The homes went into foreclosure, often unbeknownst to the tenants, who face disrupted lives and even homelessness.

Several localities around the country, as well as some members of Congress, are pushing to give renters more

See RENTERS, A14, Col. 1



BY JOSH PARTLOW — THE WASHINGTON POST

Ecuadorian special forces enter a recently abandoned FARC camp along the Ecuador-Colombia border.

In a Conflict that Crosses Borders, Ecuadorans Track an Elusive Foe

By JOSHUA PARTLOW
Washington Post Foreign Service

ALONG THE SAN MIGUEL RIVER, Ecuador — The captain held a finger to his lips, and his soldiers crouched on either side of the jungle path. He saw the pair of footprints pressed into the mud behind a tree, which he recognized as marks from the rubber boots preferred by the Colombian guerrillas he was after.

"Guard post," a soldier whispered.

Capt. William Pozo of the Ecuadorian special forces disappeared around a bend in the path. The air was so hot and wet the jungle seemed to be panting. Sweat beaded on the soldiers' cheeks. They could hear little but their own breathing and the shrieking of an unseen bird. Pozo returned a few minutes later.

"There is a guerrilla camp here," he told them. It was the second camp they had found in three days. "But they've already left."

The four-decade-long conflict

between the government of Colombia and guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, known as the FARC, is not confined by borders. And while Colombian forces have scored major victories this year — guerrilla commanders killed; hundreds of rebels deserting; prisoners, including former presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt, freed — the view from neighboring Ecuador near the frontier is different.

See ECUADOR, A13, Col. 1

CAMPAIGN 2008

Democratic Aides Working on Plan To Keep the Peace At the Convention

By ANNE E. KORNBLUT
Washington Post Staff Writer

With the clock running out on preparations for the Democratic convention, advisers to Sen. Barack Obama are scrambling to reach a compromise with Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton to appease her supporters and find roles for her and her husband.

The Obama and Clinton camps said this week that they agree on a central point: They would like to avoid an embarrassing display of discord from Clinton's most ardent backers when the national convention begins in just over two weeks. Conversations about how to achieve that have increasingly focused on the question of whether Clinton's name will be offered in a roll-call vote by delegates to determine the nominee, even though she has said she is not challenging Obama's claim as the party's standard-bearer.

Clinton confidante Cheryl Mills is working directly with Obama campaign manager David Plouffe to reach an accommodation, both sides confirmed. Clinton has been told that she will probably speak Tuesday night, Aug. 26, two nights before Obama's acceptance speech, and she is working on her remarks, which will touch on her breakthrough as a woman but will be, in the words of one associate, largely "forward looking."

Former president Bill Clinton is almost certain to

See DEMOCRATS, A4, Col. 1

INSIDE



STYLE

The Hardest-to-Untangle Will in Show Business

Take one late Godfather of Soul, add a seemingly ever-increasing number of children, and you have the mother of all battles over James Brown's estate. **C1**

METRO

FBI to Look Into Raid of Mayor's Home

The agency has begun "reviewing the events," including the shooting deaths of two family dogs. **B1**

BUSINESS

Citigroup Agrees to Buy Back Bonds

A settlement with New York state follows the meltdown of the market for auction-rate securities. **D1**

SPORTS

Have Legendary Status, Will Travel

Columnist Michael Wilbon weighs in on whether or not Brett Favre's move to New York is all part of a downward spiral for the aging quarterback. **E1**

WEEKEND

Sure, You Could Just Watch Olympic Sports . . .

. . . or you could try some of them out yourself, and we're here to show you how to get into six of the Games.



Weather

Today: Rain. High 64.
Low 51.
Thursday: Mostly cloudy.
Low 63. High 52.

Details, B6

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The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 2008

M1 M2 M3 M4 M5 V1 V2 V3 V4

NEWSSTAND 50¢
HOME DELIVERY 41¢

Obama Makes History

U.S. DECISIVELY ELECTS FIRST BLACK PRESIDENT

DEMOCRATS EXPAND CONTROL OF CONGRESS

By ROBERT BARNES
and MICHAEL D. SHEAR
Washington Post Staff Writers

Sen. Barack Obama of Illinois was elected the nation's 44th president yesterday, riding a reformist message of change and an inspirational exhortation of hope to become the first African American to ascend to the White House.

Obama, 47, the son of a Kenyan father and a white mother from Kansas, led a tide of Democratic victories across the nation in defeating Republican Sen. John McCain of Arizona, a 26-year veteran of Washington who could not overcome his connections to President Bush's increasingly unpopular administration.

Standing before a crowd of more than 100,000 who had waited for hours at Chicago's Grant Park, Obama acknowledged his own accomplishment and the dreams of his supporters.

"If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer," he said just before midnight Eastern time.

"The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even one term, but America — I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. I promise you — we as a people will get there."

The historic Election Day brought millions of new voters, long lines at polling places nationwide and a new era of Democratic dominance in Congress, even though the party fell short of the 60 votes needed for a veto-proof majority in the Senate. In the House, Democrats made major gains, adding to their already sizable advantage and returning them to a position of power that predates the 1994 Republican revolution.

Democrats will use their new legislative muscle to advance an economic and foreign policy agenda that Bush has largely blocked for eight years. Even when the party seized

See ELECTION, A38, Col. 1



BY NIKKI KAHN — THE WASHINGTON POST

President-elect Barack Obama, with wife Michelle and daughters Sasha, 7, and Malia, 10, greets more than 100,000 people celebrating his victory in Grant Park, in his home town of Chicago.

HOW HE WON

Measured Response To Financial Crisis Sealed the Election

By ANNE E. KORNBLUT
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Barack Obama, so steady in public, did not hide his vexation when he summoned his top advisers to meet with him in Chicago on Sept. 14.

His general-election campaign had gone stale. For weeks, he had watched Sen. John McCain suction up the oxygen in the race, driving the news coverage after the boisterous Republican convention in St. Paul, Minn., and suddenly drawing huge crowds with his new running mate, Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin.

Convening the meeting that Sunday in the office of David Axelrod, his chief strategist, Obama was blunt: It was time to get serious.

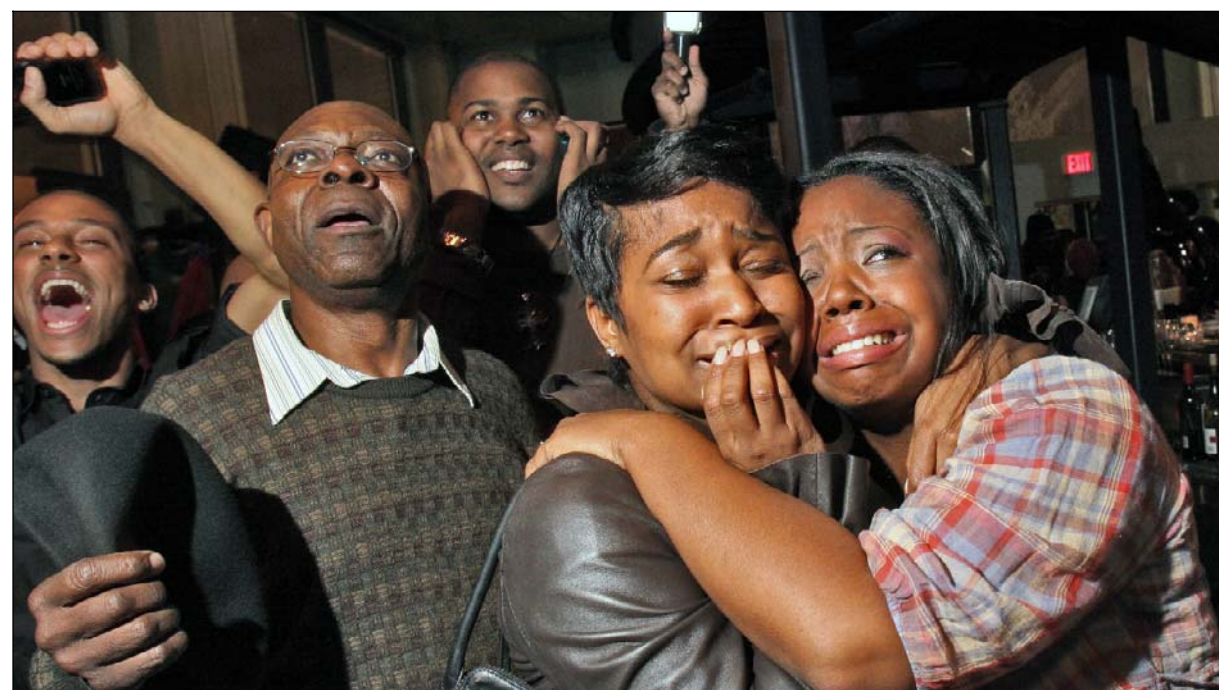
"He said, 'You know, maybe we can just win it on the issues. But I don't think so,'" recalled senior adviser Anita Dunn. With the debates approaching and just seven weeks until the election, "his charge to everybody was 'Guys, we're back in combat mode,'" Dunn said.

And then, the next morning, a global earthquake hit: Lehman Brothers, the giant investment firm, filed for bankruptcy, triggering the biggest corporate collapse in U.S. history and an international financial meltdown, and transforming the presidential race.

It was a moment neither the senator from Illinois nor his advisers had anticipated, but one for which they were uniquely prepared. In the days that followed, the newly chastised Obama team became more aggressive, with a message they had refined over the summer. The candidate himself, criticized as too cool, too cerebral and too detached, suddenly had the opportunity to show those qualities to be reassuring and presidential.

For McCain, already struggling with the economic

See OBAMA, A34, Col. 1



BY BILL O'LEARY — THE WASHINGTON POST

At an election party at Busboys and Poets, Tiffany Payton and Barbara Mack, right, embrace as CNN declares Obama the winner.

