



## Isolation of China grows with travel bans

Virus toll increases along with political rancor and threat to global economy

BY ANNA FIFIELD  
AND JOEL ACHENBACH

**BELJING** — One nation after another is closing its doors to most Chinese travelers, as the death toll from the novel coronavirus continues to rise with no sign that the virus can be contained before it becomes a full-blown planetary health crisis. China's increasing isolation threatens to turn this new epidemic into a geopolitical conflict, intensifying preexisting tensions between China and the United States and having potentially significant impacts on the global economy.

At 5 p.m. Sunday, the United States put into effect stringent travel restrictions on people coming from China. But the official edict of the Trump administration, announced Friday, led to confusion late Sunday about where, exactly, travelers from China deemed in need of quarantining would be screened and housed at or near the airports where they would be arriving.

The U.S. travel restrictions came in the wake of a report released late last week showing that

SEE **CORONAVIRUS** ON A14

## Virus forces U.S. firms to confront life without China

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

The battle to contain the Chinese coronavirus threatens to cut off U.S. companies from parts and materials they need to produce iPhones, automobiles and appliances and drugs to treat medical conditions including Alzheimer's disease, high blood pressure and malaria.

Some of the United States' best-known manufacturers such as General Electric, Caterpillar and the Big Three automakers, along with many smaller American businesses, depend on what is made in Chinese factories.

Now, they confront life without those items. Major airlines in the United States and Europe are halting their cargo and passenger flights to China for up to two months. Recent visitors to the country are barred from entering the United States.

After four decades of growing integration with the rest of the world, China almost overnight has become an economic island. Its temporary isolation — no one knows for how long — will hurt companies that depend upon Chinese inputs as well as those that sell to Chinese customers.

Consumer electronics makers are among the most vulnerable, because many game consoles,

SEE **CHINA** ON A16

### ELECTION 2020



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## An anxious and divided nation casts its first votes

BY MARC FISHER

Finally, after three years of a presidency like none other, after street protests and raucous rallies, after awkward Thanksgiving dinners and broken friendships, after predictions of fractured democracy and celebrations of disrupted government, Americans will begin voting Monday.

They will vote on whether to turn away from smash-mouth politics or double down on a presidency that serves as a national blowoff valve. They will vote on

whether they prefer a restoration of quieter governing or a wholesale change of the economic system. Above all, they will vote on whether they have had enough of President Trump — and what to do about the direction of a country that all sides seem to agree faces significant trouble.

When Iowa voters assemble in caucuses Monday evening to begin selecting presidential nominees, they will lead off a tightly packed parade of opportunities for Americans to state their verdict, including potentially bitter

**CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: Sen. Elizabeth Warren, with her grandson; Sen. Bernie Sanders; former vice president Joe Biden; and Sen. Amy Klobuchar campaign in Iowa.**

Democratic primaries culminating with the ultimate decision day on Nov. 3.

This vote feels momentous, said Chris Buskirk, publisher of American Greatness, a conservative website, because Trump supporters “hope that his reelection would finally legitimize him as president” and because the president's opponents see one last opportunity to get rid of the man they blame for exacerbating the country's divisions.

“But actually, I'm not optimistic.”

SEE **VOTE** ON A9

## A roiled race to the last in Iowa

### DEMOCRATS SPAR ON UNITY, ELECTABILITY

Some in party fear contest pushed too far to the left

BY CHELSEA JANES,  
ANNIE LINSKEY,  
SEAN SULLIVAN  
AND CLEVE R. WOOTSON JR.

**CORALVILLE, IOWA** — Making last-minute pleas to an electorate that has remained widely undecided, the presidential candidates powered toward the end of a year-long Iowa caucuses campaign by focusing Sunday on vows of electability and Democratic Party unity even as they offered sharply different visions of what that meant.

On the final full day of campaigning here before Monday night's precinct caucuses, crowds overflowed school gymnasiums and campaign offices around the state as the candidates kept a brisk pace to make their final appeals. But it was also a day marked by upheaval and signs of discomfort among top party officials over whether Iowa's vote will push the presidential race too far to the left.

On Sunday, even as Joe Biden's campaign aides worked to play down expectations and allies sought to cast doubt on rival Sen. Bernie Sanders (Vt.), an NBC News reporter overheard one of the former vice president's top surrogates, John F. Kerry, in a hotel lobby speculating over the idea

SEE **CAMPAIGN** ON A4

### The last of the undecideds

Some Iowans are making their picks on the eve of the caucuses. **A8**



SHANNON STAPLETON/REUTERS

### Chiefs win Super Bowl LIV

Kansas City quarterback Patrick Mahomes was named the game's MVP after he led the Chiefs to a come-from-behind 31-20 victory over the San Francisco 49ers on Sunday. **Sports, D1**

## Probable acquittal will have long-term effects

Senate lowering bar for presidents' permissible conduct, historians say

BY PHILIP RUCKER

The evidence of President Trump's actions to pressure Ukraine was never in serious dispute. After a systematic presentation of the facts of the case, even some Senate Republicans concluded that what he did was wrong.

But neither was the verdict of Trump's impeachment trial ever in doubt. The Senate's jurors are scheduled to etch an almost-certain acquittal into the historical record on Wednesday.

The impending judgment that the president's actions do not warrant his removal from office serves as a testament to Washington's extraordinary partisan divide and to Trump's uncontested hold on the Republican base. The expect-

ed acquittal also has profound and long-term ramifications for America's institutions and the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches, according to numerous historians and legal experts.

In effect, they say, the Senate is lowering the bar for permissible conduct for future presidents.

“It's a dispiriting moment for an American system that in many ways was founded on the insight that, because humankind is frail and fallen and fallible, no one branch of government can have too much power,” said Jon Meacham, an American historian and author. “The president's party, instead of being a check on an individual's impulses and ambitions, has become an instrument of them.”

Since the moment House Democrats opened their impeachment inquiry in September, Trump has

SEE **IMPEACHMENT** ON A10

### GOP senators hold line

Lawmakers defend their decision to bar new evidence at trial. **A11**

## IN THE NEWS



EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

**London attack** A man who had recently served time on terrorism charges stabbed two people before being shot dead, police said. **A13**

**State of the Union** President Trump is expected to pitch a tax break supporting private- and religious-school scholarships. **A2**

**THE NATION** A senior U.S. military official said that although Iran is no longer on heightened war footing, the United States continues to brace for further attacks. **A16**

**THE WORLD** French President Emmanuel Macron still faces questions on his pension reform plans as protests peter out. **A13**

**THE ECONOMY** The decline of hunting is cutting into funding for conservation and threatens to increase extinctions, advocates say. **A3**

**THE REGION** The man fatally shot by a Prince George's County police officer while handcuffed was recalled as the “glue” that bound his family together. **B1** The school system in Franklin County, Va., rejected a proposed ban on clothing bearing images of the Confederate battle flag. **B1** Virginia Tech has named the first chief of its “Innovation Campus” project. **B1**

**SPORTS** The Washington Capitals fell to the Pittsburgh Penguins, 4-3, in the lat-

est installment of the classic rivalry. **D1** Novak Djokovic held steady against Dominic Thiem for a comeback win and his eighth Australian Open title. **D1**

### THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY** Iowa's Democratic caucuses are held. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo meets with foreign ministers in Uzbekistan.

**TUESDAY** President Trump gives his State of the Union address. Factory orders for December are expected to show a 1.2 percent increase.

**New York** Fashion Week begins and runs through Feb. 12.

**WEDNESDAY** NASA launches a rocket carrying an orbiter to study the sun. The international trade deficit for December is estimated at \$68.3 billion.

**THURSDAY** Jobless claims for the week ended Feb. 1 are estimated at 215,000.

**FRIDAY** The National Governors Association holds its winter meeting. Democratic presidential candidates participate in a debate in New Hampshire.

## INSIDE



### STYLE What's Mayor Pete think? Ask Mom.

Who is this candidate who keeps his feelings to himself? Sometimes even Mom has to guess. **C1**

### STYLE Leaving our silos

Critic Ann Hornaday was won over by a film about Justice Clarence Thomas, cinematically if not ideologically. **C1**

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HAPPENING TODAY

For the latest updates all day, visit [washingtonpost.com](https://www.washingtonpost.com).

**All day | Iowa's** Democratic caucuses are held. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/politics](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics).

**All day | Secretary of State** Mike Pompeo meets with foreign ministers in Uzbekistan. Visit [washingtonpost.com/world](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world) for details.

**10 a.m. | The Commerce Department** issues construction spending for December, which is expected to rise 0.5 percent. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/business](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business).

**7 p.m. | The Washington Wizards** host the Golden State Warriors at Capital One Arena. Follow the game at [postsports.com](https://postsports.com).

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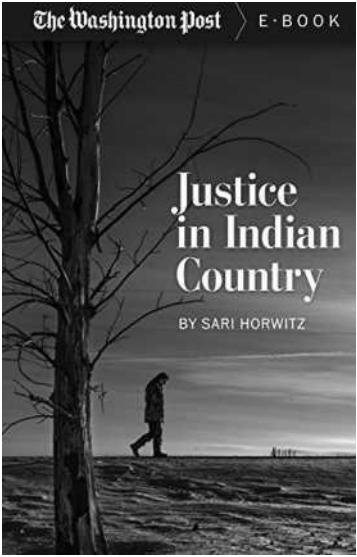
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**Justice in Indian Country**

This eye-opening report is the product of a year-long investigation into how the legal system in Indian country fails some of America's most vulnerable citizens—and what is being done to begin to rectify an ongoing tragedy. Sari Horwitz, recipient of the ASNE Award for Distinguished Writing on Diversity, traveled to an Indian reservation in Minnesota to interview a Native American woman who had been sexually assaulted, as had her mother and daughter. In each case, the assailants, who were not Native American, were not prosecuted due to loopholes in the laws on jurisdiction of criminal prosecution on Indian reservations. This story set her off on a journey across the country, into remote villages and tribal lands where Horwitz uncovered the widespread failures of the American legal system and its inability to protect Native American women and children.

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**Federal Insider**

JOE DAVIDSON

They are among the overlooked, the underappreciated and still, the unpaid. They clean toilets, mop floors and maintain security. They work in federal buildings but are not federal employees.

They are lower-wage government contractors. It's been one year since the longest partial government shutdown — at 35 days — ended. Federal employees received back pay for time missed, but many contractors still have not.

“We’re just federal contractors, so we’re like the bottom of the barrel,” said Michelle Serrano, 44, a security officer at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian branch in New York. “We’re not considered federal workers.”

House Democrats approved a bill in June, with no Republican support, that would have provided people like Serrano back pay.

“Federal contract service workers, many of whom live paycheck to paycheck, missed more than a month of pay over the course of the government shutdown and are still struggling to deal with the economic ramifications,” the bill’s sponsor, Rep. Ayanna Pressley (D-Mass.), said by email. “The federal government relies on these hardworking men and women to keep our government buildings running and we have an obligation to do right by them.”

Sen. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.) fought for the bill in the Republican-controlled Senate. It went nowhere.

“Since last year’s Trump shutdown I have repeatedly pushed my Republican colleagues to provide back pay to federal contract employees, many of whom make up janitorial and support staffs,” he said in a statement. “These men and women were stranded without pay for weeks through no fault of their own, and their unpaid bills did not go away when the shutdown ended. It is shameful that Republicans and the Trump Administration have blocked our attempts to right this wrong, and I will continue working to address this issue.”

Two key Republicans — Sen. Ron Johnson (Wis.) and Rep. Mark Meadows (N.C.), respectively chairman and ranking minority-party member of congressional panels that oversee the federal workforce — did not respond to requests for comment.

The workers, not affluent to begin with, still feel the shutdown’s bite.

Serrano estimates she lost about \$3,000 because Congress failed to keep all agencies working. Her family, including daughter Elicia, suffered. After Elicia completed her first semester in college, “we weren’t able to afford the second semester because of the shutdown,” Serrano said. “That was a setback. She had to get a job.”

Serrano, like all contractors, is employed by a private firm doing work for the federal government,

but their beef is with various agencies, not the companies.

Which government contractors were paid “depends on the agency,” said Jaime Contreras, vice president of 32BJ, a regional arm of the Service Employees International Union. It represents about 650 contract workers still seeking back pay.

“The reality is that all the agencies actually have the flexibility to pay their contractors because their budget was preapproved a year before. So some agencies did and some agencies didn’t,” he said.

Serrano and others did not get paid because the Smithsonian did not pay the contracting company.

*“We’re just federal contractors, so we’re like the bottom of the barrel.”*

**Michelle Serrano, 44,**  
museum security officer in New York

“In the event of a government shutdown and our buildings are closed, we will not pay the security firm,” said Linda St. Thomas, chief spokesperson for the Smithsonian Institution.

That makes sense to agency number crunchers, but it’s lower-paid folks like Lila Johnson who get crunched.

She spent 50 of her 72 years cleaning buildings, the last two decades as an Agriculture Department contractor. Painful arthritis has swollen her hands

In address, Trump to tout private school tax plan

State of the Union will prominently feature \$5 billion proposal

BY LAURA MECKLER

President Trump plans to use his State of the Union address on Tuesday to pitch a tax break to support private and religious school scholarships, a pet issue for social conservatives that went nowhere last year.

The \$5 billion proposal, included in Trump’s budget last year, received the briefest of mentions in the 2019 address to Congress. This time, it will be more prominently featured, a White House official said Saturday. The official spoke on the condition of anonymity because details of the speech are not yet public.

Education Secretary Betsy DeVos, an enthusiastic backer of what are called “school choice” initiatives, has spent much of the last year touting the plan. Last week, she joined Vice President Pence in Wisconsin, where he promised to help enact it into law.

“The decision about where our kids should go to school should not be up to bureaucrats, or a



Education Secretary Betsy DeVos introduces Vice President Pence last week in Wisconsin, where he promised to help enact the tax credit plan into law and lauded the state’s school voucher program.

student’s Zip code, or their family’s income,” Pence said. “Parents should decide where their kids go to school.”

Pence lauded the Wisconsin school voucher program for allowing families to use tax dollars for private, parochial, Christian or home schooling.

The administration calls its plan Education Freedom Scholarships. The proposal would create a 100 percent tax credit for individual and corporate contributions to state-sanctioned scholarship funds, meaning donors could get back their entire donation through a reduction to their federal taxes.

away from neighborhood public schools and into private school voucher programs,” said Lily Eskelsen García, president of the National Education Association, the nation’s largest union.

While the proposal is all but dead on Capitol Hill, it could be a rallying point politically as Trump seeks reelection. School choice is popular among social conservatives, who want the power to use tax dollars for religious and other private schools. Supporters argue it also will resonate among middle class voters who cannot afford to pay for private school on their own.

“Given that Democratic candidates are so strongly in the union camp, [Trump] is going to make this a big contrast,” predicted Jeanne Allen, chief executive of the Center for Education Reform, which supports school choice programs.

Allen and other school choice advocates were disappointed Trump did not push this idea during his first two years in office, when Republicans controlled both houses of Congress. Last year, the idea was included in the Trump budget proposal, although the president’s State of the Union speech included only a passing and cryptic reference to it.

“To help support working parents, the time has come to pass School Choice for Americans’ children,” he said. The words “School Choice” were capitalized in the White House transcript, an apparent indication the administration wanted to promote a specific program rather than a general notion.

The plan for Trump to speak about the issue in more depth this year was first reported by USA Today. He also plans to include a guest in the audience who would benefit from the program, the White House official said.

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POLITICS & THE NATION

Hunting is declining, creating a crisis for conservation

BY FRANCES STEAD SELLERS

STEVENS, PA. — They settled into position — a retired couple armed with a long-nosed camera and three men with shotguns.

Tom Stoeri balanced the hefty lens on his half-open car window, waiting to capture the Canada geese as they huddled on the frozen lake, fluttering up before they launched into flight.

A little more than a mile away, John Heidler and two friends scanned the skies from a sunken blind, mimicking the birds’ honking and hoping their decoys would lure them within range — until, Pachow! Pachow! Pachow! Two geese dropped in bursts of gray-black plumage, and a third swung low across the snow-streaked landscape before falling to the jaws of Heidler’s chocolate lab.

Public lands such as these at the Middle Creek Wildlife Management Area are a shared resource, open to an unlikely mix of hunters and hikers, birdwatchers and mountain bikers.

“It’s a symbiotic thing,” said Meg Stoeri, Tom’s wife and fellow photographer.

But today, that symbiosis is off kilter: Americans’ interest in hunting is on the decline, cutting into funding for conservation, which stems largely from hunting licenses, permits and taxes on firearms, bows and other equipment.

Even as more people are engaging in outdoor activities, hunting license sales have fallen from a peak of about 17 million in the early ’80s to 15 million last year, according to U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service data. The agency’s 2016 survey suggested a steeper decline to 11.5 million Americans who say they hunt, down more than 2 million from five years earlier.

“The downward trends are clear,” said Samantha Pedder of the Council to Advance Hunting and the Shooting Sports, which works to increase the diversity of hunters.

The resulting financial shortfall is hitting many state wildlife agencies.

In Wisconsin, a \$4 million to \$6 million annual deficit forced the state’s Department of Natural Resources to reduce warden patrols and invasive species control. Michigan’s legislature had to dig into general-tax coffers to save some of the state’s wildlife projects, while other key programs, such as protecting bees and other pollinating creatures, remain “woefully underfunded,” according to Edward Golder, a spokesman for the state’s natural resources department. Some states, including Missouri, are redirecting sales tax revenue to conservation.

Here in Pennsylvania — where the game commission gets more than 50 percent of its revenue from licenses, permits and taxes — the agency had to cancel construction projects, delay vehicle purchases and leave dozens of positions vacant, according to a 2016 report.

“That’s what keeps me up at night,” Robert Miller, director of the Governor’s Advisory Council for Hunting, Fishing and Conservation, said of the inadequacies of the user-pay, user-play model that has funded conservation for decades.

A national panel has called for a new funding model to keep at-risk species from needing far costlier emergency measures. The crisis stands to worsen with as many as one-third of America’s wildlife species “at increased risk of ex-



KYLE GRANTHAM FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Nick Semanco, bottom, and Adam Saurazas in Pennsylvania. The state has seen a drop in licensed hunters over the past decade.

inction,” according to a 2018 report published by the National Wildlife Federation. In December, environmentalists and hunters united in Washington behind two bipartisan bills aimed at establishing new funding sources and facilitating the recruitment of hunters.

The needs are becoming more urgent as development eats into habitats and new challenges crop up, such as climate change and chronic wasting disease, a neurological condition infecting deer. The Trump administration’s recent rollback of pollution controls on waterways will put a greater burden on states to protect wetland habitats.

The financial troubles are growing as baby boomers age out of hunting, advocates say, and younger generations turn instead to school sports and indoor hobbies such as video games.

“Hunting and fishing are slowly dying off,” said Heidler, who described himself as “a fourth-generation waterfowler.”

While his children enjoy the lifestyle, he said very few of their friends do.

“They say there’s not time between school and after-school activities,” he said, adding that even archery rarely leads children into hunting anymore.

The sport is booming at Lancaster Archery Supply, where Kevin Sweigart takes his 14-year-old daughter for lessons. Sweigart said he grew up hunting, but the culture has changed and he hasn’t passed on the tradition to the next generation.

“My dad always told me stories about hunting,” said Norah Sweigart. “But for me it’s just target shooting.”

Many states are devising ways to reinvigorate hunting culture and expand the sport’s appeal to women, minorities, and the growing number of locavores — people who seek locally sourced food.

Colorado has a Hug a Hunter campaign to raise awareness of wildlife management and outdoor recreational opportunities. Pennsylvania, where the number of licensed hunters has dropped from 927,000 to 850,000 over the past decade, is trying to stall the decline with “R3 activities” — efforts

to recruit, retain and reactivate hunters.

The state is relaxing its ban on Sunday hunting this year to increase opportunities for working families. The game commission plans to bring a food truck to community gatherings to familiarize people with eating wild game. And it will expand on mentored outings for young people and first-time female hunters.

In October, Derek Stoner, the commission’s hunter outreach coordinator, helped arrange a deer hunt for 20 newcomers, many from the city, with 14 trained mentors at the John Heinz National Wildlife Refuge in Tinicum, just south of Philadelphia.

Elena Korboukh, a teacher from South Philadelphia, recognized the event was “a kind of PR campaign to promote hunting,” but said she welcomed the chance to connect with nature — an opportunity she wishes she could offer her students.

“I had hiked the refuge for close to 20 years, but you don’t see a lot when you are moving,” said Korboukh, who killed a deer with a crossbow during the October event. “When you are sitting still, you see a lot, and it’s very, very exciting.”

Pat Oelschlager, one of the mentors at the Heinz hunt, continues to take out inexperienced hunters. On a dank January afternoon in Evansburg State Park, Oelschlager set out to stalk deer with Lenny Cohen, who said he wanted to get closer to his hunter-gatherer roots, which he felt distant from, growing up in the Philadelphia suburbs.

Neither targeted a deer that day but Oelschlager fielded Cohen’s questions about animal behavior, hunting etiquette and the names of native plants.

“Lots to learn!” Cohen said, smiling as he released cattail fluff into the air to watch which way the light breeze was carrying his scent.

A few states are bucking the trend. New Mexico, where the number of licensed hunters grew nearly 10 percent over the past four years, credits its successes to R3 strategies such as making license applications available on-

line and seeking out Latino residents.

Many national hunting advocacy groups, such as Backcountry Hunters and Anglers, have made cultivating interest among people who have had little exposure to the outdoors key to their missions. The National Shooting Sports Foundation is seeking to turn what its research suggests is about 2.5 million “aspiring hunters” into actual hunters.

Other groups aim to create experiences that appeal to women, including BOW (Becoming an Outdoors Woman) and the National Wildlife Federation’s Artemis.

“I have had more dance parties in the field with women,” said Artemis’s leader, Marcia Brownlee. “And laughed more.”

But revamping the federal

funding model has proved tough. A proposed tax on outdoor gear, for example, was killed by resistance from retailers and manufacturers.

The link between hunting and conservation dates back more than a century to when trigger-happy gunmen all but blasted the bison population to oblivion and finished off North America’s most abundant bird, the passenger pigeon. (Martha, the hapless final specimen, died in 1914 in the Cincinnati Zoo before being shipped, on ice, to Washington and put on display at the Smithsonian.)

Small wonder that hunters were asked to curb — and pay for — their excesses. Avid outdoorsmen such as Theodore Roosevelt put their stamp on an enduring ethos that combined sport with conservation and led to the 1937

passage of the Pittman-Robertson Act, which imposed an 11 percent excise tax on the sale of firearms that is apportioned annually to state agencies for conservation.

While critics say the system puts too much emphasis on hunted animals and birds, it has turned the tables for many species, including the now-ubiquitous Canada goose and whitetail deer, which had been in decline.

“The species that we have funded have done very well,” said National Wildlife Federation President Collin O’Mara, “which means it’s a fixable problem.”

In December, Congress modernized Pittman-Robertson as part of the Omnibus Appropriations Act, giving states greater discretion in their use of federal dollars for recruitment. House legislators also took bipartisan steps to advance the Recovering America’s Wildlife Act, which would provide states and tribes with \$1.4 billion annually from the general fund to restore habitats and implement key conservation strategies. The bill now heads to the House floor for a full vote.

“It’s exciting to see sportsmen’s groups working with greener groups,” O’Mara said.

Still, at Middle Creek and beyond, conservation remains a constant balancing act — not only among the plentiful waterfowl, the returning bald eagles and rare bog turtles — but also among the people.

In a month or so, busloads of tourists will park along the lake, many having flown in specially from Asia, to see tens of thousands of snow geese stop over on their route north to their breeding grounds.

It’s a miraculous sight, free and open to everyone, that has inspired Tom and Meg Stoeri, the wildlife photographers, to bring along their grandchildren.

Tom Stoeri noted that the otter on their special license plate reflects their support of the state’s wild resources.

“I would pay more,” he said. “But I don’t know if the general population would.”

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DIGEST

PENNSYLVANIA

Punxsutawney Phil makes rare prediction

Pennsylvania’s most famous groundhog declared Sunday: “Spring will be early, it’s a certainty.”

At sunrise on Groundhog Day, members of Punxsutawney Phil’s top-hat-wearing inner circle revealed the cuddly oracle’s prediction — his 134th, according to the Pennsylvania Tourism Office.

Waked by the crowd’s chants of “Phil!” the groundhog was hoisted in the air for the assembly to hail before making his decision. He then grasped the glove of a handler as a member of his inner circle announced that spring would come early this year.

The annual event has its origin in a German legend that says if a furry rodent casts a shadow on Feb. 2, winter continues. If not, spring comes early.

In reality, Phil’s prediction is decided ahead of time by the

group on Gobbler’s Knob, a tiny hill just outside Punxsutawney. That’s about 65 miles northeast of Pittsburgh.

From 2015 through 2019, Phil has predicted six more weeks of winter thrice and an early spring twice. According to records dating to 1887, the Pennsylvanian prognosticator has predicted more winter more than 100 times, making this year’s forecast rare.

— Associated Press

FLORIDA

Funeral shooting kills 2 despite security efforts

Gunfire erupted after a funeral in Florida, killing a teenager and a man and leaving one other person wounded, police said.

Riviera Beach police said in a statement that the shooting Saturday happened near the Victory City Church shortly after 2:30 p.m. They said that Royce Freeman, 47, and a 15-year-old boy died at the scene. The teenager’s name wasn’t

immediately released.

Police initially said a woman and a teenager were also wounded, but they released a statement Sunday night saying the male juvenile was shot at a different location in Riviera Beach. The woman, whose name was not immediately released, suffered injuries that weren’t life-threatening, police said.

Police said listening devices in the area that detect the sound of gunshots counted 13 rounds fired.

The Rev. Tywante D. Lupoe said in a video statement posted on Facebook that the church was “very aware” that violence was a possibility at the funeral because of a family dispute and that it had provided armed security.

He said the security guards and police officer had left after the service when only a few people remained in the area. He said that’s when a fight broke out across the street from the church and the shooting erupted.

— Associated Press



ELECTION ♡ 2020

# Uncertainty, anxiety roil Democrats on eve of caucuses

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that he would jump into the race. While the 2004 nominee later denied that he would run in 2020 — “I am absolutely not running for President,” the former secretary of state wrote on Twitter — he did not directly deny the report that he had speculated about it, with NBC saying he cited as a motivating factor “the possibility of Bernie Sanders taking down the Democratic Party — down whole.”

It was, in some ways, a fitting cap to an unusual campaign in which Democrats, after the long campaign here, continue to grapple with which of their many options offers the best chance of defeating President Trump.

The top candidates offered conflicting views of how they would position the party to take on Trump. Biden and former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg put forward a more centrist view, Sanders vowed to reshape the party in his liberal image, and Sen. Elizabeth Warren (Mass.) presented herself as a unity candidate residing in the middle of those two camps.

As they made closing arguments to Iowa’s voters, Biden and Buttigieg touted their ability to win voters in Republican-leaning districts as a sign they would have broader appeal in the general election. Buttigieg underscored that by citing at one of his last events his favorite Beatles song: “Come Together.”

Sanders, whose brand of politics can border on uncompromising, made an overt appeal on Sunday to those who disagree with him and focused on the most unifying force coursing through the party: opposition to Trump.

“No matter what your politics may be,” he told a crowd in Cedar Rapids, “I think we all understand that that is not the kind of person who should remain in the White House.”

Strategists suggested that the other front-runners — Biden, Buttigieg and Warren — were chasing Sanders. But a Des Moines Register/CNN/Mediacom poll that might have added some clarity with its planned Saturday night release was canceled after technical problems.

Uncertainty and fear undergirded the campaign’s final days. Some campaign aides worried that their candidate would be dealt a suffocating blow Monday night. And many voters and even some candidates said they were fearful about the party’s divisions at the very moment they hoped Democrats would be energized.

“We better not screw this up,” Sen. Amy Klobuchar (Minn.) said Saturday night.

Democratic anxiety has only been enhanced as impeachment proceedings clouded the approach of the caucuses. Trump, who continued to hammer Democratic candidates Sunday on Twitter and in a pre-Super Bowl interview on Fox, is expected to be acquitted by the Senate on



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Democratic presidential candidate Pete Buttigieg makes his closing arguments at Northwest Junior High School in Coralville, Iowa, ahead of Monday’s caucuses. Buttigieg and former vice president Joe Biden touted their ability to win voters in Republican-leaning districts.

Wednesday after debate that begins Monday, further emboldening him with a message from Senate Republicans that they will stand behind him even if he requests political assistance from foreign governments.

Impeachment has kept the senators who are running for president stuck in Washington for most of the past two weeks. Sanders, Warren and Klobuchar planned to return to the capital Sunday night, and hoped to make it back to Iowa Monday night to address supporters. Sen. Michael F. Bennet (Colo.), who has been campaigning in New Hampshire while most of his competitors were in Iowa, also planned to return to Washington late Sunday.

With a last day of campaigning that was unseasonably warm and sunny, candidates spread out to try to mobilize core supporters and convert as many undecided voters as they could.

Buttigieg was greeted by a crowd of more than 2,000 in Des Moines. Biden, who can sometimes struggle to fill a room, saw standing-room-only audiences, with 1,100 at one event. Warren’s staff had planned for roughly 350 people in Indianola, but more than three times that showed up — with space so tight that her top campaign advisers were temporarily barred by the fire marshal from entering.

Warren urged voters not to be afraid to vote for her and her agenda. After three years of the Trump presidency, she acknowledged, fear

is prevalent among Democrats.

“The danger is real,” Warren said to the crowd. “Our democracy hangs in the balance. And at this moment, you will decide here in Iowa, what do we do? Do we pull back? Do we cower? Do we take the timid approach?” Warren said, drawing an implicit contrast between herself and more-moderate candidates in the race.

“Or do we fight back?” Warren continued. “Me? I am in this to fight back. That’s why I’m here. We fight back. Fighting back is an act of patriotism.”

Sanders skipped across the state, calling for sweeping change. He framed Monday’s caucuses as the start of the “most consequential election, at least in the modern history of America.” He said his campaign was about beating Trump in November and “bringing fundamental reform to American society.”

Sanders stopped at campaign offices in three cities, giving abbreviated stump speeches to supporters preparing to canvass for him. It was a change of pace from the large rallies he has held in recent weeks, including a concert that drew an estimated 3,000 people Saturday night. He said the time had ended for simply expressing concerns about income inequality, health care and the environment.

“Now is the time to end the complaining. Now is the time for action. Action is tomorrow night,” Sanders said.

Sanders’s efforts to pressure

Democrats to coalesce behind him have been made more complicated after some prominent supporters aggressively attacked some Democrats.

In Cedar Rapids on Saturday night, liberal filmmaker Michael Moore, who introduced Sanders at events across Iowa in recent days, took sharp aim at the Democratic National Committee, accusing its leaders of conspiring against Sanders and trying to boost former New York mayor Mike Bloomberg by changing qualifications for future debates.

“They did this because they are so nervous and worried about Bernie,” Moore alleged. A Sanders campaign spokesman did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

DNC spokeswoman Xochitl Hinojosa said Moore’s assertion was “totally false.” She added, “This is a conspiracy theory.”

Buttigieg began the day on a stage where he was introduced by Iowa City Mayor Bruce Teague, who had previously backed Sen. Cory Booker before the New Jersey Democrat dropped out of the race. He made a pointed reference to criticisms of Buttigieg’s difficulty attracting nonwhite voters.

“I don’t know if you’ve noticed,” Teague said. “But I’m black.”

Buttigieg has grown more animated and more emotive of late and his crowds, generally politely supportive, have become more raucous.

His campaign touted the 27 counties that voted for Barack Obama

and Trump as evidence of his effort to reach more than just true-blue Democrats. He suggested that “a massive American majority” agrees on things like gun background checks or dealing with climate change, and suggested he is the candidate best equipped to activate it.

Two voters at the Coralville event told him they are Republicans voting for a Democrat for the first time.

“I’m not trying to trick anybody into thinking I’m more conservative than I am,” Buttigieg said Sunday, in a response to a different voter who asked how he plans to persuade Republicans. “I can’t say that we will agree 100 percent of the time, but I promise we will navigate those differences with respect and that everyone will be heard.”

When a voter told Buttigieg she was planning to vote for a Democrat for the first time and wondered why she should vote for him over Biden, Buttigieg said he was offering “just a different approach.”

“Every single time my party has won the White House in the last 50 years, we have done it with a candidate who is new in national politics, who is opening a door to a new generation of leadership, and who either doesn’t work in Washington or hasn’t been there very long,” he said. “That is how we win.”

Biden began the day courting voters in eastern Iowa, attempting to rally a crowd at a Catholic university by saying he was the candidate with not only the most wide-

spread appeal but the one with the experience to unite a divided nation once in office.

“We have to unite not only the Democratic Party,” Biden told a standing-room-only crowd in Dubuque. “We have to unite the country. It’s the only way we’re going to be able to govern. We have to pull the country together, Democrats, independents, and Republicans. I refuse to accept the notion that we’re at war with the Republican Party.”

That bipartisan appeal, though, was tested later in the day when Sen. Joni Ernst (R-Iowa) raised the prospect that Republicans could attempt to impeach Biden because of the work his son did in Ukraine while Biden was vice president.

“I think this door of impeachable whatever has been opened,” Ernst said in an interview with Bloomberg News. “Joe Biden should be very careful what he’s asking for because, you know, we can have a situation where if it should ever be President Biden, that immediately, people, right the day after he would be elected would be saying, ‘Well, we’re going to impeach him.’”

Earlier in the day, some of Biden’s top advisers sought to play down any results in Iowa, arguing that the impact of a loss for him would be limited and suggesting voters consider the results of the first four states — not just the first.

“We’ve never said that we were going to run away with it. We’ve always said that this would be a fight, this would be a close race,” Symone Sanders, a senior adviser, said during a breakfast with reporters hosted by Bloomberg News. “We ain’t shocked.”

Biden advisers also attempted a difficult task: casting the former vice president, who has led in most national polls throughout the race, as the underdog.

“Since before vice president Biden got into this race — since before April 25 — people have been writing our campaign’s obituary,” Sanders said, adding that they remained confident. “Tuesday morning will be no different.”

Former senator Christopher Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat who has been campaigning with Biden, also sought to raise alarms about what a Sanders victory would mean to the party’s chances.

“Bernie describes himself as a socialist — certainly the president will have a field day with that argument,” Dodd said. “Bernie would have a very difficult time winning the election in November as our national candidate.”

He said Sanders would be unable to campaign with many Democrats and would “pose a serious threat” to the House majority.

“I hope no one is offended by that,” Dodd said. “That’s just the reality.”

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Matt Viser contributed to this report.

# For the eventual Democratic nominee, Iowa may prove to be a tough target

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA

DES MOINES — In a packed arena here last week, President Trump focused on home-state issues, mentioning farmers 47 times, touting recent trade deals and taking credit for Iowa’s low unemployment rate.

Trump won Iowa decisively in 2016, and while Democrats made gains two years later, the party’s presidential candidates — after hundreds of rallies, town halls and parties over the past year — now face a decision: whether to bother coming back.

“I worked so hard for this state. I worked so hard,” Trump said as he opened his rally. He added: “We’re going to win the great state of Iowa, and it’s going to be a historic landslide. If we don’t win, your farms are going to hell.”

Iowa has long been competitive, but Trump’s nine-point victory and the state’s demographic makeup place it at the heart of a central question facing Democrats: Can they win back rural, white and industrial voters, or is the party’s future elsewhere?

“How did Donald Trump win your state — a purple swing state — by almost 10 points?” Democratic presidential candidate Andrew Yang said at a Des Moines rally Saturday. “Why is it that this state has gone from blue or purple to red over the last number of years? That’s a fundamental question, and the Democrats have not been addressing it.”

Some Democrats insist that Trump is vulnerable in Iowa, highlighting his flagging approval numbers and the 2018 midterm

elections, when Democratic candidates performed well in areas that Trump had previously won.

Former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg in particular has argued that he can capitalize on those areas. Iowa is home to more counties that flipped from Obama to Trump than any other state, and Buttigieg has boasted of touring 25 of those 31 counties.

“The president is going to be in big trouble here,” said Matt Sinovic, executive director of the liberal group Progress Iowa. “His approval numbers are down, and every other underlying factor is what points to that.”

But it’s no accident that Trump chose to hold a rally in Iowa — before a capacity crowd at Drake University’s Knapp Center — just days before the Democrats in this state began the process of choosing his opponent. Trump’s strength in rural counties propelled his victory in Iowa, which saw the largest swing away from Democrats among the six states that flipped from President Barack Obama to Trump between 2012 and 2016.

Some Democrats’ complaints about Iowa’s first-in-the-nation role reflect a broader concern that its demographic profile is out of step with an increasingly diverse Democratic Party that performs best in areas with a larger share of minority voters. More than 90 percent of the population in Iowa is white.

Jim Messina, who served as Obama’s 2012 campaign manager, said Trump and Republicans were “heavy favorites to win in the general election” in Iowa.

While Democrats’ chances in Iowa ultimately depend on which



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump holds a rally at Drake University’s Knapp Center on Thursday in Des Moines. The Iowa caucuses are Monday night.

candidate they nominate, Messina said, the election is likely to be won or lost in other states. Iowa, he said, is “clearly below the mid-tier of Midwestern states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.”

Iowa’s recent drift is epitomized by Sen. Joni Ernst, a conservative Republican who won her seat after the 2014 retirement of Sen. Tom Harkin (D), a longtime liberal icon. Ernst caught fire that year with an ad declaring: “I grew up castrating hogs on an Iowa farm, so when I get to Washington, I’ll know how to cut pork.”

But amid a Democratic surge in 2018, Democrats retook two of Iowa’s four U.S. House seats, flipping a 3-to-1 GOP edge to a 3-to-1 Democratic advantage. But both senators and the governor are Republican, and it’s not clear if 2018 is a blip or a long-term trend.

For now, Trump’s approval rating is underwater in Iowa, with 53 percent of voters disapproving of his performance and 44 percent approving, according to a poll released in December by Morning Consult. A January poll released by the Des Moines Register in coordination with CNN and Mediacom found that only 34 percent of Iowans said they would “definitely” vote to reelect Trump.

Democrats say issues such as Trump’s efforts to repeal the Affordable Care Act have badly damaged his standing in the state. At his rally, Trump spent little time on health care, instead arguing that he has helped drive down the state’s unemployment rate, which has been below 3 percent since October 2017, and touting his trade deals.

He also cited a New York Times-

Siena College poll that showed him beating his Democratic presidential rivals, whom he characterized as radical left-wingers. “They have me pitted against every one of the socialists, and we’re winning by a lot,” Trump said, exaggerating the narrow lead he holds against most Democrats in the poll, some of which fall within the margin of error.

Trump took particular aim at Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), who describes himself as a democratic socialist. “Under three years of my administration, net farm income has already gone up nearly 50 percent and will now be rising even faster,” Trump told the crowd. “What are you going to do? You are going to vote for Bernie? You are going to vote for Bernie?”

Still, Trump’s trade war has clearly had a residual effect on the state’s farmers. Ernst, speaking on CNN’s “State of the Union” on Sunday, said that while farmers were experiencing “hurt” during the trade war, they continue to support Trump.

“What I heard from one farmer, she said, ‘You know what? I’m tightening my belt. Things are tougher right now, but I know in the long run this is going to be better for my grandchildren,’” Ernst said.

And Trump’s support among the state’s Republicans has remained strong. According to a Des Moines Register-CNN-Mediacom poll released in November, 85 percent of Republicans approve of Trump’s job performance. The president’s campaign dispatched more than 80 surrogates to Iowa ahead of the caucuses as a show of

force aimed at shoring up that support.

State Sen. Tom Greene (R), one of those surrogates, predicted that the president will win easily in November. Trump “carried the 93 of 99 counties in Iowa and carried the state by 190,000 votes in 2016,” he said. “I expect similar results in 2020.”

Kayleigh McEnany, a spokeswoman for Trump’s campaign, said the surrogates would be speaking at the Republican caucuses, where Trump does not face serious competition, to get ready for the effort in November.

“This is an opportunity to work out those ground-game muscles and make sure we have our ducks in a row,” she said. “We’re not ever going to take a state for granted.”

Aside from Florida and Ohio, Iowa is the only state that has flipped between parties three times since 2000. After going for Republican George W. Bush in 2004, it voted twice for Obama before turning to Trump.

In 2016, Trump visited Iowa seven times in the final three months of the election compared with three for Democrat Hillary Clinton, an investment that appeared to pay off.

Sinovic said this time would be different now that voters have seen how Trump handles bread-and-butter issues such as health care.

“Americans and Iowans are furious about them trying to take away our health care,” Sinovic said. “That has been the number one issue when it comes to these national elections these last couple years, and it’s going to continue to be.”

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# In Iowa, a goal of making suburbs ‘too blue to bother’

Though Democrats are consumed by the caucuses, many activists in transforming districts have deployed aggressive tactics in local races

BY ROBERT SAMUELS

ANKENY, IOWA — Mary McAdams scanned a room full of anxious Democrats who had volunteered to run sites for the Iowa caucuses.

“How many of you have done this before?” asked McAdams. There were 25 in the room. Only four raised their hands.

That so few had experience running Iowa’s arcane nominee-selection process made some people in the room gasp. But McAdams called it a sign of strength. Newcomers had helped reshape politics in the Des Moines suburbs in the 2018 vote, electing more Democrats to public office. And as the world descended on their state in the opening volley of the 2020 presidential campaign, newcomers would show that this flourishing group of Democrats wasn’t going away.

“We are not going to stop until Republicans don’t even want to run candidates here,” said McAdams, 54, a molecular geneticist turned singer-songwriter with a fondness for alliterative phrases. “We are going to make this place too blue to bother.”

In this affluent outpost of the state capital, local Democrats are done playing “Iowa nice.” They are mounting aggressive recruitment campaigns, mocking opponents and organizing to try to push Republicans out of elected seats, including offices that are traditionally nonpartisan.

Their strategy has upended the live-and-let-live atmosphere that often permeates the suburbs, where some Democrats said they used to be content to focus on their families and leave local politics to the other party. Republicans have gained more power in rural areas and manufacturing towns, turning a state that twice voted for Barack Obama into a place where Republicans have total control of the Capitol and President Trump won easily.

Even as Iowa Democrats focus on their first-in-the-nation presidential nominating contest on Monday, with many still undecided and anguishing over their choice, activists are trying not to lose sight of a longer-term political goal: staging a political takeover.

Today’s suburbs aren’t like the ones that existed 30, 20 or even four years ago. Between rapid population growth, shifting demographics and anti-Trump sentiments, they have become key to Democratic hopes of compensating for the defection of many working-class white voters to the GOP.

State data shows that the great voter-registration advantage that Republicans once had in the Des Moines suburbs continues to narrow. In 2018, four state House seats and one congressional seat went from red to blue. In 2019, Democrats in Polk County won 13 seats on city councils and school boards that had been held previously by Republicans.

The Democratic Party’s biggest successes in those years came in a part of the state that was overwhelmingly white, well educated and affluent — home to some of the fastest-growing cities in the United States.

When McAdams and her family moved to Ankeny in 1999, this place was a reliably red bedroom community of 27,000. By 2018, the number was 66,000 and growing.

Widened roads and state highways connect Ankeny to cities that were once surrounded by fields and farms, like Johnston, Urbandale and Waukee, which boasts of students speaking 62 languages in the schools.

Places where soybeans were planted and pigs once roamed are sprouting \$750,000 houses, townhouses for young professionals, strip malls with barre studios and restaurants with chicken tandoori and quinoa bowls.

On this night, McAdams’s “Ankeny Army” was composed of those relative newcomers. Here was Kelsie Goodman, a 35-year-old high school assistant principal who had returned home because “there were so many more options in this area than there had been before.” She was proud to be from a state that was the first in the Midwest to legalize same-sex marriage, a place that helped to springboard the candidacy of the first black president. But as her state was slowly diversifying, she had become concerned that Trump was empowering voters who resented those very distinctions.

Next to her was Amy Tagliareni, a 49-year-old administrator of a small nonprofit and a mother of



PHOTOS BY SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP:** Mary McAdams, chair of the Ankeny Area Democrats in Iowa, trains caucus leaders and volunteers last month. “We are not going to stop until Republicans don’t even want to run candidates here,” McAdams said of the Des Moines suburb. **ABOVE:** State Rep. Karin Derry won her seat in 2018 in a district where the GOP registration advantage had shrunk from 14 percentage points in 2016 to about 7.

a middle-schooler. She had moved to the state in 2008 but had never voted in a primary until 2018. She voted for Hillary Clinton in the 2016 general election but felt she needed to become more active because so many middle-class white women like her had voted Republican or chosen not to vote at all. The president won the majority in all but one precinct of Ankeny districts in Polk County.

“I feel so embarrassed,” she said.

The two women were representative of the people who were fueling the activism in Ankeny: young professionals and mothers with older children. They were horrified most by what they saw as the Trump administration’s poor treatment of the vulnerable — separating immigrant families, restricting food stamps, banning refugees — and were desperate to post some wins. So they decided to play hard.

The change was evident when the Polk County Democrats invited House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) to a fundraiser. Some officials from other parts of the state warned against bringing such a polarizing figure to a politically fractured state, but more than 350 people attended.

The fundraiser also attracted protesters who supported the president but misspelled his name: “T-R-M-U-P.”

“In past years, nicer Democratic parties would let that go,” said Sean Bagniewski, chairman of the Polk County Democrats. “We took a picture, paid for a Facebook ad and showed it to 500 hundred dollars’ worth of people.”

Conventional practice used to be that local elections were strictly nonpartisan affairs. No more. In 2018 and 2019, the Polk County

group dispatched fliers to registered Democrats that showed the name and picture of every person in their party running for office, from the Congress to the school board.

“Our message was simple,” Bagniewski said. “These are the Democrats. This is the fight of our lives. Get rid of Donald Trump.”

Now, it is Republican politicians who are fighting for their political preservation. In Urbandale, the Republican mayor switched parties. State House Majority Leader Chris Hagenow, seeking reelection, switched neighborhoods.

And last week, state Sen. Zach Nunn filed legislation that would ban county parties from pouring money into nonpartisan races and printing fliers like the ones distributed by Bagniewski.

“A local school board trying to figure out how to fund a teacher program or a city council working to fix a street should not be a partisan issue,” Nunn said. “What they are doing is, in a word, frightening.”

Nunn also said he didn’t think it was very wise. While the Democrats were experiencing more success in Ankeny, he was able to sail through his election in Altoona — one of those blue-collar Democratic districts that swung for Trump. Their attitude, he said, only solidified the idea that the party was catering to the elite.

“They might win these suburbs, but they are going to lose every other part of the state, and all the gains they make will be mitigated,” Nunn said. But as a Republican in the suburbs, he readily admitted he felt a bit endangered.

“I’m one of the last ones left,” he said.

On a snowy Saturday, about a

week before the caucuses, the new activists were targeting another one of the last remaining Republicans, a square-jawed state senator named Brad Zaun. Zaun was attending a legislative forum held in a no-frills community room at a local park, on a panel that included the Urbandale mayor and state Rep. Karin Derry, a political newcomer who had won her seat during the Democratic wave of 2018.

“There’s a lot of publicity around the Democrats, but we live in a great community, and it hasn’t changed that much,” Zaun said in an interview. “I’m up for reelection this year, and I’m not too worried.”

The Democratic activists saw it differently. When the forum started, they took their seats. There was nothing particularly coordinated about them; they weren’t wearing special uniforms or reciting catchy slogans. They didn’t even sit next to one another.

They took turns asking Zaun questions about issues that concerned them. When one asked him to fight for more money to go toward education, another held up her cellphone to record Zaun responding that he would rather try to find ways to cut administrative costs. This was potential fodder to argue that Zaun was weak on school funding.