A DAY OF TRANSFORMATION

America's History Gives Way to Its Future

By KEVIN MERIDA
Washington Post Staff Writer

After a day of runaway lines that circled blocks, of ladies hobbling on canes and drummers rollicking on street corners, the enormous significance of Barack Obama's election finally began to sink into the landscape. The magnitude of his win suggested that the country itself might be in a gravitational pull toward a rebirth that some were slow to recognize.

Tears flowed, not only for Obama's historic achievement, but because many were happily discovering that perhaps they had underestimated possibility in America.

When the novelist Kim McLarin watched her vote being recorded at her polling station in Milton, Mass., she stood still for a moment with her 8-year-old son, Isaac. "My heart was full. I could scarcely breathe," she said. "What I've been

forced to acknowledge is there has been a shift — it's not a sea change. But there's been a decided shift in the meaning of race. It's not an ending. It's a beginning."

What kind of beginning it is, Americans were wrestling with late into the night, some popping champagne and others burdened with unease. Would enduring strains of intolerance lose their power or gain rebellious steam? Could new hope be harnessed to create new solutions? Is America ready to pull itself together or resigned to live divided? The campaign that began for Obama 21 months ago had raised in stark terms whether America was ready for a black president. Last night's answer — a resounding yes — raises the next question: How much more change will America embrace?

When McLarin learned last night that the nation had voted

See TRANSFORMATION, A33, Col. 1

THE AGENDA

Hard Choices And Challenges Follow Triumph

By DAN BALZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

After a victory of historic significance, Barack Obama will inherit problems of historic proportions. Not since Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated at the depths of the Great Depression in 1933 has a new president been confronted with the challenges Obama will face as he starts his presidency.

At home, Obama must revive an economy experiencing some of the worst shocks in more than half a century. Abroad, he has pledged to end the war in Iraq and defeat al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. He ran on a platform to change the country and its politics. Now he must begin to spell out exactly how.

Obama's winning percentage appears likely to be the largest of any Democrat since Lyndon Johnson's 1964 landslide and makes him the first since Jimmy Carter in 1976 to garner more than 50.1 percent. Like Johnson, he will govern with sizable congressional majorities. Democrats gained at least five seats in the Senate and looked to add significantly to their strength in the House.

But with those advantages come hard choices. Among them will be deciding how much he owes his victory to a popular rejection of President Bush and the Republicans and how much it represents an embrace of Democratic governance. Interpreting his mandate will be only one of several critical decisions Obama must make as he prepares

See AGENDA, A30, Col. 1

THE VOTERS

Discontent Draws Record Turnouts

Pages A26-A29

THE TRANSITION

New Administration To Assemble Quickly

Pages A30-31

THE REPUBLICANS

McCain Supporters Belatedly Witness History

Washington Sketch, A36

THE CONGRESS

Mark Warner Wins Senate Seat

Pages A39-41

LOCAL RESULTS

Maryland Approves Slot Machines

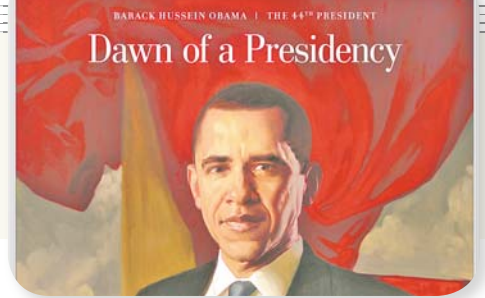
Pages A42-45

INDEX, A2



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The Washington Post

\$2

Weather

Today: Flurries. High 32. Low 20. Wednesday: Mostly sunny. High 34. Low 25. Details, B12

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TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 2009

M1 M2 M3 M4 V1 V2 V3 V4



THE ESSENTIALS

The Swearing-In

- The security gates at the Capitol for ticket-holders open at 8 a.m. Much of the Mall is outside the secured area and open to non-ticket-holders. People will have to pass through checkpoints if they go through the secure area on the parade route. Parts of the Mall could be closed off as they fill up. Music starts at 9:50 a.m. The formal ceremony starts at 11:30 a.m. Barack Obama will take the oath of office at noon.

Parade

- Gates open at 7 a.m. Once curb space fills up, officials will close gates, barring additional people from the route. The parade will begin about 2:30 p.m. and end about 5 p.m.

Getting There

- All bridges into the District from Virginia will be closed to personal vehicles. Taxis, buses and authorized vehicles will be allowed, along with walkers, cyclists and Segway users. Personal vehicles are prohibited in most of the downtown area.

Metro

- Parking lots open at 3:30 a.m. and rail service starts at 4 a.m. Rush-hour service will last until 9 p.m., with off-peak service continuing until 2 a.m. tomorrow.

Make a Choice

It will be virtually impossible to witness both the swearing-in ceremony and parade live because of the large crowds.

METRO

Grab & Go Guide

A two-page primer on the inaugural ceremony and parade, including maps, schedules and tips on getting there. B5-6



STYLE

Party Central

The Reliable Source's Roxanne Roberts offers tips for surviving an inaugural ball, in Style. Find the latest on balls and parties at washingtonpost.com/partycentral.

washingtonpost.com

Alerts, Updates

Continuously updated congestion information for rail, bus, car and walking access to the inauguration at washingtonpost.com/inauguration. Sign up for alerts on your mobile device.

Obama's Moment Arrives

ANALYSIS

Historians Say He Could Redefine the Presidency

By BARTON GELLMAN, Washington Post Staff Writer

Barack Obama takes office today with a realistic prospect of joining the ranks of history's most powerful presidents. The more familiar observation, that he confronts daunting trials, enhances that prospect. Emergencies have always brought commensurate new authority for the presidents who faced them, not only because the public demanded action but also because rival branches of government went along. Obama arrives with a rare convergence of additional strengths, some of them inherited and some of his own making. Predicting a pres-

idency, to be sure, is hazardous business, and much will depend on Obama's choices and fortune. But historians, recent White House officials and senior members of the incoming team expressed broad agreement that Obama begins his term in command of an office that is at or near its historic zenith.

"The opportunity is there for Obama to recast the very nature of the presidency," said Sean Wilentz, a presidential historian at Princeton. "Not since Reagan have we had as capable a persuader as Obama, and not since FDR has a president come in with quite the configuration of foreign and domestic crises

See PRESIDENCY, Page A13

THE CROWD

Despite Snarled Traffic and Cold, City Is Already Celebrating

By PAUL DUGGAN and LENA H. SUN, Washington Post Staff Writers

Tens of thousands of festive visitors crowded the Mall and the city yesterday, counting down the hours to today's historic inauguration, while authorities prepared to welcome — and control — what could be the largest crowd in Washington's history.

Today's the day. The swearing-in of Barack Obama as the nation's 44th president on the west steps of the Capitol at noon is expected to draw between 1 million and 3 million spectators. They'll bundle themselves against below-freezing temperatures, ride crowded Metro trains and buses, and wait at security check-

points for a chance to witness the inauguration of the nation's first African American chief executive.

After the oath, they will crane for views of the new president and his family as he rides in an inaugural parade along Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House between 2:30 p.m. and 5 p.m. They will then celebrate into the night at 10 official inaugural balls.

As final preparations went forward yesterday, temperatures hovered in the low 30s and a light snow swirled from time to time, yet the atmosphere on the Mall felt warm. Thousands upon thousands of people, smiling and snap-

See CROWD, Page A13



At Coolidge Senior High in Northwest Washington, President-elect Obama claps along as the cheerleading squad performs an impromptu cheer. The school was one of the stops on his day of service. Story, B1.

SELMA

A 44-Year Journey Ends on a Bus to D.C.

By ROBERT E. PIERRE, Washington Post Staff Writer

The charter bus rolled all night, through the cities of Montgomery, Atlanta and Richmond, stopping only for bathroom breaks and an IHOP breakfast. A few riders watched movies and listened to music. Most slept the entire way.

But yesterday afternoon, as the weary travelers rolled onto 14th Street, past the Holocaust Museum, the Washington Monument and the Mall, 18-year-old Darianne Allen began to cry.

She stared at all the buses, cars and people in the streets as her classmates pulled out cameras and pressed their faces to the glass.

"The moment just hit me," Allen said, looking at her mother and wiping away tears. "It's really real."

It was the culmination of a 16-hour journey, a grinding two-year campaign and at least four decades of struggle to turn the voting rights earned 44 years ago into something few thought imaginable. Fittingly, the journey for the students, parents and educators began with this simple prayer: "Jesus, we thank you for having the 44th president of the United States as a black African American."

Theirs was one of thousands of buses that have converged on Washington from across the nation to mark the start of Barack Obama's presidency. They all came for their own reasons, bringing their stories and their hopes to the nation's capital.

Selma, Ala., sent at least three buses. The city's name is seared in the American psyche because of what happened when peaceful marchers were brutally attacked on Bloody Sunday in 1965. The head wounds of John Lewis, now a Democratic congressman

See SELMA, Page A11



The Capitol in readiness for the big day. The Obamas have spent the past few days surrounded by friends and family.

REUNION

Obama Looks to Future With a Nod to His Past

By ELI SASLOW and PHILIP RUCKER, Washington Post Staff Writers

To help him celebrate his imminent move into the White House, Barack Obama invited more than 100 of his closest friends and relatives to gather here over the weekend. Everywhere he turned the past few days, he has been surrounded by high school classmates from Hawaii and former college professors, basketball buddies and political mentors — a tableau of the people, places and moments that delivered him to the presidency.

They were drawn here to commemorate what Obama will become. But, like all good reunions, they spent more time talking about the past.

Members of his class at Honolulu's Punahou School met in Arlington to reminisce about their chubby, basketball-obsessed peer. Relatives from Chicago relaxed at Blair House on furniture donated by Dwight D. Eisenhower and recalled the humble second-story apartment where Michelle Obama was raised. Political allies from the Illinois Senate told stories about the rookie politician who sought incessant advice.

Obama himself paused yesterday to consider the magnitude of assuming office as the nation's 44th president. He spoke about his connection to the legacy of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. on the holiday that celebrates his birth and, while taking part in community service, fondly remembered his summer job as a 17-year-old painter working for \$4 an hour. Then, in the middle of his day, Obama took a two-hour break to visit with his guests at Blair House.

"There's a comfort that comes from having all of us around

See REUNION, Page A12

INSIDE

Lawyer, Journalist Killed in Moscow

A human rights attorney who worked on behalf of Chechens who were abused by Russian security forces is gunned down along with a student journalist looking into neo-Nazi activity. The lawyer had just left a news conference in which he criticized the release of a colonel who killed a young Chechen woman. THE WORLD, A16

THE NATION

Bush Reduces Sentences of Ex-Border Agents

In his act of clemency, the president said the case against the men who shot a Mexican drug dealer was just, but the sentences were excessive. A2

Good News, Bad News for Dick Cheney

A federal judge ends a long legal battle over the preservation of the vice president's documents. Later, the White House said Cheney injured his back and will leave office in a wheelchair. A2, A12

SPORTS

Ovechkin's OT Goal Lifts Capitals, 2-1

The reigning MVP becomes the sole league leader in goals scored as Washington beats the Islanders for its third consecutive win. E1

BUSINESS

Britain's New Bank Rescue to Bolster Lending

In return for a larger stake in the Royal Bank of Scotland, British officials say the "legally binding" agreement forces to the bank to increase loans. E8

STYLE

Inaugural Screamfest for Kids

Miley Cyrus, Bow Wow and the Jonas Brothers perform loudly, of course, for a less-than-capacity tween crowd at Verizon Center. C1

The Boss Dreams On: Review of "Working on a Dream," Bruce Springsteen's new album. C1

NOTE TO OUR READERS

The Health section appeared in Monday's editions.

INSIDE » METRO • STYLE • BUSINESS • SPORTS

Online: washingtonpost.com

Business...E8 Comics...C9-11 KidsPost...C12 Lotteries...B2 Obituaries...B8-11 Television...C6 TV Sports...E2 Classifieds...F1 Editorials...A24 Letters...A24 Movies...C5 Reliable Source...C3 The World...A16 Weather...B12

DAILY CODE 7 2 2 0 PostPoints PAGE B2 Barcode 7062828102 Contents © 2009 The Washington Post



Weather

Today: Partly sunny.
High 30. Low 22.
Thursday: Mostly sunny.
High 44. Low 30.
Details, B6

The Washington Post

\$2

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 2009

M1 M2 M3 M4 V1 V2 V3 V4

Obama Takes Charge

NATION ASKED TO BEGIN TASK OF 'REMAKING AMERICA'

ESSAY

In His Moment, Many Feel Echoes Of Their Own Stories

By DAVID MARANISS
Washington Post Staff Writer

In taking the oath of office as the first African American president in the nation's nearly 233 years, one man reached a singular achievement. But at four minutes after noon yesterday, Barack Hussein Obama was inevitably transformed — no matter what happens during his administration — from an individual, a politician, to an icon and a symbol. Here was history at its most sweeping and yet intimate.

An essential theme of his presidential campaign was that his candidacy was less about him than it was about the coming together of the people of the United States of America, as Obama ritually called it in his rolling cadence. We are the change we have been waiting for, he would proclaim, repeating the mantra so often that he left himself open to sardonic mocking. Yet that idea, more than anything he said or did, became the dominant sensibility of an extraordinary day.

With the inauguration witnessed by perhaps the largest audience ever to assemble in Washington, and with the fit young leader and his wife striding confidently down part of the Pennsylvania Avenue parade route, the day, of course, was about him.

But more than that, it was about everyone out there in the crowds that stretched from the west side of the Capitol all the way to the Lincoln Memorial: every person with an individual story, a set of meanings and reference points for a moment that many thought would never happen in their lifetimes.

In his inaugural address, Obama concentrated mostly on the difficult trials to come. Drawing more on the metaphors of George Washington than of Abraham Lincoln, he evoked a figurative winter of hardship that the nation must and will endure, harking back to the uncertain revolutionary winter of 1776. The crowds, meanwhile, seemed ready and willing to stand for as many hours as it took in the literal winter, in the whipping cold of a January day, to celebrate the meaning of the moment rather than focus explicitly on the tasks ahead.

Obama's message was somber, serious and forceful, with several graceful rhetorical riffs but no attempt at lyrical exaltation. It was as though he understood that the crowd would have enough hope and joy on its own, without need of more from him. "We must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off and begin again," he said at one point, but his celebrators already seemed picked up about as straight and high as they could get.

On a weekend train down from New Jersey, an older black man wearing presidential cuff links, stooped with arthritis but in good voice, kept saying to the people in his car: *There are all these stories. Everyone has a story. We all have stories.*

And so they did yesterday. The stories were not about Obama and his own un-

See MOMENT, Page A40



The new first couple, Barack and Michelle Obama, drew cheers as they emerged from their limousine to cover a few blocks of the inaugural parade on foot. More than a million people crowded the Mall and the parade route to get a glimpse of the first African American president.

BY PRESTON KERES — THE WASHINGTON POST

A Historic Inauguration Draws Throngs To the Mall

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and ANNE E. KORNBLUT
Washington Post Staff Writers

Barack Hussein Obama took the oath of office as the nation's first African American president yesterday, summoning a vast crowd and a watching nation to the task of reviving a country in crisis.

The inauguration of the 44th president, who made "hope" and "change" the bywords of his improbable campaign, took place amid a building air of anticipation in Washington. A city that had braced for record-breaking attendance swelled with visitors who would, at least briefly, nearly double its population. Before dawn yesterday, more than 1 million people began streaming into the city to bear witness to the event, brushing aside the frigid temperatures and travel problems.

As he spoke, Obama looked out at a sea of admirers, some of whom had camped out overnight in tents or made long treks by bus and Metro. By the end of the day, those spectators lined the route of Obama's procession to the White House, chanting his name and straining for a glimpse of the new president.

Obama made only glancing references to the racial barrier that had fallen with his historic ascent. Instead, in an 18½-minute speech notable for its somber tone as much as its soaring rhetoric, he outlined the challenges of what he called "this winter of our hardship": a collapsing economy, wars on two fronts, a lack of confidence in government and enemies eager to destroy the American way of life.

"We must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off and begin again the work of remaking America," Obama told the throng, which stretched from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial.

Obama was accompanied to the West Front of the Capitol by President Bush. At the stroke of noon, the man who had served not even a full term in the U.S. Senate became the nation's commander in chief, and at 12:04 p.m., he was sworn in by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr.

Obama took the oath by stating his full given name, which he had once said opponents had used to try to set him apart from mainstream America.

It was the first time Roberts had administered the oath — and the first time any chief justice had sworn in a president who voted against his confirmation — and both men stumbled over the words. But the sight of the two youthful leaders — Roberts, 53, the second-youngest chief justice, and Obama, 47, the fourth-youngest man elected president — underscored the theme of generational change.

So did the presence of Michelle Obama, 45, and the couple's two daughters, Malia, 10, and Sasha, 7, dressed in candy-colored

See INAUGURATION, Page A33

ON CULTURE

All Hail the Leader of the Fashionable World

By ROBIN CIVHAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Few first ladies have caused as much breathless anticipation for their Inauguration Day wardrobes as Michelle Obama. But soon after she stepped onto the national stage as the candidate's wife, Obama was elevated to a fashion star whose tastes ran from high-end designers to mass marketer H&M. She had the impressive height of a runway model, the figure of a real woman — a size 12 according to one fashion pub-

licist — and took an admitted delight in looking "pretty."

For the historic moment when she became this country's first African American first lady, Obama chose a lemon-grass yellow, metallic sheath with a matching coat by the Cuban-born designer Isabel Toledo. The dress followed her curves — paying special attention to the hips — and announced that the era of first lady-as-rectangle had ended. It signaled a generational shift in what women could be on the national stage. They could boldly embrace

color and reveal their power, their femininity and their legs.

Recent first ladies seem to have tried — at least during the first term — to hold on to the idea of *normalcy*, no matter that they are living in the White House with staff, security and the albatross of history. At their husbands' first inaugurations, Hillary Clinton and Laura Bush wore uninspired clothes that seemed to make a case against the women's being unique.

See ON CULTURE, Page A36

Obama Requests A Halt at Guantanamo

The new administration instructed military prosecutors to seek a 120-day suspension of legal proceedings at Guantanamo Bay. A2

INSIDE

THE NATION

Bush Exits Without Pardons

In his final days in office, the former president holds true to his record on clemency and rebuffs requests by prominent conservatives. A38

BUSINESS

Chrysler, Fiat Strike Deal

The ailing American automaker gives up a 35 percent stake to the Italian car company for an international sales alliance. D1

SPORTS

Lessons for the Redskins

As Coach Jim Zorn prepares for the draft and free agency, what can he learn from the playoff teams that achieved an '08 turnaround? E1

Sally Jenkins: 10 ways Barack Obama can change sports. E1

FOOD

High Tech, Low Hassle

Modern techniques can save time making special meals. F1

Sell-Off Is Sobering Welcome From Wall Street

By BINYAMIN APPELBAUM and HEATHER LANDY
Washington Post Staff Writers

As Washington celebrated, New York fretted.

The Dow Jones industrial average yesterday fell below 8,000, shedding 4 percent, its bleakest performance on any Inauguration Day since the index was started 124 years ago. Nasdaq and the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index both plunged more than 5 percent. Disillusioned investors fled fi-

nancial companies as fresh evidence mounted that the industry's problems are larger than previously understood, larger than the response so far mustered by the government and perhaps larger than the resources remaining in its rescue program.