When one asked Zaun about a bill that would make it illegal for institutions to ban guns from their parking lots, another recorded footage of Zaun saying he was a “strong supporter of the Second Amendment.” This was potential footage to show he didn’t want gun control.

Derry, the state representative, knew most of the activists at the forum. After all, she had hosted them at a late-in-the-season holi-

day party the night before. The activists, all women, ate cookies and cheesecake and sat around her Christmas tree, speckled with blue ornaments — a tradition that started in 2016 as a symbolic protest of Trump. They discussed the pop star Lizzo and their husbands and how to come up with a strategy to get another friend elected to Zaun’s seat.

The plan didn’t seem like that much of a coup. They had done the same for Derry, knocking on doors and making phone calls to get her elected in a district where the Republican registration advantage had shrunk from 14 percentage points in 2016 to about 7 today.

The arguments against Zaun would largely be the same. They would tell residents that the 2016 election — which also gave Republicans all three branches of Iowa government — had deep consequences.

Republicans had weakened collective bargaining, passed voter restrictions and curbed abortion rights. Derry found that even her conservative neighbors were willing to listen to their points.

Lifelong Republicans such as Mark Toeppen, a 62-year-old retired business executive, voted for her for reasons that went beyond Trump. He had grown increasingly frustrated that lawmakers wouldn’t boost the education budget past the rate of inflation. It felt as if his party was attacking the very thing that made his community great: the school system.

“I’ve really just lost faith in the Republicans,” said Toeppen, who planned on caucusing with Democrats for the first time. “I understand the realities of politics, but I also understand that you have got to see the bigger picture in life. I think they’ve lost track of

the big picture.”

In Ankeny, McAdams was still trying to understand the big picture. She saw her community as a blank political canvas, its future still unwritten.

“I can’t do anything about Wisconsin — that’s their problem,” McAdams said. “Pennsylvania, Michigan — I can’t do anything about that. But I can do some damage in Ankeny, and I can deliver Ankeny to the Democrats on election night.”

Her crusade started with a desire to remove Trump, but it was also about herself. After the great unsettling of 2016, she realized she hadn’t taken stock of her neighborhood, which had grown so much that she could hardly recognize it.

She hadn’t taken much stock of her country, either. Republicans were sweeping state houses and blocking Obama’s agenda in Washington. Young African Americans had grown so exhausted with police violence that they were taking to the streets to assert that their lives, too, had value.

Still, McAdams remained in a state of suburban bliss. She raised children, put on open-mic nights. She figured things couldn’t be that bad; after all, the country had elected a black president.

“I think a lot of us felt like we had racism under control, that white supremacy was gone, that we’d solved a lot of problems,” McAdams said. “I think we grew complacent. I know we did. I did.”

She pledged to do something to get more involved — or at least find more like-minded people. She rebuilt the Democratic club’s website and updated its social media pages. More residents were visiting the Facebook page, and more started attending meetings. Before 2016, the group averaged a monthly attendance of eight. Now, the attendance averages around 50.

When the Democratic candidates began to file in 2018 and 2019, she urged her group members to do everything they could to elect them.

She asked volunteers to knock on doors. If they did not want to knock on doors, she asked them to make phone calls. If they did not feel comfortable making phone calls, they could write postcards. If not postcards, she’d ask volunteers to drive so others could knock on doors.

As they set out to find registered Democrats, McAdams saw an Ankeny beyond its stereotype. There were trailer parks, and residents there said they couldn’t afford rising rents. Middle-class-looking homes had sunken ceilings and no hot water inside.

They drove through neighborhoods of Bosnian refugees and met black and South Asian families who had moved for better jobs. Even as the city’s median income continued to rise, the suburbs had become more diverse and more stratified.

“We just never noticed it because we were too damn busy,” McAdams said.

Politics was the impetus, but the thing McAdams and others felt they were missing most was community. The old institutions for gathering neighbors — churches, union halls, country clubs — were all playing less of a role in American life. Politics, and the discussion of it, was the suburbs’ new social club.

They started reading clubs, drinking clubs, women’s groups. Deshara Bohanna, who would become the first black woman on Ankeny’s school board, started a meetup group to discuss racism and diversity.

“We are a family now,” McAdams said. “And I’ve got more best friends and sisters and brothers than I did three years ago. I’d be damned if I lost contact with them after 2018. Nothing is stopping us now because we are a family, and Donald Trump is still president.”

So that night at the caucus training, McAdams tried to give the volunteers every tool they would need to make their events run smoothly. She went over complex equations to properly calculate delegate counts. She suggested displaying tallies in publicly visible spaces so everyone could clearly see the results. To prevent perceptions of bias, she asked the volunteers not to wear clothing or buttons endorsing a political candidate.

Instead, she had another suggestion.

“Maybe you could wear a T-shirt that says ‘Ankeny Area Democrats,’” she said. “Let’s show them who we are.”

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ELECTION 2020



Nancy Bobo at her home in Des Moines. One of the earliest Iowans to endorse Barack Obama, Bobo is planning to caucus for former vice president Joe Biden since Sen. Cory Booker dropped out of the race.

In Iowa, a longtime supporter of Booker wrestles with what’s next

Veteran Democratic activist says her ‘spirit just isn’t there’

BY HOLLY BAILEY

DES MOINES — Since this past summer, Nancy Bobo has spent most of her waking hours trying to help Sen. Cory Booker win the presidency.

The veteran Democratic activist had knocked on as many as 200 doors a week, sometimes more, trying to drum up support for the senator from New Jersey. She spent her nights making phone calls, hundreds of them over the months, to friends and strangers, saying that Booker was the one who could beat President Trump, the one who could bring a divided nation together. Anything she could do, she did.

Bobo had come to know Booker's personal story so well that she once jumped onstage at an event in the fall, taking the microphone away from the astonished candidate to deliver a more forceful pitch for his candidacy. “You’re just too modest,” she told Booker, who laughed.

She had stayed loyal through it all: the lousy poll numbers, the fundraising troubles. When Booker delivered a fiery speech here in December, decrying the party's qualification rules that would block him from that month's debate, she sat near the front, her face stricken with emotion at the senator's soaring oratory and promises to lead with hope and love. “How can you listen to him and not be moved deep in your soul?” she said afterward.

And then, it was over.

On Jan. 13, less than a month before Monday's caucuses, Booker suspended his campaign for the Democratic nomination, citing money and the looming logistical issues of the impeachment trial. Booker, who was so personally close to Bobo that he had stayed at her house in Des Moines, called her that morning, thanking her for her support and urging her to fight on, to look for another contender to support. And Bobo agreed, but what do you do when you fall in love with a candidate who doesn't go the distance?

“It's been a tough couple of weeks for me,” Bobo said Friday, on the eve of the final weekend before the caucuses. “I continue to pay attention. I've gone to a few events. I do know the need to elect a Democratic president in November. My spirit just isn't there. . . . The wind is out of my sail.”

For the first time in three decades, Bobo wouldn't be serving as a precinct captain for a candidate at her local caucus. She wasn't caught up in the last-minute frenzy of getting all of her candidate's supporters in place. Earlier in the day, an organizer had knocked on her door, and she opened it and stood there for a while, thanking him for the hard work he was doing but feeling sad she wasn't out there, too. “I wish I were out there for Cory today,” she told him.

Instead, she was getting ready to go run some errands, trying to



On Monday night, Bobo plans to wear her “Booker for President” sweatshirt at her local caucus, where she’ll work as a volunteer.

fill all the extra time she suddenly had on her hands. She had caught up with friends and had more time to spend with her grandkids, but she felt empty. “I hadn't realized how much of my life was wrapped up in the campaign until it was over,” she said. “It's a pretty weird sensation, not being crazy busy in the days leading up to [caucuses]. It's a very odd feeling for someone like me.”

Bobo has loved candidates before. During the 2008 campaign, she was one of the earliest Iowans to endorse Barack Obama, back when many Democrats here questioned whether the senator from Illinois was too young, too inexperienced for the presidency. Inside her home, she had a cardboard cutout of herself and Obama, and recently, aides affiliated with his presidential library had come to collect some of the memorabilia from that history-making campaign.

*“I hadn’t realized how much of my life was wrapped up in the campaign until it was over.”*

Nancy Bobo, a Des Moines political activist

But as personally close as she became with Obama, Bobo felt even closer to Booker, as if he had become a part of her family. She recalled the long conversations they'd had when he was a guest in her home, many of them going late into the night. Bobo, who is white, married her husband, Melvin, who is black, in 1973, back when being an interracial couple in majority-white Iowa wasn't easy. She recalled how Booker had walked around her kitchen staring at their family photos and asking her and her husband to talk about what they'd been through. At one point, Booker wiped away tears. “That is true love,” he told her.

Within hours of Booker ending his campaign, Bobo's phone began to ring. The calls were from other campaigns, asking her to come to their events, pressing her to consider backing their candidates. Bobo, who was still trying to process her candidate's exit, found the appeals tacky and off-putting. “I know

where it was coming from, but I was like, come on, give me some time,” she said. “Respect the space.”

One morning later that week, Bobo opened her front door and found a bouquet of flowers on her doorstep with a note. It was from Joe Biden's campaign, expressing sympathy that Booker had exited the race. “It was nice and noninvasive,” she said.

Bobo knew Team Biden well. She had considered endorsing the former vice president last year. She'd known him from the Obama years. And last spring, when they met face to face, Biden asked for her support. Bobo had been on board with him, until she met Booker.

A few days later, she got a call from Biden's niece Missy who apologized if she was calling too soon. “I understand what you're dealing with,” Missy Biden told her. A few days later, she and five other women were invited to have a glass of wine with Jill Biden, the candidate's wife.

By then, Bobo had already decided she would caucus for Biden. “I like Joe. I've always liked Joe. I have this familiarity with Joe that I've had for a long time. . . . I think he's just a really decent man,” she said.

But he's not Booker. On Monday night, Bobo will be at her local caucus, working as a volunteer, helping to sign people in and doing whatever she can to help it run smoothly. That had been one of Booker's requests of his team when he ended the campaign. Many of his Iowa field staffers stuck around to help the local parties, which have struggled to find volunteers amid predictions of record-breaking turnout.

Bobo plans to wear her “Booker for President” sweatshirt. And like other Booker supporters, she plans to stand for the senator from New Jersey in the caucus's first alignment, to show her support for the candidate she loved from the beginning and who she wishes were still in the race. “I want to register my support for Cory. He certainly deserves it,” Bobo said. “And then I will move over to Joe Biden.”

She admits having mixed feelings going into caucus night — a day she had been working toward for months, a day that has been so important for most of her adult life.

“It's weird not to feel excited about caucus night,” she said. “I'll be there, but I don't have the thrill I usually do.”

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ELECTION 🇺🇸 2020

On the eve of the caucuses, the final undecided Iowa voters make their decisions

The Sunday Take

DAN BALZ

DES MOINES — Jane Bloodworth will attend her first Iowa caucus on Monday night, and like many Iowans, she has taken seriously the responsibility that goes with being among those who will cast the first votes of the 2020 election. In this campaign year, making a decision has been harder than ever, for her and for so many others in this state.

Never in recent years have there been so many Iowa voters who are either undecided or who say they could change their minds before Monday night, whether activists or sometime caucus attendees. Iowans are weighing head versus heart, ideology versus electability, issues versus character and experience. It has kept everyone on edge on the eve of the caucuses.

Some of these undecided voters may forgo the caucuses on Monday night, willing to let others winnow the field further and prepared to support the eventual nominee against President Trump in November. Others will enter still trying to decide which candidate they should get behind, and some of those will try to read the room as the caucus process unfolds, looking for the best way to make a mark. Should they go for a front-runner or throw their support behind someone who needs some help to gain a delegate?

Among half a dozen or so Iowans who identified as undecided in early January, most, like Bloodworth, know what they plan to do — but in some cases only after agonizing over the choice.

On the first weekend in January, Bloodworth was one of the thousands and thousands of Iowans who were still making up their minds. On that Saturday, she was at an event for Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) in the town of Manchester, population 5,200.

She was looking for a candidate who could address the two biggest issues of concern to her: climate change and “the issue of people left behind” and struggling to have a full life with economic security. She can see in her own family, she said, the economic strains that many middle- and working-class families face today.

“I’m fine,” said Bloodworth, 70, who moved to Iowa in the summer of 2018 after 15 years at the World Bank in Washington. “I’ll get through this, but I worry about those who come after us. The gap [between the rich and the middle class] is bigger than ever.”

Warren was not the only candidate she was looking at. Over months, she went to events featuring Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), former vice president Joe Biden, former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg, Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.), businessman Tom Steyer and entrepreneur Andrew Yang. She went once to see John Delaney, the former Maryland congressman who quit the race last week.

“I had a pretty good sampling of all of them,” she said on Sunday morning. As she spoke, Bloodworth was in her car, heading to spend the day as an extra in a movie about girls six-on-six basketball.



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Iowa voters attend a presidential campaign rally for Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) at Simpson College on Sunday.

Though she started the year undecided, by Sunday, she was a decided voter — or at least a mostly decided voter. “I think I’m going to go for Warren,” she said. “I like her ideas. I like her platform. I love her enthusiasm and I feel like she’s got the history to get things accomplished.”

Bloodworth considers herself a conservative liberal and was drawn to the ideas of both Warren and Sanders. But Sanders’s demeanor left her with reservations, particularly how he handled the dust-up with Warren over whether a woman could be elected president. “The way he responded to that, to me, was, well . . . like an angry old man,” she said.

She thought Buttigieg has good ideas but lacks the experience needed to get things done in Washington. As for Biden, she said, “He brings experience and

has done all kinds of things, but I don’t know that what we need is more of the Obama era, which he seems to talk about a lot. And Obama’s not going to be there. He would have to do it on his own.”

Joyce Steffen, 70, who lives in Cedar Rapids and works in real estate, began the year undecided. As the campaign unfolded over the past year, she looked seriously at Biden and Warren before settling on Klobuchar in the past few days. “I think it’s because I decided to go with what’s in my heart,” she said.

Steffen said she believes Klobuchar can beat Trump, that she has been consistent and has more experience than some others, like Buttigieg. She said that Warren’s liberal policies worried her, as did Biden’s age. “It would it have been better the last time,” she said, referring to Biden’s decision not to run for

president in 2016.

Deb Tunwall, 52, of Cedar Rapids, has been thinking about what candidate could win over her husband, who has voted Republican in the past and whom she hopes to persuade to vote for the Democrat in this election year. They are considering Klobuchar and Yang. She is drawn more to Klobuchar but her husband finds Yang’s ideas appealing.

“Amy I feel like can just walk in there on day one,” she said. “I feel like she can definitely reach across the aisle. I feel like she’s less polarizing than Elizabeth Warren. I feel Amy doesn’t have that polarization, that she could gather a lot of moderates. My husband is my litmus test.”

She worries about Biden being strong enough to take on Trump. “I do feel he had his time,” she said. “The Obama supporters who voted for Trump did so because they didn’t want to go back to the Obama era.”

Tunwall raised another concern about the former vice president: that Trump will pummel him over Ukraine, despite the fact that many of Trump’s claims have been debunked, the same way candidate Trump attacked Hillary Clinton over emails in 2016 — “a repeat of ‘lock her up,’” she said.

Asked whether she would support the Democratic nominee, whoever it is, she replied, “Absolutely. I’m just worried my husband won’t.”

Bob and Jo Rod, both 88, live in Ames. Both had supported Sanders “big time” four years ago. “We worked really hard for him,” she said. This time around, they see Sanders as too old, and they

plan to caucus for Buttigieg, the youngest candidate in the field. Their decision came on Friday and only after “a real struggle.”

Warren has been a favorite of theirs for some years. They attended an event for her when she was running for Senate, and “she blew us away.” But Buttigieg’s vigor and intellect ultimately led them to him. “I like his energy and his ideas,” she said. “He can talk off the top of his head very quickly and answers questions well.”

Sanders, who got nearly half the vote here four years ago, has lost some of those supporters, like the Rods. But of all the candidates, his loyalists might be the most committed, which is why other campaigns worry that he could turn out the most people on Monday, although the turnout battle will rage all through the day.

Margaret Damge, 72, a retired farmer who also worked for a phone company, came to see Biden in Independence the first weekend of the new year. Then, she said, she was undecided. This weekend, she settled on the former vice president. “He’s pretty consistent,” she said. “He doesn’t flip-flop, and he doesn’t promise more than he’s going to deliver. He’s got a record.”

But Damge said she won’t be able to caucus for Biden on Monday, as she is in Florida. “I’ve done it every year,” she said. “I’m going to the beach.” Asked what her absence might mean for her candidate, she laughed. “I think Biden’s going to do just fine. People are going to be saying, ‘Who can beat that orange-faced guy?’ ”

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Making the case for their candidate, one text at a time

As calls and emails go unanswered, volunteers take another approach

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

DES MOINES — Some voters think she’s a bot when their phones light up with her appeal on behalf of Bernie Sanders.

But she’s not a bot. She’s Amiebrooke Miller, 40, a boutique manager in Iowa’s capital, sending texts for the independent senator from Vermont who’s been surging in recent polls, thanks in part to the army of plugged-in supporters who plaster his campaign’s message across email inboxes, Facebook feeds and, increasingly, text messages.

They’re the digital foot soldiers in this year’s battle for the White House, opting to punch keys on a smartphone instead of trundling through the snow to knock on doors. And they are legion. The Sanders campaign’s text team boasts more than 12,000 volunteers nationally.

In the lead-up to the first-in-the-nation caucuses, the campaign estimates it has reached nearly a million Iowans via text — almost a third of the state. New software gives each volunteer the power to reach hundreds of Iowans a day, though the response rate varies widely.

When voters learn there’s a human being behind the bubble of text, said Miller, 40, “they completely change how they talk with us.” She conducts intimate conversations about medical hardship from her home office, a candle lit beside her. Or, she steals 10 minutes from her lunch break to text with voters about college debt.

As phone calls go to voice mail and email solicitations go unanswered, strategists and technology experts expect a turn to text messaging as a mainstay in 2020. That’s especially true for campaigns powered by young people, who are more likely to be scrolling on a mobile phone than sitting in front of a television. Text messages are also better for reaching low-income voters who may lack a smartphone, experts say.

“Every other form of voter contact has declined in effectiveness over the last few cycles,” said Betsy Hoover, a Democratic strategist and co-founder of Higher Ground Labs, an incubator for campaign-tech start-ups. “Home addresses are harder and harder to find. People aren’t answering their phones.”

But, Hoover said, “everyone reads their text messages.” The Democratic National Committee’s announcement last week that it was investing six figures in



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

Amiebrooke Miller, a volunteer for Sen. Bernie Sanders’s presidential campaign, works at a coffee shop in Des Moines. She is among more than 12,000 volunteers who send texts on the senator’s behalf, joining a growing trend for elections in the digital age.

acquiring “tens of millions” of cellphone numbers was an acknowledgment of that fact. The party said it would have “high-quality cellphone numbers” for voters in all 50 states.

Nationally, the Sanders campaign has sent more than 100 million texts, according to a spokesman, Joe Calvello. It has done so using peer-to-peer texting, which allows decentralized agents of a campaign or cause to circulate a common script to scores of people without running afoul of consumer protection rules.

“I work an eight-hour day and then Bernie at night,” said Miller, a mother of two, adopting the verb form coined by her family to describe her volunteer labor for the senator from Vermont. “And Bernie on my days off.”

Volunteers send texts seven days a week, from 9 a.m. Eastern to 9 p.m. Pacific time. A texter begins by requesting a set of messages — the average size ranging from 500 to 750 messages — and pressing send on each message. Then they wait for replies.

The sender’s name is preloaded, as is the name of the recipient, though the phone numbers of both are obscured. The ask, determined by a preset script, can be anything from a donation to attendance at an event. Members of an advanced team work on identifying and persuading undecided voters, and the information they glean is fed back into the campaign’s database.

“Bernie is committed to creating a government and an economy that work for all of us, not just wealthy campaign contributors,” reads the opening appeal to voters whose leanings are unknown. “Are you in for Bernie?”

The team congregates on Slack, an online messaging app, to coordinate work, as well as to offer support and ensure “self-care,” as Miller put it. A mobile app, BERN, will play a more prominent role in larger states that come later in the calendar, as supporters in states such as California and Texas log information about their friends, including level of support and union membership. In Iowa, the campaign has rich-enough data to reach likely caucus-goers more directly.

Texting is hardly cutting-edge. The first SMS message was sent almost 30 years ago. And more than a decade ago, Barack Obama’s campaign texted supporters to announce his choice of Joe Biden as his running mate.

What is new, however, is the development of technologies allowing mass distribution by individual volunteers, who are then able to conduct one-on-one conversations with voters who choose to reply. Especially novel is the integration of these technologies into campaign organizing infrastructure.

Sanders, whose 2016 campaign was the first to put peer-to-peer texting to use at scale, now employs a text team director, two

English-language texting organizers and a Spanish-language texting organizer. The platform his team used in 2016, called Hustle, saw its campaign clientele multiply in two years, while also giving rise to competitors, including Relay. The software, developed by alumni of the Sanders campaign, was used by Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-N.Y.) to deliver 170,000 texts to voters in her successful bid to oust incumbent Rep. Joseph Crowley (D) in New York in 2018, according to her campaign’s spokesman, Corbin Trent.

Now, all the top-tier presidential candidates are texting. And Iowa is on their minds. “It’s clear that our post-debate surge has worn off,” a message from Biden’s online fundraising director warned in January. “But, with just 18 days until the Iowa Caucus, we can’t afford to lose any steam!”

On Thursday evening, Bonnie Whitaker, an undecided voter in a suburb of Des Moines, attended a town hall with Pete Buttigieg, the former mayor of South Bend, Ind. An hour later after she returned home, a text arrived. “Hi Bonnie! How was your experience at Meet Pete in Ankeny!?” it read. “Reply GOOD if it was good, BAD if it was not, or MISSED if you didn’t make it.”

Jason Noble, communications director for Sen. Elizabeth Warren’s Iowa campaign, touted the streamlined opportunities for

caucus-goers to signal their support for the campaign in the final days before the caucuses. Texting IOWA to a short code of five numbers, for example, prompts a voter to commit to caucus for the candidate. For Granite Staters craving something a bit different, texting LLAMA to the same set of numbers signs a voter up to the campaign’s New Hampshire operation, as well as to a dose of four-legged content.

“Campaigns are always trying to get on top of the latest technology,” said Sheena Pakanati, who partnered in 2016 with Saikat Chakrabarti, later chief of staff to Ocasio-Cortez, to develop the platform Spoke, which the Sanders campaign is using this cycle.

The co-founders made the tool open-source and handed over ownership in 2017 to MoveOn. The progressive advocacy group touts the platform using the catchphrase, “The resistance is mobile.”

“Peer-to-peer, which was already being used for marketing, started to be seen as a viable way of reaching voters as well,” Pakanati said.

And it’s not just used by the left. Gary Coby, the digital director for President Trump’s reelection campaign, is also the chief executive of Opn Sesame, a peer-to-peer platform whose advertising materials declare, “Text is going to kill email.” According to Opn Sesame, 90 percent of text messages are read within five

minutes.

In another sign of buy-in from top GOP operatives, the company also counts Gerrit Lansing, president of the online fundraising platform WinRed and former digital director for the Republican National Committee, as a co-founder, though he’s no longer involved in day-to-day operations. The RNC paid Opn Sesame more than \$1.5 million last year, according to Federal Election Commission records.

“Each message transmitted using the Opn Sesame platform must be individually, manually sent from a single sender to a single recipient,” Lansing wrote in a filing last year in federal court in West Virginia, where a complaint arose from a voter who had received a text from a political action committee using Opn Sesame’s software.

The role of the human operator is crucial. It is the basis for a petition before the Federal Communications Commission — filed in 2018 by a collection of peer-to-peer companies calling themselves the “P2P Alliance” — asking for clarification that text messages are not subject to “restrictions on calls to mobile phone numbers” spelled out by the Telephone Consumer Protection Act of 1991. The group pointed to a 2016 advisory from the FCC affirming that, “only manually placed text messages are permissible without prior express consent.” The RNC weighed in, urging the agency to “tread lightly when it comes to regulating political speech.” The petition is still pending.

The dispute is of considerable significance to campaigns, which have faced class-action complaints alleging that the new tools allow the text equivalent of illegal robocalls.

Last cycle, the Trump campaign faced a lawsuit from a voter in Illinois, who found this unsolicited message irksome enough to bring suit: “Reply YES to subscribe to Donald J. Trump for President. Your subscription will help Make American Great Again! Msg&data rates may apply.”

The claim was ultimately withdrawn, but the plaintiff’s attorney, Joseph J. Siprut, warned that penalties can be steep for campaigns that misuse mass-texting software.

Some advocates say mass-texting technologies should not be allowed, even those operated by a human volunteer like Miller, rather than a bot.

“Involving a human at some step is not sufficient,” said John Bergmayer, legal director for the Washington-based nonprofit Public Knowledge. “You don’t get to engineer your way out of robo-texting rules.”

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SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

Iowa is one step in a long journey across the political divide

VOTE FROM A1

tic that this election will solve anything,” Buskirk said. “The divisions and stresses in the country may be worse than they were three years ago. It’s almost a World War I mind-set now — it’s trench warfare, and you fight and scramble, and you get nowhere.”

In Iowa, for almost half a century the place where Americans begin the selection of presidents, the vote follows more than a year of intense campaigning. Ben Mowat, a 19-year-old from Colorado, chose to attend Drake University in Des Moines because he wanted to participate in the first-in-the-nation caucuses.

“It feels weird,” the freshman said. “2020 was this idea, and now it’s here.”

Mowat, a volunteer for Pete Buttigieg, the former mayor of South Bend, Ind., said he has been driven by the prospect of ejecting Trump from the White House, but his excitement is tempered by a sense of responsibility and even, sometimes, the dread of a possible loss.

“I feel guilty when I’m not knocking doors,” he said.

Katie Cameron and Susan Tille, sisters who drove more than two hours from Livermore, Iowa, to attend Trump’s rally in Des Moines on Thursday night, can’t wait to vote to assure a second term for a president they say has given the economy a healthy boost.

“He’s made a lot of positive changes,” said Tille, citing the growth in her 401(k) retirement account. “He’s done a lot of good for the economy.”

The sisters, who own a swimming pool store, want to send a message to Trump’s opponents, telling them to stop fighting his every move. Cameron, whose 2016 vote for Trump was her first after a lifetime of steering clear of politics, said she has become more politically engaged in the past three years and considers herself a member of his base. She’s no fan of some of Trump’s tweets, but she said Americans have gotten used to “how he communicates.”

By now, Frank Luntz figured that emotionally exhausted Americans would be hungry for unity, eager to embrace moderate messages and candidates who promised to find and claim common ground.

But Luntz, a longtime Republican consultant who conducts focus groups for news organizations, has been taking the temperatures of voters in Iowa, New Hampshire and other states, and he has found that “people are desperate to vote, but the center has collapsed.”

“They want the pitchfork message, not the unity message — on both sides,” he said.

“I wish I was wrong, but that fear of losing the country is deep and very emotional, on both sides,” Luntz added. “The Trump side believes the left is trying to

overturn democracy, and they will fight like hell to prevent it. And the Democrats have a disdain for Donald Trump that I’ve never seen. This isn’t as bad as 1968, but it’s pretty damn bad.”

In the ’68 election, amid the Vietnam War, riots in American cities, political assassinations and a widespread sense that the country was spinning out of control, Richard Nixon won the presidency with chilling TV ads reflecting the fear of crime on dark city streets and a slogan that spoke to existential angst in the electorate: “This time, vote like your whole world depended on it.”

A similar root anxiety about the future of the country and the planet pervades many voters’ attitudes now.

Psychologists hear it from clients whether they are pro- or anti-Trump. “It is a collective anxiety, and it is bipartisan,” said Washington therapist Elisabeth LaMotte. “This is not a trusting time.”

On the anti-Trump side, LaMotte sees people for whom politics is a significant driver of stress, “but it’s more complicated than that.”

“I hear much more concern about the environment and the future of the planet than I did two years ago,” she said.

In the pro-Trump camp, she said: “I hear people say they can’t talk to certain people anymore. They’re feeling isolated and frustrated, like there isn’t permission to say what you think and feel,

even to close friends.”

Many people have found it necessary to step away from the political fray: They limit their news diet, avoid talking to certain friends and get involved in community activities. Others have become more politically active.

“I tell people with political anxiety to do something productive or proactive, like volunteering for a campaign,” said Jennifer Contarino Panning, a clinical psychologist in Evanston, Ill. “Voting is a crucial part of that; in 2018, I saw people find some relief in voting. It gave a sense of hope, and people are desperate for that.”

At a Buttigieg campaign event in Ankeny, Iowa, flight attendant Tamara Galeazzi, 52, could hardly wait for Monday’s caucuses.

“It’s almost like, ‘Thank God it’s almost over,’” she said. “Being in Iowa, we hear it from Day One until the caucus. When the commercials start slowing down the day after, it’s like, ‘Thank goodness, normalcy!’ I’m nervous. Very nervous. This cannot go on for another four years. Just pick someone on our side, and stick with it. It’s very nerve-racking.”

But for many people, the vote is neither a sufficient salve to the stress of the Trump era nor a big enough cudgel to break through to people on the other side of the divide.

“I work primarily with progressives, and they looked to the Mueller report and the impeachment trial for some relief, and then nothing changed,” Panning said.

“They felt hopeless and fatigued. Now they’re really hesitant to believe in anything.”

LaMotte said her patients in Virginia, Maryland and the District have edged away from politics over the past few years, choosing instead to engage in their local communities, finding relief from the stress of national news in getting involved with a Girl Scouts group or volunteering at a neighborhood school. She sees hope in a growing resilience, even if it’s not necessarily associated with voting.

Luntz has heard little such hope. The voters he has been surveying “have weaponized grievances and are seeking revenge against the other side,” he said. “Whatever the result of the election, half the country will believe America has been saved, and half will say it’s been destroyed. These two Americas do not eat together, do not play together. They say it’s too late for unity. They have simply lost trust.”

Some voters who crave a unifying message fear that their fellow Americans are too frustrated or exhausted to bring about change. Austin Bayliss, 32, sees worrying signs that antipathy to Trump may not be enough to carry Democrats to victory. That recipe failed four years ago, he said, “and sometimes I feel like I’m right back there.”

“What are the Democrats going to do to close the enthusiasm gap?” said Bayliss, who runs a professional wrestling company

near Iowa City. “You’d think the chance to hit back at Trump would be enough, but I went to Joe Biden’s event yesterday in Muscatine, and there were 60 people there and 45 media. I was the youngest person there.”

The enthusiasm gap Bayliss worried about was palpable at Trump’s rally Thursday. Martha Ahrens, a retired court system worker who traveled to the event from Boone, Iowa, said the Democrats’ persistent attacks on Trump have bolstered her support of the president, who she said can be “arrogant” but has done well with the economy.

Like a number of others at the Trump rally, she said she’s more excited to vote this year than she was in 2016. “Everybody is so tired of everything. They’re tired of the Democrats constantly since he was elected going after him,” she said. “It’s just one thing after another, you know, instead of focusing on what they’re going to do as president.”

Rep. Abigail Spanberger, a Democrat who represents suburbs outside Richmond, unseated a conservative Republican in 2018 and spends many weekends meeting with constituents, making a particular effort to sit down with pro-Trump voters. She sees a divide so deep that one election cannot heal it.

“We used to debate ideas,” she said. “Now it’s just, ‘You think this, therefore you’re bad,’ a zero-sum game, us versus them. We’ve been moving to this place where our

entertainment is disagreement.”

Nonetheless, the congresswoman says many voters this year “want a restoration of, just, decency, just respecting people.” To get there, however, will take many one-on-one encounters, not just a political platform and a bunch of ads.

“I walked into a place, and a woman started wagging her finger at me, saying, ‘I love Donald Trump,’” Spanberger recalled. “I said, ‘Ma’am, a lot of people do.’ She saw me and expected a fight. I don’t know that she *wanted* a fight, and that’s an important distinction. But I changed the tone and acknowledged what she said, and she softened, and we had a really good conversation.”

The yearning for a return to a less combative politics is palpable among many Iowans who plan to attend the Democratic caucuses. Mary Amborn, 78, from Ottumwa contemplated traveling to Des Moines on Thursday to protest at the Trump rally there, but she decided instead to stay closer to home and hear Biden speak at the American Legion Hall.

Amborn, who is leaning toward voting for Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) but was still considering Sen. Amy Klobuchar (Minn.), said she’s doing well but feels compelled to vote against Trump on behalf of her 26 grandchildren and great-grandchildren, including three who served in the military and one who is a homeless veteran “who can teach college calculus, but he can’t keep a home.”

“I am very, very happy,” she said. “I have a great retirement. I have wonderful medical. I worked the factory for years and years at John Deere. Now, the folks who have my job, when they retire, they will not have medical. And so I am worried about those that follow me. If I get it wrong, my 26 grandkids — they will suffer.” She wiped away tears. “I can hardly talk about it. I’m voting for them.”

After a 2016 election in which the long-standing leadership in both parties seemed out of sync with voters’ frustrations and concerns, Luntz sees a similar disconnect developing this time: “The Trump campaign seems overconfident,” he said. “Trump energizes people at his rallies but not beyond that hardcore group. They don’t understand the fatigue that some Trump voters feel. People are tired of having to defend Trump’s language.”

Luntz doesn’t see Democratic candidates clicking with voters either. “The Democratic message is so over-caffeinated against Trump that it’s overwhelming people who are already suffering from insomnia,” he said. “I have no idea what’s going to happen.”

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MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

TOP: Supporters cheer at a rally for Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) in Sioux City, Iowa, last week. ABOVE: Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) meets Iowa voters at Simpson College in Indianola on Sunday.

Toluse Olorunnipa and Isaac Stanley-Becker in Des Moines, Cleve R. Wootson Jr. in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Chelsea Janes in Ankeny, Iowa, contributed to this report.



THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL OF PRESIDENT TRUMP

Trump’s almost-certain acquittal will have lasting effects

IMPEACHMENT FROM AI

projected a sense of persecution and self-pity. He called the effort a coup to overthrow him and defraud the results of the 2016 election.

Again and again, Trump proclaimed on Twitter, “READ THE TRANSCRIPT!” — though the notes from his July 25 call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky did not seem to exonerate him. Rather, the notes made plain Trump’s scheme to get Ukraine to open an investigation into former vice president Joe Biden and his son Hunter Biden.

With Trump commanding such exceptionally high approval ratings among Republican voters, however, even senators who acknowledged his actions were wrong voted Friday to block new evidence in the trial and pave the way for acquittal.

One of Democrats’ great hopes to permit fresh testimony from firsthand witnesses, including former national security adviser John Bolton, had been Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.), a self-described institutionalist who is retiring and would not have to face the wrath of the GOP’s pro-Trump base.

But Alexander demurred. Although he said Trump’s actions were “inappropriate” and had “already been proven” by House impeachment managers, the senator said that there was “no need for more evidence” and that he believed Trump’s conduct did not meet the Constitution’s standard of “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors” for an impeachable offense.

“Let the people decide,” Alexander said in a lengthy statement Thursday explaining his position.

Another Republican seen as a possible supporter for permitting witness testimony, Sen. Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, also came down against doing so. Although she did not comment specifically on Trump’s actions with Ukraine, she faulted the overall impeach-



The Senate is expected to vote Wednesday on whether to acquit President Trump on impeachment charges or convict and remove him.

ment process as too partisan and unfair.

“I don’t believe the continuation of this process will change anything,” Murkowski said in a statement. “It is sad for me to admit that, as an institution, the Congress has failed.”

Only two Republicans — Sens. Mitt Romney of Utah and Susan Collins of Maine — voted to allow additional testimony, two votes shy of the threshold required for the measure to pass. And with the final impeachment vote requiring a two-thirds majority to convict the president, the outcome seems preordained.

“This impeachment was a fait

accompli at all times,” said Bill Whalen, a fellow at the conservative Hoover Institution at Stanford University. “You talk to congressional Republicans and there’s a feeling that the president is being persecuted, that impeachment was a conviction in search of a crime.”

William A. Galston, chair of the Brookings Institution’s Governance Studies Program, said acquittal “was not only perfectly predictable, but in my judgment, completely inevitable.”

“The United States political scene is as deeply polarized along partisan lines as it has been for at least a century,” Galston added.

Noting Trump’s high ratings among Republican voters, he said, “It would take a very brave Republican indeed to break ranks with the president under these circumstances.”

This is not the first instance in which Trump has skirted penalties for wielding the powers of his office for personal or political gain. Former special counsel Robert S. Mueller III found that the president repeatedly worked to block or thwart the Russia investigation, acts that could potentially have prompted obstruction of justice charges were he not a sitting president.

But Trump sidestepped any se-

rious penalties then, just as he appears to now with Ukraine.

One of the president’s lawyers, Alan Dershowitz, proffered a sweeping argument on the floor of the Senate last week that Trump using the powers of his office to pressure Ukraine to open a corruption investigation into the Bidens was not impeachable or illegal because it was done in pursuit of his reelection.

“If a president does something which he believes will help him get elected in the public interest, that cannot be the kind of quid pro quo that results in impeachment,” Dershowitz said during the trial.

In the face of stinging criticism

from constitutional scholars and legal experts, Dershowitz said later on Twitter that his comments were being mischaracterized. “A president seeking re-election cannot do anything he wants,” Dershowitz wrote. “He is not above the law.”

Still, Dershowitz’s argument was persuasive for some Republican senators looking for arguments with which to defend Trump irrespective of what the evidence showed.

“Let’s say it’s true, okay? Dershowitz last night explained that if you’re looking at it from a constitutional point of view, that that is not something that is impeachable,” Sen. Mike Braun (R-Ind.) told reporters.

Timothy Naftali, a historian at New York University and former director of the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, said the arguments advanced on Trump’s behalf in the Senate trial could have lasting consequences for the future of presidential power.

“The Republicans have embraced a theory that permits future abuses of power,” Naftali said. “The outcome of acquittal was predictable . . . but I’m afraid that this process in the Senate is more enabling of an abusive president than expected.”

The nation’s founders gave Congress oversight responsibilities and powers of impeachment as a check on the executive. Yet, with this week’s likely acquittal of Trump, Meacham argues, the Senate instead has become a tool in the president’s perpetuation of his own power.

“It is not hyperbolic to say that the Republican Party treats Donald Trump more like a king than a president,” Meacham said. “That was a central and consuming anxiety of the framers. It is a remarkable thing to watch the party of Lincoln and Eisenhower and Reagan and the Bushes become an instrument of Donald Trump’s. That’s a massive historical story.”

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For GOP’s Collins, the middle is becoming an untenable place to linger

BY GRIFF WITTE

WATERVILLE, MAINE — When Sen. Susan Collins declared late last week her support for calling witnesses to Capitol Hill, she became the first Republican member of Congress to formally break with the president on any aspect of his impeachment.

Here in Maine, where the famously independent Collins is locked in a tight reelection campaign, the choice elicited a wintry mix of cold shoulders and icy glares.

Republicans quietly counseled that Collins could go no further without inciting a rebellion from the party’s Trump-loving base — perhaps even a primary challenge. Democrats, meanwhile, heaped scorn on the senator for making gestures toward standing up to the president but not doing so when it counts.

“She’s like Lucy with the football and we’re Charlie Brown,” said Pam Cunningham, a 55-year-old Democrat who said she voted for Collins in 2014 but intends to knock on doors to defeat her this time. “How many times are we going to fall for the routine?”

In an era of rigorously enforced partisanship, the defiance from the senior senator from Maine stood out. And the chilly response illustrated why deviation from the party-proscribed path is so rare: The political rewards are few, while the costs are potentially career-ending.

That dynamic has been a defining element of President Trump’s impeachment process, which is almost certain to end with an acquittal Wednesday — and with Collins rejoining the GOP fold.

Unlike Richard Nixon, who resigned before he could be impeached, or Bill Clinton, who was acquitted in the Senate, President Trump has experienced no significant swings in public opinion since the allegations for which he was impeached first surfaced.

Views of whether Trump should be removed from office have barely budged since October, with nearly all Democrats in favor, Republicans virtually unanimous in opposition, and independents split. Rather than persuade members of one camp or the other to switch sides, new facts and arguments have only seemed to harden the divide.

The chasm in the country has been reflected in Congress, where waverers have retreated to the safety of their political homes. Defectors have been few. As politics has more closely resembled

trench warfare, the middle has become an awkward — even untenable — place to linger.

Perhaps no senator has had trickier terrain to navigate than Collins, the last member of Congress representing what was once a prodigious political brand: the New England Republican.

“She’s very much an endangered species,” said Roger Katz, a Republican former member of the Maine state Senate who counts himself as a fellow moderate. “She’s always been rewarded for that center-of-the-road path she’s taken. But politics has become so divisive, so tribal. That wonderful quality she has is becoming a liability.”

Whether it’s enough to cost her reelection could determine whether Republican centrists go from endangered to extinct.

Collins, 67, has played a part in all three impeachments of modern times.

As a Capitol Hill intern, she worked for William Cohen in the summer of 1974 while the then-congressman helped lead the Republican revolt against Nixon that would end his presidency.

As a freshman senator in Cohen’s former seat in 1999, Collins spurned her party’s leadership and voted to acquit Clinton.

This time around, defiance on the ultimate call of whether the president should be removed is considered highly unlikely. Republicans here tolerated her support for witnesses — a blow softened by the fact that only one other GOP senator joined her, and the motion was defeated.

But siding with Democrats on whether the president should be removed would be unforgivable among Maine’s rank-and-file Republicans, who are increasingly part of the Trump wing of the party, not the Collins wing.

“If she votes to convict,” said Katz, a Collins supporter, “she’s going to enrage the Republican base in Maine.”

The base is already restless. In recent weeks, Collins’s offices have been flooded with angry voice mails, many of them threatening and hate-filled. The vitriol has come from impeachment supporters as well as the president’s defenders, outspoken in demanding that Collins take their side.

The sound and fury around impeachment is in many respects a replay of the fall of 2018, when Collins played a pivotal role in the fight over whether Supreme Court nominee Brett M. Kavanaugh should be confirmed.

Amid accusations that he had



Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) arrives at the Capitol for the Senate impeachment trial of President Trump last week. Her support for calling witnesses drew criticism from both parties.

committed sexual assault at a high school party, Kavanaugh’s nomination was in doubt until the very end. Collins’s support, announced in a dramatic speech from the Senate floor, proved decisive.

Little has been the same for Collins in Maine since then. Through her four Senate terms, Collins had nurtured a reputation as a bipartisan problem-solver, one who enjoyed support from Republicans, Democrats and independents. The across-the-board backing gave her sky-high popularity and allowed her to coast to reelection in 2014.

But her choice on Kavanaugh delivered Democrats a resonant symbol to argue that Collins had become just another Republican partisan in the age of Trump.

Polls have shown her approval ratings fast eroding. Progressive groups that had once endorsed her — including abortion rights and environmental organizations — have withdrawn their support. A formidable opponent, state House Speaker Sara Gideon, looms in November.

“Wherever I go in Maine, people come up to me and ask, ‘What do you think happened to Susan Collins?’” Gideon, 48, said in an interview. “I can never answer.”

Cunningham is among the disenchanted. The Democrat voted for Collins in 2014 because “I thought she was someone who could cross party lines and get things done. I believed the story

line.”

Cunningham, a vacation rental manager, had never been particularly interested in politics. But Trump’s election galvanized her to get involved. She hoped that Collins — who declined to endorse Trump in 2016 — would be a check on the new president’s power.

But she was disappointed to find that Collins sided with the president on key early votes, including his tax plan and his judicial nominees. Just before Collins’s Kavanaugh vote, Cunningham and three other sexual assault survivors met with the senator to share their stories.

“We thought that as a woman, she would understand that she couldn’t vote to confirm him,” Cunningham said.

Instead, Collins told the group that she believed Kavanaugh’s accuser, Christine Blasey Ford, might have been mistaken about who had assaulted her — an argument she repeated on the Senate floor.

“We were stunned,” said Cunningham, who is now co-director of a group that organizes protests against Collins. “She wasn’t the person I thought she was.”

Collins’s Maine allies insist she is exactly who she claims to be: the rare politician who will deeply study the facts and make a choice based on principle.

During the impeachment trial, as colleagues dozed or thumbed through books, Collins filled thick

legal pads with notes. After hours, she studied transcripts and reports. Her questions to the president’s lawyers were challenging, probing whether Trump had ever pressed Ukraine on Hunter Biden before his father, former vice president Joe Biden, started vying for Trump’s job.

“She’s one of the few people who seems to have taken her role as a juror seriously,” said Mike Thibodeau, a Republican former president of the Maine state Senate. “Democrats had made up their minds. Republicans did the same. But she’s doing her homework, trying to understand.”

That’s typical of Collins, who is renowned for her work ethic and her attention to detail. It also reflects, Thibodeau said, her dedication to civility even as others attempt to score political points.

“There are a lot of people in Washington running around with gasoline, ready to throw it on the fire,” said Thibodeau, who described himself as far more conservative than Collins but an unabashed fan of her style. “Susan Collins is not one of them.”

Collins is part of a long tradition of centrist, consensus-building Maine Republicans, including Margaret Chase Smith, Cohen and Olympia Snowe. But that line appears to be dying out: Maine’s last Republican governor, Paul LePage, is regarded as a Trump forerunner for his bombastic style and offensive manner.

“The Republican Party in Maine isn’t what it used to be,” said Mark Brewer, a University of Maine political scientist. “It’s not that Collins has changed. The political environment has changed around her.”

While the right pressures her to stay in line, Collins knows she needs to continue to win over the independents and Democrats who have helped elect her in the past.

The Collins campaign ads that are already playing around the clock on televisions across Maine, nine months before the vote, tout her independence. The data bear out the boast: The Lugar Center has named her the nation’s most bipartisan senator for six years running, a stretch that included Collins’s 2017 votes that helped scuttle Republican attempts to repeal the Affordable Care Act.

Yet Gideon, who is also flooding the airwaves with ads, charged that Collins is highly selective about when she steps out of line.

Impeachment is a prime example: Collins, she said, was “given a hall pass” on the witness vote by Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) once he knew he had the votes to override her objections. But on the ultimate question of conviction, it’s unlikely the senator will break ranks.

“Every time there is a vote of consequence, she is voting with McConnell and her party,” Gideon said.

Whether voters agree, and whether it matters in November, remains to be seen. Most analysts regard the race as a toss-up — a position that would have been “unthinkable” for Collins just a few years back, Brewer said.

Interviews in Waterville, a hardscrabble former mill city on the Kennebec River, suggest that at least some of the goodwill that Collins built in Maine over decades still endures.

Dana Sennett, a Democrat and former mayor, said he will vote for her.

“She’s getting slammed by both sides,” Sennett said. “But it’s very important to have people like that in Washington.”

Al Thiebault, a 69-year-old minister and Republican, said he will vote for Collins, too. He didn’t like her vote for witnesses, considering the idea “a waste of time.” And he thinks she occasionally gets too close to the “progressives and the socialists.” But that’s okay.

“I appreciate her independent thinking,” he said. “I’m not going to agree with anyone all the time.”

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THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL OF PRESIDENT TRUMP

Republicans defend decision to bar new evidence as acquittal vote nears

BY FELICIA SONMEZ AND RACHAEL BADE

Senate Republicans on Sunday acknowledged that President Trump was wrong to pressure Ukraine for his own political benefit, even as they defended their decision to prohibit new evidence in his impeachment trial while pressing ahead with the president's all-but-certain acquittal.

The remarks from key Republicans — including Sens. Lamar Alexander (Tenn.) and Joni Ernst (Iowa) — came after the Trump administration revealed the existence of emails that could shed light on the president's reasons for withholding military aid to Ukraine.