The possibility of bank nationalizations, in which governments take direct control of financial institutions, is being debated in Britain and elsewhere, as some of the world's biggest banks report surprisingly dire results. The indus-

try's plight, tightly intertwined with the ongoing recession, is among the great challenges confronting President Obama.

Problems have spread to companies that investors considered conservative and safe. Institutions including German giant Deutsche Bank, money managers State Street and Bank of New York Mellon, and even several members of the Federal Home Loan Banks system have revealed unexpected and significant problems, leaving almost no part of the financial indus-

try untouched.

Losses at companies already tarred by the crisis also have been deeper than analysts expected. Regions Financial, a large southeastern bank, yesterday reported a fourth-quarter loss of \$6.2 billion, greater than its total profits in the past five years. Citigroup said it lost \$19 billion last year.

The Royal Bank of Scotland disclosed this week it may have lost \$41 billion last year, leading the

See BANKS, Page A2

MICHAEL JACKSON | 1958 - 2009

Object of Acclaim, Curiosity, The 'King of Pop' Dies in L.A.

By HANK STUEVER and MATT SCHUDEL
Washington Post Staff Writers

Michael Jackson, 50, died yesterday in Los Angeles as sensationally as he lived, as famous as a human being can get. He was a child Motown phenomenon who grew into a moonwalking megastar, the self-anointed King of Pop who sold 750 million records over his career and enjoyed worldwide adoration.

But with that came the world's relentless curiosity, and Mr. Jackson was eventually regarded as one of show business's legendary oddities,

hopping from one public relations crisis to another.

In the end there were two sides to the record: The tabloid caricature and the provocative, genre-changing musical genius that his fans will always treasure. There were those whose devotion knew no bounds, who visited the gates of his private ranch north of Santa Barbara, Calif., arriving at Neverland on pilgrimages from Europe and Asia, and who were among the first to flock to UCLA Medical Center as news of his death spread yesterday afternoon. Those were the same kind of fans who camped out at the Santa

Barbara Superior Courthouse, to show their support during his 2005 trial. They released doves and wept when he was acquitted.

Then there was the other kind of fan, who preferred to keep memories of the singer locked firmly in his 1980s prime: Today's young adults all have memories of being toddlers and grade-schoolers who moonwalked across their mother's just mopped kitchen floors. Even the hardest rockers will easily confess to the first album they ever bought: "Thriller."

See JACKSON, Page A22



COURTESY JACKSON 5



BY STEFAN WERMUTH — REUTERS

Thrust into early stardom as a member of the Jackson 5, the singer had become reclusive in recent years but announced in March that he planned concerts in London, driving fans into a ticket-buying frenzy.

- Jackson took blacks across a cultural threshold. | C1
- Reactions to Jackson's sudden death vary. | C1

Student Strip Search Illegal

School Violated Teen Girl's Rights, Supreme Court Rules

By ROBERT BARNES
Washington Post Staff Writer

Arizona school officials violated the constitutional rights of a 13-year-old girl when they strip-searched her on the suspicion she might be hiding ibuprofen in her underwear, the Supreme Court ruled yesterday. The decision put school districts on notice that such searches are "categorically distinct" from other efforts to combat illegal drugs.

In a case that had drawn attention from educators, parents and civil libertarians across the country, the court ruled 8 to 1 that such an intrusive search without the threat of a clear danger to other students violated the Constitution's protections against unreasonable search or seizure.

Justice David H. Souter, writing perhaps his final opinion for the court, said that in the search of Savana Redding, now a 19-year-old college student, school officials overreacted to vague accusations that Redding was violating school policy by possessing the ibuprofen, equivalent to two tablets of Advil.

What was missing, Souter wrote, "was any indication of danger to the students from the power of the drugs or their quantity, and any reason to suppose that Savana was carrying pills in her underwear."

It was reasonable to search the girl's backpack and outer clothes, but Safford Middle School administrators made a "quantum leap" in taking the next step, the opinion said. "The meaning of such a search, and the degradation its

See COURT, Page A8

Ahmadinejad Demands Apology From Obama

Iranian Warns Against Further Criticism

By THOMAS ERDBRINK and WILLIAM BRANIGAN
Washington Post Foreign Service

TEHRAN, June 25 — Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad lashed out at President Obama on Thursday, warning him against "interfering" in Iranian affairs and demanding an apology for criticism of a government crackdown on demonstrators protesting alleged electoral fraud.

Despite an increasingly harsh response to the protests, opposition leader Mir Hossein Mousavi pledged to continue challenging official results that showed a landslide victory for Ahmadinejad in Iran's June 12 presidential election. He vowed to resist growing pressure to end his campaign and said he remains determined to prove that those who rigged the election are

also responsible for the violence unleashed on opposition protesters.

The two rivals issued their dueling statements — neither mentioning the other by name — a day after security forces broke up the latest demonstrations, then temporarily detained university professors who had met with Mousavi.

Two grand ayatollahs, leading figures in Iran's predominant Shiite Muslim faith, also waded into the fray, as did European foreign ministers from the Group of Eight world powers at a meeting in Italy.

In a speech at a petrochemical plant in southern Iran, Ahmadinejad said Obama was behaving like his predecessor, George W. Bush, and suggested that talks with the United States on Iran's nuclear program would be pointless if Obama kept up

See IRAN, Page A14

- Israel remains concerned about nuclear neighbor. | A14
- Oil prices stay calm despite the political unrest. | A19

THE VIEW FROM EGYPT

Arab Activists Watch Iran And Wonder: 'Why Not Us?'

By SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, June 25 — Mohamed Sharkawy bears the scars of his devotion to Egypt's democracy movement. He has endured beatings in a Cairo police station, he said, and last year spent more than two weeks in an insect-ridden jail for organizing a protest.

But watching tens of thousands of Iranians take to the streets of Tehran this month, the 27-year-old pro-democracy activist has grown disillusioned. In 10 days, he said, the Iranians have achieved far more than his movement has ever accomplished in Egypt.

"We sacrificed a lot, but we have gotten nowhere," Sharkawy said.

Across the Arab world, Iran's massive opposition protests have triggered a wave of soul-searching and conflicting emotions. Many

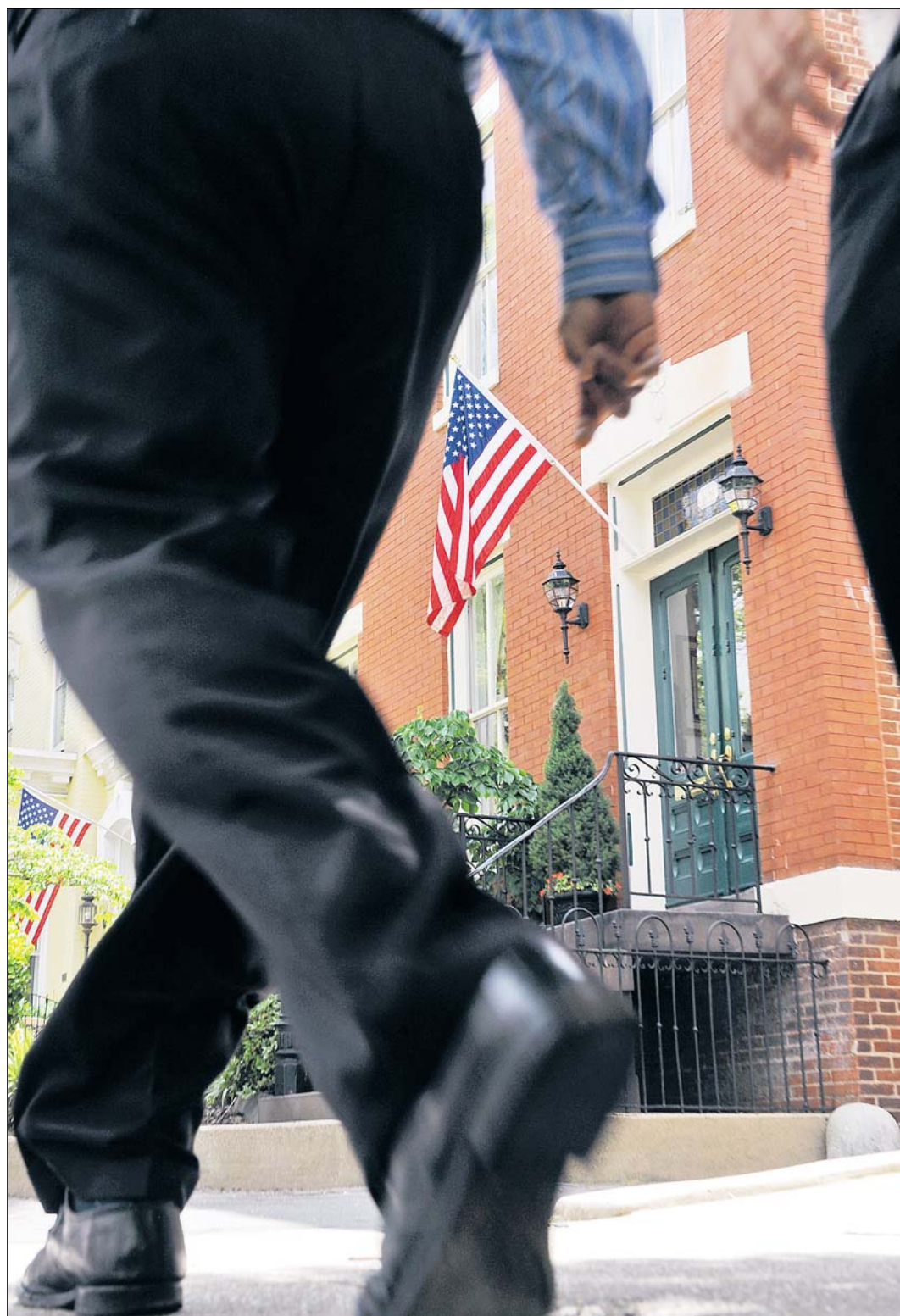
question why their own reform movements are unable to rally people to rise up against unpopular authoritarian regimes. In Egypt, the cradle of what was once the Arab world's most ambitious push for democracy, Iran's protests have served as a reminder of how much the notion has unraveled under President Hosni Mubarak, who has ruled the country for 30 years.

"I am extremely jealous," said Nayra El Sheikh, 28, a blogger and Sharkawy's wife. "I can't help but think: Why not us? What do they have that we don't have? Do they have more guts?"

The frustration comes against a backdrop of deep-rooted skepticism among pro-democracy activists that U.S. policies under President Obama will help transform the region, despite his vow to en-

See EGYPT, Page A17

The Sanford and Ensign Scandals Open a Door On Previously Secretive 'C Street' Spiritual Haven



BY BILL O'LEARY — THE WASHINGTON POST

Mentioned during Gov. Mark Sanford's news conference as the site of "a Christian Bible study," this home in Southeast is the residence of congressmen including Sen. John Ensign, who last week admitted to an affair.

The Political Enclave That Dare Not Speak Its Name

By MANUEL ROIG-FRANZIA
Washington Post Staff Writer

No sign explains the prim and proper red brick house on C Street SE.

Nothing hints at its secrets.

It blends into the streetscape, tucked behind the Library of Congress, a few steps from the Cannon House Office Building, a few more steps to the Capitol. This is just the way its residents want it to be. Almost invisible.

But through one week's events, this stately old pad — a pile of sturdy brick that once housed a convent — has become the very nexus of American scandal, a curious marker in the gallery of capital shame. Mark Sanford, South Carolina's disgraced Republican governor and a former congressman, looked here for answers — for support, for the word of God — as his marriage crumbled over his affair with an Argentine woman. John Ensign, the

senator from Nevada who just seven days earlier also was forced to admit a career-shattering affair, lives there.

"C Street," Sanford said Wednesday during his diffuse, cryptic, utterly arresting confessional news conference, is where congressmen faced "hard questions."

On any given day, the rowhouse at 133 C St. SE — well appointed, with American flag flying, white-and-green-trimmed windows and a pleasant garden — fills with talk of power and the Lord. At least five congressmen live there, quietly renting upstairs rooms from an organization affiliated with "the Fellowship," the obsessively secretive Arlington spiritual group that organizes the National Day of Prayer breakfast, an event routinely attended by legions of top government officials. Other politicians come to the house for group spirituality ses-

See C STREET, Page A5

S.C. Governor Says He'll Repay State for Travel to Argentina

State lawmakers call for Mark Sanford to resign after admitting to an extramarital affair.

A5

INSIDE

THE NATION

Democrats Push for Energy Vote
House leaders predict a narrow win for the cap-and-trade bill, filled with compromises and intended to cut greenhouse gas emissions. A4

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

Bernanke Defends Merrill Sale
The Federal Reserve chairman is grilled by Congress and denies that he pressured Bank of America to purchase Merrill Lynch. A18

CBO Offers Grim View of Budget

Congressional analysts predict that more tax cuts while federal spending increases could "create an explosive fiscal situation." A18

THE REGION

Eastern Market: Then & Now

The landmark food hall east of Capitol Hill reopens, two years after it was gutted by a fire. B1



BY RENE MACURA — ASSOCIATED PRESS

OBITUARY

Farrah Fawcett Dies at 62

The iconic sex symbol soared to stardom in 1976 with her role in "Charlie's Angels" and her wildly popular red-swimsuit poster.

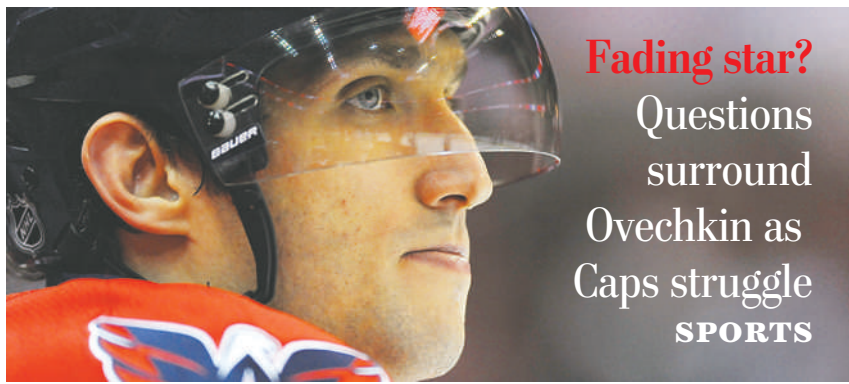
B5; APPRECIATION, C1

WEEKEND

Bring the World Close to You

Experience the sights, sounds and flavors of other cultures at the many festivals in the D.C. area.

Deadlocked
Va. legislators
end session
without a
verdict
on budget
METRO



Fading star?
Questions
surround
Ovechkin as
Caps struggle
SPORTS



The big bet
Redskins place
their future
in Heisman
winner's hands
SPORTS

**Springing
forward** Did
you remember
to turn your
clocks ahead
one hour
today?

The Washington Post

Prices may vary in areas outside
metropolitan Washington.

MD DC VA SU V1 V2 V3 V4

Mostly sunny 61/44 • Tomorrow: Partly sunny 68/51 • DETAILS, C10 SUNDAY, MARCH 11, 2012 washingtonpost.com • \$2

JAPAN: ONE YEAR LATER

AT A CROSSROADS

Tsunami's wreckage is cleared away, but coastal region's next steps are far more uncertain



Michiko Miura and her young son, Taisei, walk past the ruins of homes in Natori, a seaside town almost wiped off the map by the March 11, 2011, tsunami.

BY CHICO HARLAN
IN ISHINOMAKI, JAPAN

One year later, nothing is resolved. The rubble and ocean muck of last March 11 have been scrubbed from every wall, pulled from every basement and picked from every crevasse. Now the debris is piled in terraced mountains at the edge of this town along Japan's tsunami-devastated northeastern coastline. But even after months of cleanup, the reconstruction remains at a starting point, equally capable of taking off or faltering, depending on whether people stick around.

A full recovery, if it's possible, will take at least a decade, authorities say. Residents along the battered coast must be willing to endure trying conditions — prefab houses that don't stay warm; communities that don't provide jobs; grief that doesn't abate — all because they hope that, eventually, they will regain normal lives in functional towns. It's a bargain that Takahiro Chiba struggles with every day. He says his city, one of the region's largest and hardest hit, feels just livable enough to tolerate, but not yet livable enough to commit to. "I don't want to stay in Ishinomaki anymore," Chiba says on a Tuesday. "I'm really thinking we should stay in

Ishinomaki," Chiba says on a Thursday. Chiba sees more hope than he did a year ago. It's not just all the debris that has been cleared away. Workers at the city hall are trying to attract clean-energy projects and offering tax incentives for businesses that relocate here. Lifelines have returned. A department store reopened last week. The progress of the past year, though, doesn't begin to offset the damage of Japan's greatest crisis since World War II. The triple disaster — an earthquake, a tsunami, a resulting meltdown at a nuclear plant — left 19,000 dead and displaced some 342,000 from their

JAPAN CONTINUED ON A2

then

On March 18, 2011, a week after the tsunami hit, Ishinomaki's replica of the Statue of Liberty was surrounded by debris.



now

The area has been cleared of wreckage, but longer-term, more difficult decisions about rebuilding lie ahead.



As eco-terrorism threat diminishes, governments keep eyes on activists

BY JULIET EILPERIN

Ben Kessler, a student at the University of North Texas and an environmental activist, was more than a little surprised that an FBI agent questioned his philosophy professor and acquaintances about his whereabouts and his sign-waving activities aimed at influencing local gas drilling rules. "It was scary," said Kessler, who is a national organizer for the nonviolent environmental group Rising Tide North America. He said the agent approached him this past fall and said that the FBI had received an anonymous complaint and were looking into his opposition to hydraulic fracturing, also known as "fracking." The bureau respected free

speech, the agent told him, but was "worried about things being taken to an extreme level." Even as environmental and animal rights extremism in the United States is on the wane, officials at the federal, state and local level are continuing to target groups they have labeled a threat to national security, according to interviews with numerous activists, internal FBI documents and a survey of legislative initiatives across the country. Iowa Gov. Terry Brandstad (R) signed a law this month, backed by the farm lobby, that makes it a crime to pose as an employee or use other methods of misrepresentation to get access to opera-

ECO-TERRORISM CONTINUED ON A9

'Neighborhood nuisance'

D.C. car break-ins up, repeat offenders may do more time

BY ALLISON KLEIN

David Vines had been arrested almost five dozen times, about half of them for breaking into cars, when he appeared before a D.C. judge in November. He promised to return to the courtroom the next day to continue the hearing. He never made it: He'd been arrested again, charged with breaking into another car. It was his 59th lockup. Over the past 10 years, Vines has "specialized in stealing from cars," prosecutor Thomas Bednar wrote in a sentencing memorandum. "His capers have made him something of a legend." The fact that someone can achieve such

status for perpetrating nuisance crimes helps illustrate the challenge the city faces as it tries to hold back the tide of car break-ins, which is on the rise this year. In the past year, there have been more than 8,000 break-ins across the city. In some places, including the H Street corridor and the Eastern Market area, the number is more than double what it was this time in 2011. The majority of car break-ins, police say, are committed by a handful of offenders such as Vines, who strike repeatedly and cycle in and out of jail. Now the city has mounted a vigorous effort to get more prison time for Vines, an undertaking

BREAK-INS CONTINUED ON A16

GOP looks beyond primary contests

HILL REPUBLICANS CRAFTING STRATEGY

Leaders hone talking points in bid to beat Democrats

BY PAUL KANE AND ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN

Watching with growing unease as the GOP presidential nomination fight promises to stretch into the spring, Republican leaders on Capitol Hill are making moves to protect their own reelection prospects in the fall.