"I'm going to vote to acquit," Alexander said in an interview on NBC News's "Meet the Press." "I'm very concerned about any action that we could take that would establish a perpetual impeachment in the House of Representatives whenever the House was a different party than the president. That would immobilize the Senate."

One Republican senator, a close ally of Trump, suggested a sweeping GOP counterattack following Wednesday's vote to acquit the president.

"It's going to happen in the coming weeks," Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Lindsey O. Graham (S.C.) said of the counter-offensive in an interview on Fox News's "Sunday Morning Futures."

Graham outlined a plan that would include an investigation of former vice president Joe Biden, who is running for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination, and a pursuit of the whistleblower whose account triggered the probe into Trump's efforts to pressure Ukraine.

It was unclear whether other Senate committee leaders were on board with Graham's proposal, however. Graham used his Sunday television appearance to make a direct appeal to Sen. James E. Risch (R-Idaho), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"Jim, if you're watching the show, I hope you are . . . let's call



ANDREW HARRER/BLOOMBERG NEWS

"I'm going to vote to acquit," Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.) said during a "Meet the Press" interview over the weekend.

these people in. Eventually, we'll get to Hunter Biden," Graham said, referring to the former vice president's son. He added: "We're not going to let it go. Jim Risch, you need to start it."

Risch's office and the Foreign Relations Committee did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

The crux of the impeachment case against Trump is whether he used \$391 million in military aid and a coveted White House meeting for Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky as leverage to force the foreign leader to conduct political investigations, including one focused on Joe Biden.

In a July 25 call, Trump asked Zelensky to "do us a favor."

Trump and administration officials repeatedly stonewalled House investigators, refusing to allow certain witnesses to testify

and to provide requested documents.

The House voted in December to impeach Trump, and in recent weeks, new evidence against him has emerged, including reports that former national security adviser John Bolton says there was a quid pro quo conditioning the aid on investigations by Ukraine that could help the president politically.

In an interview Sunday with Fox News host Sean Hannity, Trump said he has no plans to delay his annual State of the Union address, which is scheduled for Tuesday.

"No, I'm going to have it," Trump said in the interview, which aired on Fox ahead of the Super Bowl. "It's going to be done. We're going to talk about the achievements that we've made."

He added that the impeach-

ment process and the Russia probe led by former special counsel Robert S. Mueller III were "unfair to my family."

"I mean, my family suffered because of all of this, and many other families suffered also," he said.

Over the weekend, the administration acknowledged the existence of two dozen emails that could reveal the president's thinking about withholding the aid to Ukraine.

Some Democrats had been looking to Alexander last week as a potential crossover vote in favor of subpoenaing key witnesses and documents in the Senate trial. But the lawmaker said Sunday that while Trump's behavior was "inappropriate," it was "a long way from treason, bribery, high crimes and misdemeanors."

"I think he shouldn't have done it," Alexander said of Trump's al-

leged efforts to pressure Ukraine.

"I think it was wrong. Inappropriate was the way I'd say — improper, crossing the line. And then the only question left is who decides what to do about that."

"Well, who decides what to do about that?" host Chuck Todd asked.

"The people," Alexander responded.

On CNN's "State of the Union," Ernst said she, too, will vote to acquit the president.

Ernst, who is facing a tough reelection race this year, said she would not have handled the Ukraine matter in the way Trump did. But she offered only gentle criticism of the president's actions.

"Maybe not the perfect call," Ernst said, referring to Trump's oft-repeated claim that his phone conversation with Zelensky was

"perfect." "He did it maybe in the wrong manner."

"I think he could have done it through different channels," such as the Department of Justice, she added.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (Calif.) and other leading Democrats have argued that any acquittal without the inclusion of witnesses and documents is meaningless — a point Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) reemphasized Sunday.

"Senate Republicans keep voting for a sham trial without witnesses or documents," Schumer tweeted. "Make no mistake: The full truth will eventually come out, and Senate Republicans will have to answer for their cover-up."

Harvard Law professor emeritus Alan Dershowitz, a member of Trump's legal team, pushed back against the notion that the trial was a sham, saying that Pelosi and others are at fault "for failing to charge an impeachable offense."

"If they haven't charged an offense, then maybe he hasn't been acquitted, but he also hasn't been charged," Dershowitz said on "Fox News Sunday."

Rep. Adam B. Schiff (D-Calif.), meanwhile, took a victory lap of sorts. In an appearance on CBS News's "Face the Nation," Schiff, the lead impeachment manager, pointed to the recent comments by Republican senators as proof that the House successfully made its case that Trump "did withhold hundreds of millions of dollars from an ally to try to coerce that ally into helping him cheat in the next election."

"I think it's enormously important that the country understand exactly what this president did, and we have proved it," Schiff said.

Even so, he added, to simply call Trump's actions inappropriate "doesn't begin to do justice to the gravity of this president's misconduct."

Schiff also declined to say whether the House will subpoena Bolton, saying only that, "whether it's in testimony before the House or it's in his book or it's in one form or another, the truth will continue to come out."

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THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL OF PRESIDENT TRUMP

Giuliani pressed interests of former Ukrainian client with top Zelensky aide

BY ROSALIND S. HELDERMAN,  
PAUL SONNE,  
DAVID L. STERN  
AND JOSH DAWSEY

Rudolph W. Giuliani was huddled with a top Ukrainian official at a luxury Madrid hotel in August, on a mission to push for investigations sought by President Trump. But first, Giuliani made a personal ask on behalf of a former client in Ukraine.

Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko, for whom Giuliani has said he did consulting work, was on the verge of being fired by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky from a separate post as the appointed head of the city administration, a move that would greatly reduce his power. Giuliani urged a Zelensky adviser at the Madrid conclave to retain Klitschko, according to Lev Parnas, a former Giuliani associate.

“Rudy told him, ‘Make sure Klitschko stays,’” Parnas, who participated in the meeting, told The Washington Post in an interview.

The following month, Giuliani took that same message to Twitter. “Reducing the power of Mayor Klitschko of Kiev was a very bad sign,” Giuliani wrote, implicitly chastising Zelensky, adding that the mayor, a former boxing champion, “is very much admired and respected in the US.”

Zelensky backed off the threat, and nearly six months later, Klitschko remains in his post.

The Zelensky adviser in Madrid, Andriy Yermak, confirmed in a statement that he and Giuliani discussed Klitschko but denied that Trump’s personal attorney applied any pressure on Klitschko’s behalf. Yermak said Giuliani told him he was not trying to influence him.

The previously unreported account of Giuliani’s discussions with the Ukrainian government about Klitschko provides another example of how the former New York mayor has used his perch as a close adviser to Trump to promote his personal interests.

In 2017, Giuliani sought to persuade Trump and other top administration officials to adopt positions advocated by Turkey, the same year he was working as a



Vitali Klitschko, left, and Rudolph W. Giuliani at an investment forum in Ukraine in 2008, the year Giuliani says he was hired by the aspiring politician, now mayor of Kyiv, as a consultant. President Volodymyr Zelensky has wanted to fire Klitschko from another city post.

lawyer for a politically connected gold trader from that country who was facing federal criminal charges. In September, he urged Justice Department officials not to pursue a case against a wealthy Venezuelan energy executive who had hired him as a private attorney.

Giuliani’s activities have spurred deep unease among senior administration officials, who have said they are unclear about when he is working on behalf of his other private clients and when he is working in the interests of the president.

Attorney General William P. Barr counseled Trump in several conversations in the fall that Giuliani had become a liability. The Post previously reported.

And, in a draft manuscript of his upcoming book, former national security adviser John Bolton claims that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo feared that Giuliani might be working on behalf of a client when he sought the removal of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, according to a person familiar with the project.

Giuliani told The Post that he

has been careful to define his role as a private lawyer for Trump, not as a representative of the U.S. government, and chalked up scrutiny of his work to resentment.

“People hate me” for representing Trump, Giuliani wrote in a text message. “The better you do the more bitter they become.”

He noted that the president “is not my only client or customer,” adding, “I still have opinions and work I need to do and it’s not expanded as a result of representing the President, it has of necessity declined so I can pay attention to my work for him.”

“What they are saying is true of any private lawyer for President,” he wrote, adding: “There is nothing to suggest that it has affected my work.”

Asked about the Madrid meeting, Giuliani called Parnas, his former associate and client, a “proven liar.” Parnas, who is facing federal campaign finance charges, began speaking publicly about his role in the Ukraine pressure campaign in recent weeks — drawing attacks from Trump allies, who say he is seeking to reduce his

criminal exposure.

Giuliani declined to say whether he sought to intervene on Klitschko’s behalf, describing the boxer turned mayor as “a good friend of mine over the years.”

The balance of power at the Madrid meeting was decidedly in Giuliani’s favor. At the time, Zelensky’s team was urgently seeking a White House meeting with Trump to send a critical signal to Russia, which has been fueling a proxy war in Ukraine’s east for more than five years. And days earlier, in a phone call with Zelensky, Trump had made it clear to the new Ukrainian president that he needed to work with Giuliani to win White House support.

Zelensky has still not secured his White House meeting. “I would be ready to go tomorrow,” the Ukrainian leader said Friday during a joint appearance in Kyiv with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo.

**‘A great friend of Ukraine’**

Giuliani has had business ties in Ukraine for at least a decade, work that brought him into contact with prominent Ukrainian figures and politicians, including Klitschko.

A three-time world heavyweight champion known as “Dr. Ironfist” because of his doctorate in sports science, Klitschko is one of the most famous Ukrainian athletes. When he entered politics, the boxing legend said he wanted to bring the living standards he saw in the West to his native Ukraine.

In a previous interview with The Post, Giuliani said he was hired in 2008 as a political consultant to Klitschko, who at the time was making what would be a failed bid to become Kyiv’s mayor.

During a successful run for mayor in 2014, Klitschko hired Giuliani’s consulting firm to advise him on combating corruption and crime in Ukraine’s capital, Giuliani told The Post.

Klitschko has offered contradictory accounts of their arrangement, saying in a statement last week that he never had a “business relationship” with Giuliani. The Kyiv mayor also described Giuliani “as a great friend of Ukraine and one of the most successful mayors in the world.”

Klitschko said that he first encountered Giuliani in 2006 during a visit the former New York mayor made to Ukraine. Since then, they have met many times in New York and Kyiv, Klitschko said.

“Considering our good personal relationship, sometimes I ask for his advice on municipal issues,” he said.

Klitschko, a leader of Ukraine’s pro-Western revolution, won reelection as Kyiv’s mayor in 2015 with more than 65 percent of the vote. Like his political ally, former president Petro Poroshenko, he entered office amid high expectations that he would crack down on the corruption and cronyism that have characterized Ukrainian politics.

While Kyiv has largely prospered, and many regard Klitschko as an improvement over his predecessors, his detractors say that a number of the problems that have plagued the capital persist: poor delivery of services, substandard infrastructure and questionable construction projects.

They also accuse him of relying on high-profile projects — like a \$10 million glass-and-concrete bridge in the city’s center — instead of focusing on substantive reforms.

Klitschko’s political future was thrown into doubt in April when Zelensky — a comedian and political neophyte fresh off playing the president in a “Veep”-style Ukrai-

nian television series — trounced Poroshenko in Ukraine’s elections.

In addition to functioning as Kyiv’s elected mayor, Klitschko simultaneously has been serving as head of the Kyiv City State Administration under a deal he brokered with Poroshenko. That influential position, akin to city manager, is appointed by Ukraine’s president.

Ousting Klitschko from the post would help Zelensky’s team consolidate control over the Ukrainian capital, by far the country’s most important power center.

Zelensky informed Klitschko during a meeting in early July last year that he wanted to once again separate the positions and install his own appointee as head of the Kyiv administration, according to a video address Klitschko posted on Facebook after the meeting.

Klitschko would retain the elected position of mayor, though his power would be greatly reduced.

In the Facebook post, Klitschko criticized the proposal as a rollback of Kyiv’s rightful power of self-government.

Leading the charge for Klitschko’s firing was Andriy Bohdan, the former lawyer for Ukrainian tycoon Ihor Kolomoisky, whom Zelensky appointed as his equivalent to chief of staff.

On July 30, Bohdan stepped up the political broadside against the Kyiv mayor, telling Ukrainian news outlets in a briefing that Klitschko had lost control of the situation in the city over the past five years and was beholden to wealthy figures controlling the city council.

Klitschko said the comments made Bohdan look “strange and incompetent.”

Bohdan did not respond to requests for comment.

Last summer, amid speculation about whether he would be fired, Klitschko flew to the United States.

On July 31, the day after Bohdan’s comments, Klitschko met with Giuliani in New York, posting a photo on Facebook of himself and the former New York mayor seated in Giuliani’s office.

The meeting came just a week after Trump exhorted Zelensky in a July 25 phone call to coordinate with Giuliani on an investigation into former vice president Joe Biden and his son, who served on the board of the Ukrainian gas company Burisma while his father was in office.

In an interview, Parnas said he did not attend Giuliani’s meeting with Klitschko in New York but was briefed on it afterward by Giuliani and a lawyer for Klitschko.

Parnas said he was told by both men that, during the meeting, Klitschko complained to Giuliani that the Zelensky administration was trying to oust him — and appealed for help.

“He basically cried to Rudy, saying they were going after him unfairly,” Parnas said.

Klitschko blamed Bohdan for his predicament, Parnas said, fueling Giuliani’s anger at Zelensky’s chief of staff and, by extension, at the Ukrainian president, who had not publicly committed to investigations that would benefit Trump.

In written comments to The Post, Klitschko denied requesting Giuliani’s help.

“I did not ask anyone for assistance. And our photo is a photo of a meeting of two public figures,” Klitschko said. He said they discussed how “Ukraine needs further support from our Western partners and friends after the shift in power, support for local government and its development.”

**‘Trump loves him’**

Days later, Giuliani was due to hold a face-to-face meeting with Yermak, a top aide to Zelensky.

Giuliani’s primary goal for the Madrid summit was to press Yermak to get Zelensky to announce the investigations he sought on Trump’s behalf, he previously told The Post.

Kurt Volker, then serving as a special envoy to Ukraine, testified in the House impeachment inquiry that he had connected Yermak and Giuliani. Volker said he hoped the Zelensky aide could convince Giuliani that the new Ukrainian president was an anti-corruption reformer — and break a logjam that appeared to be preventing Trump from granting the new leader a White House visit.

The Ukrainians hoped that by satisfying Giuliani, they could finally develop close relations with the Trump administration, text messages released by House impeachment investigators show.

Giuliani was pleased with the selection of Yermak, a former entertainment attorney, as Zelensky’s representative for the meeting in Madrid, Parnas said, because he perceived Yermak as an equal, someone who played the same role for the Ukrainian president as he did for Trump: a lawyer and confidant.

The meeting was held at a luxury hotel. Parnas said that he and Giuliani arrived first and secured a table in the impressive lobby.

When Yermak arrived, the group exchanged pleasantries.

After that, Parnas said, Giuliani got down to business.

“Giuliani started going on about Klitschko and Bohdan,” he said. Giuliani told the Zelensky aide that Klitschko was a “great guy for Ukraine.”

“He said, ‘He can bring more interest to Ukraine, more business. He’s a boxer. Americans love boxers,’” Parnas recalled. “He said, ‘Trump loves him. I think Trump knows him — he’s fought at some of his places.’”

Klitschko told a Ukrainian news outlet in 2017 that when he and his brother Wladimir fought at the Trump Taj Mahal in Atlantic City, they socialized with Trump.

Parnas told The Post he did not know whether Giuliani had ever discussed Klitschko’s predicament in Kyiv with Trump.

In Madrid, Giuliani told the aide to Zelensky that he should make sure Klitschko remained in his powerful job, according to Parnas.

Parnas said that Yermak appeared open to Giuliani’s request.

“Yermak basically said that he would do everything in his power, that he would personally meet with Klitschko and he would try to work it out,” Parnas said. “He promised Rudy.”

In a statement, Yermak said he knew going into the meeting that Giuliani and the Kyiv mayor were “well acquainted” and confirmed that Klitschko came up during the conversation.

“Giuliani inquired about my opinion of Vitali Klitschko as mayor,” Yermak said. “At the same time, he immediately made a disclaimer, so that I would not perceive this issue as an attempt to influence me.”

Yermak said he told Giuliani that he had known Klitschko for years and that the boxer was elected and supported by the people of Kyiv.

“On this, our conversation on the topic of Klitschko was over,” Yermak said. “Therefore, any allegation that at the meeting, Mr. Giuliani tried to impose some kind of narrative on me or that some kind of agreement was reached . . . is not true.”

The Post reported last week that Yermak has been urging the Ukrainian president to take a pro-Trump line to bolster his standing with the United States, according to diplomats familiar with the discussions.

Parnas said that after discussing Klitschko, Giuliani turned to the central issue that had brought them together: a proposed statement by the Ukrainians regarding investigations helpful to Trump.

“They had to include a statement about Burisma and Biden,” Parnas said Giuliani explained.

In early September, Zelensky’s cabinet passed a resolution to remove Klitschko from his administrative post. Zelensky has not signed the document, leaving Klitschko in place.

In his statement to The Post, Klitschko said he did not know why Zelensky backed off his threat to remove him.

“I cannot be responsible for the president,” he said.

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# THE WORLD

## As French strikes draw to close, there are no real winners

Although Macron’s pension overhaul plans are headed to Parliament, questions remain about how exactly a revamped system will affect the public

BY JAMES MCAULEY

PARIS — Since his 2017 presidential campaign, Emmanuel Macron has never hid his lofty ambitions to shake up France in a big way.

A former investment banker, Macron has conveyed France as “le start up nation” and favors the disruptive enthusiasm of a Silicon Valley venture capitalist in a country that also cherishes its age-old traditions.

Nothing is apparently off the table. Early in his presidency, Macron succeeded in making it easier for small French businesses to hire and fire employees. And late last year, he set his sights on what is known in France as the “mother of all reforms” — an overhaul of the country’s famously generous retirement system, a prize that’s eluded many of his predecessors.

After Macron introduced his reform project — streamlining a dizzying system of 42 separate retirement schemes into a single points-based system — there were two months of crippling strikes, a classic French form of public theater.

At the behest of France’s trade unions, national and local train lines came screeching to a halt, and even some flights were canceled as workers took to the streets to protest changes to their pensions and the national retirement age.

Macron charged ahead regardless, offering a few concessions but not any major ones, and the strikes are mostly over now.

But as things gradually return to normal, the 42-year-old president cannot quite be seen as the victor, and neither can the unions be said to have failed. In an environment of heavy malaise, the clash between an increasingly isolated Élysée Palace and the streets continues, only in different forms.

Though the transportation strikes appear to have finished, there are still violent struggles between French police and demonstrators.

Scenes that made headlines last week included a rare specta-



FRANCOIS MORI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Women sing in protest of French President Emmanuel Macron during a demonstration on Jan. 11. When his proposal is considered in Parliament it is likely to be attacked by the small but loud opposition parties and some members of his own faction.**

*“It has to be understood that we are a country where political and social conflict is important.”*

Bruno Cautrès, political scientist at Sciences Po University in Paris

cle: Firefighters, protesting the government’s proposed changes to their retirement packages, squared off against national police officers, who used tear gas and water cannons against their colleagues. Firefighters rank among the most respected public servants in France.

This month, Macron’s reform project will finally be considered in the French Parliament, where

it is bound to be attacked by members of the small but loud opposition parties. Likely joining the opposition will be some members of Macron’s own faction, République en Marche (“Republic on the Move”), which holds an absolute majority in the lower house.

“There is no winner,” said Bruno Cautrès, a political scientist at Sciences Po University in Paris.

“There truly seem to be questions that the executive doesn’t want to answer about this reform. Including the way it would be financed, and the realities of gains for the French.”

The real issue, Cautrès said, is one of communication.

“There are a number of stereotypes about France, notably that we are never happy,” he said. “But it has to be understood that we are a

country where political and social conflict is important. To French ears, the question of social justice is very important. And for the moment, Macron has not made the explanation clear that his reform will be along those lines.”

The first half of the Macron presidency has been marked by nearly constant protests. First came the “yellow vests” in 2018 and 2019, an amorphous move-

ment that mobilized against a controversial carbon tax. It later became a general uprising against social inequality in general and Macron himself once the Élysée withdrew the tax in question.

At their height, yellow vest protesters smashed shop windows throughout the French capital and even vandalized beloved monuments like the Arc de Triomphe.

Then came the recent transport strikes, the longest continuous strike France has seen in decades. At the height of the Christmas season, these strikes interrupted travel for hundreds of thousands of people. Some workers stayed home, and a number of small businesses even announced that they were closed.

The recent strikes have taken their toll, and the irony is that introduction of Macron’s pro-business reforms may have made “le start up nation” a less-attractive destination for foreign investors than it was before.

On Friday, France’s National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) released the figures on the country’s economic growth during the fourth quarter of 2019. GDP fell by .1 percent in the last quarter of 2019, compared with a .3 increase in the third quarter.

The French government has acknowledged the dip, but sees it as temporary.

“The strikes in December put a brake on France’s growth in the last quarter of 2019,” said Bruno Le Maire, France’s finance minister. “Some of our infrastructure, such as the ports, the railway network and petrol depots, were impacted.”

The government pitches its reform project as necessary, Cautrès said, but given the number of intricate details it contains, it has failed to explain to the average voter what, exactly, it would mean.

“No one among us in France is capable to say exactly what it’s about,” Cautrès said.

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## Knife attacker shot dead in London had served time on terrorism charges

Police were tailing assailant, who had recently been released

BY WILLIAM BOOTH AND KARLA ADAM

LONDON — A man wearing a fake explosive device stabbed two people in south London on Sunday before he was shot dead by police officers in what authorities called a terrorist attack.

Police identified the assailant as Sudesh Amman, 20, recently released from prison, where he had been serving a sentence for “Islamist-related terrorism” offenses.

British news media said Amman pleaded guilty in 2018 to charges of possessing terrorist documents and disseminating terrorist publications. The BBC reported that one of the manuals Amman admitted owning was “Bloody Brazilian Knife Fighting Techniques.”

Police said that armed officers, part of a proactive counterterrorism surveillance operation, were following Amman on foot when the attack began. The police shot him dead at the scene.

Three people were wounded, police said.

It appeared to be the latest incident here by terrorism suspects using knives or cars to attack bystanders. An apparent explosive strapped to the suspect’s body was determined to be a “hoax device.”

The fact that Amman was previously imprisoned, then released, then followed by police when he allegedly stabbed his victims is likely to stoke anger here that terrorists are being released without being rehabilitated or de-radicalized.

“A Freed Terrorist Strikes Again,” blared the Daily Telegraph in an early Monday edition. “Terror attacker freed from jail and on police watchlist,” read a headline in the Guardian.

Lucy D’Orsi, deputy assistant commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, said the attack was “quickly declared as a terrorist incident, and we believe it to be Islamist-related.”

Police said a man in his 40s “was initially considered to be in a life-threatening condition,” but “following his treatment at hospital, this is no longer the case.” A woman in her 50s had injuries not considered to be life-threatening, authorities said. A third was hurt by glass shattered when



ISABEL INFANTES/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

**Forensic officers inspect the site where a man wearing a fake explosive device stabbed two people in London before being shot dead by police. Police identified the attacker as Sudesh Amman, 20.**

police fired their weapons.

The incident happened about 2 p.m. local time on the main commercial street in south London’s Streatham neighborhood.

Karker Tahir, who works on the street where the attack took place, told Sky News he saw a man running on the sidewalk, followed by “two or three” police

officers with guns.

“They kept telling him, ‘Stop,’ ” he said. “And I then saw them shoot him three times.”

The stabbing follows a string of

terrorism-related incidents in the capital’s center.

In November, a British-born, al-Qaeda-inspired man named Usman Khan stabbed five people before he was tackled by members of the public and shot dead by police. Two of his victims died.

Khan was free on parole, with an electronic tracking device on his ankle, when he entered a conference focused on the rehabilitation of violent offenders and terrorists. Khan, who wore a fake suicide vest, had previously been convicted of conspiring to bomb London landmarks.

In June 2017, three assailants rammed pedestrians with a van on a major bridge over the River Thames in central London, then sought out victims to stab. They killed eight people and wounded 48 before they were shot to death.

The three also wore fake explosives. Terrorists have worn phony suicide vests to frighten civilians, intimidate police or draw deadly fire.

In March 2017, British citizen Khalid Masood plowed a car into pedestrians on Westminster Bridge over the Thames. Masood jumped from the vehicle and stabbed a police officer to death before being shot dead by officers.

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### DIGEST

#### SYRIA Turkish convoy enters rebel areas in north

A large Turkish military convoy rumbled into rebel-held areas of northwestern Syria on Sunday, witnesses and activists said.

Separately, airstrikes on a rebel-held village in Syria’s northwest killed at least seven people, opposition activists said. Elsewhere, rebels shelled western parts of the city of Aleppo, killing a woman and wounding others, Syrian state TV said.

The violence and troop movements came amid a Syrian government offensive targeting the country’s last rebel stronghold, located in Idlib

province and parts of the nearby Aleppo region. Turkish troops are deployed in some of those rebel-held areas to monitor a cease-fire that has since collapsed.

Relations between Turkey and Syria have deteriorated since Syria’s civil war began in 2011. Syria accuses Turkey of undermining its security by allowing thousands of foreign fighters to battle the Syrian army.

The Turkish military convoy consisted of dozens of armored vehicles, fuel tanker trucks and flatbed trucks carrying tanks and armored personnel carriers, observers said.

With Russian backing, the Syrian government has been on the offensive since December to capture and reopen a strategic highway held by the rebels since

2012.

On Wednesday, government forces captured the key town of Maaret al-Numan from the rebels and have set their sights on the town of Sarqeb. The strategic highway passes through both.

An airstrike killed seven people Sunday in the village of Sarmin, west of Sarqeb, according to the Observatory.

— Associated Press

#### IRAQ Demonstrators reject premier-designate

Anti-government protesters on Sunday rejected Iraq’s new prime minister-designate following his nomination by rival government factions.

Meanwhile, new divisions emerged among protesters and supporters of a maverick Shiite cleric, who initially backed the uprising but now is repositioning himself toward the political establishment, after elites selected a candidate for prime minister whom he endorsed.

On Sunday, Moqtada al-Sadr told his followers camped out among protesters in the capital and in the country’s south to unblock roads and restore normalcy, angering many.

Saturday’s selection of former communications minister Mohammed Allawi, 66, to replace outgoing Prime Minister Adel Abdul-Mahdi was the product of months of backroom talks between rival parties.

— Associated Press

#### YEMEN Al-Qaeda affiliate claims Florida attack

Al-Qaeda’s branch in Yemen asserted responsibility Sunday for last year’s Naval Air Station Pensacola shooting by a student from Saudi Arabia.

The gunman, 2nd Lt. Mohammed Saeed Alshamrani, was a member of the Saudi Air Force in training at the base. He opened fire in a base classroom on Dec. 6, killing three people and wounding two sheriff’s deputies before one deputy killed him. Eight others were also hurt.

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP, released a video claiming the attack. SITE Intelligence Group reported the

claim.

— Associated Press

**Butterfly guide dead in Mexico:** Authorities are investigating the death of a part-time tour guide in one of Mexico’s largest butterfly sanctuaries — the second person connected to the reserve found dead in less than a week. The body of Raúl Hernández Romero, 44, was found badly beaten Saturday. The body of local politician Homero Gómez González, a well-known defender of the monarch butterfly sanctuary in Michoacan state, was recovered last week, two weeks after he disappeared. Officials said they were uncertain of any connection between the two deaths.

— Kevin Steff



THE CORONAVIRUS OUTBREAK

Epidemic threatens economic pain and geopolitical strife

CORONAVIRUS FROM A1

the virus can be transmitted by someone who has not yet shown symptoms of an infection. At least a dozen countries have imposed travel restrictions on people coming from China. That list includes some neighboring countries that have closed their borders with China.

Such travel restrictions are contrary to public health recommendations and have riled Chinese government officials. The Foreign Ministry's combative spokeswoman, Hua Chunying, singled out the United States, saying that the World Health Organization has said such restrictions are not necessary.

A "certain country has turned a blind eye to WHO recommendations and imposed sweeping travel restrictions against China," Hua tweeted Saturday. "This kind of overreaction could only make things even worse. It's not the right way to deal with the pandemic."

Hua said many countries have offered China support, but in contrast, "certain U.S. officials' words and actions are neither factual nor appropriate." That appeared to be a reference to U.S. Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross, who last week said the coronavirus could "help" to bring jobs to the United States as companies moved operations away from China. Hua said these "unfriendly U.S. comments" were "certainly not a gesture of goodwill."

The coronavirus, which causes pneumonia-like symptoms, and for which there is no vaccine, was first identified in late December in the Hubei provincial capital of Wuhan. An early cluster of cases was found among people who had visited a seafood market where live animals were sold for consumption. Bats and catlike civets have been linked to previous mutations in viruses that have jumped from animals to humans, including severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), which began in southern China in 2002.

China's National Health Commission reported Monday that there are now 17,205 confirmed cases of coronavirus infection on the mainland, plus 15 in Hong Kong and eight in Macao. The WHO reported 146 confirmed cases in 23 countries outside China. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on Sunday confirmed an additional case in California, involving a patient who had recently returned to the United States from Wuhan. That brings the U.S. case number to nine, with no deaths.

Scientists suspect the true number of infections may be many times higher than the official count. So far, 361 people have died, all but one in China.

The most serious illnesses appear to be in the elderly and peo-



ple with preexisting medical problems, and it is highly contagious. Unless contained soon, it could become a pandemic — a disease that travels almost everywhere on the planet in the same manner as influenza.

The WHO on Sunday warned that the coronavirus is spreading not only disease, but also rumors, myths and misinformation.

"The 2019-nCoV outbreak and response has been accompanied by a massive 'infodemic' — an over-abundance of information — some accurate and some not — that makes it hard for people to find trustworthy sources and reliable guidance when they need it," the WHO wrote.

A report published Friday in the New England Journal of Medicine documented a cluster of cases in Germany linked to a Chinese business traveler who showed no symptoms of disease when she was in Germany and became sick only when she returned home. The WHO, however, said this weekend that such transmission by an asymptomatic person is rare with coronaviruses. "Persons who are symptomatic will spread the virus more readily through coughing and sneezing," the WHO wrote.

The Trump administration announced Friday that non-U.S. citizens who had been in China recently — and not just in Wuhan or in surrounding Hubei province — will be temporarily barred from



TOP: Members of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Air Force arrive at the Wuhan Tianhe International Airport with supplies and medical personnel to fight the virus. ABOVE: A doctor puts on protective goggles before entering the isolation ward at a hospital.

*"Certain U.S. officials' words and actions are neither factual nor appropriate."*

Hua Chunying, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman

entering the United States, with a few exemptions. American citizens who had been in Hubei province in the previous 14 days would be allowed to return but would be quarantined. U.S. citizens who had been elsewhere in China would be required to self-quarantine at home and report any symp-

toms to health officials.

Meanwhile, the Philippines has blocked entry to travelers from China, including from Hong Kong and Macao, after a man from Wuhan died in Manila of the coronavirus, the first person outside China to succumb to the illness.

New Zealand's government an-

nounced that starting Monday, it would deny entry to foreign travelers arriving from China and order returning New Zealanders to isolate themselves for 14 days. Indonesia said it would immediately bar visitors who have been in China for 14 days, the maximum incubation period, from entering or transiting. Iraq's Interior Ministry said it would ban all foreign nationals coming from China.

With authorities slow to recognize this latest outbreak as a new virus and even slower to warn people of it, the number of infections has continued to rise rapidly, passing the total infected by SARS. The People's Liberation Army sent 1,400 medical staff members from the armed forces to Wuhan on Sunday to treat patients at the new 1,000-bed Huoshenshan Hospital, which was built in just 10 days and is due to start operation on Monday.

In trying to contain the outbreak, Hubei officials continue to speak in terms of an epic battle against what Chinese President Xi Jinping has called a "devil" virus.

"Cadres at all levels should truly show a wartime spirit," the Hubei state newspaper exhorted Sunday after a meeting at the provincial pneumonia prevention headquarters.

China's stock markets will reopen Monday after the Lunar New Year holiday, the first trading day since the extent of the outbreak became clear. Anticipating a

As coronavirus spreads, kooky remedies for treatment spawn along with it

BY ANNA FIFIELD

**BELJING** — The new coronavirus has killed more than 300 people in China and infected thousands more. As it spreads, and with no cure in sight, some people are looking to alternative remedies to protect them from infection or cure themselves if they have already contracted it.

Here are some of the theories floating around. Some have been proposed by medical doctors, and some are just common sense. Others, not so much.

As the ads say: If your symptoms persist or get worse, see your physician.

China

**Traditional Chinese medicine for people (and cows and chickens)**

Chinese people have been flocking to buy Shuanghuanglian — literally, "double yellow connect" — an herbal remedy that follows the principles of traditional Chinese medicine, or TCM. The liquid is made from the bud of the *Lonicera japonica* flower, and the fruit of *Forsythia suspensa* and *Scutellaria baicalensis* plants.

The Shanghai Institute of Materia Medica, part of the state-run Chinese Academy of Sciences, has said it could help inhibit the coronavirus.

State media including the Xinhua News Agency and CCTV have reported that clinical trials suggest the medicine might be effective, spurring long lines at TCM outlets. Major Chinese e-commerce platforms including Taobao.com and JD.com are out of stock.

Chicken soup for the lungs

Zhang Jinnong, a physician at Wuhan Union Hospital who contracted the coronavirus, said he nursed himself back to health with standard medication and chicken soup.

"In terms of diet, you should drink chicken soup often," Zhang told the Changjiang Daily and Wuhan Evening Daily. "When you drink it, you should sweat. The rise in body temperature is good for fighting the virus."

'Herbs that expel parasites'

The areca nut, or betel nut, used to get rid of hookworms, tapeworms and other intestinal parasites, are "purgative herbs that drain downward," according to the TCM site Me and Qi.

The areca nut branch of the China Fruit Association says the nut can also be used to treat coronavirus. Well, it would say that, wouldn't it? But its claims are backed up by China's National Health Commission, which has included areca nut in its recommended prescription for the pneumonia-like illness.

The National Health Commission and National Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine have recommended many TCM remedies to help alleviate symptoms of coronavirus — but they've stressed they do not cure it.

Putting the tea in TCM

A respiratory expert from Hubei People's Hospital, Hu Ke, recommended people drink prevention tea following the principles of traditional Chinese medicine. At a news conference, he gave two precise recipes, which are listed in Hubei's recommended treatment for the coronavirus.



A worker at a traditional Chinese medicine store in Beijing. A claim by Chinese scientists that a liquid made with honeysuckle and flowering plants could help fight the virus has sparked a buying frenzy.

One: make a tea bag comprising atracylodes root (three grams), dried bunga mas flower (five grams), sun-dried tangerine peel (three grams), reed rhizome (two grams), mulberry leaf (two grams) and astragalus root (10 grams).

Two: boil astragalus root (10 grams), tuber of white atracylodes rhizome (10 grams), siler (10 grams), fern rhizome (six grams), dried bunga mas flower (10 grams), eupatorium (10 grams), sun-dried tangerine peel (six grams).

Hu said the teas should be consumed twice a day for seven to 10 days.

Warm salty water

The 83-year old pulmonologist Zhong Nanshan, a veteran of the SARS crisis who is considered a national hero, has recommended swishing warm salty water around the throat and nasal cavities a few times every morning and night to prevent infection.

Experts told Agence France-Presse saline would not "kill" the new virus. The World Health Organization told AFP there was no evidence that saline solution would protect against infection.

South Korea

**Kimchi finds its limits**

Koreans have long claimed that kimchi, the spicy fermented cabbage dish that is a requirement at every meal, can cure all manner of illnesses: SARS, bird flu, regular flu, you name it. But kimchi appears to have met its match.

"Eating kimchi does not prevent coronavirus infection," South Korea's Health Ministry said in a news release disseminated to quell talk that eating kimchi could boost immunity against coronavirus.

"The best way to prevent the novel coronavirus is to wash hands frequently," the ministry said.

sharp sell-off, China's central bank and other financial regulators said Sunday that they had prepared an emergency package totaling \$173 billion to support companies and markets during the coronavirus crisis.

Medical advice over the past two weeks has emphasized the need to wear masks to stop transmission through respiratory droplets from the mouth and nose. Researchers from the Renmin Hospital of Wuhan University and the Wuhan Institute of Virology of the Chinese Academy of Sciences reported this weekend that there is also a danger of fecal-oral transmission. It warned medical workers to "protect themselves against vomit and feces of patients."

Anger is mounting about the lack of access to protective equipment, especially face masks. With stores and online shopping sites sold out, many cities across the country have launched an online booking system or lottery system for masks.

Basic protective items, including goggles and gloves, are in such short supply that Hubei hospitals have been openly appealing for donations on social media. One Wuhan doctor said that his hospital had not received a single mask from the Red Cross, one of the few officially recognized organizations permitted to handle civic donations.

In a post on social media, since deleted by censors, the doctor said his hospital had only 300 N95 masks left, barely enough for a day. "Fortunately we got a batch of donations from America, 500 U.S. FDA standard N95 masks. It made us so happy because we could last one more day!"

One netizen even called the Wuhan Charity Federation and other such groups "pixiu," a mythical winged animal that eats but never defecates, accusing them of receiving more than \$80 million in donations but spending none of that amount on the public. That post has also been deleted by China's zealous Internet police, which tries to swiftly stamp out any criticism of the ruling Communist Party.

In apparent recognition of this growing discontent, Premier Li Keqiang, who is leading the party's efforts to control the coronavirus outbreak, went to the national hub for medical supplies in Beijing over the weekend.

Echoing the military language of the state media, Li said medical supply manufacturers were "like military contractors producing for the 'arsenal' in this battle against the epidemic."

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Achenbach reported from Washington. Alex Horton in Washington, Liu Yang in Beijing and Stefano Pitrelli in Rome contributed to this report.

India

**Cow waste**

Swami Chakrapani Maharaj, president of the Indian political party Hindu Mahasabha, claimed the urine and dung of cows can treat coronavirus infections. If accompanied by a special yagna, a Hindu ritual performed in front of a fire, he said, it can "kill the novel coronavirus and end its effects on the world," according to Outlook India.

Beyond that, however, he did not provide any specific recipes to make the cow excretions more, erm, palatable.

Ayurveda and homeopathy

The Indian government released a health advisory based on the traditional medicine practices of Ayurveda, homeopathy and Unani.

The gist was, well, universal: maintain personal hygiene and wash hands often with soap and water for at least 20 seconds, cover the face while coughing or sneezing and stay home when sick.

World Health Organization

The World Health Organization adds avoiding close contact with people suffering from acute respiratory infections and avoiding unprotected contact with farm or wild animals.

Hospitals and especially emergency departments should enhance standard infection prevention and control practices in hospitals.

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Lyric Li and Liu Yang in Beijing, and Min Joo Kim in Seoul contributed to this report.



# CAPITAL BUSINESS

## Contractors cash in on classified spending

**BY AARON GREGG**

Some of the Washington area's biggest defense contractors are making more money than ever from classified military and intelligence programs, top executives told investors recently, as competition with China and Russia drives a wave of secret spending one analyst called "unprecedented in recent history."

Executives from Northrop Grumman and Raytheon reported double-digit growth in classified defense business over the past year.

Northrop chief executive Kathy Warden told analysts that "restricted" work, a term applied to classified programs, saw a double-digit increase over 2018. It now accounts for more than a quarter of the company's \$33.8 billion in 2019 sales, she said.

She attributed the change to a shift in the agencies' buying priorities.

"Our customers are increasingly focused on rapidly evolving multi-domain peer threats in areas like space, hypersonics and missile defense," Warden said in a call with investors. "Our growing share of restricted work demonstrates that our customers are turning to Northrop Grumman for these capabilities."

In 2017, the Pentagon announced that it would de-emphasize fighting terrorism to focus its resources on competing with hostile nations for military dominance, an endeavor that includes developing advanced weaponry, finding ways to protect spy satellites from harm and embracing artificial intelligence. That effort has benefited from a 16 percent increase in defense spending between 2016 and 2019.

But analysts say the current surge actually started in the final years of the Obama administration. An examination of publicly available budget data by Todd Harrison, an analyst with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, found that classified research-and-development funding increased by about 52 percent between 2015 and

## Extended Max crisis drags down Boeing numbers

**BY AARON GREGG**

Boeing reported its first annual loss in more than two decades last week, as the 737 Max — a once-promising line of commercial jets whose flawed control systems played a role in two deadly crashes — remains at the center of a historic safety crisis.

Boeing closed out the fourth quarter with \$17.9 billion in revenue, the company announced Wednesday, a 37 percent decline from the fourth quarter of 2018. The company's 2019 net losses of \$636 million mark its first annual loss since 1997.

The losses stem from the continued worldwide grounding of Boeing's Max jets and a production halt after the crashes.

Once a cash-generating machine that was the envy of its competitors and a darling of Wall Street, Boeing has been forced to borrow billions of dollars to cover the cost of building airplanes it can't deliver to customers.

The company reported that it owes creditors \$27.3 billion, not including a separate \$12 billion it is negotiating.

Boeing has been forced to compensate airlines for the cost of flight cancellations, taking a \$5.6 billion charge in July. And a bruising congressional inquiry has pointed to deeper problems with the company's management culture, leading to the ouster of two high-ranking executives.

Last week's call was also the first earnings release for new chief executive David Calhoun, a longtime Boeing board member. In a call with skeptical stock analysts Wednesday morning, Calhoun sought to cast himself as a reformer unafraid of confronting difficult truths.

"My job is to get on with it, and make the changes that I always thought were necessary," Calhoun said in a call with reporters.

He pushed back on the implication that he is too much of an insider to turn the page on the company's recent mistakes.

"When a board reaches a decision to change out the CEO, there is a recognition that things need to change," he said, "And they recognize the arguments presented from the outside world as legit. That's where we are."



**The Boeing 737 Max has been grounded for months, and there is no official word on the aircraft's safety status.**

The company has incurred an additional \$2.6 billion in costs related to the indefinite grounding, and it expects the grounding to cost it an estimated \$4 billion throughout 2020, something that should put a drag on future results.

The company's stock price has lost about 13 percent of its value over the past year at a time when the market has surged.

Bank of America analyst Ron Epstein, who covers the aerospace and defense markets, estimates that the Max crisis has cost the company \$18.3 billion. Assuming the aircraft is cleared to fly again by May, Epstein said, those costs will probably exceed \$20 billion.

The 737 Max "is maybe a \$30 billion exercise between developing the plane and cleaning it up," Epstein said.

There are also problems in the company's Arlington-based defense, space and security division, which also stumbled in the last quarter after several years of stable growth. Boeing took a \$410 million charge in case NASA requires it to repeat a test mission of the spacecraft it is developing to fly astronauts to the International Space Station.

In December, Boeing's Starliner spacecraft suffered a software problem and failed to reach the correct orbit during a test flight with no astronauts on board. NASA is investigating what

caused the spacecraft's on board clock to be 11 hours off and whether to require the company to perform another test mission.

The 737 Max has been out of commission for more than 10 months as regulators remain unconvinced that it is safe to fly. It was grounded in mid-March when the Federal Aviation Administration recognized similarities in a pair of crashes in Indonesia and Ethiopia that killed 346 people.

Boeing later admitted that a new flight-control program, interacting with bad data from the planes' external sensors, had in both cases pushed the jets into an uncontrollable nose-dive.

The FAA has made the jets' return to the sky contingent on a set of software and display changes designed to prevent the same problems from occurring again. But the timeline for approval has continually shifted over the past year as regulators discovered more problems with the plane. The company now estimates that it will be able to return the Max to flight in "mid-2020," although it emphasized that the timeline is up to regulators.

Throughout most of 2019, Boeing continued churning out new planes under the assumption that regulators would soon clear them to fly. However, in December, the company announced that it would indefinitely halt production of the embattled jets.

That production halt has rippled throughout the company's supply chain, resulting in about 2,800 layoffs at Spirit AeroSystems in Wichita. About half of Spirit's revenue comes from supplying parts for the Max.

In addition to scrutiny over the Max jets, the company has faced wider criticism about its culture.

The crisis has raised questions about whether Boeing's top management understands the company's own production lines, analysts said. The Chicago-based corporate office has come under criticism for being too focused on Wall Street, at the expense of the company's Seattle-based production lines.

"Chicago has been a distant asset manager that's there to extract cash. That needs to change," said Richard Aboulafia, a long-

time aerospace analyst with Teal Group.

Aboulafia attributed Boeing's broader problems to a "combination of bad communication and very aggressive wage and conditions pressure in the midst of unprecedented prosperity," calling it a "mixture for a toxic soup."

Internal messages between Boeing employees were recently disclosed to congressional investigators. The messages, made public last month as part of a long-running investigation into how the Max was designed and certified, could further damage the company's relationship with regulators and the flying public.

One Boeing employee said in 2018: "I still haven't been forgiven by god for the covering up I did last year." Another said: "This is what these regulators get when they try and get in the way." And in 2017, long before either of the crashes, a Boeing employee wrote: "This airplane is designed by clowns, who in turn are supervised by monkeys."

In his call with reporters, Calhoun called those messages "horribly embarrassing and not typical of what Boeing employees do," calling it a "microculture" within the company that nonetheless needs to be changed.

Calhoun, who signed off on many of his predecessor's decisions as a Boeing board member, attributed his company's problems to a lack of discipline.

The 737 Max's flight control systems "failed to deal with a boundary decision in an environment we should have known something about. . . . The regulators made the same mistake," he said.

The mistakes that grounded the Max "really were relegated to a relatively small group of folks, but it wasn't detected," he said. "The system apparently didn't listen or watch for things like that and it didn't react appropriately."

He agreed to take responsibility in his new role as CEO.

"I have to do everything in my power to make sure going forward that it does [catch mistakes], and it starts with me."

*aaron.gregg@washpost.com*

Douglas MacMillan and Christian Davenport contributed to this report.

### APPOINTMENTS

**COMPANIES**

**Bricata** of Columbia appointed **John Becker** board chair.

**Dewberry** of Fairfax appointed **Scott Weliver** Army executive client manager.

**Monumental Sports & Entertainment** of the District appointed **Monica Dixon** chief administrative officer and president of external affairs and **Bob Schneider** chief of staff to chief executive Ted Leonsis.

**Perkins and Will** of the District appointed **Jason deChambeau** design principal.

**Securitas Critical Infrastructure Services** of Springfield appointed **Robert Rubin** vice president of business development.

**TechnoServe** of Rosslyn appointed **Katarina Kahlmann** chief program officer and **Shawn Mood** chief human capital officer.

**LAW AND LOBBYING**

**Brownstein Hyatt Farber Schreck** of the District appointed **Allen Grunes** shareholder in the firm's corporate and business

department.

**Cohen Milstein Sellers & Toll** of the District appointed **Robert Braun**, **Shaylyn Cochran** and **Michael Dolce** partners.

**Davis Polk** of the District appointed **Suzanne Munck** counsel in the firm's antitrust and competition group.

**Eversheds Sutherland** of the District appointed **Stanley Freeman** partner.

**Finnegan** of the District and Reston appointed **Pier DeRoo**, **Cora Holt** and **Daniel Tucker** partners.

**Parker Poe Adams &**

### TRANSACTIONS

Trading as reported by companies' directors, presidents, chief financial officers, general counsel, chief executives, chairmen and other officers, or by beneficial owners of more than 10 percent of a company's stock.

Company	Insider	Title	Date	Action	Shares	Price	Now holds
Capital One Financial	Sanjiv Yajnik	Officer	Jan. 22	Sold	13,925	107.01	97,148
Saul Centers	Debra Noreen Stencil	General counsel	Jan. 27, Jan. 28	Sold	10,749	56.25 to 56.37	—

Thomson Financial

**Bernstein** of the District appointed **Kyle Musgrove**, **Scott Cuning**, **Elizabeth Crompton**, **John Bateman** and **Paul Dietze** partners.

**Ruppert Landscape** of Laytonville appointed **Patty Pescerille** regional business development manager.

Send information about promotions, appointments and personnel moves in the Washington region to *appointments@washpost.com*.

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# Almost overnight, coronavirus has turned China into an economic island

CHINA FROM AI

smartphones and tablets are made in China. On Saturday, Apple announced that it had closed all of its corporate offices and retail stores in China — where it booked \$44 billion in sales last year — until Feb. 9 because of the virus.

“The concern is not the zombie apocalypse with people dying in the streets. The concern is that a huge chunk of the global economy gets put out of commission as people wait it out,” said Patrick Chovanec, managing director at Silvercrest Asset Management in New York.

White House advisers so far have played down the disease’s effects, with President Trump’s top economic aide, Larry Kudlow, saying last week that he expects the virus to have “no material impact” on the U.S. economy.

Most Wall Street economists, likewise, say the economic damage will be limited. Economists at JPMorgan Chase Bank on Friday cut their first-quarter global growth estimate by 0.3 percentage points to 2.3 percent. But they predicted a swift rebound that would return China and the global economy to their pre-crisis trends by midyear.

The sanguine forecasts are based in part on a disease outbreak from 2003: The Chinese economy recovered quickly after severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), another fatal flu-like infection, temporarily emptied offices and factories.

But there is no guarantee that the coronavirus will trace a similar path. Already, there are indications that while the new virus is less lethal than SARS, it spreads more easily.

China’s \$14 trillion economy also is four times as large as it was 17 years ago and far more globalized. About 150 million Chinese business executives and tourists took an international flight in 2018, the most recent data available, more than seven times the 2003 figure, according to JPMorgan. Globally, the number of shipping containers moving among the world’s ports has almost tripled, according to the United Nations.

In Youngstown, Ohio, Phantom Fireworks worries that a prolonged hiatus at its Chinese supplier may prevent it from importing sufficient inventory for the Independence Day celebration.

Though its vendor in Liuyang, about 200 miles from Wuhan, is scheduled to reopen on Feb. 10, Phantom executives say the shutdown will probably last at least an additional week and perhaps several more. Chinese officials also closed the southern port of Beihai late last week, severing a key export link. Few alternative producers exist outside China.

“We’re in a very precarious situation, no question about it,” said Alan Zoldan, the company’s



WEI LENG TAY/BLOOMBERG NEWS

A pedestrian in Singapore passes an advertisement for the iPhone. Apple is one of the global U.S. companies closely watching the coronavirus outbreak, which threatens to cut off the supply of Chinese-made components that go into many high-tech products.

*“The concern is not the zombie apocalypse with people dying in the streets. The concern is that a huge chunk of the global economy gets put out of commission as people wait it out.”*

Patrick Chovanec, managing director at Silvercrest Asset Management in New York

executive vice president. “I’m not very confident at all. It’s pretty unprecedented territory.”

Precautions that the Chinese and American governments are taking to stop the spread of the coronavirus, justified on grounds of medical necessity, are raising the potential economic toll. An official quarantine will keep factories across much of China, closed since Jan. 24 for the Lunar New Year holiday, shut for at least one more week, maybe longer.

Three major U.S. airlines — United, American and Delta — suspended flights to China until the end of March. American grounded its planes immediately, one day after its flight attendants union sued the company, arguing that the virus made such trips unsafe. United and Delta will stop flying at the end of the week.

That means trans-Pacific air-freight shipments will be limited for at least two months even if Chinese factories return to normal operations before then. (FedEx says that for now it is continuing its flights.) Some U.S. companies are drafting contingency plans for supply disruptions that linger into April or May, according to Craig Allen, president of the U.S.-China Business Council.

China is the largest export destination for 33 countries and

the top source of imported goods for 65, including the United States, according to a 2019 McKinsey Global Institute study.

The accumulating uncertainty is unnerving investors. The Dow Jones industrial average fell more than 600 points, or 2.1 percent, on Friday.

The U.S. dependence on China was on display two years ago when American companies first sought to dissuade the Trump administration from imposing tariffs on Chinese goods.

Among those lobbying for relief was GE, which relies on its Chinese factories for parts to produce CT scanners, ultrasound and X-ray machines, oil field pumps, valves and motors, and aircraft engine components.

“There are certain inputs that cannot be readily sourced outside China,” Del Renigar, a top official in GE’s Washington office, wrote to the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

Finding a replacement for Chinese suppliers would not be easy. Dayco, a maker of engine parts and drive systems in Troy, Mich., said it would need two years to qualify new U.S. suppliers and to secure the needed approvals from its customers to use them.

Princeton Pharmaceuticals of Cranbury, N.J., depends on Chi-

nese ingredients to make medications to treat high blood pressure, Alzheimer’s and depression. Novus Pharmaceuticals said its Chinese plant was the only source approved by the Food and Drug Administration for coartem tablets, a treatment for malaria.

Electronic component maker AVX of Fountain Inn, S.C., produces ceramic capacitors at its plants in Tianjin and Shenzhen, which its industrial customers in the United States use in automobiles, microwave ovens, washing machines, radios and television sets.

The impact of an interruption in Chinese supplies will depend on the duration of any cutoff, which is unknowable, and the size of current inventories, which companies generally do not disclose.

The number of people with the coronavirus has soared above 14,000, and more than 300 Chinese citizens have died. In response, Trump on Friday declared a public health emergency and barred foreign nationals who had been to China in the past 14 days from entering the United States. American citizens returning from the country will be subject to health screening and up to 14 days in quarantine.

The president’s decision came one day after the State Department warned U.S. citizens against all travel to China and the World Health Organization declared the outbreak a global health emergency.

China, which in recent years accounted for about one-third of global growth, is now radiating economic weakness. The immediate impact of the health crisis will slow its domestic economy. First-quarter growth will dip to an annual rate of 5.2 percent, down from 6 percent in the final three months of last year, the most abrupt slowdown in nearly 10 years, according to PNC Bank.

“It’ll bounce back when it’s over,” said Allen, the U.S.-China Business Council president. “But we don’t know when it will be over.”

Chinese consumers sheltering in their homes rather than engaging in traditional holiday activities will spend less, while factory closures affecting millions of workers threaten parts shortages for American electronics or auto plants, economists said.

In one sign that the virus will have enduring effects across the world’s second-largest economy, the Ladies Professional Golf Association late last week canceled

# Tehran has ‘de-escalated,’ but threat of retaliation remains, U.S. general says

BY MISSY RYAN

ABOARD THE USS TRUMAN — A month after the U.S. strike that killed Iranian Maj. Gen. Qasem Soleimani, Iran’s military is no longer on a heightened war footing, but the United States continues to brace for further retaliation, a senior military official said Sunday.

Gen. Kenneth “Frank” McKen-

Military on alert weeks after strike that killed top Iranian commander

zie Jr., who heads U.S. Central Command, said Iran had “de-escalated” its ballistic missile force and brought its air defense force

back to a “normal state of readiness” following its retaliatory strikes on bases housing U.S. troops in Iraq.

Speaking during a visit to the USS Harry S. Truman, an American aircraft carrier conducting operations in the northern Arabian Sea, McKenzie said Iran’s maritime forces likewise had displayed a “fairly normal” level of activity in recent weeks.

American officials have voiced concern about further attacks from Iran since the Jan. 7 ballistic missile strikes in Iraq. Those attacks, the first direct, overt military attack by the Iranian government, did not kill any U.S. troops but resulted in a spate of traumatic brain injuries.

U.S. officials have also blamed Iranian-linked militias for small-scale rocket or mortar attacks on American facilities in Iraq since then.

McKenzie said he believed Iran was still “digesting” the impact of the Trump administration’s decision to kill Soleimani, a figure of unparalleled influence whom U.S. officials have described as instrumental in the growth of Iran’s network of armed proxy groups across the Middle East.

President Trump, who has identified Iran as a major threat to the United States, pulled out of the Obama administration’s nuclear deal and has subjected Tehran to a “maximum pressure campaign” that has included punishing sanctions.

“I think Iran has seen that we do have will and that we’re willing to take action in our own interests,” McKenzie said. “We’re not going to endlessly be the recipient of their actions.”

Some American allies feared the Soleimani strike would tip the region into destabilizing conflict.

During an overnight visit to the carrier, McKenzie spoke with commanders, sailors and aviators about their goal of deterring further Iranian actions against the United States and its partners.

The carrier is among the additional military assets McKenzie has secured for his area of command since last spring amid events that military officials characterize as Iranian provocations. It brings with it roughly 5,000 personnel and an embarked air wing boasting more than 70 aircraft, including the F-18 Super Hornet and EA-18G Growlers. Other ships operating with the Truman, the flagship for the Navy’s Carrier Strike Group Eight, include destroyers and cruisers.

Speaking to sailors on Saturday via the ship wide-speaker system, McKenzie addressed ongoing tensions with Iran. “You’re here because we don’t want a war with Iran,” he said. “I may need you to fight. I hope I don’t.”

“But one thing I know for sure just from what I’ve seen so far, this ship, this crew and this air wing will be ready if I need you,” he said.

Capt. Kavon “Hak” Hakimzadeh, who commands the USS Truman, said the ship had made preparations to conduct kinetic operations following the Soleimani strike but was not ordered to do so.

the March 5-8 Blue Bay golf tournament on Hainan Island. That’s about 1,000 miles from Wuhan, where the virus originated.

More than 50 million Chinese residents remain under a lockdown. The government already extended the Lunar New Year holiday to Monday. Factories in Hubei province, the epicenter of the outbreak, have been ordered closed through Feb. 13. Other provinces plan to restart production on Feb. 10.

“We believe there will be a disturbance at least until the end of February and possibly into mid-March,” said Sebastien Breteau, chief executive of QIMA, a supply-chain consultancy. “We are not very optimistic.”

More than 450 U.S. importers use suppliers in Hubei province, according to London-based Panjiva. Electronics manufacturers rely on Chinese suppliers for up to 50 percent of their components, while automakers get 15 percent from China, according to Chris Rogers, a Panjiva supply-chain specialist.

Some U.S. and global manufacturers will face higher costs even after their Chinese suppliers resume normal operations. Airline cutbacks will mean less space available for the industrial shipments — known as “belly cargo” — that travel in the hold of commercial jetliners.

“The scale of the airline cutbacks really caught my attention,” said Phil Levy, chief economist for freight forwarder Flexport. “This is a big network. You carve China out of it and it’s going to affect goods to Europe and goods to the U.S.”

As health officials fight the virus, the earliest and most severe economic consequences will be felt by China’s Asian neighbors. Countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam and the Philippines are tied into production networks centered on Chinese manufacturers and also have benefited from the past decade’s boom in Chinese tourism.

Aftershocks also are certain to be felt by major commodity-producing nations, such as Australia, which supplies China with much of its iron ore. The Baltic Dry Index, a gauge of bulk shipping costs, fell Friday for the 10th consecutive session and is now down 49 percent this year.

Of the advanced economies, nearby Japan and export-dependent Germany will feel the greatest chill.

Conventional economic forecasting is ill-equipped to calculate the impact of such an unpredictable health emergency, said Torsten Slok, chief economist for Deutsche Bank Securities. His baseline model for the U.S. economy relies on 200 equations.

“I just don’t know which equation I should be putting this in,” he said. “I just don’t have a good framework for assessing the risk.”

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# 10 Most Urgent List for February 2020

The 10 most pressing cases of journalists under attack, as identified by the One Free Press Coalition, include:

1. **Arash Shoa-Shargh (Iran):** Case of imprisoned journalist serving 10 years shrouded in silence.
2. **Aleksandr Valov (Russia):** Russian editor held in Irkutsk punishment cell without just cause.
3. **Samuel Wazizi (Cameroon):** Arrested journalist’s charge and location unknown for more than five months.
4. **Azory Gwanda (Tanzania):** No updates after journalist’s disappearance more than two years ago.
5. **Azimjon Askarov (Kyrgyzstan):** Imprisoned journalist’s health deteriorating after nine years of life sentence.
6. **Lu Yuyu (China):** Imprisoned journalist has requested and been denied help for severe depression.
7. **Luz Escobar (Cuba):** Cuban authorities barricade independent journalist inside her home.
8. **Jamal Khashoggi (Saudi Arabia):** Demands for answers in Khashoggi murder persist into new decade.
9. **Patricia Kayuni (Malawi):** Authorities fail to protect journalist from protestors’ assault.
10. **Solafa Magdy, Hossam El-Sayyad and Mohamed Salah (Egypt):** Three journalists awaiting sentencing on charges of membership in a banned group and disseminating false news.



The Press Freedom Partnership is a public service initiative from The Washington Post to promote press freedom and raise awareness of the rights of journalists worldwide who are in pursuit of the truth.

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## EDITORIALS

# What Mr. Trump wanted all along

Ukraine wouldn't do his dirty work. Some Republicans have fewer qualms.

REMEMBER HOW the Trump-Ukraine saga began: with President Trump corruptly pressuring the Ukrainian government to announce a bogus investigation into former vice president Joe Biden, tainting one of Mr. Trump's key political rivals with the appearance of scandal. After the scheme came to light, Ukraine's leaders never made Mr. Trump's desired announcement. But, with the dishonorable help of some Republican members of Congress, the president may yet achieve his original goal: sliming Mr. Biden with absolutely no basis in fact.

"There is a mountain of evidence to suggest the Bidens' behavior was harmful to the United States," Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) tweeted last Wednesday.

"Iowa caucuses are this next Monday evening," Sen. Joni Ernst (R-Iowa) said earlier last week, following a presentation from Mr. Trump's lawyers. "And I'm really interested to see how this discussion today informs and influences the Iowa caucus voters, those Democratic caucusgoers. Will they be supporting Vice President Biden at this point?"

As Congress has considered whether to impeach

and remove Mr. Trump from office, Republicans rallying to his defense have argued that it is Mr. Biden who should be scrutinized. The former vice president's son Hunter sat on the board of Ukrainian energy company Burisma at the same time his father pressed the Ukrainian government to fire its prosecutor general, who allegedly was investigating Burisma.

Seems fishy? Turns out there is nothing there. The prosecutor was not investigating the company — and it was official U.S. policy, in line with that of U.S. allies, international organizations and key members of Congress, that the Ukrainian prosecutor general should go. He was not pushed out because he was investigating corruption but because he was *failing* to do so. Congress was thoroughly briefed at the time about the prosecutor general and the then-vice president's activities. And there is nothing to indicate Joe Biden did anything on behalf of his son in Ukraine.

Yet now, even though Mr. Biden fought corruption in Ukraine, Republicans insist he should receive scrutiny for allegedly enabling corruption there.

Mr. Graham's behavior has been particularly shabby as he has threatened to misuse his chairmanship of the

Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate the former vice president. He has announced a formal probe and asked the State Department for documents. "We're not going to live in a world where only Republicans get looked at," he said in December, indulging in a toxic (and unwarranted) display of grievance and implying that Mr. Biden's demonstrably benign activities in Ukraine are equivalent to Mr. Trump's corruption.

But there is no moral equivalence. There is no reasonable case against Mr. Biden. The case against Mr. Trump, on the other hand, is just as definitive in the opposite direction. Mr. Trump had no good reason to press Ukraine to investigate Mr. Biden, an American citizen whom U.S. authorities were not themselves investigating. He did so anyway, to no conceivable benefit to the United States. That Mr. Graham would suggest that the two belong in the same universe shows that he is so poisoned by partisanship, he either does not understand or has lost all moral direction.

Mr. Trump's corrupt scheme to persuade the president of Ukraine to slander a political rival did not succeed. It is pathetic that U.S. senators would do the job instead.

## ‘Genuinely’ phony

A successful fake-news site shows tech companies need to work together to fight disinformation.

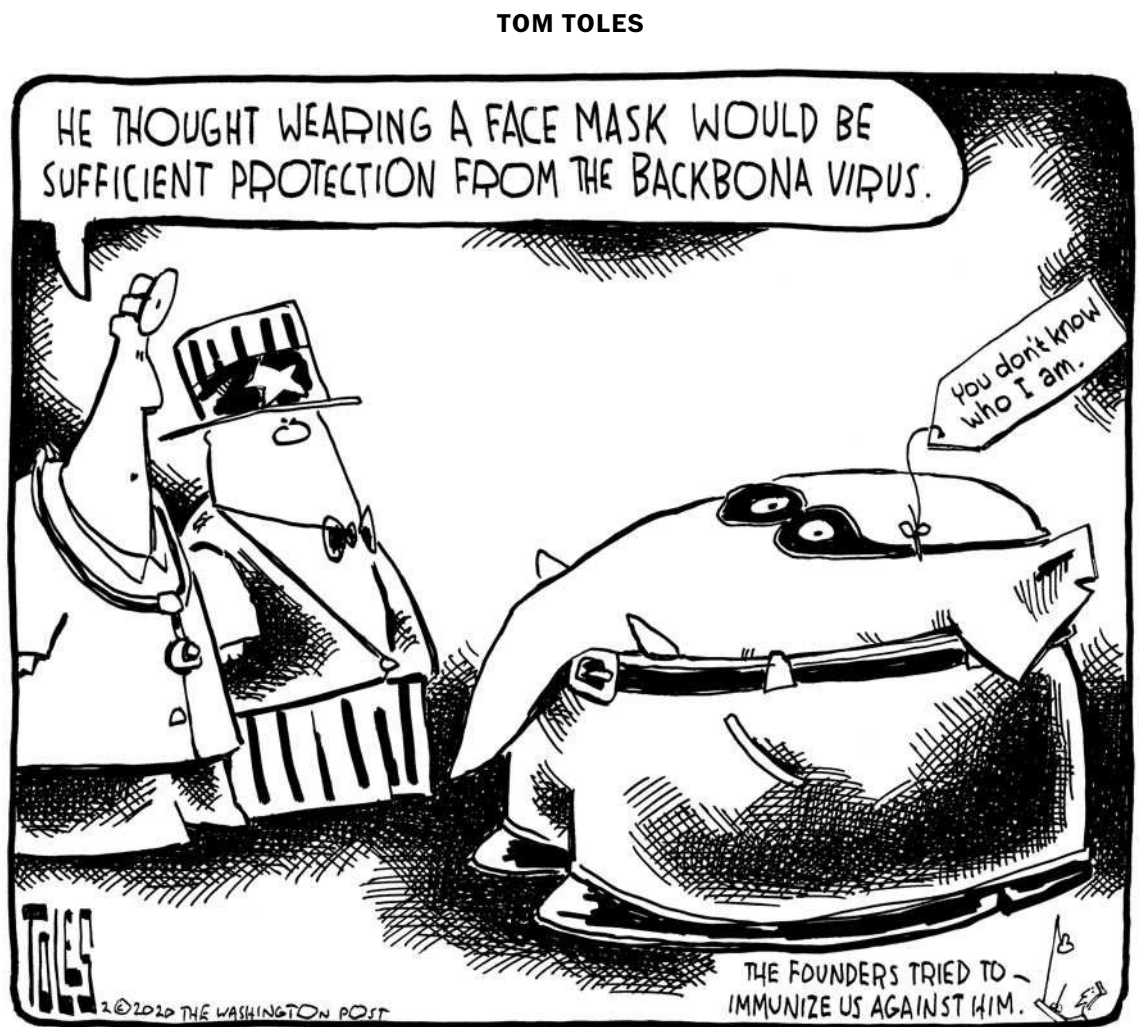
MORE THAN 29 million Americans may have seen an alarming dispatch on their Facebook feeds last year: "Trump's grandfather was a pimp and tax evader; his father a member of the KKK." The accusation, which is at best highly misleading, came from a website that publishes articles in English, written by Americans. The catch? These writers are paid by an operation based in Iran.

CNN reported last month on American Herald Tribune, a self-professed "genuinely independent online media outlet" that cybersecurity experts have determined is part of a far-reaching Iranian influence campaign. The strategy is simple: create a network of inauthentic news sites, then enlist associated accounts on popular platforms to spread the stories not only here but also in Europe, Latin America and the Middle East.

American Herald Tribune's modus operandi matches what we've already learned about online disinformation: Adversaries "launder" their campaigns through sympathetic citizens of target countries, or just citizens they offer money to — from authors on propagandistic or outright deceptive news sites to run-of-the-mill social media users. The byline on the KKK story, for instance, belongs to a man from Salem, Ore., who told CNN he believes the site is run by a man named Sam who lives in Brazil.

But there's something else: Those cybersecurity researchers identified this influence operation way back in 2018. CNN's investigation reveals that Facebook removed American Herald Tribune's page then, along with 651 others in its network, and Google made similar takedowns. Twitter, however, booted American Herald Tribune only this past month. Whatever companies today are doing to coordinate with each other as they fight disinformation, it's not enough. And that's a real problem — because the manipulators themselves are very good coordinators.

On Jan. 14, researchers at the University of Washington published in a Harvard University review a look at disinformation across platforms, focusing on a campaign to discredit the White Helmets, an organi-



zation of brave and selfless volunteers who operate in opposition-controlled parts of Syria. What they found was striking: Once again, a mix of activists, journalists and media outlets — including state-sponsored channels such as Russia Today and Sputnik News — promoted each other in symbiosis. Key to their strategy was cross-posting content from YouTube to Twitter, building a bridge between the two platforms that plunged users on the latter into the cesspool of anti-White Helmet videos on the former.

Social media sites have established channels for

sharing leads on terrorist and child exploitation material, but when it comes to disinformation, collaboration is ad hoc and scattershot. There are challenges, from the privacy concerns that could surround the sharing of the most useful data, such as IP addresses, to the basic problem that many of these sites haven't come to their own definition of a disinformation or manipulation campaign, much less agreed on one. But the platforms that have long been saying they can't fight these wars alone should be doing far more to fight them together.

# The latest threat to health insurance

The administration's Medicaid block-grant proposal almost certainly would lead to coverage cuts.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE progress under Obamacare, the United States still does not provide health insurance to all of its population. About 27.5 million people, or 8.5 percent of the population, lacked coverage throughout 2018, according to the most recent Census Bureau report published in September. The country has moved in the wrong direction since President Trump took office: The 2018 uninsured numbers were up over 2017.

You might think, given this history, that the Trump administration would cease proposing policy that threatens coverage; well, think again.

Mr. Trump's Department of Health and Human Services has unveiled a proposal that would allow states to receive federal Medicaid funding as a block grant, annually adjustable for inflation, while implementing cost-cutting measures such as work requirements, asset tests, co-payments and prescription drug limitations. (As a sweetener, states would be allowed to pocket some of the budgetary savings.) Existing rules essentially require states to provide a set of services to all those who meet federally established

criteria, and fund them on an open-ended basis.

To be sure, the administration's proposal would not affect traditional Medicaid populations such as low-income pregnant women and people with disabilities. It targets only the so-called expansion population — the 17 million low-income adults who got Medicaid through Obamacare. And even then, it's unlikely it will be adopted in blue states with large Medicaid populations, such as California, or in red states that never expanded Medicaid in the first place and probably won't no matter how federal aid is structured, such as Texas.

Where it might make a difference is in red states that reluctantly expanded Medicaid but are looking for ways to scale it back, or in those 14 states that have not yet expanded but still want to do so in a limited way. An example of the latter category is Oklahoma, which is having a referendum on Medicaid expansion in November. That state's Republican Gov. Kevin Stitt, who opposes the referendum, jumped at the administration's offer. The proposal invokes — probably incorrectly — HHS's statutory authority to adjust Medic-

aid's core requirements, so its ultimate fate may depend on the courts. A federal judge in Washington blocked previous attempts by the agency to let New Hampshire, Kentucky and Arkansas set work requirements for Medicaid, which cost 18,000 people in the latter state their coverage, though the administration has appealed. (Kentucky has withdrawn its work requirements, which never took effect.)

Whatever its short-term practical impact, the administration's latest block-grant proposal could be significant in the long run. The ultimate goal is to legitimize block-granting and the coverage reductions the approach almost certainly entails. Reduced coverage, it should be mentioned, was partly why Congress previously, and repeatedly, rejected Republican plans to block-grant Medicaid. The United States badly needs a system of universal coverage that delivers services more efficiently than the existing hodgepodge. In its determination to chip away at Obamacare's compromise solution — Medicaid expansion — the Trump administration has revealed that it has other priorities.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

### Don't nominate Mr. Sanders

In her Jan. 30 op-ed, "The oldest voters aren't sold on the race's oldest candidate," Karen Tumulty posited two reasons elders may not support the progressive agenda of Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president: Their demographic tends to be more conservative, and his preference for socialism may have a pejorative connotation.

As a member of that demographic, I will offer another possibility — one of wisdom acquired with age. Putting character and behavior aside, from the perspective of politics and governing, there is little difference between this Democratic candidate and the president he wishes to unseat. They both operate from the extremes, are uncompromising, stoke anger and fear in support of their agendas, describe a dystopian vision of the United States and demonize any who don't share their views. Mr. Sanders has no better chance of defusing the current vitriol and animus that are the daily diet of politics than the current occupant of the Oval Office.

In short, with a Sanders presidency, Washington gridlock will be continued, with no easing of present tensions and zero chance of advancing an agenda. With age comes the realization that problem-solving requires a temperament for collaboration, compromise and consensus. This senior citizen longs for a candidate who has learned this invaluable lesson. Sadly, both Mr. Sanders and Mr. Trump fail this test.

**Dean R. Wasserman, Plymouth, Mass.**

**I am one of** the older Americans Karen Tumulty mentioned. I have grave doubts about Sen. Bernie Sanders's ability to perform his duties over a period of four years should he be elected.

I recently "celebrated" my 79th birthday, and, though I am physically able to do much of what I enjoy, including playing a little golf, going out with friends, etc., and the changes may not be apparent to many of my friends, I am very aware of not functioning at the same level I did in my 60s or even in my early 70s. I have to question whether an individual of almost 80 years of age at the time of his inauguration would be able to fulfill the many and varied duties of the president of the United States.

A corollary of that question: I believe running for a second term would prove risky, especially in view of the Vermont independent's recent heart attack. I fear that if Mr. Sanders is the Democrats' nominee in November, the winner will be President Trump.

**Kathleen M. White, Haymarket**

### ‘Uncomfortable’ but appropriate

When I made a decision to take on the defense of Harvey Weinstein, I was prepared for personal attacks, Twitter insults and vile words screamed at me. I was not prepared for the blatant disregard given to our system of justice and my role in the process.

In her Jan. 25 Style column, "Weinstein's offensive defense strategy," Monica Hesse called my cross-examination "monstrous." Clearly, Ms. Hesse would have preferred I not ask questions of anyone in this case. However, the job of defense attorneys is to get to the truth — not their truth. We ask the necessary and appropriate questions regarding time, date, month and year pertinent to the matter, as well as questions surrounding an accuser's state of mind and frame of reference, before and after the event in question.

Mr. Weinstein is entitled to his day in court, entitled to his Sixth Amendment right to confront his accusers and entitled to have his attorneys ask questions on his behalf. In asking those questions, we ask things that may make people "uncomfortable" because the subject matter is uncomfortable and at times sensitive. However, we are respectful and measured in our examination.

To suggest my team should take an account about an alleged event from 27 years ago on an unknown date and not ask questions is ludicrous and unjust. While accusers have the right to be heard, they do not have a right to be believed. This will be for the jury to decide at the close of the case. Mr. Weinstein has a right to the presumption of innocence and due process. I will continue to fight to uphold that right for him, and for all other clients who come after.

**Donna Rotunno, Chicago**

### Reparations for Native Americans

I was very moved by the Jan. 30 front-page article "No easy answer to how America atones" about the injustices we imposed on African Americans and Japanese Americans and the attempts to atone for those injustices.

We now recognize how cruel it was to tear Africans from their homes and enslave them. And how wrong it was to tear Japanese Americans from their homes and intern them. But there seems to be no discussion about the injustices dealt to Native Americans: We forced them from their homes and slaughtered them. Have we ever come close to atoning for those crimes? Why do I never hear or see anything about reparations for Native Americans?

**Margo Dunlavey, Rockville**

### A full embrace of life

Reading Hawken Miller's Jan. 28 Health & Science article, "I've explored 13 countries — in a wheelchair," about his vast travel despite his physical disability, I thought, "I have a Hawken in my life."

My father broke his back as an 18-year-old ski patrolman, becoming a paraplegic. Suddenly in a wheelchair, he was told he had no more than 10 years to live. After a year of intensive surgeries and physical rehabilitation, he began proving his doctors wrong. He went to college, then graduate school. With the encouragement and support of my mom, he joined the Peace Corps in Costa Rica, working as a park planner in the field. This entailed riding burros, walking long distances on crutches over muddy, uneven ground and riding in canoes. He camped in the snow and developed a huge organic vegetable garden. He traveled the world in countries where disability accessibility was not a reality. He drove hand-controlled vehicles. He swam and lifted weights daily.

The spirit of strength, sense of humor and full embrace of life I read in Mr. Miller's testament echoed my father's ethos: Acknowledge challenges, live the fullest life possible and always be grateful for what you can do instead of what you cannot do.

**Emily S. Goldman, Washington**

## LOCAL OPINIONS

### Don't increase our already higher gas tax

The Jan. 28 Metro article "Northam proposes 4-cent hike to gas tax" stated, "Virginia's gas tax is among the lowest in the country at 16.2 cents, though motorists in Northern Virginia, Hampton Roads and the Route 81 corridor pay 2.1 percent more, or an average of 21.9 cents per gallon."

Two-point-one percent of what? The 21.9 cents is 35 percent higher tax than the 16.2 cents that the rest of the state pays.

I live near Interstate 81 and pay the extra tax. Though I support fixing I-81 to ensure that the large number of trucks and other vehicles can speed safely through Virginia, I thought it was rather odd that the commonwealth saw fit to tax only the people who live near I-81 to pay for these improvements, while leaving the rest of the state off the hook.

Now the governor is proposing raising the 16.2-cent gas tax by 4 cents — 25 percent. I believe raising

*This tax increase should also apply to those who benefit.*

the gas tax is long overdue, but the article says much of this funding will go to rail, which will not benefit the area where I live.

Since Virginia set the precedent that the gas tax should apply to areas that reap the benefits, as it did along I-81 and the Hampton Roads area, this tax increase should also apply to those who benefit.

Surely, this 4-cent increase will not apply to people who are already paying the much higher 21.9 cents per gallon?

**Lawrence Hammer, Lexington, Va.**

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ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

# The (perplexing) state of the economy

It's State of the Union time, and one of the few bright spots — so it seems — is the U.S. economy. Preoccupied by impeachment, politics has descended into acrimonious anarchy. We are at loggerheads with our traditional allies. The spreading coronavirus casts a cloud of dread. Meanwhile, the economy plods along at about a 2 percent annual growth rate. Though unspectacular, this has been steady enough to reduce the unemployment rate from a peak of 10 percent in 2009 to 3.5 percent, the lowest since the 1960s.

It's hard not to admire the economy's resilience. After the Great Recession, there was a palpable fear that the economy would perform poorly. The downturn was the worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s, when the annual unemployment rate hit a high of 25 percent. But nothing like that has happened recently.

Given this record, it's plausible that the U.S. economy — and maybe the global economy, too — has escaped another severe slump. The Federal Reserve and other important central banks (the Bank of Japan, the European Central Bank and the Bank of England) have kept interest rates low.

The strategy has been to sustain the recovery, allowing consumers and companies to regain confidence and, for the least employable workers, to find jobs. In that sense, economic policy is also social policy. Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell has repeatedly argued that prolonging the economic expansion — now the longest in U.S. history, in its 11th year — is needed to spread low unemployment's benefits.

Yes, at some point, there will be another recession. We haven't yet conquered the business cycle. But the next downturn need not be a disaster.

Since World War II, there have been 12 recessions, as dated by the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), a group of mostly academic economists. The NBER usually declares a recession if the economy's output or gross domestic product declines for two consecutive quarters.

It can be argued that the present slow rate of economic growth is safer than a burst of faster growth that, though initially pleasurable, creates instability by encouraging financial speculation. That's what happened with the housing crisis of the early 2000s. Credit standards had weakened, and millions of homeowners defaulted on their mortgages.

Could it happen again? Well, yes. Under certain circumstances, some sort of global credit collapse is conceivable. With global growth already so slow, any negative shock, such as a worldwide pandemic, could tip countries into recession. Indeed, many economists think the seeds of a crisis have already been planted.

"There can be no doubt that we have been experiencing a global credit market bubble that . . . [results from] an unprecedented and prolonged period of ultra-easy monetary policy," writes economist Desmond Lachman of the American Enterprise Institute for the Bulwark, a conservative website.

The same dynamic applies to stock markets. Low interest rates induce investors to put their money in stocks, pushing prices up. Global stock markets are "frothy," says Lachman. "U.S. equity prices have increased now by more than threefold since their nadir in March 2009."

The amounts of new credit are sizable, according to data from the Institute of International Finance (IIF), a research and advocacy group for banks and other financial institutions. In late 2019, the IIF estimated total global debt at nearly \$253 trillion, up from slightly more than \$200 trillion in 2012. These figures include government, business and household debt.

The crucial questions involve how much of this debt is going to solid borrowers with the ability to repay or whether it's fueling dubious loans for risky projects by weak borrowers. In some countries (the United States, Brazil), the added debt comes from governments. Elsewhere, the heavy borrowing has favored households (South Korea) or businesses (China), including state-owned enterprises.

The implications for economic stability are plain. If countries can't develop self-generating sources of economic demand — that is, unless they can wean themselves off credit-induced demand — they risk becoming vulnerable to doubts that, eventually, lenders won't continue lending.

Either borrowers default or lenders cut off credit to protect their money. This leads to a credit squeeze that, depending on the economy's condition, could be weak or powerful. Then the government — often the central bank, such as the Federal Reserve — intervenes to prevent a full-fledged collapse. That's what happened in the 2008-2009 financial crisis.

Any verdict on the economy's true state must be tentative. It depends on the basic strengths of the United States and on how (or whether) the credit injections translate into sustainable growth — for us and for much of the rest of the world. Economic interdependence is a cliché, but it's also a reality. We depend on other nations, and they depend on us.



Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) at Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa, on Sunday.

KAREN TUMULTY

# Uncertainty hangs over Iowa

INDIANOLA, IOWA  
If there is a single Iowan who is emblematic of how fluid the political environment here feels in the final hours before the Democratic presidential caucuses, it might be 24-year-old Heaven Chamberlain.

Chamberlain's original candidate, she told me at the Simpson College campus center early Sunday afternoon, was former housing and urban development secretary Julián Castro, whom she felt was "a good representation of America." When Castro, the only Latino in the race, dropped out, she switched her allegiance to billionaire businessman Tom Steyer, who had caught her attention with his early leadership of the drive to impeach President Trump.

More recently, Chamberlain became enamored of another entrepreneur, Andrew Yang. So that is how she will vote in the first round of caucus balloting.

But Chamberlain is realistic enough to know that Yang is unlikely to have enough votes to reach the 15 percent threshold that every contender needs to be deemed "viable" at each of the 1,678 precinct caucuses across the state (plus 87 satellite locations around the world).

Which means that she most likely will end the night in the camp of her second choice, Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.).

"It's taken me a long time to get to Bernie, but he's amazing," Chamberlain said. She's unemployed, hoping to get a job as a census-taker, and Sanders has plans that would address her concerns about having to pay for health care and for the \$30,000 load of student debt she carries.

So, why, it seemed fair to wonder,

was she standing outside a rally for Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) that was so crowded the fire marshals were not letting anyone else in?

"Oh, I love her!" Chamberlain told me. "She is my third choice!"

Iowa's quirky caucuses, which play an outsized role in the Democratic presidential selection process by virtue of being first on the calendar, are known for their capacity to deal 11th-hour surprises.

But not in recent memory has that seemed more true than this year. This is the sixth straight set of caucuses that I have covered, and the atmosphere is noticeably different from any I have ever seen.

In 2020, there is a palpable sense of unease and confusion. Polls show an unusually high number of people have yet to lock into their final choice, and you get the same sense talking to the curious who show up at campaign events. Noticeably absent as you drive the state are the large numbers of political signs that normally dot suburban lawns and are plastered on the sides of barns and hanging on fences in rural stretches of the state.

Part of this is a reflection of the sheer size of a field that at one point exceeded two dozen candidates and still offers 11 choices. On a deeper level, the desire of Democrats to defeat Trump has made this an agonizing decision.

What, exactly, makes a candidate most electable? Is it the ability to inspire passion in people who normally feel alienated from the political system, as Sanders and Warren, the most liberal contenders in the race, argue they are best equipped to do? Or is it the ability to persuade independent voters and even disaffected

Republicans, which has been the selling point of former vice president Joe Biden, former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg and Sen. Amy Klobuchar (Minn.)?

What happened on Saturday night was a perfect metaphor for the uncertainty that seems to hang over everything. CNN and the Des Moines Register had to cancel the release of the much-anticipated final Iowa Poll — legendary for accurately calling the final result of the caucuses — when it was discovered that at least one of its interviewers had changed the font size on a survey screen and had left off the name of one of the candidates in a rotating list.

One early indicator Monday night will be the size of the turnout. "If the voter turnout is low, we're going to lose. It's as simple as all that," Sanders told a rally here Saturday. Though he has been surging in some recent polls, his hopes ride on drawing support beyond the older and more moderate party stalwarts who regularly show up on caucus night.

Former Iowa governor Tom Vilsack, who is stumping across the state with Biden, told me he believes a significant number of people are waiting to be persuaded by the arguments they hear from their neighbors when they get together on Monday night.

And isn't that the point of holding caucuses in the first place? Isn't that what makes them different from the more antiseptic exercise of casting a ballot in the privacy of a voting booth? I've heard plenty of what the candidates have had to say. Now I'm eager to learn what Iowans are about to tell each other.

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JACKSON DIEHL

# With Trump for a friend, Israel needs no enemies

Benjamin Netanyahu claimed last week that President Trump is "the greatest friend Israel has ever had in the White House."

Could that possibly be true? The Israeli prime minister's case is pretty straightforward. In little more than a year, Trump has reversed half a century of U.S. Mideast policy to Israel's benefit. He recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital and moved the U.S. Embassy there. He ratified Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights. And last week he approved Israel's prospective annexation of the Jordan Valley and all of the settlements it has constructed since 1967 in the West Bank.

That last gift, delivered in the guise of last week's "peace plan," was particularly jaw-dropping. For decades, previous Republican and Democratic administrations have fought to restrain the settlements — several of them designated as illegal — to preserve the possibility of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

In theory, Trump's plan allows for such a state. But it would lack many attributes of sovereignty, including control over its own territory, and so many conditions are attached to its creation — including Israel's ultimate consent — that it is inconceivable it could come into being any time in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, 15 Jewish settlements inside Palestinian territories could soon become part of Israel, with a U.S. seal of approval.

Trump has lavished so many gifts on Netanyahu that even his Israeli opponents have been obliged to welcome them. That's part of the point: The veteran prime minister is counting on Trump's intervention to propel him to another term in office in a March election, despite his indictment last week on corruption charges.

So let's stipulate: Trump is the greatest friend "Bibi" has ever had. But is he really Israel's friend? That's a much harder call.

The most important service a U.S. president can perform for Israel is acting to ensure its long-term survival. Harry S. Truman unquestionably did that when he recognized the new state in 1948, over the objections of his secretary of state. More recent presidents have sought to do it by brokering a settlement between Israelis and Palestinians, without which Israel cannot attract full international acceptance — or remain both Jewish and democratic.

If Trump's actions actually led to an Israeli-Palestinian peace, he would deserve the label of "greatest friend." But more likely he is making a settlement far harder. Peace requires the consent of both sides, but neither Palestinian leaders nor the 4.7 million Arabs of the West Bank and Gaza are likely ever to accept Trump's terms, which are drastically worse than those they rejected from Netanyahu's predecessor, Ehud Olmert. Instead of 96 percent of the West Bank, Trump offers less than 70 percent, and even that is spotted with Israeli enclaves.

Trump imagines that the Arab dictators he has cultivated will strong-arm the Palestinians into swallowing this deal. They won't. Instead, they are quietly betting that the plan will go nowhere, and they are probably right. That, however, won't stop the territorial annexations Trump has endorsed, which will turbocharge the already-robust international campaign of boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel — and perhaps endanger its fragile peace with Jordan.

Trump is also shredding the second big obligation of presidents toward Israel, which is ensuring that U.S. support for the Jewish state remains strong and bipartisan. His fervent embrace of Netanyahu and his annexationist agenda has managed to alienate even the most ardent pro-Israel Democrats. Three of them, Sens. Charles E. Schumer (N.Y.) and Robert Menendez (N.J.) and Rep. Eliot L. Engel (N.Y.), issued statements last week warning against "unilateral actions" that would compromise the chances for a peace deal — by which they meant the land grabs Trump just encouraged.

All four of the leading Democratic candidates in Monday's Iowa caucuses — Joe Biden, Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Pete Buttigieg — condemned Trump's plan. They represent the growing part of the Democratic Party already fed up with Netanyahu. A Pew Research Center poll last year showed two-thirds of Democrats viewed his government unfavorably, while only a quarter supported it. Annexation will surely widen the gap.

Trump has virtually ensured that any Democrat who succeeds him will clash with Israel if Netanyahu or one of his allies is still in office. No doubt that is intentional: The favors for Israel are intended to aid Trump's reelection by rallying evangelical Christians and polarizing Democrats. Never mind that that will weaken rather than strengthen Israel's long-term support from the United States.

Netanyahu's line in the White House East Room probably will be played over and over in Trump's campaign ads. For some, maybe even many Americans, it will sound superficially plausible. It may be years before the likely truth emerges: that Trump has done more damage to Israel than any president before him.

Twitter: @jacksondiehl

E.J. DIONNE JR.

# The Trump 51's challenge to Democrats

The Republican-led Senate has sent a very clear message: President Trump can get away with anything.

Now, only the voters can stop him — and no one is more aware of this than Iowa Democrats, who cast the first votes of 2020 on Monday night. Their desperation to find the right champion against Trump was only intensified by the Republicans' cowardice.

It was painful to watch 51 senators vote away their power to hold the president accountable by rejecting a demand for witnesses and documents in the impeachment trial. The Senate calls itself "the world's greatest deliberative body." Those words will now provoke only derision and sorrowful laughter.

This was no ordinary roll call. It was a direct assault on American democracy and our core freedoms. Whatever the flaws of our system, we could once believe that a president who tried to bring down a political opponent by conspiring with a foreign government — and using American taxpayer dollars in the process — would be punished. The Trump 51 told us that such faith is for suckers.

The moral and intellectual bankruptcy of a party that once crusaded against slavery and led the fight to amend our Constitution to guarantee equal protection under the law was exposed by the tortured rationalizations offered for its capitulation to absolutism.

"If a call like this gets you an impeachment, I would think he would think twice before he did it again," Sen. Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.) said on NBC's "Meet the Press" on Sunday.

Where has Alexander been since Jan. 20, 2017? It is, in the true sense of the word, pathetic to pretend that caving in to Trump this time will provide any incentive for him to behave better the next time. The very concept of "think twice before he did it again" is as alien to Trump as the words "I don't care about money" or "It's not all about me."

I confess I overrated Alexander, whom I have long respected. I feel the same sense of naivete about Sen. Lisa Murkowski (R-Alaska) who issued an even more astounding non-explanation. "It is sad for me to admit that, as an institution, the Congress has failed," she said.

So is she saying that since the system is shattered, I am free to smash it into even smaller pieces by ensuring that the Senate process is a sham?

There is one thing we need not fear: that the Republican apostles of surrender to Trump (and to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, his coverup sidekick) have set a precedent for their future behavior. On the contrary, we know that they will do exactly the opposite if a Democrat is president.

Sure, Democrats can be partisan, but in the art of the double standard, Republicans are Michelangelos. Hillary Clinton's private server is worthy of subpoena after subpoena, but Trump's risking national security secrets using a private cellphone matters not a whit. Republican-appointed judges must be rushed through at all costs. Judges named by a Democrat (see Merrick Garland) can be rejected without even a hearing.

And Republicans were oh-so-fussy about the propriety of impeachment

manager Adam B. Schiff speaking truth about Trump's vindictive pressure on GOP senators — who clearly got the message — while the president can describe Schiff as "mentally deranged" and "a very sick man" without offending the Republicans' dainty sensibilities.

Thus are the minds of Iowa Democrats more concentrated than ever on who can defeat Trump — and end the GOP Senate dominance.

Former vice president Joe Biden hopes this preoccupation will lift him in the campaign's closing hours. His ability to beat Trump is his calling card. "Character is on the ballot" is his battle cry.

Biden's rivals are no less engaged with the much-derided electability issue. So Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) closed this weekend by insisting that his ability to rally new voters makes him Trump's most formidable foe. Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) made the same claim, asserting she is best placed to unify the party.

Former South Bend, Ind., mayor Pete Buttigieg highlighted his freshness as the antidote to Trumpism. "Every single time that my party has won the White House," he said on ABC's "This Week," "it's been with a candidate who was new to national politics, opening the door to a new generation focused on the future."

After last week, we know with certainty what the alternative future — the one with Trump and his Senate subordinates in power — looks like. Ours will be a government where the strongest rebuke to a lawless president will be: *Could you please, pretty please, possibly consider not doing something like that again?*

For this, we can thank the Trump 51.

Twitter: @EJDionne





# Never Handle Lithium-ion Battery Cells Stay Safe




LG Chem will not sell 18650 or 21700 lithium-ion battery cells to consumers.  
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Some companies have designed products such as vaping mods and flashlights that require consumers  
to handle bare cells. These products place consumers at risk of serious burns.


Stay away from any product that requires you  
to handle a bare cell and **Stay Safe.**

**DON'T BUY IT**  
**DON'T SELL IT**  
**STAY SAFE**







8 a.m.  
53°



Noon  
59°



4 p.m.  
62°



8 p.m.  
56°

High today at approx. 2 p.m.  
**63°**  
Precip: 0%  
Wind: SSW  
6-12 mph

**JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON**  
What can you learn from studying death notices in The Post? A lot, as one avid reader found out. **B3**



**THE DISTRICT**  
Catholic college and university presidents host a leading LGBT advocate at their annual meeting. **B3**



**OBITUARIES**  
Harriet Frank Jr., 96, was the Oscar-nominated screenwriter of "Hud" and "Norma Rae." **B5**



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

## A 'daddy's girl' without a daddy

Md. man shot by officer while handcuffed is recalled as the 'glue' that bound his family together

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

Brenda Green said her mornings began with a call from her father, telling her to have a great day. At the end of the day, her phone would often ring again. It was him wishing her a good night.

The gesture was small, but three days after her father, William Green, was fatally shot by a Prince George's County police officer while handcuffed, it was the one she offered to remember him. The ritual was a bond that was now broken.

"I'm the true definition of a daddy's girl who no longer has a daddy," Brenda, 20, said at a Thursday news conference. "I dreamed of the day my daddy could walk me down the aisle, and I wanted him to be able to see his future grandchildren, but that day will never come."

Michael Brown. Freddie Gray. And now William Green. Last week, the name of the 43-year-old Southeast Washington man joined a grim list of black men who have died controversial deaths at the hands of police.



COURTESY OF FAMILY ATTORNEYS

In the years to come, his name may be invoked at protests and his image printed on T-shirts as a symbol of the problems many see with policing in African American communities, but his family is grieving for a man in full.

As Brenda Green read the remembrance of her father from a piece of white notebook paper Thursday, she was surrounded by more than 15 relatives, many of whom said in interviews afterward that there is now a hole at the center of their large family.

The name William Green may live on in the national consciousness, but to them, he was universally known as "BooBoo." As his son, William Little, 23, put it, he was the gregarious and funny "glue" of the Green family, which is spread across the District and Prince George's County.

"He made everybody comfortable," Little said. "He brought everyone together."