The aim is to fashion a political and legislative agenda to sharpen the party's case against President Obama and Democrats, and make a coherent argument for why the Democratic-controlled Senate, and not the GOP-led House, is to blame for the congressional gridlock that has disheartened the public. A side benefit is that the legislative strategy might shift public attention away from some of the social issues that have recently dominated their party's presidential contest.

While most congressional leaders continue to believe that former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney will be the nominee, they worry about how long it will take to secure the nomination and the political costs of a drawn-out battle.

"Every day that goes by [without a nominee] is a day that plays to President Obama's advantage," said Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), who has endorsed Romney and was the party's 2008 standard-bearer.

While GOP leaders are eager for a nominee to emerge so they can begin a coordinated campaign against the Democrats, they are increasingly convinced that they must move ahead with an

CAMPAIGN CONTINUED ON A8

Where Romney is faring best

The candidate's strongholds in nearly 1,000 counties have been large, wealthy areas. **A6**

Santorum wins in Kansas

Romney doesn't appear in the state; bruising battle for the GOP nomination continues. **A6**

U.S., partners weigh military moves to curb Syrian carnage

BY KAREN DEYOUNG

The Obama administration and its allies and international partners have begun serious discussions about potential military involvement in Syria, even as they continue to press for nonviolent solutions to the carnage there.

With little progress made in the two weeks since 70 countries and international institutions pledged in Tunis to concentrate their efforts on humanitarian and diplomatic fronts, there is a growing willingness to consider additional options.

Possibilities include directly arming opposition forces, sending troops to guard a humanitarian corridor or "safe zone" for the rebels, or an air assault on Syrian air defenses, according to officials from the United States and other nations opposed to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.

But the governments remain deeply divided over the scope of any intervention, how and when it would happen, and who would participate. With Russia still opposed to a U.N. mandate, many question the legitimacy of any military options under international law.

SYRIA CONTINUED ON A14

APARTMENTS.....INSERT
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BUSINESS.....G1

CLASSIFIEDS.....H1, J1, K1
COMICS.....INSERT
EDITORIALS/LETTERS.....A17

LOTTERIES.....C3
OUTLOOK.....B1
OBITUARIES.....C6

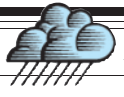
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WORLD NEWS.....A12

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The Washington Post
Year 135, No. 97



ROMNEY LOSES KEY SWING STATES
AFTER BITTERLY FOUGHT CAMPAIGN



DEMOCRATS GAIN IN SENATE;
REPUBLICANS KEEP HOUSE MAJORITY

A second term

303 PRESIDENT OBAMA

Incomplete results on 32 votes

MITT ROMNEY 203

ELECTORAL VOTES

270 to win

Results as of 1:30 a.m.

GAY MARRIAGE

Historic law is approved in Maryland

BY JOHN WAGNER,
PAUL SCHWARTZMAN
AND NED MARTEL

Voters in Maryland narrowly upheld the state's same-sex marriage law, a historic victory for the national gay-rights movement that highlights the country's evolving definition of marriage.

Before Tuesday, gays and lesbians had been granted the right to marry by courts and state legislatures, but proponents of marriage had been defeated at the ballot box in more than 30 states.

Maryland was joined by Maine in approving gay marriage, making the two states' voters the first in the country to approve the measures by a popular vote. In Maryland, gay couples will be able to wed starting Jan. 1.

As they watched the results at a Baltimore club and sensed victory, Ruth Siegel and Nina Nethery, together for 15 years, said they felt joyous. They were surrounded by hundreds of supporters of the referendum to legalize same sex marriage.

"It's being part of history," said Nethery, 59, a systems analyst who lives with Siegel in Silver Spring. "I'm in history."

Maryland voters also approved the Dream Act, allowing undocumented immigrants to receive in-state college tuition rates. A meas-

MARRIAGE CONTINUED ON A49

SENATE RACES

Congress stays split as Kaine, Warren prevail

BY ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN

Democrats retained their majority in the U.S. Senate on Tuesday, an outcome that leaves a divided Congress that closely resembles the one that has been gridlocked for the past two years on some of the nation's most pressing issues.

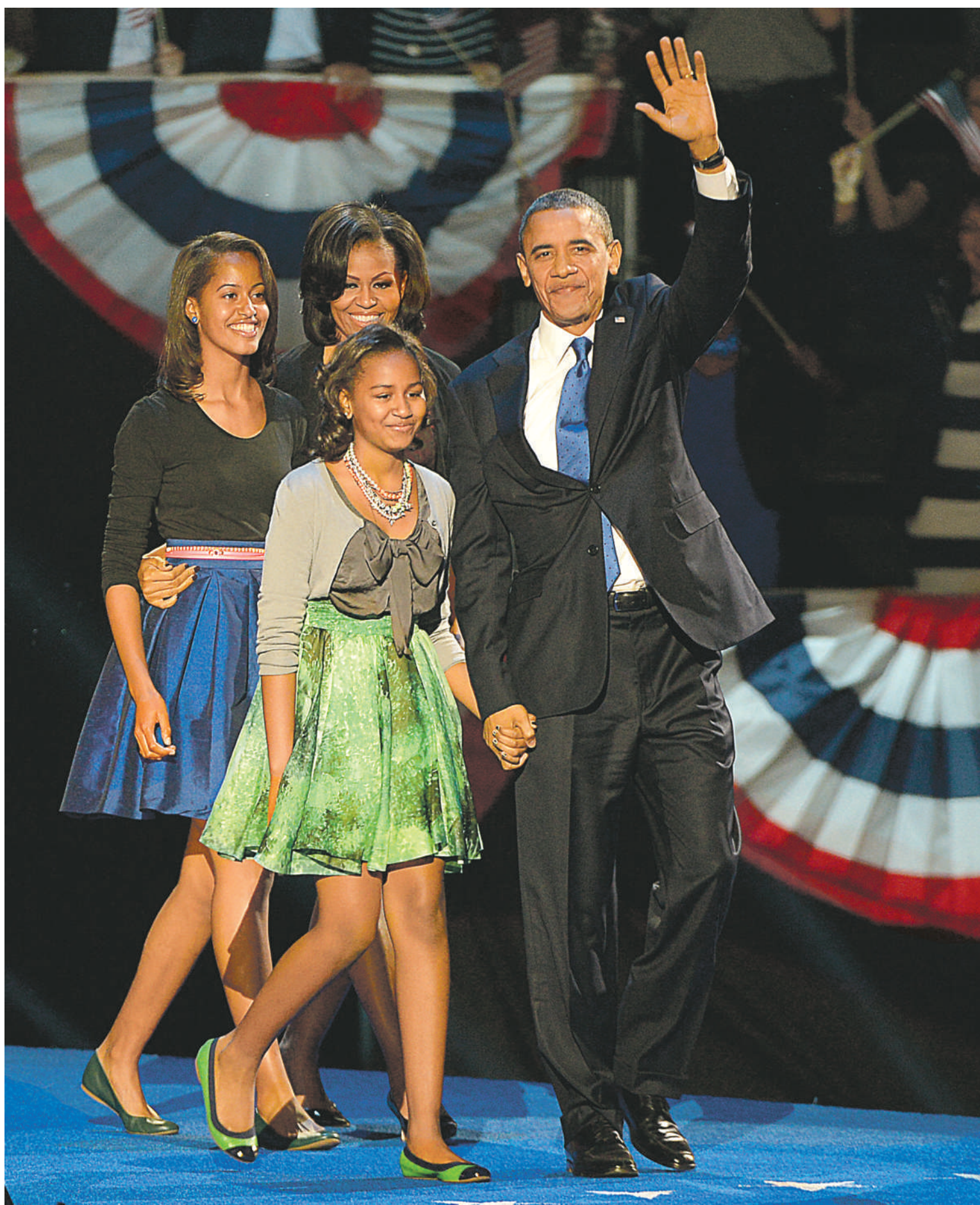
A combination of misfortune and mistakes left Republicans unable to seize control for the second straight election in which they were early favorites to make historic gains.

In a key race between Virginia political heavyweights, former governor Timothy M. Kaine (D) defeated former senator George Allen (R).

Kaine won big in Fairfax County but also appeared likely to carry exurban Loudoun and Prince William counties, a result that would mimic the Northern Virginia coalition that carried Kaine to the governor's mansion in 2005. His victory ended an attempt at political redemption by Allen, a onetime possible presidential contender who was unseated in 2006 by Sen. James Webb (D).

The Democrats flipped Republican Senate seats as the GOP saw sure-bet Indiana slip away. Rep. Joe Donnelly defeated conservative state treasurer Richard

SENATE CONTINUED ON A28



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Obama is joined by first lady Michelle Obama and their daughters Malia, left, and Sasha at an election night rally in Chicago.

THE CAMPAIGN

Victory begins with a strong ground game and ends with a perfect storm

BY SCOTT WILSON
AND PHILIP RUCKER

In early spring, President Obama's veteran campaign staff in Chicago confronted the question that would ultimately determine the presidency: how to run against Mitt Romney?

The choice discussed on frequent calls between the White House and One Prudential Plaza was whether to campaign against Romney as a flip-flopper — a former centrist governor of Massachusetts who turned conservative to win his party's nomination — or use his career as the head of Bain Capital to cast him as a protector of the privileged at the expense of the middle class.

"The most striking data we saw early on was on the 'understands



NIKKI KAHN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A supporter of President Obama exults at Chicago's McCormick Place convention center after hearing that Obama had won.

problems of people like me' question," said a senior White House official involved in the discussions. "Into the summer, Romney was in the teens in this category."