Family members said they saw that uniting quality in different ways. While Green's daughter called herself a daddy's girl, his mother, also named Brenda Green, said he

SEE GREEN ON B4

The Green family, top, holds a news conference in Oxon Hill with their attorney after the shooting death of William Green, above, by a Prince George's County police officer last week. Clockwise from lower right, daughter Brenda Green, mother Brenda Green, April Little, son William Little, Nikki Olds, Shena Green, brother Ronald Green and Chalena Thompson.

## Va. county says no to banning flag image

### SCHOOLS ALLOW CONFEDERATE GEAR

Franklin board member says battle is not over

BY HANNAH NATANSON

A Virginia school system will continue allowing students to wear clothing bearing Confederate battle flag images after officials rejected a proposed ban of the gear — angering some black families and plunging the small, majority-white district into a heated national debate.

The Franklin County School Board in January rejected a proposal that sought to bar students from wearing the Confederate flag on school property. Penny Edwards Blue, the board's only black member, had suggested amending the school's dress code to explicitly forbid the flag as a form of "discriminatory, obscene or hate speech imagery."

"For black people, the flag says you're not welcome. It means . . . lynching, it means you do not have rights," Blue said. "It absolutely harms the learning environment and it needs to go."

At first, Blue's proposal deadlocked, 4 to 4. Later, seven members of the board voted to adopt a broader dress code that did not include a provision banning the Confederate garb. Blue cast the lone dissenting vote.

Blue, 60, said she attempted to prohibit the flag after hearing complaints from black students, parents and educators. They told her white teens show up to school nearly every day — in a district of about 6,800 students that is nearly 80 percent white — with the flag printed on T-shirts, hats, jackets and belt buckles.

Schools Superintendent Mark Church, who is white, said the ban is unnecessary because most

SEE FLAG ON B4

## D.C. signals 'war on cars' with Union Station plan

### Regional Memo

ROBERT MCCARTNEY

Is the District waging a "war on cars?" The available evidence suggests the answer is

absolutely. Drivers are struggling with fewer parking spaces, more speed cameras and the creation of bus-only lanes.

In the latest example, planners want to shrink the parking garage at Union Station as part of a major overhaul of the rail and transit hub. The initial proposal to reduce the number of spaces from 2,200 to 1,575 instantly drew criticism — because it didn't cut deeply enough. Some officials and activists want to allow only a few hundred spaces, saying that's the appropriate figure for a densely populated, forward-looking, transit-oriented city.

But the important question is not whether a war on cars exists. It's whether such a battle is a good idea. And there, the answer is also absolutely, according to officials and private analysts.

No one wants to call it a war, of course. That's divisive and seems to blame people for using cars, especially when it's the only practical choice.

But there's broad agreement SEE REGIONAL MEMO ON B6

### RETROPOLIS

## In 1866, she inherited a notorious Va. slave jail

Raped while in bondage, she raised her children at recently excavated site

BY SYDNEY TRENT

Robert Lumpkin was one of the South's most prolific and brutal slave traders, presiding over a slave jail in Richmond so notorious that it was referred to as the "Devil's Half Acre."

Mary Lumpkin lived with him — and with the horror of who he was. She bore witness to the extreme punishments he meted out to enslaved people like her.

Under Robert Lumpkin's ownership from 1844 until the end of the Civil War, the jail held thousands of enslaved men and women in its dim and cramped cells, permeated by the stench of human excrement. Many were destined for the auction block; others were captured runaways. Some had been delivered there by their masters to receive more expert punishment. The names

of dead prisoners appeared on Robert Lumpkin's insurance claims, their bodies buried in unmarked graves scattered about the property.

Described by an abolitionist minister who met her as "large, fair-faced . . . nearly white," Mary was also Robert's slave. She was raped and impregnated by him as a child, ultimately bearing at least seven of his children, five of whom survived. She kept house and raised their offspring within the fenced brick compound that included the jail.

In 2008, as part of an effort to come to terms with its slaveholding past, Richmond excavated the site that was once home to Lumpkin's Jail, in the part of the city known as Shockoe Bottom, where the country's second-largest slave market once thrived just a few blocks from the current state Capitol grounds. Archaeologists unearthed the gray stone foundation of the 2½-story jail, buried beneath a parking lot and the rushing traffic of Interstate 95, as well as pieces of household crockery and glass, toys, clay

SEE RETROPOLIS ON B3

## Va. Tech names Cornell dean to be first chief of its Innovation Campus

N.Va. project's director was part of a similar tech venture in N.Y.

BY NICK ANDERSON

The campus that Virginia Tech plans for the Potomac riverfront, linking graduate education with high-tech industry, resembles a venture Cornell University built in New York for much the same purpose.

Now, the public university is hiring a senior official from Cornell to lead what Virginia Tech calls the Innovation Campus — a \$1 billion project in Alexandria near the site of the new Amazon headquarters in Northern Virginia.

Lance R. Collins, 60, Cornell's dean of engineering since 2010, will become vice president and executive director of the campus in August, Virginia Tech announced Monday.

From that position, Collins will be a key player in forging partnerships among academia, business and government as the



LINDSAY FRANCE/CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Lance R. Collins, Cornell University's dean of engineering, has been hired by Virginia Tech to lead its Innovation Campus.

campus takes shape. He grew accustomed to such challenges after helping to conceive and launch Cornell Tech.

That project, a collaboration between Cornell and the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, is devoted to applied sciences and engineering. Its campus opened in 2017 on Roosevelt Island in New York. The parallels to Virginia Tech's

initiative are numerous.

"This new Innovation Campus is really going to be focused on technology development — particularly technology that's relevant to society," Collins said in a telephone interview. "That's a very different mission than a traditional academic campus." He said he was "thrilled to be taking on this role."

SEE CAMPUS ON B6



# EDUCATION

## America’s education salons revive the battle between phonics, whole language



Jay Mathews

The “reading wars,” one of the most confusing and disabling conflicts in the history of education, raged in the 1980s. Then peace came. Advocates of phonics (learning by being taught the sound of each letter group) seemed to triumph over advocates of whole language (learning by using cues like context and being exposed to much good literature). Recent events suggest the conflict of complicated concepts is far from over. Teachers, parents and experts appear to agree that phonics is crucial. But what is going on in classrooms is not in sync with what research studies say is required. This has sparked a national debate over the

meaning of the word “phonics.” Lucy M. Calkins, a professor at Columbia University’s Teachers College and a much-revered expert on how to teach reading, has drawn attention with an eight-page essay titled “No One Gets to Own the Term ‘The Science of Reading.’” Here is part of her argument: “The important thing, then, is to teach kids that they needn’t freeze when they come to a hard word, nor skip past it. They needn’t be stymied by the word and stop reading. The important thing is to teach them that they have resources to draw upon, and to use those resources to develop stamina. For example, they can look at the unfamiliar word and break it into parts and think, Have I seen that part before? And they can draw on their knowledge of letter-sound correspondence to decode. They can also reread the

sentence and think, What could this be? And then check the hypothesis against the actual letters.” To Calkins’s critics, it is cruel and wasteful to encourage 6-year-olds to look for clues if they don’t immediately know the correct sounds. They should work on decoding — knowing the pronunciation of every letter group — until they master it, say the critics, backed by much research. Calkins’s approach “is a slow, unreliable way to read words and an inefficient way to develop word recognition skill,” Mark S. Seidenberg, a psychologist at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, said in a blog post. “Dr. Calkins treats word recognition as a reasoning problem — like solving a puzzle. She is dedicated to the educational precept that children learn best by

discovering how systems work rather than being told.” He told me skilled reading “is fast, automatic, almost like a reflex — not deliberative.” Many others share his view. “Children should learn to decode — i.e., go from print on the page to words in the mind — not by shrewd guesswork and inference, but by learning to decode,” Daniel Willingham, a psychologist at the University of Virginia, told me. He said the inferences Calkins applauds are “cognitively taxing, and readers don’t have much endurance for it. . . . It disrupts the flow of what you’re reading, and doing a lot of it gets frustrating.” Yet most teachers still use that approach in some fashion. A recent survey of 670 early-reading teachers by the Education Week Research Center found that only 22 percent said their philosophy

of teaching early reading was systematic, explicit phonics with comprehension as a separate focus. Tom Loveless, an education expert formerly at the Brookings Institution, said that means teachers of beginning readers fall into three unhappy groups: (1) a small number who think “phonics are evil and more holistic approaches are virtuous”; (2) a larger group who think “they already teach phonics, or at least some phonics,” but don’t; and (3) the rest who are willing to try “to learn new and better ways of teaching” but discover “knowing the right thing to do and being willing to do it doesn’t guarantee success.” Timothy Shanahan, a literacy expert at the University of Illinois at Chicago, said on his blog: “Many primary teachers when asked if they teach

phonics are, in my experience, likely to say, ‘Yes.’ However when I visit some of those classrooms, what they mean by phonics is pretty pale and thin; often no more than marking up a worksheet.” Both sides agree that children need to acquire the vocabulary and background information that gives meaning to words. But first, they have to pronounce them correctly to connect to the words they have learned to speak. Calkins told me she agrees that children should be taught decoding until they master it. She said in her essay: “There is merit to much of what the phonics people are saying,” but it would be a mistake to teach phonics “at the expense of reading and writing.” All the combatants appear to concur with her on that. *jay.mathews@washpost.com*

## In sensory rooms, students find an oasis of serenity

BY KAREN WEINTRAUB

Emma Morse, a senior biology major, likes the room’s low chairs, where she can read and not be bothered. Her college’s library is too chaotic, she said, and she feels more comfortable sitting closer to the ground than most chairs allow. Tracy Colena, a first-year student majoring in chemical engineering, comes to the same sensory room when he’s feeling stressed and overwhelmed by university life. The fidget toys are a good distraction and help him return to his day feeling calmer and more in control. For Elyse Samojedny, a senior majoring in psychology, the room’s “bubble wall” remains its main attraction. Her attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder makes it hard for her to focus. But sitting up close to the white noise and constant stream of video bubbles “blocks everything out, so I can focus on my breath,” she said. College has resumed on America’s campuses, and most students can work through their start-of-semester stress with a trip to the gym, a comforting call with a parent or a late-night binge. But for some students, normal days are a challenge — let alone high-stress exam periods and the beginning of a new term. That’s why a small but growing number of schools offer special rooms where students with anxiety, autism, ADHD, post-traumatic stress disorder or sensory challenges can go to decompress. Adelphi University in New York appears to have started the trend. Since January 2018, the university has had a sensory room set aside for students who need downtime with or without stimulation. For some, the bubble lights and gentle white noise help bring calm; for others, peace comes with a heavy blanket and noise-canceling headphones. Such sensory rooms aim to appeal to people with a range of needs, allowing them to choose for themselves what will help. Morse, Colena and Samojedny attend Stony Brook University, part of the State University of New York, on Long Island. Last summer, Wendi Mathews, who directs the school’s Student Accessibility Support Center, turned a waiting room into a sensory room. About 30 percent of the center’s students used to sit in that space killing time before taking a test or seeing a counselor. This past fall, though, more than 75 percent who visited the support center reported using the sensory room while waiting; other students came specifically to sit in the room, taking advantage of the special pillows, seating and activities to regain their composure, feel better about themselves or simply catch a few minutes of peace. There is a clear need for rooms like this for students who are neurodiverse, said Mitchell Nagler, director of the Bridges to Adelphi Program, which includes the nearly two-year-old sensory room. “They are college material, but they need supports that are



not typically available on a college campus,” Nagler said. Because of stigma and ignorance, many schools don’t know or don’t acknowledge that they have neurodiversity in their student body, Nagler said. But “there are students on every college campus who are neurodiverse. Whether the college or university accepts that fact is up to them.” These students are academically successful enough for college-level work, but their chance of success in higher education is limited if they don’t have the proper supports, Nagler said. Under federal law, every college and university has to offer basic support to students with disabilities: note-takers in class for those who can’t take their own and extended time on tests. And there must be accommodations for students with physical disabilities, such as elevators for those who can’t climb stairs. Still, only about one-third of students with disabilities who enroll in a four-year college manage to graduate within eight years, according to federal data. “Kids who are neurodiverse, we’re asking them to do things that they don’t do [naturally] on their own,” Nagler said. He’s quick to add that his students are held to the same academic standards as their peers. They have to turn work in on time, manage without an aide in class and get graded on the same scale as others. “They’re expected to do the same work as all other Adelphi students,” Nagler said. At Adelphi, the Bridges program includes personalized academic, social and vocational services, as well as the sensory room, which is open from 8 a.m.



TOP: Emma Morse, left, Tracy Colena, center, and Easton Davis work in Stony Brook University’s sensory room, specially furnished to help students with anxiety, autism or other sensory issues decompress. ABOVE: Sensory toys can serve as a distraction and help students feel more in control.

to 8 p.m. on weekdays and 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Saturdays. The sensory room includes a bubble wall, a peg light wall where people can move colored pegs around on a light board, weighted blankets, beanbag chairs and a half-egg-shaped swing that feels kind of like a womb, Nagler said. The program costs students an extra \$9,000 a year on top of tuition. But Nagler is certain he has helped students who otherwise would not have made it through, or who would have struggled a lot more, earn college

degrees. When he started the Bridges program in 2007, Nagler had three students. Now there are 125 a year. “The program is a destination,” he said. “People come to Adelphi for a lot of reasons. . . . Most of the students who are in Bridges came to the university because of the Bridges program.” At Stony Brook, someone suggested the idea of a sensory room to Mathews in June. By July, she had already begun outfitting the space. The long, wide space has comfy couches, decorated with senso-

ry pillows — some fuzzy, some with sequins that have a satisfying feel and sound when stroked. There are a few low chairs. Sometimes, people with sensory issues feel better closer to the ground, so they don’t get dizzy looking down. Wall stickers have textures that some people enjoy running their fingers up and down. The wall of screens with endless bubbles remains the most striking feature. The wall opposite is plastered with notes, allowing students to contribute to the space themselves, adding posi-

tive messages: “Beautiful things happen when you distance yourself from negativity,” one reads. Some students come in between classes to get a break or recharge. The old room had desks and computers but wasn’t used much and “wasn’t warm and welcoming,” Mathews said. Now students are spending more time in the room, “reading, doing homework. Legs are up. On their laptops. It was an easy transition when we thought about our students.” Mathews said people from other parts of the university have started to ask how they can add sensory components to their own spaces. At the University of Minnesota at Duluth, two rooms in the school’s Kathryn A. Martin Library have been converted into sensory-friendly rooms. At Adelphi the room was funded with a \$10,000 grant from KultureCity, a Birmingham, Ala., charity that has supported 500 sensory rooms nationwide, mainly at sporting events and concerts. Julian Maha, the emergency medicine physician who founded KultureCity to help his own son, who is on the autism spectrum, said he hopes to spread the rooms to more universities — both to help students with sensory issues and to raise awareness among neurotypical young people. “That’s where change, and culture change in particular, can functionally begin,” Maha said. “If they get it, it’s going to translate on a really, really big scale.” At some point, Mathews said, everyone is going to experience anxiety or depression. Showing students of all types ways to cope can help, she said. “Just being able to utilize coping skills in a safe environment is so important,” she said. It doesn’t take a lot to make people with sensory issues feel more welcome, she said. A rocking chair in the corner. Tennis balls on the legs of chairs to keep them from squeaking, a large rubber band on chairs that students can use to let out some energy, bouncing while sitting in class. Samojedny said there’s more to a good sensory room than toys and distractions; it has to be a space designed with student needs in mind. “Just throwing a beanbag in the corner isn’t going to do anything, but this is so well planned out,” said Samojedny, who hopes to become an environmental lawyer. Sensory rooms are most useful when college stress is at its highest, Nagler said — during the first and last two weeks of the semester, when students are getting used to a new environment or under unrelenting pressure to finish final papers and study for exams. “Anxiety is contagious,” he said. “The folks I work with are susceptible to catching [it],” and a sensory room, he said, provides “a good place to hide out when you’re overwhelmed.” *local@washpost.com*

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Police tape flutters in the wind where an officer shot and killed a handcuffed suspect last week on Winston Street near St. Barnabas Road in Marlow Heights, Md.



Prince George's County Police Chief Hank Stawinski announces at a news conference that Cpl. Michael A. Owen Jr. was charged with second-degree murder and other counts in William Green's killing.

# Family remembers slain Md. man who was the ‘glue’ that kept them together

**GREEN FROM B1**

was a mama’s boy who always took her to the doctor. To his cousins, he was the relative who always called and visited. One recalled how she told Green she needed to go to North Carolina to visit a sick godmother. He hopped in her car without even packing a bag.

Nikki Owens, another cousin, recalled how Green phoned her one day and told her he was getting off work at midnight and would make the long drive to Fredericksburg, Va., to see her.

“We’re old,” Owens recalled telling him. “We’re trying to go to sleep.”

She stayed up anyway. Then there were the meals, from ribs to fish. Green was constantly cooking for his family — and posting photos of his creations on Facebook. Family members recalled how he threw a whole pig on the grill for Thanksgiving, complete with an apple in its mouth.

Green grew up in the District and Maryland, attending Potomac High School in the Glassmanor section of Prince George’s. He had two children and was not married at the time of his death. He started a job as a luggage loader with Megabus about four weeks before his slaying, the family said.

“BooBoo was determined for that job,” his mother said. “He used to go up to that bus station every day.”

Owens said that three days before his death, he was planning a cruise with her. One day after his death, he had been slated for his first promotion at Megabus to become a dispatcher.

Prince George’s police said Cpl. Michael A. Owen Jr. was called to the scene of an accident in Temple Hills around 7:20 p.m. Monday night. Owen and a second officer were told by witnesses that William Green had struck a vehicle, police said.

Green was removed from his vehicle and appeared to be under the influence of a substance, police said. Green was handcuffed with his wrists behind his back and eventually placed in the front passenger seat of Owen’s cruiser. A short time later, police said, Owen fired seven shots at Green, for reasons they have yet to explain.

Less than 24 hours later, authorities charged Owen with second-degree murder and other counts in Green’s killing.

“I am unable to come to our community this evening and offer you a reasonable explanation for the events that occurred last night,” Prince George’s County Police Chief Hank Stawinski said at a news conference Tuesday announcing the charges. “I have concluded that what happened last night is a crime.”

Family members were gratified that Owen was quickly charged but said they had not yet received an account from authorities of why Green was shot. An attorney for Owen did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

At the Thursday news conference, the family called for swift justice for Green and said they want a thorough investigation of instances when Owen used force over his 10-year career.

The family also wants the department to look at whether any policies may have allowed an unsafe officer to remain on the force. Owen had been involved in two other shootings, including one fatal shooting in 2011 now being reviewed by prosecutors.

Family members and their attorney, William H. “Billy” Murphy Jr., declined to discuss the events leading up to the shooting. Murphy said they are still gathering facts and may have uncovered new cellphone video footage that captured some of the action.

Family members have started a GoFundMe page to pay for Green’s funeral costs because he died without life insurance.

Murphy, who also represented the family of Gray, said the Green family’s response to the tragedy is one unlike any other he has seen in his more than 40 years as an attorney. Thirty members of the family showed up at his office to meet with him. In death, Green appeared to remain the glue for his family that he had been in life.

“BooBoo was all about family,” one relative said during an interview. A handful of others chimed in: “Yes he was.”

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# Both sides in Confederate flag image debate can point to previous court action

**FLAG FROM B1**

students do not find the flag upsetting. In his eight years as superintendent, he said, the school has not witnessed a single fight related to Confederate gear, nor a single formal complaint about Confederate clothing.

“A little Rebel flag on a jacket?” Church said. “Our students don’t — they’re not outwardly bothered by it, it’s not a significant issue.”

He added that, in southern Virginia, the flag is part of everyday life, flown prominently on vehicles and raised on poles outside stores. It’s not “a hate thing,” Church said: “For our students, if they’re wearing it, it’s just apparel.”

The debate roiling Franklin County is playing out in school districts across the country, experts said, picking up pace alongside an equally contentious national reckoning over Confederate monuments. The number of schools forbidding Confederate items in their hallways — and the number of lawsuits challenging those bans — has risen steadily over the past decade or so, said Nora Pelizzari, spokeswoman for the National Coalition Against Censorship, a New York nonprofit organization that advocates for free speech.

“On both sides of the issue, people are shouting louder than they used to,” Pelizzari said. “Maybe it’s politics, but I think it’s also social media: You know someone will have your back.”

Some school districts have already opted to bar the gear. Montgomery County schools in southwest Virginia voted to ban Confederate symbols from student clothing and vehicles in 2015; in Maryland, Carroll County schools adopted a similar policy two years ago.

Proponents of the ban in Franklin County insist that the flag is so offensive it prevents black students from learning. Still, black teens — conscious that they are in the minority — will often refrain from complaining to white administrators, according to parents and former students.

Malala Nadean Penn, a 2016 graduate of Franklin County High School who is black, said she felt upset every time she spotted a fellow student wearing the flag in the hallways. That happened at least once a day, said Penn, now 22.

But neither she nor any of her



Penny Edwards Blue is the only African American on the School Board in Franklin County, Va.

black friends ever considered going to the administration.

“I don’t feel that my voice would have been heard,” Penn said.

Opponents of Blue’s proposal maintain that — even if black students take silent offense to Confederate flags — banning the gear would violate the First Amendment. Donning Confederate clothing is a form of speech, foes of the proposed ban argue, and as such is protected.

Legal experts said both sides may have a point.

The Supreme Court long ago established that students in public schools benefit from robust First Amendment rights, said Catherine J. Ross, a George Washington University law professor and author of “Lessons in Censorship.” In a series of decisions, the court set the precedent that it is unconstitutional to forbid any kind of speech in schools, whether a Confederate flag, racist epithets or a swastika, Ross said.

A key ruling, Ross said, came in 1969 with *Tinker v. Des Moines*. In that case — centered on students who donned black arm bands to protest the Vietnam War, spurring administrators to suspend the students and prohibit the bands — the court judged that schools cannot forbid speech unless it is likely to generate “significant, immediate disruption,” Ross said.

Historically, the courts have defined “disruption” to include activities such as massive school-wide fistfights or adults showing up to picket outside. By those criteria, Ross said, Franklin County does not seem legally ripe for a ban on Confederate gear.

“It can’t just be kids talking in the back of the classroom,” she said. “The courts have been very clear that hurt feelings — as much as we as a society may want to avoid that — do not justify censorship.”

Church said he would support a ban on Confederate gear if he felt convinced that the flags would cause schoolwide conflict. He has advocated for prohibitions on certain kinds of apparel in the past, he said: Once, he sided with a teacher who asked a student to remove contact lenses that “made it look like you were a cat.”

“Every time you look at the person you see cat eyes!” Church said. “Now that was a disruption.”

But Blue and her supporters can also point to precedent to make their argument, said Pelizzari of the National Coalition Against Censorship. A 2013 court ruling — *Hardwick v. Heyward*, delivered by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit, whose decisions affect Virginia — helped set a more expansive definition of what counts as significant disruption, Pelizzari said.

In that case, the court ruled that officials at a South Carolina high school and middle school did not violate the Constitution by banning the Confederate flag for fear its display would incite racial violence. In their decision, the judges referenced a proven “history of racial strife” at the schools and within the area, Pelizzari said.

“So if Penny [Blue] can gather data to show a recent history of racial incidents and of the flag being used in a provocative and disruptive way,” Pelizzari said, “the School Board could be on solid legal ground with this ban.”

Blue is contacting educators, parents and students to solicit

examples of racially charged incidents, some tied to the Confederate flag, which she plans to present to the board.

“I plan to push forward on this until the end,” Blue said.

From the sidelines, George F. Washington is tracking her efforts with an approval tinged with sadness. Washington, who is black, worked as a top administrator at Franklin County High in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

He saw the Confederate flag every day, he said. Occasionally — maybe once every few months — black and white students would get into a verbal confrontation about the symbol. It was “like two players in an argument on the basketball court,” he said. Administrators almost always broke up the fight swiftly, sometimes by asking the white students to turn their shirts inside out.

“It was something we could handle,” said Washington, now 63 and retired. “I myself thought nothing of the flag, quite frankly.”

But the country, he said, has changed.

Washington pointed to the deadly 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, at which some participants waved Confederate flags. He mentioned the 2015 killings of nine African Americans in a venerable Charleston, S.C., church — and that the shooter, Dylann Roof, often posed for pictures with the flag.

“I’m seeing things now I thought had disappeared 20, 30 years before I was born,” Washington said. “I’m seeing things now that are just hatred.”

He supports Blue’s proposed ban. Back when he worked at the high school, he wouldn’t have.

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Wall hangings outside a shop in Boones Mill, Va. The Confederate flag image tells black people that they are not welcome, Blue said. “It absolutely harms the learning environment and it needs to go.”








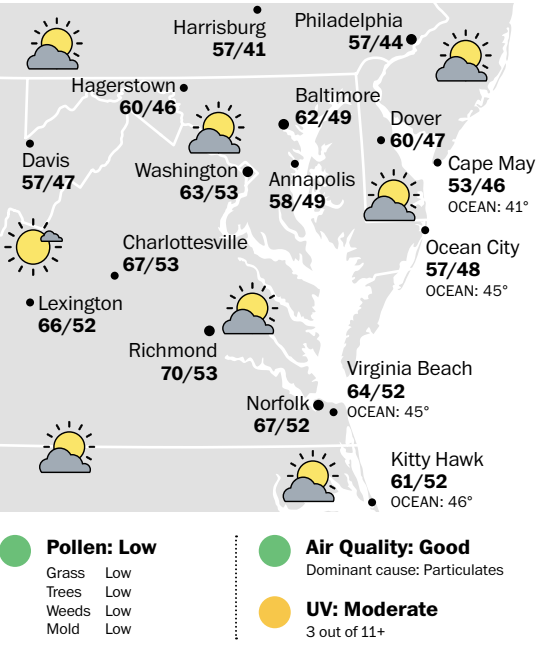
# THE WEATHER

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## Record-challenging warmth

 With high temperatures from about 60 to the mid-60s, it is indeed a good day to be outside if you can. The record high of 65 degrees from 1927 (and 66 in Baltimore from 1932) could well be challenged if we get enough sun. Early sunshine, though, does give way to increasing clouds. If eating lunch outside, hold on to any lightweight packaging, with some westerly breezes again possible about 10 mph.

## REGION



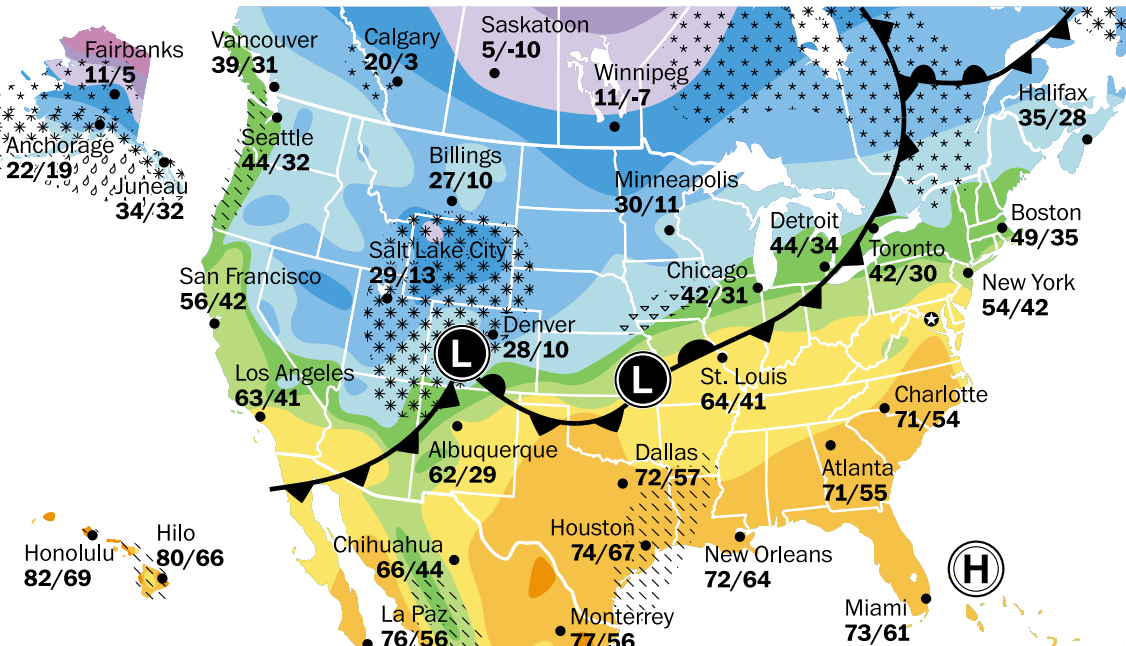
**Blue Ridge:** Today, mild with sun and areas of high clouds. High 56 to 60. Winds west 10–20 mph. Tonight, mostly cloudy; a shower toward dawn in northern parts. Low 44 to 48. Winds west–southwest 10–20 mph. Tomorrow, mostly cloudy and mild. High 52 to 56.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, sun and areas of high clouds. High 55 to 67. Winds west 6–12 mph. Tonight, partly cloudy, except cloudy in the north. Low 44 to 52. Winds south–southwest 6–12 mph. Tomorrow, mild with a shower; partly sunny south, more clouds in the north.

**Waterways:** *Upper Potomac River:* Today, warmer with sun and areas of high clouds. Wind south–southwest 5–10 knots. Waves a food or less. Visibility good. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, sun and areas of high clouds. Wind south–southwest 5–10 knots. Waves 1–2 feet. Visibility good. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be 4.1 feet today, falling to around 4.0 feet Tuesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in <b>Bold</b> )				
<b>Washington</b>	<b>2:34 a.m.</b>	8:45 a.m.	<b>2:40 p.m.</b>	10:05 p.m.
<b>Annapolis</b>	5:47 a.m.	<b>12:35 p.m.</b>	6:49 p.m.	<b>11:56 p.m.</b>
<b>Ocean City</b>	<b>2:04 a.m.</b>	8:24 a.m.	<b>2:21 p.m.</b>	8:28 p.m.
<b>Norfolk</b>	<b>3:54 a.m.</b>	10:27 a.m.	<b>4:17 p.m.</b>	10:22 p.m.
<b>Point Lookout</b>	1:23 a.m.	<b>8:21 a.m.</b>	3:22 p.m.	<b>8:07 p.m.</b>

## NATION



<div>T-storms   Rain   Showers   Snow   Flurries   Ice   Cold Front   Warm Front   Stationary Front</div>										Yesterday's National		World	
<div><div>&lt;-10   -0s   0s   10s   20s   30s   40s   50s   60s   70s   80s   90s   100s   110s</div></div>										High: Borrego Springs, CA 84° Low: Gunnison, CO -11°		High: Augrabies, South Africa 112° Low: Delyankir, Russia -64°	
for the 48 contiguous states										excludes Antarctica			
NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow									WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	45/29/p	43/31/c	Detroit	44/34/p	36/24/c	Omaha	33/19/f	25/13/sf	Addis Ababa	74/54/p	74/52/p		
Albuquerque	62/29/c	38/17/sn	El Paso	67/46/p	51/28/p	Orlando	74/51/s	78/57/p	Athens	49/40/c	44/37/r		
Anchorage	22/19/sn	28/22/c	Fairbanks, AK	11/5/s	13/9/c	Philadelphia	57/44/p	57/44/c	Amsterdam	62/50/s	63/54/sf		
Atlanta	71/55/p	66/60/sh	Fargo, ND	18/1/c	14/4/c	Phoenix	64/35/c	55/35/s	Auckland	80/64/s	81/64/c		
Austin	73/62/sh	79/39/p	Hartford, CT	48/30/p	45/35/c	Pittsburgh	53/46/p	53/29/sh	Baghdad	61/38/p	64/44/c		
Baltimore	62/49/p	59/47/c	Honolulu	82/69/sh	82/67/s	Portland, ME	44/27/p	39/30/c	Beijing	94/77/p	92/76/p		
Billings, MT	27/10/sf	27/18/s	Houston	74/67/sh	77/57/t	Portland, OR	46/32/p	42/39/r	Bangkok	41/22/s	37/15/s		
Birmingham	71/59/c	68/64/t	Indianapolis	59/50/s	52/28/r	Providence, RI	48/32/p	47/35/c	Berlin	49/37/r	42/33/r		
Bismarck, ND	25/9/c	22/12/p	Jackson, MS	72/62/c	71/62/r	Raleigh, NC	70/53/p	69/58/sh	Bogota	71/43/c	72/40/c		
Boise	37/16/s	36/23/s	Jacksonville, FL	76/46/s	74/54/c	Reno, NV	34/13/p	35/20/s	Brussels	52/38/c	43/35/r		
Boston	49/35/p	45/36/c	Kansas City, MO	56/25/c	30/20/sn	Richmond	70/53/p	66/55/p	Buenos Aires	87/73/s	89/75/s		
Buffalo	43/33/p	37/22/c	Las Vegas	49/34/p	49/31/s	Sacramento	56/34/s	56/31/s	Cairo	68/52/p	69/55/sf		
Burlington, VT	39/25/sf	36/22/c	Little Rock	66/58/sh	66/42/r	St. Louis	64/41/p	42/28/r	Caracas	74/64/s	73/63/s		
Charleston, SC	72/49/s	71/55/p	Los Angeles	63/41/s	60/40/s	St. Thomas, VI	84/74/p	84/74/sh	Copenhagen	44/37/r	42/33/s		
Charleston, WV	67/53/p	61/41/sh	Louisville	67/56/c	61/36/r	Salt Lake City	29/13/sn	29/13/c	Dakar	80/70/p	80/70/p		
Charlotte	71/54/p	67/57/p	Memphis	67/60/sh	67/43/r	San Diego	62/43/p	62/40/s	Dublin	46/36/p	48/34/c		
Cheyenne, WY	24/0/sn	14/1/sn	Miami	73/61/s	78/67/p	San Francisco	56/42/s	56/41/s	Edinburgh	45/35/c	46/35/p		
Chicago	42/31/c	34/22/sn	Millwaukee	40/29/c	34/19/c	San Juan, PR	86/74/p	86/74/p	Frankfurt	54/38/r	44/34/r		
Cincinnati	61/53/c	61/31/r	Minneapolis	30/11/s	20/4/c	Seattle	46/32/c	42/40/c	Geneva	58/42/c	46/33/r		
Cleveland	51/46/p	47/27/r	Nashville	68/58/c	64/48/r	Spokane, WA	36/20/s	32/28/sf	Hana, Bermuda	70/63/p	69/65/s		
Dallas	72/57/c	59/30/r	New Orleans	72/64/c	74/67/t	Syracuse	42/30/p	40/26/c	Helsinki	34/19/s	28/18/p		
Denver	28/10/sn	18/-1/sn	New York City	54/42/s	52/40/c	Tampa	71/52/s	74/60/p	Ho Chi Minh City	93/72/p	93/72/p		
			Norfolk	67/52/p	67/56/p	Wichita	56/25/p	29/20/c					

# Union Station parking cuts are part of a larger effort to reduce car use

## REGIONAL MEMO FROM B1

that government policies in urban centers should discourage people from driving, both to reduce congestion and dependence on fossil fuels. The challenge is to do so while increasing availability of reliable and efficient alternatives, especially buses.

“Our view on private vehicles is changing,” said Andrew Trueblood, director of the D.C. Office of Planning. “There’s not a war against them, but there is a recognition that they have a cost to the environment, to congestion, for people and buses to move around, for more efficient modes of transportation.”

There’s also a cost in land use, he said. Valuable urban space might be devoted better to housing than parking.

Even those who defend the automobile acknowledge the need to reduce its use in the District.

John B. Townsend II, spokesman for AAA Mid-Atlantic, said car owners are too often ignored — including in the Union Station debate — and are “increasingly not wanted . . . in an urban setting.”

But then, after noting the District has nearly 2 million automobile trips a day, he said: “We should do all in our power to encourage people to reduce that number, not only for quality of life but for environmental reasons.”

The issue is less clear-cut in the suburbs. Decades of car-oriented development have made it necessary for a large share of the population to depend on automobiles. That’s why Northern Virginia has added scores of miles of tolled highway lanes, and suburban Maryland is moving to do the same.

Even there, however, drivers feel beleaguered. The tolls in Northern Virginia can be steep, and four new Metro stations on the Silver Line were built without parking garages. In Maryland, environmentalists and their allies may yet block the plan to widen Interstate 270 and part of the Capital Beltway,

and to replace the American Legion Bridge.

The controversy over how much to shrink the parking garage at Union Station is a good illustration of the pressures to wean people away from the automobile.

*“There’s not a more challenging time to predict the future than right now . . . regarding transportation.”*

**Beverley Swaim-Staley,**  
Union Station Redevelopment Corp.

The existing garage will be rebuilt as part of an ambitious, \$8 billion plan to enlarge and update the rail yard, concourses and other facilities. The project will make possible a significant increase in both intercity rail traffic on Amtrak, and commuter service on MARC and VRE.

Union Station effectively serves as the region’s fourth airport, in terms of the numbers of passengers served. But space is too valuable in the middle of the city to allow for the acres of parking spaces seen at Reagan National, Dulles International and Baltimore-Washington International Marshall airports.

Neighbors also don’t want to see the site surrounded by a snarl of cars, isolating it from the community and spoiling the iconic view of the U.S. Capitol for people exiting the historic station.

Given those concerns, the Federal Railroad Administration’s initial proposal called for reducing the parking garage by 625 spaces — 28 percent — to 1,575. The projected need is for 900 spaces for rail and intercity bus passengers using the station, 600 for retail customers at the station’s mall, and 75 for rental cars.

In a significant change, the plan assumed none of the spaces would be used for

monthly parking contracts for federal and private employees who work near the station. At present, such users account for more than half of the spaces in the garage. Those people would have to start commuting by transit or find parking elsewhere in the neighborhood.

But even with those changes, city officials and neighboring businesses and residents said the garage would be too large.

D.C. Council member Charles Allen (D-Ward 6), whose district includes the station, helped lead the criticism. He wrote the National Capital Planning Commission to say the garage should be smaller and the station better integrated in the neighborhood.

“I’m picking a fight on this one because I think it sets a tone and will shape how our city will grow over the next 100 years,” Allen said in an interview.

Trueblood, who will play a leading role in crafting the city’s recommendation, said the District will be seeking a smaller garage.

“I do think the parking is very problematic,” Trueblood said. “This is a multimodal transit hub in the middle of a city. The primary way that people get around is not via private automobile.”

Admittedly, it’s hard to predict parking needs decades ahead. Nobody knows what the future will bring for autonomous vehicles, ride-hailing options and the quality of transit service.

“There’s not a more challenging time to predict the future than right now . . . regarding transportation,” said Beverley Swaim-Staley, president and chief executive of the Union Station Redevelopment Corp.

“We want to be sure we don’t preclude what’s needed” for parking, she said. But she added that the number of spaces “can be refined and reduced as we go through the design process.”

So even if you don’t call it a “war on cars,” it’s going to be harder to find a parking spot.

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# New campus chief to start in August

## CAMPUS FROM B1

Collins will arrive along with the first graduate students recruited for the project. Starting in the fall, they will take classes in computer science and computer engineering at Virginia Tech’s satellite in Falls Church while the campus is being developed in the Potomac Yard neighborhood of Alexandria. The 15-acre project site lies just south of Reagan National Airport.

Plans call for the first campus building to open in August 2024. The state is supplying \$167.7 million for its construction. Within a decade, Virginia Tech expects to have up to 750 master’s degree students on the campus and hundreds more doctoral students and postdoctoral fellows. The campus expects to hire about 50 research and teaching faculty members.

Several universities in the Washington region already supply talent for technology companies, including the public University of Maryland at College Park and public George Mason University in Northern Virginia.

But demand for a highly skilled workforce is likely to intensify as the tech industry grows. The Alexandria campus of Virginia Tech and an expansion

of George Mason’s operations in Arlington were selling points in the campaign to lure Amazon to Northern Virginia. Based in Seattle, the online retailer announced in November 2018 that it would build a second headquarters in Arlington. (Amazon founder and chief executive Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

Collins emphasized that the campus will not cater to just one company. “There will be strong ties with Amazon,” he said, “but I want to be clear: It won’t be an exclusive relationship. There are a lot of companies that are going to be interested in this campus, and we want to be open to all of them.”

Businesses will be partners, he said, but they won’t dictate what the campus does. “The faculty and the administration set the agenda,” he said. “There’s no question about that. That’s not even up for discussion. Otherwise, it’s not academia.”

Collins holds a bachelor’s degree in chemical engineering from Princeton University and master’s and doctoral degrees in that discipline from the University of Pennsylvania. He will be a professor of mechanical engineering at Virginia Tech.

In the search for a campus leader, said Virginia Tech Presi-

dent Timothy D. Sands, Collins stood out in part because he had helped Cornell ensure close ties between its main campus in Ithaca, N.Y., and Cornell Tech. Sands wants to forge a similar connection between Virginia Tech’s main campus in Blacksburg, which lies more than 200 miles southwest of Alexandria, and the Innovation Campus. A central issue, he said: “How do you make it feel like one university?”

Sands said he was also impressed by what Collins accomplished as dean of a premier engineering school with 230 faculty members and about 5,000 students.

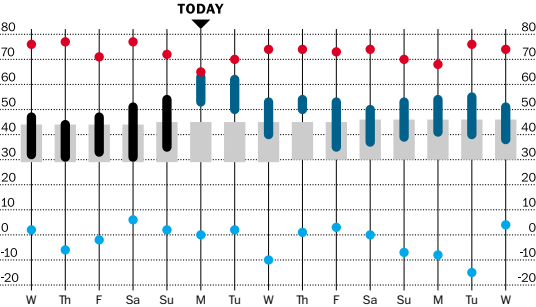
Under Collins, Cornell recently erased the gender gap in a field historically tilted toward men: Half its undergraduate engineering students are now women. The engineering school also has expanded enrollment of students from underrepresented minority groups, including African Americans and Latinos.

“To see that he had done that there gave us optimism that he will be able to broaden the pool of talent coming into the pipeline in the Washington region,” Sands said. “That’s dearly needed.”

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## OFFICIAL RECORD

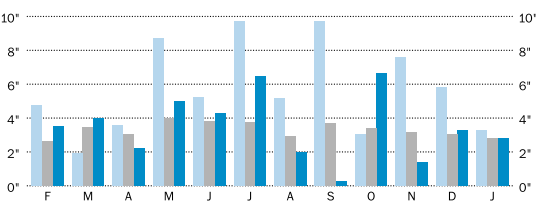
### Temperatures



Reagan			Dulles			BWI		
High	54°	5:00 p.m.	55°	4:00 p.m.	52°	5:00 p.m.	5:00 p.m.	5:00 p.m.
Low	35°	5:00 a.m.	30°	2:51 a.m.	33°	6:00 a.m.	6:00 a.m.	6:00 a.m.
Normal	45°/29°		44°/24°		42°/25°			
Record high	72°	1990	68°	1990	71°	1967		
Record low	2°	1904	5°	2004	1°	1961		

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (Reagan): this month: +6.0° yr. to date: +6.4°

### Precipitation



Reagan			Dulles			BWI		
Past 24 hours	0.07"		0.10"		0.11"			
Total this month	0.07"		0.10"		0.11"			
Normal	0.19"		0.20"		0.21"			
Total this year	2.86"		3.43"		3.22"			
Normal	3.00"		2.88"		3.26"			
Snow, past 24 hours	0.0"		0.0"		0.0"			
Snow, season total	0.6"		2.9"		1.8"			

### Moon Phases



### Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	7:13 a.m.	5:31 p.m.
Moon	12:22 p.m.	1:55 a.m.
Venus	9:03 a.m.	8:53 p.m.
Mars	3:54 a.m.	1:19 p.m.
Jupiter	5:32 a.m.	3:01 p.m.
Saturn	6:13 a.m.	3:55 p.m.

**Key:** s=sunny, pc=partly cloudy, ec=cloudy, r=rain, sh=showers, t=thunderstorms, sf=snow flurries, sn=snow, ice

Sources: AccuWeather.com; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airnow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service

\* AccuWeather's RealFeel Temperature™ combines over a dozen factors for an accurate measure of how the conditions really "feel."



An interior rendering of the Innovation Campus in Northern Virginia. While the campus is being developed, students will take classes at Virginia Tech's satellite in Falls Church starting this fall.



BOOK WORLD

Novelist Michael Zapata pays a knowing homage to sci-fi in “The Lost Book of Adana Moreau.” **c2**



THEATER REVIEW

Bobby Cannavale and Rose Byrne star in a less-than-compelling 21st-century retelling of “Medea.” **c2**



KIDSPOST

Britain and Europe are parting ways, but two men who helped dig the tunnel linking them are not. **cs**

CAROLYN HAX

A husband who tells his wife she is annoying and arrogant isn’t helping — he’s just gaslighting. **cs**



STEVE POPE/GETTY IMAGES

# HOW DOES PETE FEEL?

It’s often difficult to tell what’s going on in the presidential candidate’s head. Maybe his mom knows.

BY BEN TERRIS  
IN DES MOINES

**P**ete Buttigieg’s mother isn’t sure if her son cries. “I don’t know,” she said, when asked, pausing to think it over.

When would he have? There was his wedding. There was the time he visited her in the hospital after her unexpected heart surgery. And, of course, the death of her husband, Pete’s father, who succumbed to lung cancer just days after the then-mayor of South Bend, Ind., announced he was exploring a run for president.

He’d given a eulogy, a beautiful one. People had cried. Had Pete?

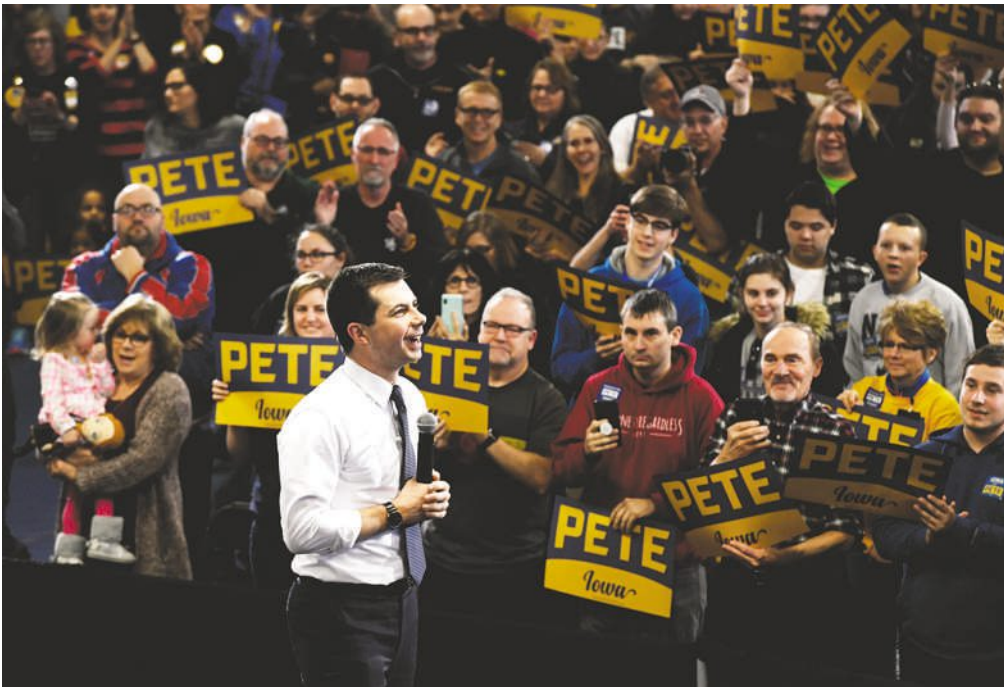
In the past year, Pete’s life has changed in countless ways. He lost a parent who had always been his guiding light, got famous and had become a genuine contender to win this week’s all-important presidential caucuses in Iowa. Which is where he was now, sitting in the back of a Des Moines field office in his crisp white shirt, his mother — draped in a purple velvet jacket and paisley scarf — by his side.

“I think as a family we’ve always taken crazy external events in stride,” Pete’s mom, Anne Montgomery, said, brushing her bouncy white curls out of her eyes.

“I think it’s safe to say that’s a family trait,” Pete deadpanned. “We’re pretty stoic. Pretty measured.”

It is perhaps the young politician’s greatest asset, this

SEE BUTTIGIEG ON C3



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP:** Pete Buttigieg’s mother, Anne Montgomery, and his husband, Chasten Buttigieg, at a town hall for the candidate in Des Moines. **ABOVE:** Buttigieg campaigns in Dubuque, Iowa.

## Ask your doctor if ‘The Goop Lab’ is right for you



Monica Hesse

Surely there’s nothing more to say about Gwyneth Paltrow, except that in a week fizzing with presidential impeachment, coronavirus and the drudgerous

march toward the Iowa caucuses, there’s something appealing about grabbing a blankie and watching a rich lady getting her own plasma re-injected into her own face for something called a “vampire facial.”

And so we commence six episodes of “The Goop Lab.” It’s a Netflix show in which staffers at Gwyneth’s lifestyle company get high, jump into frozen lakes, examine their vaginas and commune with the dead, all in the name of “wellness.” The star lends herself out for some of the treatments. Other times, she interviews experts from the safety of an armchair before cutting away to an assistant who is dealing with intimacy issues and has been sent to Jamaica to bawl on a yoga mat while a tender man encourages everyone to become “one with the spirit of the mushrooms.”

“I started tapering off my medication,” Goop’s editorial director proudly tells Gwyneth, after determining that her chronic anxiety could be better managed via a mixture of ice baths and posing like a horse.

Do you hate this show yet? Should you?

A decade or so ago, Gwyneth Paltrow’s jade eggs and expensive charcoal body scrubs made her a high priestess of woo-woo wellness. She was hateable — my heavens, was she hateable — which is why so

SEE HESSE ON C4

ESSAY

## What’s lost as another local newspaper says goodbye

BY PAUL FARHI

They’re closing up the office now, with its musty odor of moldering newspaper and decrepit bound copies stacked neck-high. On Thursday, the last Montgomery Sentinel rolled off a press, 165 years after its birth.

The newspaper once carried ads for slaves and chronicled the news from both the Civil War and the civil rights movement. It survived the Great Depression and muddled through the Great Recession. But the paper, with editions serving Maryland’s two largest counties, Montgomery and Prince George’s, couldn’t survive Facebook and Google and Instagram. And so now it is gone, the latest to fall in America’s vast newspaper famine.

The story has become hum-drum, so routine that newspapers barely stir themselves to report on all the deaths in their family. The civic commemorations are brief, too, if they happen at all. The numbers are dry: More than 1 in 5 newspapers, mostly weeklies like the Sentinel, have dropped dead over the past 15 years.

Like all those papers, the Sentinel covered the local stuff, news of the community, just over the border from the nation’s capital. It wrote about county government (“Bike registration, stipends and zoning dominate meeting,” read last week’s headline), and once staffed all the other meaty beats: schools, politics, cops, courts.

The politicians and bureaucrats knew someone was watching — accountability journalism. Does Facebook do anything like that?

SEE SENTINEL ON C2

## A depolarizing depiction of Clarence Thomas’s life



Ann Hornaday

Can cinema break us out of our silos?

That question occurred to me recently when I watched “Created Equal: Clarence Thomas in His Own Words,” a

new documentary about the notoriously taciturn Supreme Court justice who, over the course of nearly three decades on the bench, has rarely asked a question during oral arguments. As “Created Equal” demonstrates, when Thomas decides to talk, he’s undeniably compelling. In the film, the 71-year-old judge recalls his early youth in Pin Point, Ga., and the harsh life lessons he received at the hands of his uncompromising grandfather in Savannah. He revisits the betrayal he felt at the bigamy of his fellow Catholics during a brief stint in the seminary before

moving on to Holy Cross and Yale Law School. By the time “Created Equal” gets to Thomas’s confirmation hearings for the Supreme Court in 1991 — when he was accused of sexual harassment by law professor Anita Hill — Thomas has completed a startling transformation. Having become a revolutionary black nationalist in college, he identified as a Democrat and “lazy libertarian” before becoming a strict conservative. Today, he is still wounded and enraged by American racism, even though he sees the standard liberal response to it as patronizing and hypocritical.

Let it be noted: I am not the core audience for “Created Equal.” I abhor many of Thomas’s opinions on the court, particularly regarding reproductive rights, gun control, voting access and campaign

SEE HORNADAY ON C4



CLARENCE THOMAS/CRC PUBLIC RELATIONS

**Clarence Thomas, seen being sworn in to the Supreme Court in 1991, is the subject of “Created Equal,” a documentary about the famously taciturn justice. Whatever your political leanings, the film provides a compelling, if one-sided, look at the staunch conservative’s life story.**



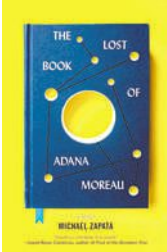
BOOK WORLD

# Ode to science fiction doubles as a tale of a long-missing manuscript

BY PAUL DI FILIPPO

What could be more tantalizing for bibliophiles than the mystery of a lost manuscript? The fascination one feels when imagining the discovery of an unknown Shakespeare play or a misplaced suitcase full of unpublished Hemingway stories gets the blood racing in us bookish types. No mere buried treasure of gold doubloons can compare. Perhaps that explains, in part, the appeal of novels such as Umberto Eco’s “The Name of the Rose” (in which a lost classic by Aristotle comes into play) or Dan Brown’s “The Da Vinci Code” and its suppressed Gnostic heresies.

When the enigmatically absent work of art involves the embers of ancient controversies or family skeletons, even better. In that vein, we have been treated to Tim Warkus’s “The Infinite Future,” about a Brazilian science fiction writer whose lost magnum opus



**THE LOST BOOK OF ADANA MOREAU**  
By Michael Zapata  
Hanover Square. 272 pp.  
\$26.99

sets a group of seekers in motion. The broad outlines of Michael Zapata’s “The Lost Book of Adana Moreau” hew to Wirkus’s template, but Zapata’s book is more sedate and ruminative than its more absurdist predecessor. Moreover, it’s imbued with a fairy-tale vibe reminiscent of John Crowley, Nicholas Christopher and Reif Larsen. Overlaying the deftly conjured 20th- and 21st-century settings and events is a sense of eternity, of archetypes and mythic patterning.

Our tale opens in 1916 in the Dominican Republic. The nation is being invaded by U.S. Marines, who swiftly kill two married rebels. Their young daughter, Adana (often referred to as the “Dominicana” in a mythologizing fashion), survives. Shortly after, she marries Titus Moreau, a charming rogue who bills himself as “the last pirate of the New World.” They end up in New Orleans, and in 1920 have a son named Maxwell.

This simple domestic biography is overridden by a supreme passion when Adana falls in love with a newly born art form: commercial science fiction. Soon she is so steeped in wild pulp daydreams that she composes an outré but topical novel: “Lost City.” In 1929 it gets serialized in *Weird Tales* magazine and published in book form. She completes a sequel, “A Model Earth,” which young Maxwell reads with fascination. But then Adana dies, and the new book is

seemingly lost forever.

Here I should interrupt my plot summary to comment on Zapata’s own evident love for and knowledge of science fiction. He is no mere dabbler or trendy opportunist. He plainly knows the field inside and out and name-checks seminal figures with precision. His knowledge of the genre’s history allows him to brilliantly fabricate and insert other imaginary titles, such as “a novel called *The Seas of Eternity* written by Thomas Flores, a Mexican American science fiction writer who had died in obscurity in Nevada in 1977.” The result is a realistic alternate history of the field which harks back to Kurt Vonnegut’s imagined works of Kilgore Trout. The science fiction aspect is thematically vital and integral to Zapata’s mission, which is to portray the workings of coincidence and multiversal alternatives in our daily lives.

The novel’s second section brings us to Chicago in 2004. We meet Saul, a young man whose favorite reading material is likewise SF. Orphaned young (rather like Maxwell, whose father goes missing), Saul has been raised by his grandfather. Now the grandfather is dying, and he entrusts Saul with a last directive: to mail a package to a stranger named Maxwell Moreau. When the package is returned as undeliverable, Saul opens it and finds the manuscript of “A Model Earth.” Enraptured by it, he decides to track down Maxwell — a fairly well-known physicist in hiding — and deliver the lost book of Adana Moreau in person. He enlists the help of a journalist pal named Javier, a wounded soul “addicted to disaster.”

The novel bops back and forth between these two pasts, intertwining the saga of Maxwell’s peripatetic life with the quest of Saul

and Javier. Naturally enough, the two tracks will converge in a truly satisfying closure that blends hope and despair.

Zapata’s carefully crafted prose oscillates between matter-of-fact and lyrically poetic, a tonal range that provides a very pleasant reading experience. Also stuffed not inelegantly between the microcosmic doings are several larger incidents that limn the bloody and brutal history of the two centuries, including South American totalitarianism, European pogroms and the tragedy of Hurricane Katrina.

Ultimately, Zapata’s novel is about taking steps to create the world you wish to inhabit, whether through art or through the vital small deed of giving a wandering orphan a place to sleep.

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**Paul Di Filippo’s** most recent novel is “The Deadly Kiss-Off.”

THEATER REVIEW

# Lack of substance becomes the actual tragedy for ‘Medea’

BY PETER MARKS

NEW YORK — On a set so white it could leave a spectator snow-blind, a woman of anything but wintry composure boils, and boils some more. Released after a year in a psychiatric hospital, she remains disconsolate and highly agitated, unable to contain the rage ignited by her ex-husband’s flagrant infidelity.

Bleached canvas, aggrieved spouse — the play is “Medea,” so we know what awaits us at the crimson-splattered final turn of this 21st-century take on Euripides, courtesy of writer-director Simon Stone. But somehow, a denouement that should pierce like a scalpel merely manages to open a paper cut.

Rose Byrne is the rapidly compensating Medea of this stylishly updated version at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, replete with such modernizing gewgaws as roving cameras and giant video screens. Here renamed Anna, her brokenhearted character fidgets and stews and laughs nervously from the start, and in such demonstrative ways that you can’t believe no one notices she’s unhinged and still prone to violence. After all, what put her on the psych ward was her effort to season the food of her husband, Bobby Cannavale’s Lucas, with ricin, a potent poison.

Nope, neither the now-recovered Lucas nor her therapist, Jordan Boatman’s Elsbeth, seems particularly alarmed by how badly Anna is dealing with Lucas’s decision to marry Clara (Madeline Weinstein), the daughter of a friend (Dylan Baker’s Christopher) and half Anna’s age. So, with your skeptical antennae fully activated, you’re compelled to observe her from a clinical distance and question the credibili-



Real-life spouses Rose Byrne and Bobby Cannavale play Anna and Lucas in “Medea,” an underwhelming retelling of a Greek myth.

ty of professional bystanders and the impact of unwitting contributors to Anna’s condition.

Stone’s devising of a newfangled context for “Medea” comes no-

where near the dramatic coup of his modern scheme for “Yerma,” his wildly powerful 2018 repurposing of the 1934 play by Federico García Lorca. That production, which un-

folded in a gigantic terrarium at Manhattan’s Park Avenue Armory, featured a galvanizing performance by Billie Piper as a woman driven mad by her failure to con-

ceive a child. You watched her psychic disruption in the glass box as if a shattering laboratory experiment were underway.

In BAM’s Harvey Theater, the

parameters of tragedy seem less imaginatively worked out: The choices are less interesting, the outline of calamitous transgression and its consequence duller, too easy to anticipate. The most inspired aspect of the production is an imagistic flourish. From the grid above Bob Cousins’s arresting set floats a funnel of ash that slowly gathers in a pile on the bare white floor — the embers, it seems, of Anna’s alternative story, one unsullied by betrayal and nervous collapse.

Cannavale cloaks Lucas, a research scientist, in suave, even arrogant reserve: His blunt and callous explanations for why he’s taken up with Clara amount to aggressions masked as honesty; they seem invitations to revenge. With two young sons (the engaging Jolly Swag and Orson Hong at my performance) hovering charmingly, audience members will surely dread their knowledge of Euripides, and how badly things will go for them.

Byrne’s performance seems to begin and end on the same note. Her Anna — thwarted at work as well as at home — evinces desperation at all times. We’re given no chance to harbor a belief that there is a way out for her and, therefore, everybody else. This may suffice as far as the Greek gods are concerned, but a post-Freudian world demands more substance than either the actress or Stone supply.

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**Medea**, written and directed by Simon Stone, after Euripides. Set, Bob Cousins; costumes, An D’Huys; music and sound, Stefan Gregory; lighting, Sarah Johnston; video, Julia Frey. With Victor Almanzar. About 80 minutes. \$45-\$195. Through March 8 at Harvey Theater, 651 Fulton St., Brooklyn. 718-636-4100. *bam.org*.

# If a county of 1 million people can’t keep local news alive, who can?

SENTINEL FROM C1

It wrote about people — the teachers, doctors, librarians and artists who lived down the street. When those people died, the obituaries helped everyone remember. Does Instagram do obits?

When someone’s kid scored the winning basket, the Sentinels in Montgomery and Prince George’s had a big write-up, with a picture that mom and dad could clip and savor forever. When the school water fountains had lead in them, or the buses had safety issues, the papers wrote that up, too. And when a boy from Damascus or Cheverly or Upper Marlboro died serving his country, his sacrifice was memorialized in the paper.

The Sentinels starved to death for all the usual reasons, said their publisher, Lynn Kapiloff. Once-bounteous display ads from local merchants — the kind from pizza joints and car dealers — began drifting away to the Google-Facebook duopoly a decade or so ago. Help-wanted ads were vaporized by Craigslist and others offering an unbeatable price (free!). The only thing left was legal ads, and those didn’t cover the cost of the staff and all the stringers.

Readers wandered, too. The Montgomery and Prince George’s papers had a circulation of around 200,000 in the 1990s. The last edition will be distributed to about 5,000 readers in each county, said Kapiloff, whose family has owned the papers for 57 years.

“I don’t know how to carry on at this point,” she said. “I don’t know where the advertising would come from.” Kapiloff, who is 81, knows it



Pictured with a recent copy, the Montgomery Sentinel was first published in 1855. Though it withstood everything from the Civil War to the Great Recession, the weekly paper fell victim to the digital age.

takes money, energy and vision to keep a paper alive in a minute-to-minute news cycle. (A son, Mark, is considering reviving the title online.)

“The whole thing makes me so sad,” she said. “I don’t know what the answer is.”

The Sentinels’ path to the graveyard is well-trod. The Montgomery Journal went under in 2005. The Washington Post closed its weekly Montgomery and Prince George’s “Extra” sections in 2009. The Mont-

gomery and Prince George’s Gazette newspapers disappeared in 2015 after Washington Post owner Jeff Bezos failed to find a buyer for them.

A question hovers: If Montgomery and Prince George’s counties can’t sustain their own local papers, what county can?

Montgomery, with just over a million people, is one of the most affluent and well-educated jurisdictions in the country. It’s home to the National Institutes of Health, the

Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, a symphonic concert venue and a collection of biotech firms. Prince George’s is the state’s second-largest county (pop. 921,000), and also prosperous.

Two counties, nearly 2 million people. And nowadays, just a handful of full-time reporters to cover them.

“It’s a sad day,” said Brian Karem, who was the Sentinels’ editor for eight years, until 2018. “People want community news, they need

it, but I don’t think we’ve got a handle on how to make it profitable.”

Karem, who made headlines last year when his press credentials were yanked by the White House, is among a number of well-known journalists who’ve worked at the Sentinels. The list includes the late Robert Pear, of the *New York Times*; Tom Shales, *The Post*’s former TV critic, and Knight Kiplinger, who oversaw a financial news company. Another alum: Danica Roem, the first openly transgender person to be elected to Virginia’s legislature.

The Montgomery Sentinel’s most famous reporter is Bob Woodward, who may be the most famous reporter in America, period. Woodward tried to get a job at *The Washington Post* when he got out of the Navy in 1970, but the paper rejected him after a two-week tryout. Fortunately for him, an editor, Harry Rosenfeld, saw something in Woodward and recommended him to Roger Farquhar, then the Sentinel’s editor.

Woodward spent a year in the Sentinel’s Rockville newsroom (colocated with the late owner Bernard Kapiloff’s dental office) learning how to be an investigative reporter. He turned out to be pretty good at it. Among his first pieces was a bombshell about the state’s attorney general, Francis Burch, who was directing state business (and lots of fees) to his private law firm.

Burch didn’t like the story one bit, and drove from Baltimore to the Sentinel’s office to chew out Farquhar.

“I remember thinking, ‘This is the end of journalism for me,’” recalled Woodward the other day.

But after Burch stormed out of the office, Farquhar sidled over to Woodward’s desk. “He said, ‘The attorney general’s upset,’” Woodward recalled. “And then he smiled.”

The *Post* took Woodward back in 1971. The next year, he and another Metro reporter, Carl Bernstein, began covering a break-in at the Watergate complex.

Woodward’s brief tenure at the Sentinel tells another story. Little papers were once part of the farm system for larger papers; greenhorns learned how to read a police blotter before stepping up to the next rung on the media ladder. Almost every accomplished journalist has a when-I-was-starting-out story that begins at a small paper like the Sentinel.

With the ecosystem so damaged and disrupted, where does the next Woodward come from?

Restaurants and shoe stores come and go, churned in capitalism’s tide. But the tide moves only in one direction for newspapers. They disappear, taking their words and photos and moldering memories with them.

When they die, a bit of a community does, too.

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**The Reliable Source**

Helena Andrews-Dyer and Emily Heil have moved on to new assignments at The Post. A search is underway for a new Reliable Source columnist. The column will return.



# Who can solve the puzzle that is Pete Buttigieg? His mom?

BUTTIGIEG FROM C1

unflappability. On debate stages, at town halls, in interviews with the press, he always seems to have an answer, but rarely an emotion. Maybe it's a skill that was honed during his time at the consulting behemoth McKinsey, filling out all those spreadsheets to help companies cut costs, or maybe it's what got him the job in the first place. In any event, with a president in the White House who is all id and energy and rage, Pete surely comes across as a very stable genius, worthy of a seat in the situation room — to certain voters, anyway. Especially in Iowa. Especially to those in his mother's demographic.

And yet, could this stoicism also be Pete's greatest weakness? One year into a campaign, countless people have learned how to pronounce his last name, but figuring out who Pete Buttigieg really is has proved a more difficult task. Maybe that's because he's many things at once. He can seem to be a child in an adult's world, like Tom Hanks in "Big." But he's also an old man in a young man's body, like Brad Pitt in "The Curious Case of Benjamin Button." He's an avatar for generational change, but in moderation. He's from farm country, but has said he learned about the "real world" by joining a consulting firm. He can be so inscrutable that conspiracy theorists on the Internet have posited he's some sort of undercover agent.

To win the presidency, Pete will probably need to be more than just an impressive résumé. He'll need people to know who he is as a person.

Who knows Pete? Only natural to guess it would be the woman who saw him cry at least once: right after he drew his first breath.

Because a mother always knows.

... Right?

"I'm just an observer, really, and I find it fascinating," 74-year-old Anne said, sitting in a South Bend coffee shop on a recent afternoon. "How he uses language, how he comes up with a reply or a retort, the way he can take a discussion in new ways. It's just really interesting."

This boy of hers has never ceased to surprise her. He was telling fully formed jokes from the age of 3, reading before his classmates, writing words with the magnets on the fridge.

Certainly some of this was genetic.

Anne was a trained linguist, always interested in the patterns of language. Pete's father, Joe, born and raised on the island of Malta, was an academic as well; a larger-than-life Notre Dame professor, a polymath equally able to discuss the works of Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci and English soccer clubs.

Both Anne and Joe have been described as warm and welcoming by their friends, interested in other people, though hesitant to share too much about themselves. They were observers, and so was Pete.

"Whatever situation he was in, new school, or new group, he would simply stand there and watch what was going on," Anne said.

When academics came to the Buttigieg house for dinner, Pete would be the person dispatched to the Encyclopaedia Britannica to solve thorny academic disputes. He surprised his mother one day by announcing he was "taking football" in school, but it made more sense when he explained why.

"I'm the only person who knows the rules," she remembers him telling her.

Reciting the details of Pete Buttigieg's staid, accomplished childhood can make one sound like Pete himself: orderly and fact-based, and all-too-satisfying — as if there was nothing about his particular human condition that could not be resolved by cross-referencing with a stack of encyclopedias. It's disorienting, like staring at a funhouse mirror that reflects the body in perfect proportion.

He was the kid who kept all his Star Trek action figures preserved inside their original packaging. The captain of the Quiz Bowl team. The student voted most likely to be elected president.

"He seemed like he had it all together," said his high school friend Mike Deogracias. "His friends would always put their problems on him, but I don't remember him doing that as much. Maybe it was harder for him to open up."

"It's just more work than you realize," Pete said, sitting in the back seat of a black SUV as it drove past snow-covered cornfields on his way to yet another Iowa town hall.



FAMILY PHOTO

Pete reunites with his parents, Joe Buttigieg and Anne Montgomery, after returning from Afghanistan. Joe died in January 2019, four days after Pete flew to Washington to announce an exploratory committee for a presidential campaign. At Joe's memorial service, Pete said his father's advice "always led me somewhere I needed to be."

Countless people have learned how to pronounce his last name, but figuring out who Pete Buttigieg really is has proved a more difficult task. Maybe that's because he's many things at once. . . . He's an avatar for generational change, but in moderation. He's from farm country, but has said he learned about the "real world" by joining a consulting firm.

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It's just really interesting."

Anne Montgomery, 74-year-old mother of Pete Buttigieg, a Democratic presidential candidate and the former mayor of South Bend, Ind.



FAMILY PHOTO

Seven-year-old Pete with his first dog, Olivia. Pete's mom said her son never ceased to surprise her when he was growing up.

By the end of 2018, life and death seemed to be happening all at once for Pete. In September, his father was diagnosed with lung cancer. In October, Anne woke up in the middle of the night feeling like she'd eaten something strange and went to the local clinic, only to be sent to the hospital for emergency heart surgery.

He was talking about the inner toll required to keep his sexuality secret. Pete has said it took him a long time to realize he was gay, and even longer to be comfortable with it. When he graduated from high school in 2000, not one of his fellow classmates was openly LGBTQ.

Pete says he was "well into adulthood" before he was able to acknowledge "the simple fact" that he was gay. And in the meantime, his friends had no idea that he was struggling, that it could feel like he was spending a lot of his time "filtering" out parts of who he was, trying to decide when his friends were talking about their girlfriends whether to chime in or keep quiet. His mother had no inkling either.

"I wasn't looking for it," she said.

Even if she had been, Pete was careful to show no signs. Coming out, he wrote in his memoir, felt like it could be a "career death sentence." But in 2014, Pete deployed with the Navy to Afghanistan and realized career death might not be as terrible a fate as dying without having been in love. He was 33 when he came out of the closet, meaning that even as a young adult his years of experience with love, or to use a military term, his "training age," as he put it in his book, was essentially zero.

It didn't take much time for Pete to catch up, however. Just months later, with the help of a dating app, he met Chasten Glezman. The teacher from Chicago and the up-and-coming politician from South Bend met for beers and a baseball game. Chasten asked what the future held for Pete, and Pete said honestly, "In 2020 there's a possibility I might be considered for governor."

"We got back to the car just as the post-game fireworks began, and as the explosions and lit colors unfolded over us, he went in for a kiss," Pete wrote of his first date. Whether this was his first kiss with a man, Pete would only say, "let's not get into that," but one thing was becoming clear: It was the first time he was falling in love.

When Pete opened up about his sexuality, first to friends and family, and then in an op-ed in the local paper ahead of his run for mayor, Anne still noticed no change in Pete. No sense of relief, no lightness in his step. Of course he felt it, Pete said. It allowed him to fully be himself, which would have benefits both personally and professionally.

"More than anything, it goes better for you when people know you for who you are," he said.

But he also wasn't surprised that his mother wouldn't notice a difference. He's always been good at compartmentalizing, something he probably inherited from Anne to begin with.

When Pete told her that he would be shipping out to Afghanistan as a member of the Navy Reserve, the news almost took the wind out of her. She was shocked that a sitting mayor would be sent to a war zone, and she couldn't get the image of her grandmother's Gold Star pin —

the one she received after losing a son, Anne's uncle — out of her mind. But Anne never let her son know she was worried, what good would that do?

Instead, she took a blue star flag, the kind mothers of servicemen get, placed it in her window, and decided to store her dark thoughts there.

"You transfer your anxiety into some symbolic thing," she said.

By the end of 2018, life and death seemed to be happening all at once for Pete. In September, his father was diagnosed with lung cancer. In October, Anne woke up in the middle of the night feeling like she'd eaten something strange and went to the local clinic, only to be sent to the hospital for emergency heart surgery. ("Something's come up," she texted her friend that night to let her know she would be missing their dinner plans.)

Pete was a newlywed at the time. He was bouncing between hospitals and settling on the idea of running for president. In a strange way, within the chaos came clarity. Suddenly the idea of waiting your turn in this life didn't make as much sense.

With encouragement from his dad, Pete headed to Washington to announce an exploratory committee for a presidential campaign. Four days later, Joe Buttigieg was dead.

"A bit cruelly, it is in preparing for an occasion like this that I would be most likely to turn to Dad for advice," Pete said at a memorial service for Joe held at Notre Dame. "I look back, I followed his suggestions so often, and found that they always led me somewhere I needed to be — and wanted to be."

Stephen Fredman, a fellow Notre Dame professor and friend of the family, was there for the eulogy. It was, he said, a master class in speech-writing and delivery, something he could imagine teaching in class one day. And yet, those who see Pete campaign might not be familiar with this story at all.

Pete isn't tugging at heartstrings on the trail, he's keeping it together like the Very Fine Young Man he's always been. He makes intentional eye contact. He speaks in a steady, sonorous voice that can sound like he has practiced Barack Obama speeches in his bedroom.

A keen observer of others since his days on the schoolyard, Pete has made his candidacy often seem like a reflection of what seems to be going on in the Democratic Party. He entered the race during a time of liberal ascendance, jumping in with talk of Medicare-for-all, packing the Supreme Court and abolishing the electoral college. But as the primary season became more about "electability," Pete seemed to seamlessly become a more moderate, more pragmatic version of the same candidate. He now favors a more limited public option for health care, and critics say his climate plan is less sweeping than they had hoped.

He talks about "revenue" and "reducing the deficit" and "the heartland," and the older Mid-

western voters watching him see their ideal version of a young person.

"I think he would be an inspiration to young people," Warren Erickson, 83, said after an event in Newton, Iowa.

"Why can't my kids be like Pete?!" Dale Vander Broek, 64, asked with a laugh. "Why can't my kids wear white shirts?"

The downside has been to turn off many members of Pete's own generation, to be seen as not only an apple polisher, but someone whose mind operates so much like a consultant that he's prone to blind spots.

After crunching data at McKinsey, Pete showed a technocrat's flair for development as mayor. But he could sometimes lack emotional connection to the community, famously firing the city's first black police chief. As a candidate for president, his bottom-line thinking has brought him to at least one decadent wine cave, not a great look for a candidate appealing to the working class.

For former vice president Joe Biden, another Democratic candidate for president vying for some of the same voters as Pete, emotion, especially grief, has become a central part of his candidacy. He lost a wife and child in a tragic car accident as a young senator. His elder son, Beau, died of brain cancer. Part of Biden's appeal is his empathy. You might not want to see your president cry, but you'd like to think he knows what it feels like.

Buttigieg's calculus is different from Biden's. Perhaps there are external factors that keep his emotions in check. To be the first viable openly gay candidate for the presidency is a big enough hurdle without being called "emotional." To be the youngest candidate in the field gives him an extra incentive to be seen as serious. He's been through a lot, but doesn't like to talk about it. He has, he said, never seen a therapist.

Perhaps Pete hasn't had the chance to fully grieve his father's loss. Maybe, like his mother, he's found a way to transfer that anxiety into a symbolic thing: his campaign.

"We're in constant motion," he said at the Iowa field office. "I always wish we had more time to process and reflect."

The campaign has been something of a distraction for Anne, as well, a welcome one. She reads and writes letters on behalf of the campaign, touched by all the people who have been touched by her son. She travels to debates, part of a community of political families, technically opponents, but all ultimately in this thing together. Sometimes she'll offer Pete advice from her focus group of friends at the gym, but she is mostly, as she said, an observer. The activity certainly beats the alternative: missing a husband, worrying about the direction of the country.

"If I didn't have his career secondhand," she said, "I don't know what I would do. I would be in anguish."

Not that she, or Pete, would ever let it show.

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# TELEVISION

## TV HIGHLIGHTS



GREG ENDRIES/SHOWTIME

**Desus and Mero** (Showtime at 11) Desus Nice, left, and The Kid Mero, right, talk pop culture, politics, sports and more on Season 2 of their show.

**All American** (CW at 8) Spencer remains in bad shape, so Grace, Billy, Laura, Olivia and Layla make sure to be by his side.

**The Bachelor** (ABC at 8) Peter and the women travel to Costa Rica.

**Below Deck** (Bravo at 8) Captain Lee arranges a party on a private beach for the crew's final night.

**Black Lightning** (CW at 9) Lynn continues to battle her demons.

**Bull** (CBS at 10) Bull deals with a case that comes as the result of a lawsuit after a fertility clinic mix-up.

**Manifest** (NBC at 10) Grace and Cal are involved in a hit-and-run and Ben wants to get to the bottom of the suspicious circumstances.

**Pawn Stars** (History at 10) Rick checks out an iconic warship in Boston.

### PREMIERES

**The 1900 Island** (Acorn TV) A series following four families who experience life as it was in a Victorian-era fishing village at the start of the 20th century.

**Girl Scout Cookie Championship** (Food at 8) The four-part series will challenge professional bakers to turn traditional Girl Scout cookies into decadent dessert creations.

**Twisted Love** (ID at 9) A series on disturbing love stories gone wrong.

**Below Deck Sailing Yacht** (Bravo at 9) Capt. Glenn Shephard and his crew set sail in a luxury sailing yacht to explore the Ionian Sea.

**Chopped Sweets** (Food at 10) Chopped's dessert spin-off challenges chefs to create beautiful desserts from unique mystery ingredients.

### SPECIALS

**Democracy 2020: The Iowa Caucuses** (Fox at 6) Live from the Iowa Event Center with anchors Bret Baier and Martha MacCallum.

### MINI-SERIES

**McMillions** (HBO at 10) A true story of how \$24 million was stolen from the McDonald's Monopoly game.

### LATE NIGHT

**Conan** (TBS at 11) Antonio Banderas.

**Tonight Show/Fallon** (NBC at 11:34) Andy Samberg, Mary Elizabeth Winstead, Finneas.

**Late Night/Meyers** (NBC at 12:37) Fran Drescher, Dean-Charles Chapman, Paul Krugman, Ilan Rubin.

— Nina Zafar

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

BROADCAST CHANNELS										
2/3/20	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30
4.1 WRC (NBC)	♦News	♦Hollywood	♦America's Got Talent				♦Manifest		News	♦J. Fallon
4.2 WRC (IND)	The Munsters	The Munsters	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	The Office	The Office
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	Fox 5	♦TMZ	♦9-1-1: Lone Star		(9:01) ♦Prodigal Son		Fox 5 News at Ten		News	The Final
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	♦Wheel	♦J'pardy!	♦The Bachelor						News	♦J. Kimmel
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	Q&A	♦ET	♦Neighbor	♦Bob Heart	♦All Rise		♦Bull		9 News	♦Late-Colbert
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	La Rosa de Guadalupe		Ringo		Amor eterno		Rubi		Noticias	♦Noticiero
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	♦Family Feud	♦FamFeud	Fox 5 News	♦FamFeud	Fox 5 News	♦Extra	Big Bang	Big Bang	♦Law & Order: SVU	
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	Connect.	Collect	Antiques Roadshow		♦No Passport Required		♦Independent Lens		♦Caucuses	♦Amanpour
26.4 WETA (PBS)	PBS NewsHour		Antiques Roadshow		♦No Passport Required		Independent Lens		Caucuses	Amanpour
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	DW News	♦MotorWk	Finding Your Roots		Independent Lens		Democracy Now!		World News	Healthy
50.1 WDCW (CW)	♦black-ish	♦black-ish	♦All American		♦Black Lightning		Friends	♦Seinfeld	Mike & Molly	Two Men
66.1 WPXW (ION)	Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds	
CABLE CHANNELS										
A&E	Live PD	Live PD	Live PD	Live PD	Live Rescue					
AMC	(6:00) Movie: The Outsiders		Movie: The Book of Eli ★★ (2010)					(10:35) Movie: The Duel ★★ (2016)		
Animal Planet	Alaska- Last Frontier		Alaska- Last Frontier		Alaska- Last Frontier		Alaskan Bush People: Wild Life			
BET	(5:30) Movie: 12 Years a Slave		★★★★ (2013)			Movie: Creed ★★★ (2015)				
Bravo	Below Deck		Below Deck		Below Deck		Spy Games		Watch	Below Deck
Cartoon Network	Gumball	Gumball	Home Movies   Burgers		Burgers		Rick, Morty	Amer. Dad	Family Guy	Family Guy
CNN	(4:00) America's Choice 2020: Iowa Caucus (Live)									
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Lights Out	
Discovery	Street Outlaws: Full		Street Outlaws							
Disney	Raven	(7:35) Bunk'd	Bunk'd	Gabby Duran	Sydney-Max	Roll With It	Coop & Cami	Sydney-Max	Bunk'd	Gabby Duran
E!	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Frasers	Nightly	Botched	
ESPN	College Basketball: North Carolina at Florida State				College Basketball: Texas at Kansas (Live)				SportsCenter (Live)	
ESPN2	Women's College Basketball: Oregon at Connecticut				College Basketball: Baylor at Kansas State (Live)				Basketball	E:60
Food Network	Diners, Drive-Ins and Dives		Girl Scout Cookie		Kids Baking		Chopped Sweets		Chopped	
Fox News	The Story With Martha		Tucker Carlson Tonight		Hannity		The Ingraham Angle		Fox News at Night	
Freeform	(6:00) Movie: Pearl Harbor ★★ (2001)						Party of Five		The 700 Club	
FX	Movie: Avatar ★★ ★ (2009)								Movie: Avatar ★★ ★ (2009)	
Hallmark	(6:00) Movie: All for Love		Movie: Winter Love Story (2019)				Movie: All of My Heart (2015)			
Hallmark M&M	Ruby Herring Mysteries				Ruby Herring Mysteries				Murder, She Wrote	
HBO	(6:50) Movie: Bridesmaids ★★ ★ (2011)				The New Pope		McMillion\$		McMillion\$	
HGTV	Home Town		Home Town		Home Town		One/Kind	One/Kind	(11:03) Home Town	
History	American Pickers		American Pickers		American Pickers		(10:03) Pawn Stars		(11:05) Pawn Stars	
Lifetime	(6:00) Movie: The Call ★★		Movie: When the Bough Breaks ★ (2016)						(10:33) Movie: Dirty Teacher (2013)	
MASN	Nationals Classics						Dooley		Hustle	Athletics
MSNBC	(5:00) Iowa Caucus: Decision 2020 (Live)									
MTV	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridic.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.
Nat'l Geographic	Brain Games		Brain Games: Bonus		Brain Games		David Blaine: Beyond Magic		David Blaine: Real or Magic	
NBC SportsNet WA	NBA Basketball: Golden State Warriors at Washington Wizards (Live)					Postgame	DC Sports	Wizards	Redskins	Offseason
Nickelodeon	Movie: Cloudy With a Chance of Meatballs ★★ ★ (2009)				Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends
PARMT	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops	Cops
Syfy	(6:00) Movie: Edge of Tomorrow ★★ ★			Movie: Gods of Egypt ★ (2016)			Futurama			
TBS	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Conan	Miracle Work.
TCM	(6:15) The Bachelor Party		Movie: Bus Stop ★★ ★ (1956)			(9:45) Movie: Some Like It Hot ★★ ★ ★ (1959)				
TLC	Say Yes to the Dress		90 Day Fiance: Watch Party				90 Day Fiancé		I Am Jazz	
TNT	The Huntsman: Winter's War		Movie: Suicide Squad ★★ (2016)						Movie: The Dark Knight Rises ★★ ★	
Travel	Unexplained: C		Paranormal Caught on Camera				Beyond the Unknown		Beyond the Unknown	
TruTV	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes
TV Land	Andy Griffith	Andy Griffith	Raymond	Everybody Loves Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King	King	King	King
TV One	Fam. Matters	Fam. Matters	Fatal Attraction			Fatal Attraction		Fatal Attraction		
USA Network	Mod Fam	Mod Fam	WWE Monday Night RAW (Live)							
VH1	Love & Hip Hop		Love & Hip Hop		Love & Hip Hop Miami		(10:01) Love & Hip Hop		Love & Hip Hop Miami	
WNC8	Voice Your Future Town Hall		Govt. Matters   ABC 7 News		Sports		ABC News		WJLA 24/7 News at 10	
WGN	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	Last-Standing
LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs • High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated										

## ANN HORNADAY

*A one-sided but riveting look at the aloof justice*

HORNADAY FROM C1

finance. I was angry when it was revealed that the all-white, all-male Senate Judiciary Committee led by Joe Biden in 1991 chose not to hear public testimony from witnesses who might have corroborated Hill's story. I've been dubious of Thomas's silence during Supreme Court proceedings, chalking it up to disinterest, insecurity or petulance. Like my colleague Michael O'Sullivan, who reviewed "Created Equal," I wish the film had probed more deeply into the particulars of his intellectual evolution and challenged the most self-justifying aspects of his



LEOLA WILLIAMS/CRC PUBLIC RELATIONS

**Clarence Thomas's yearbook picture from the College of the Holy Cross in Massachusetts. He graduated from the school in 1971.**

narrative. But, even with those misgivings, I enjoyed "Created Equal" and not only because of the "Garbo talks!" novelty of hearing the Quiet Justice speak (the two-hour film was culled from more than 30 hours of interviews). Thomas's life story is riveting, from its roots in the Gullah culture of coastal Georgia to intergenerational psychodrama worthy of the

ancient Greeks. Although I hadn't changed my views of Thomas's opinions by the time the movie ended, I felt I at least understood the man and his contradictions far better than when it began. And that made encountering "Created Equal" on its own terms a worthwhile, even rewarding exercise. I thought back to "RBG," the adoring documentary about Ruth Bader Ginsburg that became the hit of the summer in 2018, and 2014's "Anita," about Hill's career-long fight for gender equity. If I could accept those uncritical films of two women I already admired, why shouldn't I be able to find value in a similarly one-sided portrait of someone with whom I vehemently disagree? Make no mistake: "Created Equal" is a one-sided portrait. The film's director, Michael Pack, is a longtime conservative filmmaker, whose documentaries include "Hollywood vs. Religion" and "Inside the Republican Revolution," and who led the right-leaning think tank the Claremont Institute for two years. We first met in 2000 when he brought his film "The Fall of

Newt Gingrich" to the Maryland Film Festival; in 2017, we engaged in a public conversation at AFI Docs, discussing ideological diversity within the nonfiction filmmaking community. I have remained friendly with Michael and his wife, Gina Cappo Pack (executive producer of "Created Equal"), ever since. Even without knowing the Packs, I would consider "Created Equal" a success, starting with the subtitle. From the outset, viewers are put on notice that the story they're about to hear is solely from Thomas's point of view (the only other voice in the film belongs to Thomas's wife, Virginia). And that makes a difference. Rather than purport to be an objective, journalistic report, "Created Equal" makes it clear that this will be a highly sympathetic account of its subject — a safe space in documentary form. Thus situated, I was able to watch with the appropriate filter, appreciating the fascinating personal and social history that weaves through Thomas's biography while taking issue

with his most frustrating, even infuriating pronouncements. It's just this kind of compartmentalization — figuring out what you accept, reject, are surprised by or simply want to file away for further study — that defines critical thinking, a skill that has become virtually extinct in a hyper-polarized culture. Can cinema be a depolarizing force? Back when movies were projected in dark rooms full of strangers, we lowered our defenses to enter a kind of shared dream state. That communal experience might be increasingly obsolete, but even taking in Thomas's story on a laptop forged a far more powerful connection than would have been created by the intellectual exercise of reading his memoir, or an op-ed. You can toss a book across the room, or click away from an article you don't like; movies are different, in that they operate both as a delivery system for information and as an emotional medium. Even as I mentally picked apart the film's most objectionable assertions, the ways Pack used Thomas's voice and the imagery

from his past forced me to sit with the man and his story, and to contend with the paradoxical feelings — compassion, admiration, surprise, deep skepticism — that surfaced as a result. I discovered that even passionate disagreement can coexist with edification, however uncomfortably. Of course, film's ability to short-circuit rationality is precisely what makes it such a potent — and potentially dangerous — medium. But it's also what makes film an ideal venue for encountering ideas and experiences diametrically opposed to our own. That doesn't mean that the act of watching a movie is equal to tacit agreement or that buying a ticket confers endorsement. But it does mean entering a good-faith contract between filmmakers, who must be as scrupulously transparent as possible, and audiences, who vow to remain open-minded and critically engaged. When those conditions are met, cinema gives us the best chance possible to lay down our arms, open our minds, and — just maybe — shut up and listen.

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## MONICA HESSE

*Paltrow's 'Goop Lab' is bizarre and possibly dangerous, but I keep watching*

HESSE FROM C1

many people hated her. Entire careers were built on debunking Goop's dubious claims.

Now, you can buy charcoal body scrubs in Target, and your mom probably has a Himalayan salt lamp in the guest bath. Either we've all caught up with Gwyneth, or we're all in a "Black Mirror" episode where we eventually become so well that it kills us. One student of the Wim Hof method — the aforementioned process of icy plunges, horse stances and controlled hyperventilation — drowned while allegedly practicing the breathing in a shallow pool.

Maybe one day I'll understand how I can actually love Gwyneth Paltrow, and yet find that, when I open my mouth, only snark comes out. Is it that I find her earnestness both poignant and poisonous? Do I fear my own inner truth? I'd wager that anyone making time for "The Goop Lab" is coming to it from a similar place: A love-hate desire to know what she's actually like when she doles out the advice



RACHEL MURRAY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

**Gwyneth Paltrow interviews Michaela Boehm on intimacy issues during a screening of "The Goop Lab."**

that usually appears, disembodied, on her website. And the answer is: Thoughtful. Open. Searching. Curiosity is hard to fake, and Gwyneth has it, whether she's asking a doctor to explain his psychedelic research or querying one of her assistants/ guinea pigs about the effects of an experiment.

The show is spiritual cousins

with Joe Rogan's podcast, or Russell Brand's — celebrity seekers, all. The concept, at least, is similar: Here is a famous person with natural intelligence but zero subject-matter expertise, having a series of conversations. Some of the guests are mainstream (Neil deGrasse Tyson for Rogan, sex-ed guru Betty Dodson for Gwyneth) and some of them are

not (Alex Jones for Rogan, a psychic medium for Gwyneth). They do this, they say, because conventional practices have failed them, and also failed you. Overmedicated you. Misdiagnosed you. Convinced you something was not possible, or hidden the information that would make it possible.

All of the guests, mainstream and not, are given the same block of time. Which is an example both of the open-mindedness that celebrity seekers pride themselves in having, and of how open-mindedness can cause your brain to fall out. *Maybe . . . some guests . . . shouldn't be given large platforms . . . to share ideas . . . that are crazy.*

Maybe . . . when you have such a gigantic platform, it's not enough to slap a warning at the top of every episode — "The following series is designed to entertain and inform — not provide medical advice" begins each Goop episode — or to insist that you're just a comedian/actor/seeker, not a journalist/doctor/politician. Maybe you owe people more than curiosity. Maybe you owe

them vigilance. And maybe this is getting too solemn a viewing exercise that was meant to be a lark. "The Goop Lab" ultimately doesn't make a serious dent in conventional wisdom. Most of the crazy-sounding claims eventually wind their way toward something reasonable. Can a medium help you communicate with your dead relatives? Maybe not. But do we need to find a way to make peace with our grief? Yes, absolutely, and that seemed to be the larger point of the psychic-medium episode, which prominently features a staffer who has recently lost a parent. The takeaway from the vagina-examining episode is ultimately, "It is good to know and understand your own body," and it features, quite movingly, a gay staffer learning to appreciate herself after growing up in a repressive household.

Yet another takeaway: My, these people have fancy bathing suits.

In the Wim Hof episode, several staffers decamp to Lake Tahoe in the middle of winter, where they learn breathing

techniques and prepare to plunge themselves into 30-degree water. I would have dug out an old Speedo for such an endeavor, but these staffers lined up in the prettiest bathing suits, with elaborate necklines and flattering cuts. The woman with the fanciest one, a two-piece one-shoulder contraption, was the



Top 10 films

The third outing of the “Bad Boys” franchise stayed on top in its third week. The number of weeks open for each film is in parentheses.

		WEEKEND	TOTAL
		in millions of dollars	
1.	<b>Bad Boys for Life (3)</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>148.1</b>
2.	1917 (6)	9.7	119.2
3.	Dolittle (3)	7.7	55.2
4.	Gretel & Hansel (1)	6.1	6.1
5.	The Gentlemen (2)	6.0	20.4
6.	Jumanji: The Next Level (8)	6.0	291.2
7.	Star Wars: Episode IX — The Rise of Skywalker (7)	3.2	507.1
8.	The Turning (2)	3.1	11.7
9.	Little Women (6)	3.0	98.8
10.	The Rhythm Section (1)	2.8	2.8

Source: www.boxofficemojo.com, THE WASHINGTON POST



Will Smith and Martin Lawrence team up again in “Bad Boys for Life.”