The choice was made. The one-time campaign of hope and change soon began a sustained advertising assault that cast Romney as a heartless executive, a man who willingly fires people and is disconnected from how average Americans live their lives — an approach reinforced by Romney's mistakes along the way.

While the Obama campaign bet it could set the campaign's course in the summer of 2012, Romney's senior staffers in Boston put their money on winning a decisive autumn, when it be-

CAMPAIGN CONTINUED ON A44

Obama wins, defying doubts about economy

BY DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD

Barack Obama was elected to a second presidential term Tuesday, defeating Republican Mitt Romney by reassembling the political coalition that boosted him to victory four years ago, and by remaking himself from a hopeful uniter into a determined fighter for middle-class interests.

Obama, the nation's first African American president, scored a decisive victory by stringing together a series of narrow ones. Of the election's seven major battlegrounds, he won at least six.

"While our journey has been long, we have picked ourselves up," Obama told a cheering crowd of supporters in his home town of Chicago early Wednesday morning. "We have fought our way back. And we know in our hearts that, for the United States of America, the best is yet to come."

He said he intends to sit down with Romney in the weeks ahead to talk about how the two can work together.

Obama also made an oblique reference to the hard, negative edge of his campaign, saying that even this bitter election was something to be envied in unfree nations around the world: "These arguments we have are a mark of our liberty."

His election capped a night of gains for the once beaten-down American left. Democrats Tammy

ELECTION CONTINUED ON A38

THE TAKE

Can the same president build a new landscape?

BY DAN BALZ

After a long and arduous campaign, a newly reelected President Obama confronts his next challenge: binding together a deeply divided nation and turning from campaigning to governing.

The irony of Campaign 2012 is that the most expensive election in American history produced a status-quo outcome: a Democratic president, a Democratic Senate and a Republican House. Now the question is whether a status-quo election can change the status quo that has governed Washington not just during Obama's presidency but for most of the past decade.

Obama overcame significant odds to win reelection, and his campaign was far from the hope-and-change crusade that helped him make history as the nation's first African American president. Faced with a Republican Party united in its opposition to his agenda, he was unable to change Washington as he had promised. He ran a partisan campaign to secure another term in which to show he can produce bipartisanship in the capital.

Obama was handed historic problems in his first term. Now he will confront another daunting agenda, from an economy

TAKE CONTINUED ON A43

Virginia races

The incumbents that hold Northern Virginia's seats in the U.S. House of Representatives easily won reelection. **A31**

U.S. House

Republicans hold on to enough seats to retain their solid majority — and their ability to push an austerity agenda. **A31**

Maryland gambling

Question 7, the controversial measure that set an election spending record in the state, narrowly passes. **A48**

Governors races

Republicans can now claim at least 30 gubernatorial seats; Democrats keep control in a few tossup states. **A28**

Going mobile

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"May God bless the memory of the victims and, in the words of Scripture, heal the brokenhearted and bind up their wounds."

President Obama, in TV address to the nation

26 killed in grade school massacre



ADREES LATIF/REUTERS

GUNMAN'S MOTHER SLAIN AT HOME

Shooter also dead after Connecticut rampage

BY MARC FISHER, STEVE VOGEL AND STEVE HENDRIX

NEWTOWN, CONN. — This time, the shooter killed 27 people, including his elementary-school-teacher mother, her principal and 20 children, most of them kindergartners. Then the shooter killed himself.

Friday morning's massacre in Newtown, Conn. — the second-deadliest shooting event in U.S. history — took place at Sandy Hook Elementary School, where more than 600 children from kindergarten through fourth grade spend their days. About 9:30 a.m., the day was interrupted by a burst of sound on the school intercom: screams.

That was enough for some teachers to move their students away from doors and windows. In one room, a teacher locked her students in a closet, a move parents said saved their children's lives. In another class, a teacher heard two blasts and ordered students into a corner.

Jessica Eisele, a fourth-grader at Sandy Hook, was in the gym when the shooting began. "On the loudspeaker, there was screaming and crying and she heard gunshots and then silence," said her brother Nick, 15.

SHOOTING CONTINUED ON A10

The parents of victims grieve near Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Conn., where a gunman opened fire on children and staff members.

THE GRIEF

Grim news of young victims shatters a season of joy

BY JOEL ACHENBACH

Friday turned out to be the darkest day of the year. It was a day to hug your kids, or call a parent or a friend, or do something that for a moment might dispel some of that darkness.

The news got worse with every bulletin. Shots fired in an elementary school in Connecticut. Three dead. No, many dead. Children shot. Children killed. *Kindergartners*.

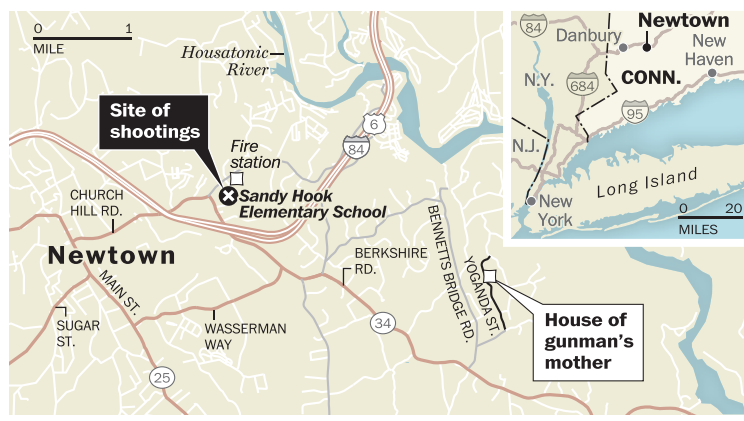
Newtown, Conn., became Everytown, America, on this grim Friday. By midafternoon, the scale of the horror became clear: Twenty children had been slain, plus six of their protectors. The crime took another sick turn with news that the killer was the

son of one of the teachers, who died separately in her home. This appeared Friday night to be a matricide that evolved into mass murder.

All this happened during the holiday season, as people around the country prepared for a big shopping weekend, or got ready for relatives coming to town or kids coming home from college. This is family time, a season of joy. Light the candles, decorate the tree.

Tragedies can't be weighed and measured easily, though we try to do that with statistics, and chart the number of dead and wounded in our mass shootings. Just this summer, the country

TRAGEDY CONTINUED ON A12



THE WASHINGTON POST

Inside today's paper

Obama moved to tears: The president weeps in an address to the nation, but some say his call for "meaningful action" is not enough. **A12**

Protecting our children: Petula Dvorak wonders how America can keep its children safe if the problem of gun violence is not addressed. **A13**

Calls for more gun control: Cries for tougher laws emerge immediately after shooting massacre, but politics often prove immovable. **A14**

Online

Continuing coverage
Follow our live blog and get the latest news as details emerge about what happened in Newtown and why.

THE SHOOTER

Parents' breakup devastated Lanza, ex-neighbors recall

BY GREG JAFFE, PAUL DUGGAN AND COLUM LYNCH

Adam Lanza was his name. Adam P. Lanza, 20, obscure in life, infamous in death.

A really rambunctious kid, as one former neighbor in Newtown, Conn., recalled him, adding that he was on medication. He was a son of an accountant and a school-teacher. A family member told investigators that he had a form of autism, a law enforcement official said.

And he will long be remembered.

On Friday morning, police say, he shot and killed his mother in their home. And then, carrying firearms and an abundance of am-

munition, he drove to Newtown's Sandy Hook Elementary School and started shooting. By the time he turned one of the guns on himself, police say, he had killed 20 children, many of them kindergartners, and six more adults.

Adam Peter Lanza — a new addition to a dreadful list, the roster of killers who targeted students: Seung Hui Cho at Virginia Tech (32 dead); Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold at Columbine High in Colorado (13 dead); Charles C. Roberts IV at a little Amish schoolhouse in Pennsylvania (five dead). The litany of massacres goes on.

As scores of investigators worked Friday to piece together what happened at the school and

SHOOTER CONTINUED ON A11

Networking tied to black jobless rate

BY MICHAEL A. FLETCHER

In the quarter-century that Armentha Cruise has run her Silver Spring staffing firm, the nation has made strides toward racial equality. Voters have twice elected a black president, African Americans shine among Hollywood's brightest stars, and the number of blacks who graduate from college has tripled.

But this stubborn fact remains: The African American jobless rate

is about twice that of whites, a disparity that has barely budged since the government began tracking the data in 1972. In last week's jobs report, the black unemployment rate was 13.2 percent, while the rate among whites stood at 6.8 percent.

Discrimination has long been seen as the primary reason for this disparity, which is evident among workers from engineers to laborers. But fresh research has led scholars to conclude that African

Americans also suffer in the labor market from having weaker social networks than other groups.

Having friends and relatives who can introduce you to bosses or tell you about ripe opportunities has proved to be one of the most critical factors in getting work. Such connections can also help people hold on to their jobs, researchers say.

"It is surprising to many people

JOBLESS CONTINUED ON A4

U.S. sees likelihood of new Iran talks

BY JOBY WARRICK

The United States and five other world powers are hastily preparing for possible new talks with Iran amid signs that the country's leaders might be willing to meet as early as next week to discuss scaling back nuclear activities in return for future sanctions relief.

The six powers have agreed on a new package of inducements to be offered to Iran if it agrees to freeze key parts of its nuclear program,

said U.S. and European officials briefed on the matter. Iran rejected a similar deal earlier this year, but U.S. officials said they were modestly hopeful that Tehran's position had softened under the strain of international sanctions.

"Our assessment is that it is possible that they are ready to make a deal," a senior administration official said Friday. "Certainly, the pressure is on."