BEN ROTHSTEIN/COLUMBIA PICTURES/SONY ASSOCIATED PRESS

MOVIE DIRECTORY

**DISTRICT**

**AMC Georgetown 14**  
3111 K Street N.W.

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 4:00-7:00-10:00  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** CC: 3:15-6:40-10:05  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 4:05-6:45-9:30  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 6:35-9:40  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 4:15-7:00-9:35  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 4:10-7:10-10:10  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: 4:20-7:20-10:20  
**1917 (R)** CC: 3:45-6:45-9:45  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 10:30  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 3:00-5:15-9:45  
**Bad Boys For Life: The IMAX 2D Experience (R)** CC: 10:30  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 3:50-9:50  
**Bombshell (R)** CC: 5:05-7:40-10:15  
**1917: The IMAX 2D Experience (R)** CC: 4:30-7:30  
**Created Equal: Clarence Thomas in His Own Words (PG-13)** 4:45-7:45  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 3:30  
**1917 (R)** CC: 5:15-8:15  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 7:30  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 6:50

**AMC Maczta Gallery**  
5300 Wisconsin Ave. NW.

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 2:00-4:50-7:40  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 2:40-5:20-8:00  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: 1:20-4:20-7:30  
**1917 (R)** CC: 1:10-4:10  
**Jojo Rabbit (PG-13)** CC: 4:40  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 1:40-7:20  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 2:30-5:10-7:50  
**1917 (R)** CC: 7:10

**AMC Uptown 1**  
3426 Connecticut Avenue N.W.

**1917 (R)** CC: 4:00-7:00

**Angelika**  
Pop-Up at Union Market  
550 Penn Street NE - Unit E

**Little Women (PG)** CC: (I) 11:45-2:20-5:00-7:20  
**1917 (R)** CC: (I) 12:00-1:50-4:20-7:40  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: (I) 11:30-2:30-4:45  
**The Wonderland 7:00**

**Avalon Theatre**  
5612 Connecticut Avenue

**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 1:45-4:45-7:45  
**Little Women (PG)** 11:00-2:00-5:00-8:00

**Landmark**  
Atlantic Plumbing Cinema  
807 V Street Northwest

**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: (I) 1:20-4:00-7:30-9:40  
**Uncut Gems (R)** CC: (I) 1:40-4:30-7:10-9:50  
**Bombshell (R)** CC: (I) 1:50-4:20-7:20-9:30  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: (I) 2:10-7:40-10:15  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: (I) 4:40-7:50-10:10  
**1917 (R)** CC: (I) 1:30-4:10-7:30-10:00  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: (I) 4:50-7:40  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: (I) 2:00

**Landmark E Street Cinema**  
555 11th Street Northwest

**Parasite (R)** (I) 1:05-4:05-7:05-9:00-9:40  
**A Hidden Life (PG-13)** CC: (I) 1:15  
**Citizen K (I)** 1:00-4:00-7:00-9:35  
**Once Upon a Time...in Hollywood (R)** CC: (I) 4:45  
**Color Out of Space (NR)** (I) 1:35-4:35-7:35-9:50  
**2020 Oscar Nominated Shorts - Live Action (I)** 12:30-2:45-5:00-7:15-9:30  
**Jojo Rabbit (PG-13)** CC: (I) 1:20-4:20-7:20-9:50  
**Les Misérables (R)** CC: (I) 12:40-3:40-6:40  
**Once Upon a Time...in Hollywood (R)** CC: (I) 8:15

**Landmark West End Cinema**  
2301 M Street Northwest

**Dark Waters (PG-13)** CC: (I) 1:15  
**2020 Oscar Nominated Shorts - Documentary (I)** 12:45-4:15-7:45  
**Harriet (PG-13)** CC: (I) 4:00  
**Dark Waters (PG-13)** CC: (I) 7:15  
**Pain and Glory (R)** CC: (I) 1:30-4:30-7:30

**Regal Gallery Place**  
701 Seventh Street Northwest

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 9:50  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 5:45  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 5:20  
**1917 (R)** CC: 6:20  
**Weathering with You (PG-13)** 3:45  
**The Gentlemen (R)** 12:00-1:25-7:10-10:15  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 1:45-4:50-6:00-7:45-9:00  
**Little Women (PG)** 10:10  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** 2:00-7:20

**Smithsonian - Lockheed Martin IMAX Theater**  
601 Independence Avenue SW  
D-Day: Normandy 1944 3D (NR) 12:25  
**Aircraft Carrier: Guardians of the Seas 3D (NR)** 10:30-1:15-3:15  
**Journey to Space: The IMAX 3D Experience (NR)** 11:00-1:45-3:50  
**Apollo 11: First Steps Edition IMAX 2D** 11:30-2:20-4:25

**Smithsonian - Warner Bros. Theater**  
14th St and Constitution Ave Northwest  
**Tornado Alley 3D (NR)** 1:50  
D-Day: Normandy 1944 3D (NR) 12:30-1:00  
**National Parks Adventure 3D (America Wild 3D) (NR)** 12:10-3:10-4:50  
**Superpower Dogs 3D (G)** 11:20-2:20-4:00

**AFI Silver Theatre Cultural Center**  
8633 Calistolia Road

**Little Women (PG)** CC: 1:00-3:45-9:15  
**Just Mercy (R)** CC: 6:45  
**1917 (R)** CC: 11:15-1:45-4:15-9:15  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 1:35-4:10-7:00-9:40  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 6:30  
**Just (PG-13)**

**AMC Academy 8**  
6196 Greenbelt Road

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 2:00-8:00  
**Dolittle (PG)** CC: 2:45-5:30-8:05  
**Spies in Disguise (PG)** CC: 1:15-4:15-6:45  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 1:30-4:45-8:15  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 1:45-4:30-7:15  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 3:00-5:45-8:30  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 5:00  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 2:30-5:15-7:45

**AMC Center Park 8**  
4001 Powder Mill Rd.

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 2:10-4:40-7:10  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 1:30-4:30-7:40  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** CC: 2:00-4:50-7:40  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 1:50-4:20-6:50  
**1917 (R)** CC: 1:20-4:20-7:10  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 1:30-4:30-7:30  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 2:30-5:00-7:40

**AMC Columbia 14**  
10300 Little Patuxent Parkway

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 2:30-5:30-8:30  
**Dolittle (PG)** 1:45-4:10-6:45-9:30  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** 2:25-6:00-9:15  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 1:45-4:25-7:05-9:45  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** 5:25  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 2:30-5:50-9:10  
**Little Women (PG)** 2:10-5:35-8:50  
**The Turning (PG-13)** 1:50-4:15-6:45-9:25  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** 2:40-6:10-9:20  
**1917 (R)** 3:00-6:15-9:15  
**Parasite (R)** 2:15-8:20  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 2:05-4:30-7:00-9:35  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 3:05-6:20-9:15  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 3:30-6:30-9:30

**AMC DINE-IN Rio Cinemas 18**  
8811 Washington Circle

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 3:15-6:30-9:25  
**Frozen II (PG)** CC: 2:30-8:20  
**Dolittle (PG)** CC: 3:30-6:10-8:50  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** CC: 2:20-5:30-8:40  
**Spies in Disguise (PG)** CC: 3:00-5:30-8:00  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 2:10-5:15-8:20  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 3:00-5:45-8:30  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 3:10-5:45-8:15  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** CC: 3:20-6:20-9:15  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 2:15-5:30-8:35  
**Jojo Rabbit (PG-13)** CC: 3:15  
**Gul Makai (NR)** 3:25-6:25-9:25  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: 2:45-5:45-8:50  
**1917 (R)** CC: 5:00-8:00  
**Uncut Gems (R)** CC: 5:10  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 6:00  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 3:45-6:25-9:10  
**Bad Boys For Life: The IMAX 2D Experience (R)** CC: 5:00-8:00  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 2:00-4:15-6:30-9:00  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 11:30-2:20-5:05-7:45  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 1:30-4:40-7:45  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 1:30-4:40-7:45  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** CC: 10:45-2:00-5:00  
**Uncut Gems (R)** CC: 10:15-8:00

**AMC Loews St. Charles Town Ctr. 9**  
11115 Mall Circle

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 10:15-11:00-1:15-1:50-4:15-4:45-7:15-7:45-8:30  
**Dolittle (PG)** CC: 11:15-2:00-4:30-7:20  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 11:30-2:20-5:05-7:45  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 1:30-4:40-7:45  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 10:30-1:00-3:30-6:00  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** CC: 10:45-2:00-5:00  
**Uncut Gems (R)** CC: 10:15-8:00

**Ala Vaikunthapurramuloo (NR)** 11:00-2:40-6:20-10:00  
**The Wonderland 7:00**  
**Aswathama (NR)** 11:05-2:25-5:30-8:30  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** XD: 10:55-1:50-4:45-7:40-10:35  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** XD: 10:55-1:50-4:45-7:40-10:35  
**Dolittle (PG)** 12:10-2:55-5:35-8:15  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** XD: 10:55-1:50-4:45-7:40-10:35  
**Uncut Gems (R)** 12:35-3:55-7:05-10:20  
**Joker (R)** 7:00  
**Little Women (PG)** 10:30  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** 12:05-3:15-6:25-9:35  
**1917 (R)** 12:40-1:30-3:35-4:30-6:40-9:35-10:30-3:30  
**Parasite (R)** 12:00  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** 12:20-2:50-5:25-8:00-10:40  
**Weathering with You (PG-13)** 12:40-3:40-6:30-9:25  
**The Gentlemen (R)** 12:20-3:15-6:05-9:00  
**Bad Boys For Life: The IMAX 2D Experience (R)** 1:30-4:30-7:30-10:30  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** (I) 1:45-4:45-8:00-10:50  
**The Gentlemen (R)** (I) 12:00-3:00-6:45-9:15  
**Jojo Rabbit (PG-13)** (I) 12:45-5:00-6:15-9:30  
**Parasite (R)** (I) 1:30-3:45-7:00-9:45  
**Dolittle (PG)** 12:15-4:00-7:45-10:00  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 1:15-4:15-7:30-10:15  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** 11:45-3:15-7:15-10:40  
**Hoyt's West Nursery Cinema 14**  
1591 West Nursery Road  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 1:15-4:20-7:15-10:10  
**Dolittle (PG)** CC: 1:10-4:25-6:45-9:15  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** CC: 1:20-3:35-6:40-9:45  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 2:10-4:45-7:20-9:55  
**Spies in Disguise (PG)** CC: 1:05-4:35-8:50  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 1:00-4:00-7:00-10:00  
**The Turning (PG-13)** CC: 2:15-5:05-7:30-10:05  
**Like a Boss (R)** CC: 2:00-4:15-7:45-9:50  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** CC: 1:05-4:00-6:45-9:30  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 1:25-3:25-6:25-9:25  
**1917 (R)** CC: 1:30-4:10-6:55-9:30  
**Ford v Ferrari (PG-13)** CC: 1:00-4:30-8:30-9:40  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** CC: 2:20-4:55-7:10-9:35  
**Underwater (PG-13)** CC: 9:10  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 1:45-4:40-7:40-10:15

**Landmark Bethesda Row Cinema**  
7235 Woodmont Circle

**Jojo Rabbit (PG-13)** CC: (I) 1:40-4:30-7:20-10:05  
**1917 (R)** CC: (I) 1:55-4:45-7:35-10:05; (I) 9:55  
**Parasite (R)** (I) 1:05-3:50-6:40-9:45  
**Bombshell (R)** CC: (I) 1:30-7:05  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: (I) 12:45-3:45-6:50-9:50  
**Marriage Story (R)** CC: (I) 4:00  
**Once Upon a Time...in Hollywood (R)** CC: (I) 12:30  
**Les Misérables (R)** CC: (I) 4:10-9:40  
**2020 Oscar Nominated Shorts - Live Action (I)** 4:00-9:15  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: (I) 1:20-4:20-7:15-9:50; (I) 7:00

**Old Greenwich Theatre**  
129 Centerville

**The 39 Steps (1935) (PG)** 1:00  
**1917 (R)** CC: (I) 1:55-4:45-7:35-10:05; (I) 9:55  
**Parasite (R)** (I) 1:05-3:50-6:40-9:45  
**Bombshell (R)** CC: (I) 1:30-7:05  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: (I) 12:45-3:45-6:50-9:50  
**Marriage Story (R)** CC: (I) 4:00  
**Once Upon a Time...in Hollywood (R)** CC: (I) 12:30  
**Les Misérables (R)** CC: (I) 4:10-9:40  
**2020 Oscar Nominated Shorts - Live Action (I)** 4:00-9:15  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: (I) 1:20-4:20-7:15-9:50; (I) 7:00

**Regal Bowie**  
15200 Major Lansdale Boulevard

**Frozen II (PG)** 12:10-2:20-12:20-3:15-4:30-6:25-7:30-9:30-10:35  
**Dolittle (PG)** 1:00-3:40-6:20-9:00  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** 1:30-4:10-7:00-9:50  
**Spies in Disguise (PG)** 12:20-3:10-6:00  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 11:45-12:40-2:50-3:50-6:10-7:10-9:20-10:25  
**The Turning (PG-13)** 11:55-2:30-5:40-8:10-10:40  
**Like a Boss (R)** 2:35-4:55-7:10-9:30  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** 11:45-12:40-2:40-3:40-6:40-9:40  
**Queen & Slim (R)** 11:50-3:30-6:50-10:00  
**21 Bridges (R)** 11:45-2:20-5:00-7:40-10:20  
**1917 (R)** 12:50-3:45-6:40-9:40  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** 12:10-2:40-5:30-8:00-10:30  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 8:50

**Regal Cinemas Majestic Stadium 2D & IMAX**  
900 Ellsworth Drive

**Frozen II (PG)** 12:10-2:50-5:45-8:25-11:00  
**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 12:00-12:45-3:00-3:45-6:00-6:45-9:00-9:45  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** 12:30-4:40-7:20-10:45  
**Dolittle (PG)** 12:00-3:40-6:25-9:35-11:00  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 12:45-4:05-7:25-10:50  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** 12:25-3:25-6:35-9:45  
**Joker (R)** 7:00  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** 12:45-3:50-7:05-10:30

**Regal Ux Snowden Square**  
8161 Commerce Center Drive

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 12:35-1:10-3:35-4:10-6:35-7:20-9:35-10:15  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** 2:00-5:30-8:00-10:30  
**Dolittle (PG)** 12:55-3:25-6:15-8:50  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** 12:10-3:10-6:00-9:00  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 1:50-5:10-8:30  
**The Turning (PG-13)** 5:05-7:35-10:15  
**Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)** 12:25-3:25-6:35-9:45  
**Joker (R)** 7:00  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** 12:45-3:50-7:05-10:30

**Regal Hoffman Center 22**  
206 Swamp Fox Rd.

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 3:30-6:30-9:30  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 3:00  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 4:00-7:00-10:00  
**Uncut Gems (R)** CC: 4:30-6:00-10:15  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: 3:45-6:45-9:45  
**1917 (R)** CC: 3:15-7:30-9:00  
**Ford v Ferrari (PG-13)** CC: 6:00-9:45  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 4:15-7:00-9:15  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 4:15-7:15-10:15

**AMC Courthouse Plaza 8**  
2150 Clarendon Blvd.

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 3:30-6:30-9:30  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** CC: 3:00  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 4:00-7:00-10:00  
**Uncut Gems (R)** CC: 4:30-6:00-10:15  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: 3:45-6:45-9:45  
**1917 (R)** CC: 3:15-7:30-9:00  
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**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 4:15-7:00-9:15  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 4:15-7:15-10:15

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**Ford v Ferrari (PG-13)** CC: 6:00-9:45  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 4:15-7:00-9:15  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 4:15-7:15-10:15

**AMC Potomac Mills 18**  
2700 Potomac Mills Circle

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 3:30-6:25-9:20  
**Dolittle (PG)** CC: 4:35-7:10-9:45  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** CC: 3:35-7:05-10:20  
**Spies in Disguise (PG)** CC: 4:00-6:40

**AMC Shirlington 7**  
2172 South Randolph St.

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 1:30-4:20-7:10  
**The Last Full Measure (R)** CC: 1:20-5:10-7:50  
**Little Women (PG)** CC: 1:25-4:25-7:30  
**Jojo Rabbit (PG-13)** CC: 4:10  
**Knives Out (PG-13)** CC: 2:00-5:00-8:00  
**1917 (R)** CC: 1:45-4:30-7:20  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 2:00-4:45-7:40  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 1:10-6:50

**AMC Tysons Corner 16**  
7850e Tysons Corner Center

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 12:35-3:30-6:30-9:25; 11:30-2:25-11:00  
**Frozen II (PG)** CC: 11:00-1:30-7:25  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** CC: 11:00-1:30-6:30-9:20  
**Spies in Disguise (PG)** 10:15-12:50-3:50  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 10:10-1:30-4:45-7:40  
**Like a Boss (R)** 7:10-10:35  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** 11:30-2:10-4:40-7:20-8:00-10:10-11:00  
**The Gentlemen (R)** 10:40-1:40-5:20-8:10-10:55

**iPic Pike & Rose**  
11830 Grand Park Avenue

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** 12:00-3:15-6:30-9:45  
**Star Wars: The Rise Of Skywalker (PG-13)** 11:55-2:45-6:15-10:00  
**The Rhythm Section (R)** (I) 1:45-4:45-7:45-9:30  
**Just Mercy (PG-13)** 11:30-3:30-6:45-10:15  
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**Parasite (R)** 11:00-2:30-6:00-9:15  
**Gretel & Hansel (PG-13)** (I) 2:00-4:30-7:00-11:00  
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**1917 (R)** CC: 1:45-4:30-7:20  
**The Gentlemen (R)** CC: 2:00-4:45-7:40  
**Parasite (R)** CC: 1:10-6:50

**AMC Tysons Corner 16**  
7850e Tysons Corner Center

**Bad Boys For Life (R)** CC: 12:35-3:30-6:30-9:25; 11:30-2:25-11:00  
**Frozen II (PG)** CC:







MUTTS

FEBRUARY WAS AWARDED AN EXTRA DAY THIS YEAR.

OBVIOUSLY NOT FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR.

PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS

HAW! UGLY ROBOT! WHAT DOES IT DO?

STACKS BLOCKS JUST LIKE YOURS.

BZZRP!

...AND ELIMINATES COMPETITORS.

PIERCE! THEY SAID NO MODIFICATIONS!

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

HOROSCOPE

**BIRTHDAY | FEBRUARY 3**

This year, your ability to communicate effortlessly will make an impact in the workplace and your daily dealings with others. You make it easy for everyone around you to express their feelings. If single, you open doors and help others feel accepted and more spontaneous. You might love dating more than committing this year. If attached, you and your sweetie can often be found in a corner together sharing ideas and swapping wild suggestions. You like each other's company more and more. Gemini loves to make others smile.

**ARIES**  
(MARCH 21-APRIL 19). Be careful not to go overboard, which will be your inclination. Approach matters in a precise and conservative manner, especially if there will be any long-term implications. Speak your mind.

**TAURUS**  
(APRIL 20-MAY 20). Use care with spending at the moment. One facet of your personality wants to hold back and maintain a tight budget, whereas another facet loves the good life. Stay in neutral.

**GEMINI**  
(MAY 21-JUNE 20). You wake up feeling much better than you have for a while. Beam in more of what you want. Don't hold back. Wait for the right moment to ask for what you want. A partner's perspective is grounded.

**CANCER**  
(JUNE 21-JULY 22). Be more direct in how you handle an emotional issue. Someone might not be capable of reading between the lines. You might need to stop and reflect on the most effective manner of interacting with this person.

**LEO**  
(JULY 23-AUG. 22). You feel a lightening up even if it is Monday. Ideas come forward. Friends seem enthusiastic and responsive. Solidify an important relationship when the chance appears. A meeting opens new doors.

**VIRGO**  
(AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). The more difficult dimension of your personality opens up to new possibilities. Flow with the moment, acknowledging what needs to be done. You intuitively know what needs to be said, and you share the information openly.

**LIBRA**  
(SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). You might be full of yourself but not sure of what needs to be done. Make it okay to be spontaneous. You will see everything settle in. A child or loved one has some strong feelings to share.

**SCORPIO**  
(OCT. 23-NOV. 21). You might be abrupt, difficult to deal with and full of very different ideas. A boss might not be as easygoing as you would like but will express his or her caring in a meaningful manner.

**SAGITTARIUS**  
(NOV. 22-DEC. 21). You might feel challenged by someone you consider a good friend and/or adviser. Try to use this person's comments to tighten up a project or make a situation work better. Optimism goes a long way.

**CAPRICORN**  
(DEC. 22-JAN. 19). You might want to change gears and have a long overdue chat. You might not understand where another person is coming from. You have the financial issue in your mind handled, but perhaps a discussion about the logistics is necessary.

**AQUARIUS**  
(JAN. 20-FEB. 18). You might want to juggle different concerns, and you will do so fairly well. However, juggling concerns does not mean keeping them under control. The unexpected keeps popping up.

**PISCES**  
(FEB. 19-MARCH 20). You might not be sure of the next move. Ask questions. Get feedback. This combination will help you gain a better grasp on what needs to be done.

— Jacqueline Bigar  
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DILBERT

THIS WEEK I REORGANIZED THE TECH LAB FROM TOP TO BOTTOM.

WERE YOUR CO-WORKERS GRATEFUL?

YES, ASSUMING THEY SHOW IT BY RUM-MAGING THROUGH THE WRONG DRAWERS AND CURSING.

SCOTT ADAMS

JUDGE PARKER

AT SAM'S NEW OFFICE...

THANKS FOR MEETING ME!

OF COURSE, ALAN! YOU WANT ANY COFFEE? I'VE GOT HAZELNUT, FRENCH ROAST, SUMATRA... I HAVE A LOT OF COFFEE PODS, GIVEN YOU'RE MY FIRST CLIENT HERE.

I'M GOOD.

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

FRAZZ

SO ANYWAY, MRS. OLSEN SAID IT WAS GOING ON MY PERMANENT RECORD.

HA!

WHAT'S SO FUNNY?

MRS. OLSEN TOLD ME THE SAME THING 22 YEARS AGO!

REALLY? HOW COME I NEVER HEARD ABOUT IT?

BINGO.

JEFF MALLET

CANDORVILLE

HOW COME YOU DIDN'T WANT TO HEAR FROM ANY FIRST-HAND WITNESSES LIKE JOHN BOLTON IN THE PRESIDENT'S IMPEACHMENT TRIAL?

JOHN BOLTON WASN'T A "FIRST-HAND WITNESS."

WHATEVER PRESIDENT TRUMP SAID, HE SAID IT TO JOHN BOLTON'S EARS. SO THERE'S NO POINT IN HIS RUNNING HIS MOUTH.

JOHN BOLTON'S MOUTH HEARD IT FROM HIS BRAIN, WHICH HEARD IT FROM HIS EARS. IT'S THIRD-HAND INFORMATION.

THE REPUBLIC IS DEAD.

DARRIN BELL

GARFIELD

ALL IS WELL IN THE WORLD

MY WORLD, THAT IS

YOU'RE ON YOUR OWN

JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE

Who's that guy? Is he wearing a parachute?

Rumor has it that it's D.B. Cooper.

That guy who hijacked a plane back in the Parly '70s?

And got away with two hundred thousand in ransom.

He parachuted over the Columbia River, never to be found.

Isn't a parachute and sunglasses kind of counter-intuitive?

He believes in "Hide-in-Plain-Sight."

Can't argue with success.

WEINGARTENS & CLARK

DUSTIN

DO YOU WANT TO BUY SOME GIRL SCOUT COOKIES?

SHOULD I GET ANOTHER CART?

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

THE CRUISE SHIP HAS DOCKED IN NEW YORK...

WELL, THAT WAS THE SHORTEST VACATION ON RECORD!

HEY, IF THE CAPTAIN HADN'T AGREED TO RETURN TO PORT—

NAMOR WOULD'VE SUNK HIS VESSEL.

OH, I'M SURE HE WOULDN'T HAVE—

AT LEAST, NOT AS LONG AS I WAS ON IT!

STAN LEE & ALEX SAVIUK

PRICKLY CITY

IMPEACHMENT, A SENATE TRIAL AND NOW THE ELECTION. I FEEL SO...

EXHILARATED?

I WAS GOING TO SAY "DIRTY," BUT SURE, LET'S GO WITH YOUR THING...

SCOTT STANTIS

LOOSE PARTS

Somehow, I just knew that someday, our paths would intersect.

DAVE BLAZEK

NON SEQUITUR

THE LEGAL EXPERT PUNDIT PARADE

THIS WAY TO THE TRUTH

TRUTH IS THIS WAY

FOLLOW ME TO THE TRUTH

STOP

WILEY

BABY BLUES

WHAT A BEAUTIFUL DAY!

THIS STINKS!

THE REST OF THE COUNTRY IS HAVING A REAL WINTER, WHILE WE'RE STUCK WITH "SUNNY AND MILD!"

YEAH, POOR US.

I'LL NEVER KNOW THE JOYS OF FROZEN SNOT.

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

BIG NATE

I THINK IT'S COOL THAT WE GET TO DESIGN OUR OWN SCIENCE PROJECTS!

ME, TOO!

I'M GOING TO GROW BEAN PLANTS IN ALL SORTS OF DIFFERENT SOIL TYPES!

I'M DOING A NUTRITIONAL STUDY OF SCHOOL LUNCHES!

WHAT ABOUT YOU, NATE?

I INTEND TO PROVE, SCIENTIFICALLY AND ONCE AND FOR ALL...

THAT MRS. GODFREY HATES ME.

LINCOLN PEIRCE

ON THE FASTRACK

AUTOCORRECT, HOW'S LITTLE CORA?

SHE'S LEARNING NEW WORDS ALL THE TIME!

COCOON! PUPATE! METAMORPHOSIS!

LARVAL!

MOLT!

BILL HOLBROOK

BEETLE BAILEY

I DON'T THINK YOU APPRECIATE THAT I'VE GIVEN YOU THE BEST YEARS OF MY LIFE

THOSE WERE YOUR BEST YEARS?!

YOU HAVE NO IDEA WHAT MY NEXT YEARS WILL BE LIKE!

MORT, BRIAN & GREG WALKER

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

GOALS Read for hour before bed.

AHH... THIS WILL BE NICE.

BUT FIRST, LEMME JUST CHECK MY PHONE TO SEE WHAT TIME IT IS.

THREE HOURS LATER

GOALS Read for hour before bed.

STEPHAN PASTIS

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

2	1	4	8	7	6	3	5	9
7	5	8	1	3	9	4	6	2
9	3	6	2	5	4	8	1	7
1	2	5	4	8	7	6	9	3
3	6	7	5	9	1	2	8	4
8	4	9	3	6	2	1	7	5
6	9	2	7	1	3	5	4	8
5	7	3	6	4	8	9	2	1
4	8	1	9	2	5	7	3	6

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

C <sub>3</sub>	O <sub>1</sub>	P <sub>3</sub>	I <sub>1</sub>	L <sub>1</sub>	O <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>1</sub>	RACK 1 =	<u>61</u>
A <sub>1</sub>	Q <sub>10</sub>	U <sub>1</sub>	I <sub>1</sub>	F <sub>4</sub>	E <sub>1</sub>	R <sub>1</sub>	RACK 2 =	<u>88</u>
C <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>1</sub>	A <sub>1</sub>	Y <sub>4</sub>	O <sub>1</sub>	N <sub>1</sub>		RACK 3 =	<u>17</u>
V <sub>4</sub>	I <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>1</sub>	I <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>1</sub>	O <sub>1</sub>	R <sub>1</sub>	RACK 4 =	<u>60</u>
PAR SCORE 150-160							TOTAL	<u>226</u>

SPEED BUMP

YOUNG ADULT

OLD CHILD

DAVE COVERLY

DENNIS THE MENACE

BUT I DON'T WANT TO BRUSH NOW, MOM... I CAN STILL TASTE MY DESSERT!

H. KETCHAM

FAMILY CIRCUS

“Stop, Dolly! I'm holding the door for Mommy, not for you.”

BIL KEANE

REPLY ALL LITE

To support my intermittent fasting schedule, I need a new intermittent work schedule.

DONNA A. LEWIS



# KIDSPOST

**CHIP SAYS**

Today is National Women Physicians Day. This day was first recognized four years ago to celebrate the birthday of Elizabeth Blackwell, the first female physician in the United States.



**TODAY**

High temperatures could reach the mid-60s, thanks to a light breeze and mostly sunny skies.

ILLUSTRATION BY DESMOND FUSARELLI, 6, ARLINGTON



**KIDSPOST.COM**

Want your birthday announced in KidsPost? Remind Mom or Dad to fill out our online form.

## BIRTHDAYS OF THE WEEK



McGuckin



Stanley



Keelor



Irvine



Grandjean



Schwartz



Smith



Joyner



Zimmerman



Farmer



Wamsley



Parks

### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3

Burke's **Grant McGuckin** (2012).  
Arlington's **Cailli Stanley** (2012).  
Annandale's **Marina Keelor** (2010).  
Lawyer Amal Clooney (1978).  
Writer Gertrude Stein (1874).

### TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4

Germantown's **Lillian Irvine** (2010).  
Actor Graham Verchere (2002).  
Former vice president Dan Quayle (1947).  
Civil rights activist Rosa Parks (1913).

### WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5

Mount Airy, Maryland's **Gabriel Grandjean** (2011).  
Rockville's **Brody Schwartz** (2010).  
Arlington's Scott Robinson (2008).  
Soccer player Neymar (1992).  
Soccer player Cristiano Ronaldo (1985).

### THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6

Sterling's **Ingrid Smith** (2009).  
Singer Natalie Cole (1950).  
Former president Ronald Reagan (1911).  
Baseball player Babe Ruth (1895).

### FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 7

Sterling's **Grace Joyner** (2013).  
Olney's **Clara Zimmerman** (2013).  
Waldorf's **Dylan Farmer** (2007).  
Actor Ashton Kutcher (1978).  
Writer Laura Ingalls Wilder (1867).

### SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8

Comedian Cecily Strong (1984).  
Composer John Williams (1932).

### SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9

Haymarket's **Kailin Wamsley** (2007).  
Actor Michael B. Jordan (1987).  
Singer-songwriter Carole King (1942).  
Journalist Roger Mudd (1928).

Birthday announcements are for ages 6 to 13 and are printed on a **first-come, first-served basis**. They do not appear online. A parent or legal guardian must give permission. **We need photos at least a month ahead of publication.** We need names (if photos are not desired) at least a week before publication. Include name, address and birth date (with year of birth). Fill out the online form at [kidspost.com](http://kidspost.com) or send the information to KidsPost, The Washington Post, 1301 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.

# Eurotunnel diggers built a deep alliance

## ASSOCIATED PRESS

One tunneling from France, the other digging from Britain, the two men smashed with pummeling jackhammers through the last slivers of rock separating their nations.

Through the newly created hole, Graham Fagg of Dover, England, and Philippe Cozette of Calais, France, grasped each other's outstretched hands. Then they posed with their nations' flags for photos that broadcast a message of friendship to the world. The French and the British, neighbors until then separated by seawater, were now physically joined by the 31-mile Euro-tunnel, also called the Channel Tunnel.

How touching those images now seem as "Brexit" drives Britain and France apart politically.

On that historic day, December 1, 1990, wearing hard hats and working below billions of tons of rock and seawater deep under the English Channel, neither Fagg, Cozette nor anyone else could have foreseen that the ever-closer bonds of unity would unravel in less than 30 years.

"A fabulous moment," Cozette says of that event that turned Fagg and him into symbols of cooperation. "On our side, there were tears."

"History made," Fagg recalls. "Time passes so quickly, doesn't it?"

Because of their place in British-French history, and because Britain's Brexit departure Friday from the European Union represents another milestone for both nations, the Associated Press brought Cozette and Fagg back together last week.

Their unique story never gets



PRESS ASSOCIATION/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**In 1990, tunneler Graham Fagg leans through a wall of the Eurotunnel to exchange flags with Philippe Cozette of France. During a recent reunion, the two said Britain's political separation from Europe ("Brexit") would not diminish their friendship.**



MATT DUNHAM/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Fagg, left, and Cozette share a laugh last week about the historic moment in 1990 when they broke through the last portions of rock under the English Channel that separated their nations.**

old, and it offers pointers about where France and Britain might go next.

In Fagg's home, the men laughed as they watched old video of themselves digging their way to their first meeting, joining the two parts of the tunnel.

Cozette, now 66, recalled how he got Fagg's first name wrong, saying, "Welcome to France, Bob," as they shook hands through the opening.

Fagg, now 71, recalled the Champagne wine and nibbles that the French gave him, which was such a contrast to fare on the British side: "tea, coffee and water and sandwiches."

And what is the takeaway from this reunion, their first in five years? Perhaps this: Brexit is certainly a new chapter in ties between France and Britain, but it most certainly is not the end.

In part, they agreed, because of the tunnel they helped build.

"The British made a choice. You have to respect that," Cozette said. "But the links that have been created over centuries between our two countries, and in particular our two regions, because of their proximity but also because of the tunnel, they are very important for me."

"I think we'll get used to it," he added.

Fagg voted in 2016 for Britain to leave the 28-nation European Union. The E.U., he said, has become too big and overbearing, "a colossus, a very expensive colossus."

But Fagg is not expecting a massive change.

"Before we joined [the E.U.], people still used to go to France, they used to come from France to here," Fagg said. "I don't think it's going to be any different."

[kidspost@washpost.com](mailto:kidspost@washpost.com)

## LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By David Poole

### ACROSS

- Actor Beatty
- Spirited horse
- Cold-weather omen on Groundhog Day
- Prefix with Pen
- Leisurely pace
- Dwell
- Getaway car driver
- Flowery van Gogh painting
- Superficially highbrow
- Play segments
- Cheese go-with
- Injured in the bullring
- Golfer's dream
- Put inside
- German "east"
- Dead \_\_ Scrolls
- Bank acct. addition
- Little trickster
- One of 50 on the U.S. flag
- You can't go back after passing it
- Went up
- 35-Down relative
- Land in the Seine
- Lennon's love Yoko
- Chinese chairman
- Everlasting
- Kit and caboodle
- Hundred Acre Wood creator
- Help
- Lab safety org.?
- Clinton and Obama, astrophysically
- Escape
- Tops of sewing fasteners ... and what the starts of 17-, 26-, 37- and 51-Across can have
- In a fair way
- Ivan or Nicholas
- Observe
- Common people, with "the"
- "Family Guy" creator MacFarlane
- "Cats" monogram

### DOWN

- Genre for Enya
- Screenwriter Nora
- Low-calorie cola, familiarly
- 100 percent
- Most populous città in Italia
- Geronimo's tribe
- Japanese box lunch
- \_\_ Lanka
- Hardly a social butterfly
- From China, say
- "The Simpsons" character named for a dance era
- Keats' " \_\_ on a Grecian Urn"
- Director Craven
- Face sketcher's horizontal reference
- NFL replay review aid
- "Please stop!"
- \_\_ de corps: camaraderie
- Not at all far

- Pull down, as a salary
- Minn. college named for a Norwegian king
- Business name abbr.
- Squeaky clean, as an operating room
- "No \_\_!": "Easy!"

- Charlie Chaplin's actress granddaughter
- Quarantines
- Runs smoothly
- K thru 6
- The "M" in LEM
- Type of tax
- Phillies' div.
- Voltaic cell terminals
- Tenant

- Detroit NFL team
- Dr. visits
- Med. school subject
- Diamond, for one
- Sister of Zsa Zsa
- TV's Burrell and Pennington
- Princely title: Abbr.

### SATURDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION

R	A	B	B	I	T	T		B	E	A	T	E	R
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NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

# Time to step on husband's gaslighting



Carolyn Hax

*Adapted from an online discussion.*

**Dear Carolyn:** My husband recently said he thinks I'm annoying and arrogant. For example, when I meet someone

new or we are out with his friends, I try to connect by sharing information on the subject matter we're discussing. My husband interprets that as trying to show off how smart I am. I told him that's not my intention, but he insists it is. What I thought was regular back-and-forth, he says the other person finds annoying and would never tell me that.

He went on to say my storytelling is erratic and leaves out details, and he knows our friends find me annoying because of it.

But when I was trying to tell him something about work later on, he called this an example of me leaving out context and details. . . except I had told him that stuff. I don't think he was listening.

Anyway, I've dialed my conversations with him way back at home, and I try to keep my thoughts to myself. I don't know what to do about socializing with his friends and family. I'd really rather bow out, but my husband wants me to get

better, not give up.

Except every time I open my mouth now, I have to stop myself and calculate everything. I try to keep my responses to one-word answers even when asked about something.

The most frustrating thing is being around people who claim to like me and ask me about my life but find me annoying behind my back. It's so fake.

Another double date is coming up. Do I have a right to get out of it? I'm crying as I type this.

— Anonymous

**Anonymous:** Oh no! Wait — who says your husband is right? Who says he speaks for your friends?

You say "people who claim to like me . . . find me annoying behind my back" as if it's a fact that everyone, or even *anyone*, finds you annoying. It sounds like your husband is gaslighting you.

You're certainly responding in a textbook way: doubting yourself, clammimg up, taking his word as gospel. That's what gaslighting is about: A gaslighter undermines/criticizes/ridicules you until you doubt yourself so completely, you depend on your gaslighter as your one source of truth. You've described that exactly. He's telling you *your intentions!*

But let's say, for argument's sake, he's genuinely trying to help. Why are you taking his one

opinion as the entire truth? Why isn't the cruelty of his criticism disqualifying?

I urge you to do the following, soon:

1. Counseling — SOLO, because abuse and gaslighting can corrupt the counseling process. If therapy isn't accessible (ask your primary care doctor), then, hotline — 800-799-SAFE.

2. Tell your people — siblings, friends pre-husband — what's going on, and ask their perspective.

3. Stand up to your husband.

"Sure — we can all improve. I should ask more questions. But telling me I'm 'annoying and arrogant' is just mean. I wouldn't treat you that way. And I am not your student."

Skip 3 if you must, but not 1 or 2. Outside perspectives are your lifeline, no exaggeration. Don't let shame shut you down.

From readers:

● That you are reflecting on this suggests you are not at all the arrogant one.

● Please, please, please get an attorney. This is gaslighting. Protect yourself.

Write to Carolyn Hax at [tellme@washpost.com](mailto:tellme@washpost.com). Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at [wapo.st/haxpost](http://wapo.st/haxpost).

● Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at [live.washingtonpost.com](http://live.washingtonpost.com)





ANDY LYONS/GETTY IMAGES

# King of comebacks

*Better believe it: Rally shows QB is NFL’s best*



**Jerry Brewer**

MIAMI GARDENS, FLA. — In the fourth quarter of Super Bowl LIV, in a game descending into agony, Kansas City Chiefs quarterback Patrick Mahomes asked his team to believe. It took some nerve to make that request because Mahomes, perhaps the most mesmerizing young quarterback the NFL has ever seen, seemed lost at that point. He was confused, frustrated, impatient. He was awful, and Mahomes doesn’t do awful.

Tyreek Hill sighed and slumped his shoulders. Mahomes had just thrown a pass behind Hill, and San Francisco 49ers safety Tarvarius Moore intercepted it. It was Mahomes’s second pick of the night, his first multi-interception game since November 2018. The Chiefs trailed by 10.

Believe? Hill had lost faith.

“Man, how are we going to pull this off?” Hill recalled asking.

SEE BREWER ON D7

## SUPER BOWL LIV

**CHIEFS 31, 49ERS 20:** Kansas City quarterback Patrick Mahomes, above, was named MVP after leading the Chiefs on three consecutive scoring drives late in the fourth quarter to turn a 10-point deficit into an 11-point win. The dramatic rally gave Chiefs Coach Andy Reid, below, his first Super Bowl victory in his 21st season as a head coach.



DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Mahomes’s late mastery ends Kansas City’s wait**

BY MARK MASKE

MIAMI GARDENS, FLA. — The Kansas City Chiefs waited a half-century between Super Bowl appearances. Then they waited more than three quarters Sunday evening at Hard Rock Stadium for quarterback Patrick Mahomes and their dynamic offense to get revved up.

All that waiting was worth it. Mahomes delivered a pair of touchdown passes as part of a 21-point outburst as the Chiefs came back to beat the San Francisco 49ers, 31-20, with a stunning late turnaround in Super Bowl LIV on a picture-perfect South Florida night.

“I just went out there and kept competing,” said Mahomes, who was named the game’s MVP. “I knew we weren’t in an ideal situation. But I believed in my defense to get stops. They did. And the guys kept believing in me to start making plays down the field, and we found a way to win.”

The Chiefs surrendered the first 10 points

SEE SUPER BOWL ON D7

## Eighth Australian title is a first for Djokovic

BY AVA WALLACE

Despite all the history Novak Djokovic has made on the cerulean hard courts of the Australian Open and all the Grand Slam titles he already has won, the Serbian champion somehow managed a new achievement Sunday in Melbourne.

In seven tries, Djokovic had never triumphed in a major final after he trailed two sets to one. But after talented young Austrian Dominic Thiem took the sec-

ond and third sets Sunday from a suddenly weary-looking Djokovic, the Serb held steady for a comeback win, 6-4, 4-6, 2-6, 6-3, 6-4, that gives him a record-extending eighth Australian Open title and second in a row.

The victory is Djokovic’s 17th major title, placing him just two behind Rafael Nadal and three behind Roger Federer, the record holder whom Djokovic dismissed in straight sets in the semifinals. At 32, Djokovic is the first man in the Open era to win a

Grand Slam in three decades.

For his prize — other than the ornate silver trophy he held aloft after the match — Djokovic will reclaim the world No. 1 ranking from Nadal.

But he didn’t get there without a fight.

Djokovic didn’t so much surge to his comeback win as he stayed strong, raising his level just incrementally enough as the match wore on, proving not just his first-class resilience and

SEE TENNIS ON D5

## As rivalry renews, Pittsburgh has upper hand

**PENGUINS 4, CAPITALS 3**

BY SAMANTHA PELL

It was a classic scene in the latest installment of a heated rivalry: The Washington Capitals and Pittsburgh Penguins were both pushing Sunday afternoon, and the puck flew up and down the ice and bodies slammed into each other as the home team tried

to rally in the third period.

The Capitals had a plethora of scoring opportunities down the stretch — including an electrifying goal from Lars Eller with 2:18 to play — but Pittsburgh held on during a physical, high-energy final period to beat Washington, 4-3, at Capital One Arena.

“The third was definitely closer to our identity, and sometimes until you get everybody in your group involved in a rivalry, you don’t understand what it really means,” Capitals Coach Todd

**Kings at Capitals**

Tomorrow, 7 p.m., NBCSW

**Barry Svrluga:** Todd Reirden has a tough decision to make in net. **D3**

Reirden said. “It took us two periods to get to that, and then when we were in the third we gave ourselves a chance. Unfortunately [we came] out a goal short.”

Unable to fully overcome a pair of two-goal deficits in the third period, Washington (35-13-5)

SEE CAPITALS ON D3

### SOCCER

Liverpool reaches new heights in the Premier League, and the Reds are showing no signs of slowing down. **D2**

### PRO BASKETBALL

Wizards star Bradley Beal is talking about the playoffs, but his coach is focused on improving defensively. **D4**

### GOLF

Webb Simpson finishes with three consecutive birdies, including one in a playoff, to win the Phoenix Open. **D5**



# Unlike the impeachment inquiry, Super Bowl had witnesses and no controversy

**Couch Slouch**

NORMAN CHAD

Super Bowl LIV, in contrast to the Senate impeachment inquiry, felt like a fair trial: unmistakable video evidence, plenty of witnesses, a definitive and satisfying conclusion.

It wasn't as high scoring as that last 51-49 Senate vote, but the Kansas City Chiefs' 31-20 victory over the San Francisco 49ers was certainly more exciting and less predictable. And assuming no foreign intervention, who wouldn't back a Patrick Mahomes-Andy Reid ticket in November?

As usual, I took in all of Super Bowl Sunday and took copious notes:

2:03 p.m. Eastern time: I prefer pregame studio shows that are *inside* studios.

2:08: Jimmy Johnson: "In Miami, [you get] whatever you want." I just want to get out of town.

2:12: Chris Myers reports that Mahomes will be on the first Chiefs

bus to leave the hotel. He's QB1 — what, he was going to take Uber?

2:35: We see Mahomes getting on "Team Bus 3." That ain't Team Bus 1, Chris.

2:52: They say calling it the AFL-NFL World Championship Game was clunky. As opposed to, say, Super Bowl LXXXVIII coming up in 2054?

3:02: The only thing worse than seeing Gronk in a bow tie on Super Bowl Sunday is seeing Gronk playing on Super Bowl Sunday. So I guess I'll take it.

3:05: The only thing worse than seeing A-Rod in a PED football jersey on Super Bowl Sunday is seeing A-Rod in a PED suit outside J-Lo's trailer on Super Bowl Sunday.

3:08: Curt Menefee: "Who doesn't love Big Papi?" Uh, Curt, over here . . . *over here!!!*

3:36: President Trump is interviewed by Sean Hannity, eerily reminiscent of Mister Ed chatting with Wilbur Post.

4:15: Family issues — Daisy wants to watch the Puppy Bowl while Toni says I'm in the

doghouse.

5:38: Fox is a very profitable network. It should throw some of those profits next time into ensuring a glitch-free production.

6:28: Flyovers seem so 20th century.

6:32: Since when did the coin toss become Woodstock?

6:41: They are talking officiating just before kickoff — this is never a good sign.

6:57: Touchbacks turn me on.

7:10: Down 3-0, Chiefs go for it on fourth and one from the San Francisco 5-yard line. I would have kicked a field goal; I always take the points, particularly if they're keeping score.

7:27: Ahead 7-3, Chiefs go for it on fourth and one from the San Francisco 19. I would have kicked a field goal; I always take the points, particularly after two divorces.

7:38: There's a fullback from Harvard in the game? And he scored a touchdown? This sounds like one of those elite media hoaxes.

7:46: Troy Aikman: "[Jeff

Wilson Jr.] puts his foot in the ground." Where *else* would you put your foot?

7:47: Martin Scorsese for Coke Energy? Aw, jeez. What's next, Sir Thomas More for Snickers?

8: There is offensive pass interference, and then there's he-barely-touched-the-defender-and-I've-seen-much-worse-not-called offensive pass interference.

8:07: I feel absolutely no guilt drinking an Orange Crush during the Pepsi halftime show.

8:19: I also feel absolutely no guilt texting Gloria Estefan during J-Lo's booty jig.

8:43: Bud Light *Seltzer*? I don't think so.

9:01: Jimmy Garoppolo, like Tom Brady, is just too pretty to hit.

9:25: Chiefs still running the ball down by 10 in the fourth quarter. Are they playing five quarters this year?

9:32: When the Chiefs' offense gets in gear, it looks like the Rockettes on ice.

9:44: The tomahawk chop seems so 17th century.

9:46: Chiefs were down 24-0,

17-7 and 20-10 in this postseason; they made more comebacks than Richard Nixon.

9:47: No replay controversies? THIS IS AN OUTRAGE.

10:11: Frankly, this seems like a better way to decide a winner than the Iowa caucuses.

**Ask The Slouch**

**Q.** Is the SEC's Wild, Wild West football coaching lineup shaping up like the cast of some old-fashioned Western featuring Nick Saban as the no-funny-stuff Sheriff, Sam Pittman as the dutiful Deputy, Gus Malzahn as the bi-spectacled Doc, Ed Orgeron as the keg-chested Barkeep, Jumbo Fisher as the friendly Mercantile Owner, Lane Kiffin as the shady Card Shark and Mike Leach as the pontificating barbershop Philosopher? (Steve Owings; Spokane, Wash.)

**A.** Sounds like a remake of "The Wild Bunch."

**Q.** Your dog, Daisy, and my pooch, Plexi, both have 25-word vocabularies. If they collaborated,

could they write this column during your next vacation? (Jack Drury; Lavale, Md.)

**A.** While they both have the vocabulary to handle my job, they are uniquely unqualified in one key area: Without any thumbs, neither canine can operate the clicker. No TV, no column.

**Q.** Do you see any reason that NBA arenas are still encouraging fans to chant, "DEFENSE, DEFENSE?" (Paul Ferko; Parma, Ohio)

**A.** They get thirsty and order more beer.

**Q.** How long before MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred proposes the Senate's questioning protocol as a way to eliminate sign-stealing? The catcher passes a card to the batboy, who runs it out to the pitcher. (Rick LaDuca; Ashburn, Va.)

**A.** Pay the man, Shirley.

You, too, can enter the \$1.25 Ask The Slouch Cash Giveaway. Just email asktheslouch@aol.com, and if your question is used, you win \$1.25 in cash!

## DIGEST

### OLYMPICS

#### Tokyo cuts ribbon on penultimate venue

Tokyo cut the ribbon on another new Olympic venue Sunday, with less than six months until the opening of the Games.

This time it was Ariake Arena alongside Tokyo Bay. It will be the venue for Olympic volleyball and wheelchair basketball at the Paralympics. Only one new venue remains to be inaugurated — the swimming arena, which will be ready in the next month.

Eight of the new permanent venues are being built by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government. The new \$1.43 billion national stadium opened late last year; it was built by an arm of the Japanese national government.

Tokyo Gov. **Yuriko Koike**, who is up for reelection this summer, led the ribbon-cutting. Officials said the \$336 million venue will be used for concerts and sports events after the Olympics.

Koike, who lauded the venue, also was asked about the coronavirus and its possible impact on the Olympics. She read in Japanese from a prepared statement but did not mention the Olympics by name in her reply. There have been no deaths reported in Japan from the viral outbreak in China.

Koike speaks Arabic and English as well as Japanese, but her staff did not allow a question in English.