The talks would be the first high-level negotiations over Iran's

nuclear program since June, offering at least the prospect of a thaw in a standoff that has grown increasingly tense in recent months. The apparent movement on the diplomatic front came amid reports that Iran had agreed to concessions in a separate dispute with U.N. nuclear officials over access to an Iranian base allegedly used for nuclear weapons research.

There was no confirmation

IRAN CONTINUED ON A5

IN SUNDAY'S POST

America's hope A West Virginia chef and his assistant are daring to do what no other U.S. team has ever done: win a medal at the Bocuse d'Or. **Magazine**

Peruvian heights The land of the Incas — which teems with indigenous bounty — climbs toward the culinary summit. **Travel**



LAURENT CIPRIANI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Happily corrupted Nam June Paik, the Korean-born artist who is the focus of a Smithsonian exhibition, serenely channeled the trajectory of his career. **Arts**

Street-fighting man After 17 novels, the wildly popular action hero Jack Reacher is on his way to Hollywood, ready for his close-up. **Style**

INSIDE

STYLE
To the manor sworn
Thursday night at the British ambassador's residence featured six cultural imports: the cast of "Downton Abbey." **C1**

REAL ESTATE
Undervalued
How to address the problem of an appraisal that is lower than the agreed-upon sale price. **E1** (Section appears after Cars section.)

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“It would misunderstand these men and women to say they disrespect the idea of marriage. Their plea is that they do respect it, respect it so deeply that they seek to find its fulfillment for themselves. Their hope is not to be condemned to live in loneliness, excluded from one of civilization’s oldest institutions. They ask for equal dignity in the eyes of the law. The Constitution grants them that right. The judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit is reversed. It is so ordered.”

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy in the majority opinion | Read more from the majority and dissenting opinions inside

Gays’ right to wed affirmed

Jubilation for many, but day takes bittersweet turn for some

BY SANDHYA SOMASHEKHAR

It was what counts as an outpouring of emotion in the formal atmosphere of the Supreme Court chambers: Rows of lawyers sniffing and dabbing at their eyes out of joy.

But the celebration was less restrained outside on the steps and all around the country as gay couples grasped what had just happened in those chambers. Same-sex marriage had stopped being its own thing and just became “marriage.”

“Oh my God, I am so excited,” said Amber Cameron, 29, a call-center worker who had to take a moment to compose herself outside her workplace in Hattiesburg, Miss., shortly after the ruling. In a couple of hours, she and her partner of five years, along with their two children, would be in line at the courthouse, ready to be among the first to marry in the state.

As it turns out, they would be the third same-sex couple to get a marriage license in Forrest County, Miss. But they would also be the last, for now. After the two exchanged vows on the courthouse steps, Mississippi closed the door to same-sex marriages for the day, underscoring that the gay rights movement that although it had achieved one of its biggest victories, the fight was not quite over.

Obstacles in Mississippi, Louisiana and at scattered courthouses elsewhere put a damper

REACTION CONTINUED ON A10

ABOVE: Couples celebrate the Supreme Court’s ruling outside the White House on Friday.

Special poignancy

Ruling amazes an older generation that endured years of hatred. **A12**



MICHAEL S. WILLIAMSON/THE WASHINGTON POST

5-TO-4 RULING BY SUPREME COURT

Obama hails decision as a ‘victory for America’

BY ROBERT BARNES

A deeply divided Supreme Court on Friday delivered a historic victory for gay rights, ruling 5 to 4 that the Constitution requires that same-sex couples be allowed to marry no matter where they live.

The court’s action rewarded years of legal work by same-sex marriage advocates and marked the culmination of an unprecedented upheaval in public opinion and the nation’s jurisprudence.

Marriages began Friday in states that had previously thwarted the efforts of same-sex couples to wed, while some states continued to resist what they said was a judicial order that changed the traditional definition of marriage and sent the country into uncharted territory. As of the court’s decision Friday morning, there were 14 states where same-sex couples were not allowed to marry.

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, who has written all of the court’s decisions recognizing and expanding gay rights, said the decision was based on the fundamental right to marry and the equality that must be afforded gay Americans.

“Under the Constitution, same-sex couples seek in marriage the same legal treatment as opposite-sex couples, and it would disparage their personhood to deny them this right,” Kennedy wrote. He

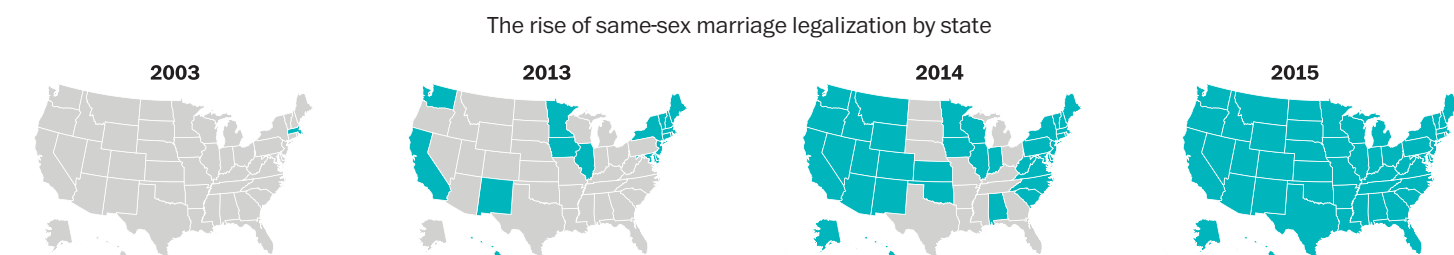
COURT CONTINUED ON A12

Kennedy displays true colors

The justice cements his legacy as a champion of gay rights. **A13**

Ruling splits GOP field

Some White House hopefuls are enraged; others are resigned. **A14**



Opponents are divided on how – and whether – to resist ruling

BY DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD, KEVIN SULLIVAN AND NIRAJ CHOKSHI

When Friday began, there were 14 states where same-sex couples still could not legally marry. By the afternoon – after a confusing day of orders and counter-orders by governors, at-

torneys general and county clerks – couples had married in all of them but one.

The holdout was Louisiana. There, Attorney General James D. “Buddy” Caldwell (R) condemned the Supreme Court’s ruling, which legalized same-sex marriage nationwide, as “federal government intrusion

into what should be a state issue.”

What’s more, Caldwell said, he had read the text of the decision. And he’d found no specific line saying that Louisiana had to obey it.

“Therefore, there is not yet a legal requirement for officials to issue marriage licenses or

perform marriages for same-sex couples in Louisiana,” he said in a statement. Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal (R), who announced Wednesday that he is running for president, criticized the justices’ decision but said his state will comply with it once an appeals court officially

RESIST CONTINUED ON A11

WHITE HOUSE DEBRIEF | STEVEN MUFSON

For Obama, a day of triumph, grief and grace

CHARLESTON, S.C. — On Friday morning, President Obama stood in the Rose Garden exalting the “thunderbolt” of justice that had come from the Supreme Court, which guaranteed the right of marriage to gay and lesbian couples after many spent decades in often lonely, perilous activism.

About five hours later, leaning into the microphone at the memorial for the late South Carolina state senator and pastor Clementa Pinckney, Obama sang alone the opening lines of “Amazing Grace,” before a crowd of nearly 6,000 rose to its feet to



BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

join him in an extraordinary racial ending to an eulogy that lamented racial hatred but drew on what Obama called the grace of God to predict its eventual defeat.

Rarely has a single day so completely encapsulated the emotional peaks and troughs of the presidency of Barack Obama. He sought to draw the moments together with a phrase he has employed in the past, using variations to argue that the

DEBRIEF CONTINUED ON A14

President Obama delivers a eulogy for the Rev. Clementa Pinckney in Charleston, S.C.

Dozens killed in terror attacks on 3 continents

BY LIZ SLY

BEIRUT — Assaults beheaded, bombed and gunned down victims on three continents Friday, killing more than 60 people and raising fears that a global surge of terror strikes could be imminent.

There was initially no reason to believe the disparate attacks — at a factory in France, a beach resort in Tunisia and a mosque in Kuwait — were connected.

But then the Islamic State asserted responsibility for two of them, first the bombing in Kuwait in which 25 died and later, in

a separate statement, the assault on the beach in Tunisia, which killed 39.

The second statement contained a warning that more attacks soon will follow: “Let them wait for the glad tidings of what will harm them in the coming days, Allah permitting,” it said, referring to the “apostates” who had been the target of the assault.

The three incidents followed an appeal Tuesday from the Islamic State’s spokesman, Abu Mohammed al-Adnani, for Muslims to mark the holy month of

ATTACKS CONTINUED ON A4

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Summer Home and Design

A tiny house can come with enormous benefits. **Magazine**

These days Dave Grohl is a domesticated rock star and happy about it. **Arts & Style**

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INSIDE

THE REGION
Two teenagers were killed and two injured in a Montgomery County car crash when the driver lost control of his vehicle. Police said they had been at a party where there was underage drinking. **B1**
The Fairfax County School Board voted to have gender issues taught in middle and high schools. **B2**

THE NATION
One of the two New York prison escapees, Richard Matt, was shot and killed in the woods, and the other is on the run, authorities said. **A3**
A working itinerary of Pope Francis’s U.S. visit in the fall reveals his plans to speak repeatedly about the plight of immigrants. **A3**
The Pentagon secretly repatriated two Tun-

sians who were interrogated at a CIA black site in Afghanistan and imprisoned there. **A2**

THE WORLD
As Iran nuclear talks near completion, the issues are getting “tougher and tougher” as stakes get higher. **A2**
Islamic militants attacked a remote African Union base in Somalia; many casualties

were reported. **A5**

THE ECONOMY
Elon Musk’s SpaceX is preparing for a rocket launch to resupply the International Space Station on Sunday. **A8**

SPORTS
The U.S. women’s soccer team beat China, 1-0, and reached the World Cup semifinals; Germany awaits. **D1**

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