"During this weekend, Tokyo

Metropolitan Government officials including a vice-governor and related section directors have been discussing how to prevent the infection from spreading and establish effective testing systems in order to protect Tokyo residents' safety and security," she said in Japanese.

She asked people to wear masks and wash their hands frequently.

Koike warned last week about the danger of the virus as she spoke in Japanese to the heads of 62 municipalities.

"We must firmly tackle the new coronavirus to contain it, or we are going to regret it," she said.

Tokyo organizers and the International Olympic Committee issued statements Friday aimed at quashing rumors the Olympics could be canceled or postponed.

"We have never discussed canceling the Games," Tokyo organizers said in a statement to the Associated Press.

"Preparations for Tokyo 2020 continue as planned," the IOC said.

The Olympics open July 24, followed by the Paralympics on Aug. 25.

Tokyo has said it's spending \$12.6 billion to organize the Olympics. A national audit report found the amount is twice that much. It's all public money except \$5.6 billion from a privately funded operating budget.

— *From news services*

TELEVISION AND RADIO	
NBA	
7 p.m.	<b>Golden State at Washington</b> » NBC Sports Washington, WFED (1500 AM)
7:30 p.m.	<b>Philadelphia at Miami</b> » NBA TV
10:30 p.m.	<b>San Antonio at Los Angeles Clippers</b> » NBA TV
NHL	
7:30 p.m.	<b>Philadelphia at Detroit</b> » NBC Sports Network
MEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL	
7 p.m.	<b>North Carolina at Florida State</b> » ESPN
7 p.m.	<b>Norfolk State at North Carolina Central</b> » ESPNU
7 p.m.	<b>Lafayette at Bucknell</b> » CBS Sports Network
9 p.m.	<b>Texas at Kansas</b> » ESPN
9 p.m.	<b>Baylor at Kansas State</b> » ESPN2
WOMEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL	
6 p.m.	<b>Indiana at Purdue</b> » Big Ten Network
7 p.m.	<b>Oregon at Connecticut</b> » ESPN2
7 p.m.	<b>Georgia at Mississippi State</b> » SEC Network
8 p.m.	<b>Michigan State at Maryland</b> » Big Ten Network
WOMEN'S SOCCER	
6 p.m.	<b>Concacaf Olympic qualifying: Panama vs. Haiti</b> » Fox Sports 2
8:30 p.m.	<b>Concacaf Olympic qualifying: Costa Rica at United States</b> » Fox Sports 1
TENNIS	
1:30 p.m.	<b>ATP: Cordoba Open, early rounds</b> » Tennis Channel
WOMEN'S HOCKEY	
10:30 p.m.	<b>Rivalry Series: United States at Canada</b> » NHL Network
MEN'S COLLEGE HOCKEY	
5 p.m.	<b>Beanpot: Harvard vs. Northeastern</b> » NHL Network
8 p.m.	<b>Beanpot: Boston College vs. Boston University</b> » NHL Network

## SOCCER INSIDER

# For Liverpool, dreams are coming true

Seeking its first title in Premier League, beloved squad stands 22 points ahead of nearest competitor

BY STEVEN GOFF

As they have done without pause for more than a half-century, Liverpool FC supporters serenaded the lads in red Saturday with hearty versions of "You'll Never Walk Alone," the Rodgers and Hammerstein show tune turned soccer anthem.

At Anfield, the fabled stadium in Merseyside, a nervy and scoreless 45 minutes gave way to a dominant second half and a 4-0 victory over Southampton.

With sixteen consecutive victories, 25 matches without a defeat this season and 42 over two campaigns, a trophy is in clear view.

Liverpool might never walk alone, but in this near-perfect season, the Reds are by themselves atop the Premier League standings, nary a challenger in sight. Manchester City, the reigning champion, is second, 22 points behind — the largest gap in league history.

"When we are rolling," Manager Jürgen Klopp said, "it's difficult to stop."

Last year, the race came down to the final day, and City finished a point ahead of Liverpool.

With 13 matches left this year, it is not a race; rather, it is a 3½-month coronation before Liverpool is handed its first Premier League trophy since the circuit's launch in 1992. Manchester United has won the title 13 times, Chelsea five and City four.

Even Blackburn Rovers, currently a struggling second-division side, has won the championship.

Liverpool's last top-flight title came in 1990 in the old first division, the Premier League's predecessor. Between 1973 and 1990, the Reds won 11 league crowns.

In the absence of Premier League success, Liverpool has enjoyed the riches in other competitions: three FA Cups and four League Cups over the past 30 years, plus the 2004-05 and 2018-19 UEFA Champions League titles and 2000-01 UEFA Cup and 2019 FIFA Club World Cup trophies.

The league championship, however, has remained elusive until now. Klopp's forces have claimed 73 of a possible 75 points, a remarkable total given the competitiveness in the world's most popular sports league. The only slip came in late October at United, when Adam Lallana's late goal



PHIL NOBLE/REUTERS

**Liverpool has gone 25 matches without a defeat this season after Saturday's 4-0 win over Southampton.**

avoided defeat and secured a 1-1 draw.

They have won 20 straight at home, tying a league milestone, and are riding a 37-0-5 wave, seven shy of Arsenal's best unbeaten streak (36-0-13 between May 2003 and October 2004). The last major hurdle is April 4 at Manchester City.

Over two seasons, Liverpool is 54-1-8, with the lone defeat coming at Manchester City 13 months ago.

The Reds have conceded one goal in the past 10 league matches and 15 goals overall.

Among the biggest European leagues, no other front-runner is unbeaten, though Real Madrid has lost once (with seven draws) in Spain's La Liga and Juventus has fallen twice (with three draws) in Italy's Serie A.

Klopp, an energetic and engaging German who arrived from Borussia Dortmund in October 2015, continues to play down Liverpool's excellence.

"We're not even close to being perfect," he said. "We just look to use our skills in the best possible way. The boys have done that for a while pretty good, and that's why we have these numbers."

On Saturday, Liverpool

marched on without one-third of its sensational front line: left wing Sadio Mané (hamstring injury). His replacement, Alex Oxlade-Chamberlain, cracked open the scoreless deadlock two minutes after intermission with a sensational strike from the edge of the penalty area.

That goal and two others were assisted by center forward Roberto Firmino. Midfielder Jordan Henderson scored in the 60th, and right wing Mohamed Salah added two late goals to raise his team-best total to 14 and help improve the club's goal differential to plus-45.

"We started the second half well," said Henderson, who set up Salah's first goal with a gem of a pass, "and kicked on from there."

Liverpool is balancing several championship pursuits. On Tuesday, the FA Cup resumes with a fourth-round replay at home against Shrewsbury Town.

On Jan. 26, using a young squad, the Reds squandered a two-goal, second-half lead on the road against the third-division opponent and settled for a 2-2 draw.

For the second meeting, Klopp will again rest his regulars.

In two weeks, attention returns

to the Champions League as Atletico Madrid hosts the first leg of the round-of-16 encounter. Other heavyweights remain in contention: Barcelona and Real Madrid, Chelsea and Manchester City, Juventus and Paris Saint-Germain.

Liverpool, though, shows no signs of relinquishing the European title or tossing away its mighty grip on the Premier League trophy.

Despite their prosperity, Klopp and his immaculate team are not content.

"I promise you, I don't lie: We don't feel it. We just don't feel it," he said. "The day before a game, my main feeling is, I'm concerned. I am a very optimistic person but not before a football game because I know long enough anything can happen. The ball rolls in different directions."

Maybe so, but in this extraordinary season, everything has rolled in Liverpool's direction.

"We have to use the skills of the boys. We have to use the character of the boys," Klopp said. "We have to use the power of this club and especially of this stadium. It is our duty to win football games."

*steven.goff@washpost.com*

## ROUNDUP

### Ronaldo scores in ninth in row

Cristiano Ronaldo converted two penalties to tie a club record by scoring for a ninth straight game as Italian Serie A leader Juventus bounced back from a rare loss with a 3-0 home victory over Fiorentina on Sunday.

The penalties came toward the end of each half as Ronaldo — who appeared bothered by a bloody cut to his ankle during the pre-match warmup —

matched David Trezeguet's streak from 2005.

Ronaldo has 19 goals in the 19 matches he has played in this season's Italian league — only two fewer than he scored all of last season.

Elsewhere, Romelu Lukaku scored twice as Inter Milan ended a run of three straight draws with a 2-0 victory at Udinese.

### Record for Fati

Barcelona teenager

Ansu Fati set another scoring record when he became the youngest player to get two goals in a Spanish league game.

The 17-year-old Fati struck after a pair of passes by Lionel Messi to help Barcelona beat visiting Levante, 2-1, keeping the defending champion within three points of leader Real Madrid.

Getafe won, 2-0, at Athletic Bilbao to rise to third place, moving ahead of Sevilla, which

drew, 1-1, at home with Alavés.

**City falls again**

Manchester City failed to cut into Liverpool's 22-point lead by losing, 2-0, at Tottenham.

City's six losses in 25 league games this season have thwarted the quest for a third straight title and put Liverpool on a clear path to ending a 30-year championship drought.

Arsenal, meanwhile, is

far from challenging for Champions League qualification, ending the 25th round in 10th place after being held, 0-0, at Burnley to remain ahead of its opponent only on goal differential.

**Cologne wins**

Cologne recorded its biggest top-flight win for three years as it beat visiting Freiburg, 4-0, in the German Bundesliga.

The last time Cologne won a top-tier game by four or more goals was

in January 2017 with a 6-1 rout of Darmstadt.

**Lyon tumbles**

Kasper Dolberg scored twice as host Nice beat seven-time champion Lyon, 2-1, to tie its French league rival in points. Lyon's first league defeat in 2020 left both clubs with 32 points, far behind leader Paris Saint-Germain. PSG has 55 points after thrashing Montpellier, 5-0, at home on Saturday.

— *Associated Press*

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HOCKEY

Samsonov poses tough question for Caps: Are two starting goalies better than one?



Barry Svrluga

Lost in the milestones that keep coming Alex Ovechkin's way — up to eighth on the all-time goals list, with No. 700 coming in the next few weeks — is the most important matter for the Washington Capitals to figure out between now and the start of the playoffs: Is rookie Ilya Samsonov the goalie of both the future *and* the present, or does Braden Holtby have one more run in him before he (presumably) departs in free agency?

Samsonov did not win the job as the Capitals' unquestioned starting goaltender Sunday afternoon. He didn't lose it, either. But because Coach Todd Reirden decided — appropriately — that Samsonov had earned the right to start his second straight game, this one in the nastiest of rivalries, the Caps have entered day-to-day status between the pipes.

"We're pretty lucky we've got two guys back there that give us a chance to win every night," forward Tom Wilson said after an entertaining but uneven 4-3 loss to the Penguins. "That's not changing."

That's the best way to frame it, the only sentiment any Caps teammate can present publicly, and there's truth to it. But it's delicate, too. The Caps have 29 games remaining. Three of them are against the hated Penguins, who are now within four points in the Metropolitan Division standings.

What's the division of labor between Holtby and Samsonov going forward? And who will start in the playoffs?

"Look at past history," Reirden said Saturday in announcing the decision. "Stanley Cup winners, lots of them have used two goalies."

Sure. Let's just not pretend that's preferred.

Reirden's choice to go with Samsonov on Sunday, even after the rookie had played Friday

night in Ottawa, put a finer point on the obvious: He might be three weeks from his 23rd birthday, but he is playing better than the 10-year veteran Holtby. Yes, Holtby has a Vezina Trophy and a Stanley Cup and has won 48 postseason games on his own, and Samsonov played in just his 21st NHL game Sunday.

But both in stats and in feel, Samsonov is outperforming his elder. Even after allowing four goals on 33 shots against the Penguins — who are now healthy and dangerous — he has a goals against average of 2.21 that is third in the league and a save percentage of .923 that is ninth. His loss Sunday was his first since November, which was also the last time he gave up four goals.

Holtby, meanwhile, is having his shakiest year at the most inopportune time — not for the Caps, who badly wanted to put Samsonov in important positions this season, but for himself, what with a potentially lucrative free agency coming this summer. His career goals against average before this season was 2.47. This year, it's 3.11, worst of his career, 47th in the league. His career save percentage coming into the season was .918. This year, it's .896, worst of his career, 50th in the league.

Neither of those stats account for the vagaries of the situations goalies face. But they mean something. Holtby, right now, isn't what he has been. On a team with the best record in the NHL, Holtby has lost six of his past eight decisions and was yanked from another that the Caps stormed back to win. It all leads the Caps to the obvious question: What could Samsonov be?

"It's always tough when both of the goalies play games like that," center Evgeny Kuznetsov said. "Holts is the best goalie in the league — for me. Everyone has a different opinion."

What, then, did Kuznetsov think of Samsonov's debut against the Penguins?

"He's my friend," Kuznetsov



TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Rookie Ilya Samsonov has outplayed veteran Braden Holtby and earned a second straight start Sunday.

said. "I'm not going to say anything."

Which is to say, as Reirden did, "He was fine."

Not more. Not less. So the baton has not been passed — yet.

Pittsburgh, it's worth pointing out, is in a similar situation in net. Tristan Jarry, the 24-year-old who has been a backup before this season, is playing better and has better stats than Matt Murray, the veteran who won a Stanley Cup. Penguins Coach Mike Sullivan was coy about his decision before Sunday's game,

but he ultimately went with Murray, who made several exceptional saves — and was helped by a crossbar or two — in withstanding a Washington barrage in the third period.

It's telling that the Penguins, presented with a rivalry game that held massive meaning in the standings, went with the old reliable and the Caps tried out the new model. It's part of how Reirden and his coaching staff have brought Samsonov along — giving him a little, then a little more, then the big start against

the Penguins.

The organization, along the way, has been impressed with how the young Russian has handled himself. His biggest test before Sunday was probably a mid-December start at Tampa Bay. The Lightning has a never-ending well of offensive firepower — Steven Stamkos and Nikita Kucherov and Brayden Point and the like. It has another Russian, Andrei Vasilevskiy, in net. Samsonov was bothered by none of it and stopped 26 of 28 shots, and the Caps won going

Penguins have edge in rivals' first meeting of season

CAPITALS FROM D1

faltered as self-inflicted errors were the difference against surging Pittsburgh (33-14-5). The NHL-leading Capitals have dropped two of three after a four-game winning streak, and the Penguins are only four points behind in the Metropolitan Division with a game in hand.

The Penguins led 3-1 after two periods before Evgeny Kuznetsov got the arena buzzing with his 18th goal of the season six minutes into the third. His backhand hit a Penguins defenseman and floated toward the net before beating goaltender Matt Murray for his second goal in as many games.

And while Kuznetsov's tally ignited the Capitals, they couldn't beat Murray again until after Pittsburgh had reestablished a two-goal cushion. The Penguins' Brandon Tanev fluttered one past Washington rookie goaltender Ilya Samsonov with 2:33 left, so when Eller scored his second goal of the game 15 seconds later, it wasn't enough to pull the Capitals even.

"He's a horse for us every night," Capitals forward Tom Wilson said of Eller, who has 13 goals. "He works extremely hard. He takes care of himself. He's a great pro. On a night like tonight he's just one of those players that, when he's going, he can't be denied."

Sunday's meeting was the first between the rivals this season. The teams will meet again in three weeks, back in the District.

"I liked the third period from our group," said Wilson, who had a game-high 13 hits. "We've got to correct a few things, but we'll keep working, and we'll be ready for them next time."

Samsonov was far from flawless after getting the nod for the marquee matchup over Braden Holtby. In his first appearance against Pittsburgh, the Russian gave up two goals on the Penguins' first nine shots before settling in to finish with 29 saves.

The loss was Samsonov's first since Nov. 15 against Montreal, snapping a streak of 11 straight winning decisions and leaving his record at 16-3-1. Reirden downplayed the decision to play his rookie goaltender against a top divisional foe, citing the importance of preparing both goalies for the remainder of the season.

"I thought he was fine," Reirden said. "I think a couple



TONI L. SANDYS/THE WASHINGTON POST

Capitals captain Alex Ovechkin jousts with the Penguins' Bryan Rust during the second period Sunday.

bounces don't go his way, so I'd probably like that back, but we'll learn something about him and how he can be a little bit more solid in his next opportunity in a game of this magnitude."

Washington's ailing power play struggled again Sunday, going 0 for 3 as the team continued to tweak its first unit. Minor penalties also continued to be an issue, but Washington killed off all six of Pittsburgh's power-play chances.

After the Capitals jumped to a 1-0 lead on a wrister by Eller 10:38 into the first period, the Penguins responded with quick goals by Sam Lafferty and Patric Hornqvist. Lafferty beat Samsonov high on the short side at 11:46, and Hornqvist's tally came at 12:40 on a redirection from the

CAPITALS' NEXT THREE		
<b>vs. Los Angeles Kings</b>		
Tomorrow	7	NBCSW
<b>vs. Philadelphia Flyers</b>		
Saturday	7	NBCSW
<b>vs. New York Islanders</b>		
Feb. 10	7	NBCSW
Radio: WJFK (106.7 FM), WFED (1500 AM)		

**Penguins 4, Capitals 3**

**FIRST PERIOD**  
Scoring: 1, Washington, Eller 12 (Panik), 10:38. 2, Pittsburgh, Lafferty 5 (Galchenyuk), 11:46. 3, Pittsburgh, Hornqvist 12 (Marino, Malkin), 12:40.

**SECOND PERIOD**  
Scoring: 4, Pittsburgh, Simon 7 (Crosby, McCann), 11:59.

**THIRD PERIOD**  
Scoring: 5, Washington, Kuznetsov 18 (Jensen, Vrana), 6:00. 6, Pittsburgh, Tanev 11 (Aston-Reese, Blueger), 17:27. 7, Washington, Eller 13 (Hagelin, Gudas), 17:42.

**SHOTS ON GOAL**  
PITTSBURGH ..... 12 16 5 — 33  
WASHINGTON ..... 10 9 13 — 32

**Power-play opportunities:** Pittsburgh 0 of 6; Washington 0 of 3. **Goalies:** Pittsburgh, Murray 16-6-4 (32 shots-29 saves); Washington, Samsonov 16-3-1 (33-29). **A:** 18,573 (18,277). **T:** 2:29.

pace in the third period, but they ultimately fell to 7-11-1 when trailing after two.

"We [have] played well for the most part of the season," Eller said. "Today was just not our best for 60 minutes, and that's it."

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NHL ROUNDUP

Williams, Carolina earn another shootout victory

HURRICANES 4, CANUCKS 3 (SO)

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Justin Williams scored the winning goal in the shootout to lift the Carolina Hurricanes past the Vancouver Canucks, 4-3, on Sunday afternoon in Raleigh, N.C.

Williams wristed a shot inside the post to the right of Thatcher Demko, giving the Hurricanes a 2-1 edge in the tiebreaker. Carolina goalie James Reimer then used his left pad to stop Bo Horvat to clinch the win.

It was Williams's second shootout winner in four games since he returned to the Hurricanes following his extended offseason. Carolina, which is 3-1 since Williams's return, got goals in regulation from Nino Niederreiter, Sebastian Aho and Andrei Svechnikov, and Reimer made 32 saves.

Elias Pettersson scored twice, Tyler Myers added a goal and Oscar Fantenberg and J.T. Miller each had two assists for Vancouver, which had its five-game winning streak snapped. Demko made 29 saves.

Pettersson scored the only goal of the first period when he corralled a loose puck in the slot and lifted a shot past Reimer. The Hurricanes responded with an energetic start to the second period, tying the score on a spinning backhand by Niederreiter and taking the lead when Aho scored after Jaccob Slavin's shot hit teammate Warren Foegele in front of the net.

The Canucks tied it at 2 before the second intermission by taking advantage when Slavin broke his stick while attempting to start a breakout from the Carolina zone. Vancouver eventually worked the puck to Fantenberg, who backhanded it to the front of the net, where Myers knocked it into the open cage.

Svechnikov put the Hurricanes back in front 5:23 into the third period when he raced past Quinn Hughes and lifted a shot over Demko's right shoulder. Pettersson tied it at 9:06 of the third period when he knocked a bad-angle shot off Reimer and into the net.

In overtime, Demko preserved

away.

Performances such as that one have given Reirden the confidence to make the decision he did Sunday and not think twice about it. Even if the result wasn't perfect.

"We'll learn something about him," Reirden said, "and how he can be a little bit more solid in his next opportunity in a game of this magnitude."

Translation: There will be more of these opportunities to come.

Given what Holtby has meant to this franchise and this community, it may sound crazy to say this, but it's also true: This might be the best way for this season to play out at this position.

Last summer, the Florida Panthers issued a seven-year, \$70 million contract to the jewel of the goalie free agency class, Sergei Bobrovsky. We can debate whether Holtby is playing his way out of that kind of deal, and there's still lots of time for him to find his form. But given the number of large contracts the Caps have issued — to Kuznetsov and T.J. Oshie and John Carlson and Nicklas Backstrom and Ovechkin, with another to come for the captain — they have to save money and cap space somewhere. Why not goalie?

"He's got a bright future," Wilson said of Samsonov.

While you wonder, though, who will be in net Tuesday night against Los Angeles, remember this, too: When the Caps began their Stanley Cup run two springs ago, Holtby was on the bench and Philipp Grubauer was between the pipes.

It took Holtby two games to get his job back, and what happened over the subsequent month brought this town its first major championship in more than a quarter of a century. What happens over the next two months will determine who gets the chance to win another one.

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the tie when he stopped Teravainen with the shaft of his stick after a cross-ice feed from Brett Pesce.

•**BLUE JACKETS 4, CANADIENS 3:** Pierre-Luc Dubois scored twice and added an assist to lift Columbus in Montreal.

Vladislav Gavrikov and Gustav Nyquist also scored as Columbus completed a season sweep. The Blue Jackets have notched at least one point in eight straight games. Elvis Merzlikins made 27 saves and improved to 10-2-0 since he replaced injured starter Joonas Korpisalo.

Tomas Tatar, Max Domi and Shea Weber scored for the Canadiens, who are eight points out of a playoff spot with 28 games left. Carey Price started for the second straight day and stopped 23 of 26 shots.

Both teams were playing the second game of a back-to-back. Columbus lost, 2-1, in overtime at the Buffalo Sabres on Saturday; Price beat the visiting Florida Panthers, 4-0.

Gavrikov scored the opener for Columbus at 12:45 of the first period, a wrist shot from the faceoff dot for the defenseman's fifth of the season. Dubois beat Price on a breakaway at 3:31 of the second period. Weber's aggressive pinch and Tatar's failure to track back led to Montreal's defensive breakdown.

Tatar made up for the mistake six minutes later when he got the Canadiens on the board. He scored glove-side on Merzlikins seconds after Nick Suzuki intercepted Dubois's pass in his own zone.

Tatar has six straight 20-goal seasons. He also became the first Canadiens player since Brian Gionta in 2009-10 and 2010-11 to score 20 goals in his first two seasons with Montreal.

Dubois restored Columbus's two-goal cushion with his 17th of the year on a backhand wrap-around at 17:52 of the second.

An uneventful third period was capped by a flurry of goals in the final five minutes. The Canadiens made it 3-2 when Domi fired a shot past Merzlikins at 15:52 for his first goal since Dec. 31. Nyquist scored an empty-netter for Columbus with 1:53 left before Weber got one back for Montreal 52 seconds later on a slap shot from the point.



# Beal: ‘I love’ the Wizards’ chances to make playoffs

BY CANDACE BUCKNER

When Bradley Beal needed motivation after not being named an Eastern Conference all-star, he found it in the NBA standings.

Beal’s disappointment, evidenced by his glassy-eyed expression and defiant tone, seeped through as he shared his initial thoughts about the snub Thursday night. The Washington Wizards’ low win total might have played into the coaches’ decision to leave Beal off the team, and as a response he made a public commitment “to try to get my team to the playoffs.”

That pledge, which Beal reiterated Saturday after the Wizards’ sixth win in their past seven home games and their second straight overall, wasn’t simply said out of emotion.

When asked whether he has been paying attention to the Eastern Conference playoff picture, Beal said: “I sure have. I wouldn’t have said it if I wasn’t.”

Beal added, “I love our chances.”

As strange as it may seem, the 17-31 Wizards still have a chance of sneaking into the postseason. Washington holds a 4.6 percent chance of securing eighth in the East and a 0.7 percent shot of seventh place, according to basketball-reference.com.

After two consecutive road losses last week, Washington returned home in 12th place out of 15 teams. But after a pair of wins at Capital One Arena, including the 113-107 victory over the seventh-seeded Brooklyn Nets on Saturday, the Wizards leapfrogged into 10th place. With 34 games remaining, Washington is 3½ games behind the Orlando Magic for the eighth seed.

Though Beal said he was keenly aware of the movement up the standings, other Wizards want to focus simply on incremental progress.

“We can’t think about it like that. We just got to think about one game at a time,” forward Davis Bertans said about watching the standings.

“We are not looking at that. I mean, we are not,” Coach Scott Brooks echoed. “But we want to keep playing good basketball. We know we have a lot of areas to improve in. We have got a lot of things that we have to get better [at], and in order to compete with the high-level teams, we have to do that consistently.”

The Wizards’ defensive tendencies top that list. During the previous two road losses in Atlanta and Milwaukee, the team played “horrific” games, Brooks said, and surrendered more than 150 points each night. The Wizards are last in the league in defensive rating (116.9), and the numbers reflect poorly on the team’s most-used players such as Beal, who leads the team at



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

Even though the Wizards are 17-31, Bradley Beal made a pledge “to try to get my team to the playoffs.”

WIZARDS’ NEXT THREE		
vs. Golden State Warriors		
Today	7	NBCSW
vs. Dallas Mavericks		
Friday	7	NBCSW
vs. Memphis Grizzlies		
Sunday	6	NBCSW
Radio: WFED (1500 AM)		

35.3 minutes per game and has a 120.3 defensive rating.

Among the 14 NBA players who average 35 minutes or more, Beal’s defensive rating ranks last.

“It’s like all of us. We’re not very good defensively right now. We need to get better. Brad is a big part of it, but it’s all of us,” Brooks responded when asked to evaluate Beal’s individual defense this season. “Myself, our coaches and our players . . . everybody, we all have to be a better defensive team.”

Against Brooklyn, Beal spent most of his time on the defensive end matched up against Joe Har-

ris and Spencer Dinwiddie. Though Harris made three of the four shots he attempted against Beal, Dinwiddie went 1 for 5 in the matchup. In the fourth quarter, the Wizards played their strongest defense as a team — with Beal, Bertans, Thomas Bryant, Troy Brown Jr. and Ish Smith on the floor — and held Brooklyn without a made shot in the final 4½ minutes.

“I feel like we have a chance to compete for eighth,” Bryant said. “If we keep doing what we’re doing, like we did [Saturday], we’ll be in a good spot.”

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## NBA ROUNDUP

# Down 21, Detroit rallies to snap five-game skid

PISTONS 128, NUGGETS 123 (OT)

## ASSOCIATED PRESS

It took Detroit just over half a quarter to fall behind by 21. Then the Pistons rallied almost as quickly.

“We came out as flat as a pancake,” Coach Dwane Casey said. “But the second group came in and played.”

Bruce Brown had 19 points, 10 rebounds and eight assists and fellow reserve guard Reggie Jackson scored 20 points to lift the Pistons to a 128-123 overtime victory over the Denver Nuggets in Detroit on Sunday. Andre Drummond added 21 points and 17 rebounds for Detroit, which snapped a five-game losing streak.

It was the 400th career double-double for the 26-year-old Drummond. Only Dwight Howard, who was 25, reached that milestone at a younger age.

Nikola Jokic had 39 points, 11 assists and 10 rebounds for Denver.

It was an impressive day for Detroit’s younger players. Brown, who is in his second NBA season, played the most of anyone on the Pistons. Rookie Sekou Doumbouya scored all 17 of his points in the first half to help Detroit dig out of its early hole.

Drummond put the Pistons ahead to stay with a dunk early in overtime, and Brown added a three-pointer that made it 116-112.

Jokic made a three-pointer with 29.4 seconds left that made it 126-123, but Thon Maker answered with an alley-oop dunk from Tony Snell at the other end to push the lead to five with 16.5 seconds left.

“When that last lob went up to Thon, I did hold my breath,” Casey said. “Time, score, situation — but he made it, so it worked out.”

•**ROCKETS 117, PELICANS 109:** James Harden had 40 points and came an assist shy of a triple-double to lead Houston over visiting New Orleans.

Rookie Zion Williamson had 21 points and 10 rebounds for the Pelicans, whose three-game winning streak was snapped.

Harden, who added 10 rebounds and nine assists, poured in 26 points in the first half and cooled down in the second half. But he still had his second straight game with 30 or more points after failing to score 30 in his previous four games as he worked through a shooting slump.

•**BUCKS 129, SUNS 108:**

Giannis Antetokounmpo had 30 points and 19 rebounds, and Milwaukee overcame Devin Booker’s 32 points to beat Phoenix at home.

Antetokounmpo reached the 30-point mark for the 26th time and has had at least 10 rebounds in 23 of those games. For the second straight game, he fell one assist shy of his fifth triple-double this season.

Fellow all-star Khris Middleton had 25 points, eight rebounds and six assists, and Brook Lopez had 17 points. The Bucks shot 49.5 percent and made 15 of 38 from three-point range.

DeAndre Ayton had 20 points and 14 rebounds for the Suns, who shot 39 percent and made just 6 of 23 from deep. Phoenix has lost five of seven games.

•**RAPTORS 129, BULLS 102:** Terence Davis scored a career-high 31 points, and host Toronto tied a team record with its 11th straight win, beating Chicago.

The Raptors also won 11 straight in January 2016 and again from Feb. 26 to March 16, 2018.

Pascal Siakam added 17 points and Serge Ibaka had 16 for the reigning NBA champions. The Raptors outscored the Bulls 69-39 in the second half to earn their 12th consecutive victory against Chicago.

Thaddeus Young fouled out with 21 points and Zach LaVine scored 18 as the Bulls lost their third straight. Toronto swept Chicago for the third straight season.

Chandler Hutchison scored 17 points and Ryan Arcidiacono and Coby White each had 12 for the Bulls, who are 8-18 on the road.

Davis made a career-high 12 of his 15 field goal attempts, including 6 of 7 from three-point range.

**Irving out at least a week**

Kyrie Irving will miss at least a week with a sprained medial ligament in his right knee.

The Brooklyn Nets star had an MRI exam Sunday that confirmed the team’s diagnosis after he was injured Saturday in Washington.

Irving got hurt in the fourth quarter of a 113-107 loss. He and Wizards guard Bradley Beal got tangled battling for a loose ball, and Irving’s knee twisted as he landed on the court.

He stayed down for a couple of minutes before remaining in the game for the jump ball — in which he didn’t jump — and then left the court and went to the locker room.

Irving had his highest-scoring game of the season the previous night, going for 54 points in a victory over Chicago.

## AREA COLLEGE BASKETBALL ROUNDUP

# Erasing 17-point deficit, Hoyas halt slide at three

GEORGETOWN 73, ST. JOHN’S 72

## FROM NEWS SERVICES AND STAFF REPORTS

Omer Yurtseven’s layup with 10.2 seconds left completed a rally from a 17-point second-half deficit, and Georgetown defeated St. John’s, 73-72, on Sunday in New York to end a three-game losing streak.

Yurtseven put in a short left-handed hook to get the Hoyas within a point with 50 seconds remaining before the Red Storm’s Rasheem Dunn failed to hit the rim on a drive and tip, resulting in a shot-clock violation. After a timeout, Jagan Mosely got the ball inside to Yurtseven for the layup.

Dunn took the inbounds pass and raced down the side but lost control of the ball, and the Hoyas ran out the clock. Dunn’s turnover was the 12th for the Red Storm, all in the second half.

Jahvon Blair made five three-pointers and led Georgetown (13-9, 3-6 Big East) with a career-high 23 points. Mosely added 16, and Yurtseven had 13 points and 15 rebounds.

Dunn and Mustapha Heron scored 16 points each for the Red Storm (13-10, 2-8). Julian Champagne added 14 points and 10 rebounds.

St. John’s led by 17 with 16 minutes remaining before the Hoyas tied it briefly on a Yurtseven dunk with 6½ minutes left. St. John’s edged ahead until Yurtseven’s winner.

The Hoyas swept the regular season series from the Red

Storm, having won, 87-66, on Jan. 8. Georgetown hosts Seton Hall on Wednesday.

**Hokies women dominate**

Trinity Baptiste scored 17 points and grabbed eight rebounds to power the Virginia Tech women past Miami, 69-45, in Blacksburg, Va.

Aisha Sheppard, a former All-Met from St. John’s, added 14 points for the Hokies (16-5, 6-4 ACC).

Destiny Harden led the Hurricanes (12-10, 4-7) with 13 points.

•**VIRGINIA 57, SYRACUSE 41:** Jocelyn Willoughby poured in 24 points and Kylie Kornegay-Lucas (New Hope Academy) grabbed a career-high 12 rebounds as the Cavaliers cruised in Charlottesville.

Shemera Williams added 11 points for Virginia (9-13, 4-7 ACC). Emily Engstler and Digna Strautmane each scored 10 for the Orange (10-11, 4-6).

•**ST. JOHN’S 74, GEORGETOWN 68:** Taylor Barnes scored a game-high 22 points and Anita Kelava snared a game-high 14 rebounds, but the Hoyas fell short at McDonough Arena.

Kelava and Marvellous Osagie-Erese both had 12 points for Georgetown (4-18, 1-10 Big East). Tiana England had 20 points and 10 boards for the Red Storm (14-8, 7-4).

•**SAINT LOUIS 59, GEORGE WASHINGTON 45:** Rachel Kent scored 19 points as the Billikens (12-9, 4-4 Atlantic 10) handled the Colonials at Smith Center.

Sydney Zambrotta had 16 points and Kayla Mokwuah added 12 points and eight rebounds for GW (9-12, 3-5).

## NATIONAL COLLEGE BASKETBALL ROUNDUP

# Defense sparks No. 1 Gamecocks to 15th win in row

SOUTH CAROLINA 69, TENNESSEE 48

## ASSOCIATED PRESS

Zia Cooke scored 20 points Sunday, and the No. 1 South Carolina women used relentless defense to put away No. 22 Tennessee, 69-48, in Columbia, S.C., for their 15th straight win.

The Gamecocks (21-1, 9-0 SEC) won for the sixth time in seven games against ranked opponents this season.

But South Carolina lost leading scorer and rebounder Aliyah Boston when she hobbled off the court in the third quarter. The freshman came back to the bench with her right knee heavily wrapped.

Coach Dawn Staley said Boston would be fine and would have gone back in if needed. Boston finished with 10 points, five rebounds, two blocks and two steals.

The Lady Vols (17-5, 7-2) had won their past two games at South Carolina but hit just four of their first 16 shots and had six turnovers in the opening quarter to trail 21-9.

Rennia Davis had 18 points and 10 rebounds for Tennessee, which committed 21 turnovers.

•**STANFORD 71, WASHINGTON STATE 49:** Ashten Pretchel had 19 points and 14 rebounds to help propel the No. 6 Cardinal past the Cougars in Pullman, Wash.

Kiana Williams scored 17 points and Lexie Hull had 16 points and nine rebounds for Stanford (20-2, 9-1 Pac-12), which has won five straight and improved to 67-0 all time against Washington State.

Borislava Hristova scored 15 points but shot just 5 for 18 for the Cougars (10-12, 3-7).

•**NORTH CAROLINA STATE 63, DUKE 60:** Elissa Cunane scored 22 of her 27 points in the



SEAN RAYFORD/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Zia Cooke scored 20 points for South Carolina, which has won six of seven games vs. ranked teams.

second half, and the No. 7 Wolfpack rallied in Durham, N.C., for its seventh straight win.

Jakia Brown-Turner (Bishop McNamara) added 12 points for N.C. State (21-1, 10-1 ACC). Cunane and Brown-Turner combined to score the Wolfpack’s first 26 points of the second half.

Grace Hunter made three late three-pointers, the second of which gave N.C. State the lead for good at 55-54 with 2:14 to play.

Haley Gorecki scored 21 points for Duke (11-10, 5-5), which lost its 12th consecutive game against ranked opponents.

•**UCLA 70, ARIZONA STATE 61:** Japreece Dean scored 18 points

and the No. 8 Bruins topped the No. 19 Sun Devils in Tempe, Ariz.

Charisma Osborne added 15 points for UCLA (19-2, 8-2 Pac-12), which trailed 34-32 at halftime but forced five turnovers while outscoring Arizona State 20-10 in the third quarter.

Robbi Ryan and Jamie Ruden led Arizona State (16-6, 6-4) with 15 points apiece.

**Garza leads Iowa past Illinois**

Luka Garza bounced back from a slow start to score 25 points, and the No. 18 Iowa men clamped down late to beat No. 19 Illinois, 72-65, in Iowa City.

Joe Wieskamp and CJ Fredrick

each added 18 points for the Hawkeyes, who made five of their last seven shots.

Garza, a junior from Maret and the Big Ten’s top scorer, did not have a point in the first 15 minutes but wound up making a career-high four three-pointers and shot 9 for 16 overall. He also had 10 rebounds for his 13th double-double of the season.

Illinois (16-6, 8-3 Big Ten), which had won seven in a row, led 62-61 with 4:03 to play. But Iowa (16-6, 7-4) then shut out the Illini until Ayo Dosunmu hit a three-pointer with four seconds left.

Andres Feliz led Illinois with 17 points.



GOLF ROUNDUP

# Simpson beats Finau in playoff at Phoenix

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Webb Simpson was in big trouble when he drove into the right-side water on the par-5 15th.

“I didn’t think it was over,” Simpson said. “But I thought, I’m going to really have to do something special to get back in it.”

He did — at friend Tony Finau’s expense Sunday in the Phoenix Open on a TPC Scottsdale course that played tougher with firm greens and a touch of wind.

Simpson birdied the final two holes of regulation to force a play-off with Finau, then won with a 10-foot birdie putt on the first extra hole.

Two strokes ahead with two holes left, Finau missed an 18-foot birdie try in the playoff on the par-4 18th after driving left into the church pew bunkers.

Simpson two-putted for a birdie from the fringe on the short par-4 17th and made a 17-footer for a birdie from the edge of the green on the 18th. Finau, after hitting a 366-yard drive and an approach to eight feet, missed a chance to win when his birdie try slid right.

Simpson closed with a 2-under-par 69 to match Finau at 17-under 267.

“Today was a lot different. Today played tougher,” Simpson said. “I thought the pins were very tough, by far the toughest day of pins, course was longer, we had wind. We hadn’t had wind all week, so everything today was harder.”

Finau shot a 70.

“I hit good putts,” Finau said. “The first one I hit really good. I thought I made it. . . . Second one, similar line, a little bit farther, decided to play a little bit more break, and it didn’t break.”

Simpson won his sixth PGA Tour title and first since the 2018 Players Championship. The 2012 U.S. Open champion improved to 2-6 in playoffs, three years after falling to Hideki Matsuyama in extra holes at TPC Scottsdale. Simpson also lost a playoff in November in the RSM Classic.

“I think getting frustrated after RSM led to being better prepared for today,” Simpson said.

Simpson felt for Finau.

“It’s hard. He is a great friend,” Simpson said. “Our wives are friends, and he’s one of the best guys on tour. So it is a bit tough.”

A stroke ahead of Simpson after a third-round 62, Finau parred the first seven holes, limiting his birdie chances with sluggish iron and wedge play. He bogeyed the par-4 eighth to end a 57-hole bogey-free streak, leaving an 8-iron from the fairway 65 feet short.

Finau made a big par save on the par-4 10th, holing a 25-footer to lose only one stroke after Simpson ran in a five-footer for birdie and the lead.

Finau pulled even with an 18-foot birdie putt on the par-3 12th, a day after Simpson aced the hole in a 64. Finau made a nine-foot birdie putt on the par-5 13th to take the lead and doubled the advantage with a par on the 15th after Simpson drove into the water.

They each parred the par-3 stadium 16th, with Finau wearing a Kobe Bryant jersey on the rowdy hole. The PGA Tour cut the pin position in a tribute to Bryant, using his two Lakers uniform numbers. The pin was placed 24 yards from the front edge and eight yards from the left edge, putting it in the back left corner. The flag had a No. 8 on one side and a No. 24 on the other, and the numbers also were painted into the grass in front of the green.

Fourth-ranked Justin Thomas tied for third at 14 under after a 65.

•**EUROPEAN TOUR:** Graeme McDowell shot a steady even-par 70 to win the Saudi International in King Abdullah Economic City by two strokes for his first tour title since 2014.

McDowell, the 2010 U.S. Open winner at windy Pebble Beach, protected his lead on a breezy afternoon by the Red Sea to card a 12-under 268 total, holding off late pressure by defending champion Dustin Johnson.

Johnson made an eagle on the par-5 18th by chipping in over a bunker for a 3-under 67 as McDowell saved par on No. 17.

McDowell, 40, sank his five-footer to par the 18th and secure his 16th professional win, in a 13th different country.

McDowell’s first title on his home tour since the 2014 French Open lifted him back into the top 50 of the world ranking and earned him \$583,000.

“It’s special,” the Northern Irishman said. “I want to be back up there one more time just to be able to play against these guys.”



HANNAH MCKAY/REUTERS

With his five-set win over Dominic Thiem, Novak Djokovic closed within three of Roger Federer’s men’s record of 20 Grand Slam titles.

# Djokovic takes eighth Australian Open

TENNIS FROM D1

willpower but also his experience in high-pressure, five-set battles.

Thiem, the No. 5 player in the world at age 26, challenged Djokovic as few have in Melbourne — the Serb had not lost a set in an Australian Open final since Andy Murray took one off him in 2015, three titles ago. Thiem pushed Djokovic just as he pushed Nadal months ago in the French Open final and just as 23-year-old Daniil Medvedev pushed Nadal in a thrilling five-set final at the U.S. Open in September.

But Nadal proved it twice last year and Djokovic proved it again Sunday: The members of tennis’s old guard may be fighting harder than ever to maintain their status, but they won’t slacken their grip on the sport willingly. The younger generation will have to pry their fingers loose.

The so-called “Big Three” of Federer, Nadal and Djokovic have captured 13 straight major titles and 56 of the past 67.

Thiem, now 0-3 in Grand Slam finals, tried his best to end their streak.

“I fell a little bit short today, but I hope I can soon get re-

venge,” Thiem said in his post-match speech after congratulating Djokovic and sending condolences to those affected by the deadly bush fires in Australia.

The Austrian wasn’t shaken by a strong first set from the defending champ. He didn’t waste opportunities on break points and, although he is sometimes pigeonholed as a clay-court specialist, Thiem showed how much he has improved on hard courts by jumping on a shaky second set from Djokovic.

The defending champion first looked irate with the increasingly boisterous crowd, then became frustrated at 4-4 in the second set when the chair umpire issued a serve clock violation; Djokovic had let the 25-second timer expire. The penalty was a loss of first serve, and Thiem won the game to take a 5-4 lead.

Djokovic looked even more unsteady and tired in the third set, when he received a visit from the medical trainer and began guzzling fluids from then on.

In the fourth set, Thiem’s fatal error was that he simply maintained his high level of play. Against Djokovic, who carried a

3-1 record in five-set major finals into Sunday’s match, failing to meet the near impossible task of raising his game was as good as giving the win away. Djokovic took a 5-3 lead in the fourth set before serving to win the set and then taking control for good late in the fifth.

Djokovic finally sealed the nearly four-hour match after Thiem sent a forehand wide. Months after he saved a pair of championship points against Federer to win a five-set Wimbledon final, Djokovic had pulled off another heroic comeback. He smiled and pointed to the crowd, unleashing a victory roar a few moments later to celebrate his fifth title in the past seven Grand Slams.

He added to his Australian Open trophies from 2008, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015, 2016 and 2019.

Djokovic, like Thiem, used his post-championship speech to address the bush fires in Australia. He wore a jacket with the initials “KB” and Nos. 24 and 8 in honor of his friend and mentor Kobe Bryant, who died in a helicopter crash along with eight other victims Jan. 26.

“This is a reminder to all of us

that we should stick together more than ever,” Djokovic said. “. . . Of course, we are part of the professional sport. We compete. We try our best. But obviously there are more important things in life.”

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**Ram, Salisbury win doubles**

American Rajeev Ram teamed with Englishman Joe Salisbury to win the men’s doubles title with a 6-4, 6-2 victory over Australians Max Purcell and Luke Saville at Rod Laver Arena.

It is Ram’s second Grand Slam title — he combined with Barbora Krejickova to win the Australian Open mixed doubles championship last year but did not compete in mixed doubles this year.

Ram, 35, is the first American man to win the Australian Open doubles title since the Bryan brothers in 2013. It was Ram’s 58th men’s doubles Grand Slam draw and his first finals appearance.

This was the Grand Slam final debut for Salisbury, 33. It was his eighth Grand Slam appearance and fifth partnering with Ram.

*— Associated Press*

WINTER SPORTS ROUNDUP

# Britcher wins two medals, but Sweeney ends season

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Summer Britcher won a pair of World Cup luge medals in Oberhof, Germany, on Sunday, a decidedly up-and-down day of racing for the United States.

Britcher was third in the women’s race and joined Tucker West and the doubles team of Chris Mazdzer and Jayson Terdiman to win silver in the team relay. Britcher now has five medals this season. West won his third, and Mazdzer and Terdiman reached the podium for the first time.

But the Americans finished the day without Emily Sweeney, who pulled out of the women’s race after one run after apparently aggravating a neck injury that forced her to miss time earlier this season. Sweeney suffered neck and back fractures in a frightening crash at the 2018 PyeongChang Olympics and is still dealing with aftereffects of those injuries.

Later Sunday, USA Luge announced Sweeney had decided to end her season and would return to the United States.

Germany’s Anna Berreiter won the women’s race, followed by Russia’s Tatyana Ivanova in second and Britcher in third. Ivanova pulled 12 points ahead of Germany’s Julia Taubitz for the women’s season points title with two races left.

Ivanova and Taubitz are the only contenders remaining for the season title. Ivanova is bidding to be the first non-German to win the championship since Italy’s Gerda Weissensteiner in 1997-98.



MARTIN SCHUTT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Summer Britcher of the United States captured bronze in the women’s race and silver in the team relay in Oberhof, Germany.**

Germany also won the team relay, finishing seven-hundredthths of a second ahead of the United States. Latvia was third.

“Being within one-tenth of the German team is insane to me, especially here in Oberhof,” Terdiman said. “Historically this is the track they absolutely dominate, and making the race for gold so close gives all of us a great confidence boost heading into world championships.”

•**ALPINE SKIING:** Federica Brignone won a women’s World Cup super-G in Krasnodar Krai, Russia, after overall leader Mikaela Shiffrin sat out the race, strengthening her runner-up position in the standings.

The win left the Italian 270 points short of Shiffrin’s leading tally.

The American three-time overall champion decided to skip the races in the 2014 Olympic resort after winning the previous super-G and a downhill in Bulgaria a week ago.

With cloudy weather affecting visibility, Brignone overcame a mistake halfway down the course when she caught a bump and lost half a second.

She quickly rediscovered the ideal race line and won by 0.20 seconds ahead of Italian teammate Sofia Goggia, who returned after missing the previous two races with a right leg injury from a downhill crash.

It was the fourth one-two finish for the Italian women’s team this World Cup season.

Joana Haehlen of Switzerland finished 0.34 behind in third for

her second career podium, a week after she also finished third in a downhill. . . .

Alexis Pinturault became the first skier this season to win two men’s World Cup giant slaloms, triumphing on the Kandahar 2 course in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany, to end a string of disappointing results in his strongest discipline.

The Frenchman won the season opener in October but placed 17th, eighth and 10th respectively in the next three GS events.

He was 0.18 seconds off the lead in fourth Sunday before posting the third-fastest time in the second run and beat first-run leader Loic Meillard by 0.16. The Swiss skier matched his career best result by finishing second.

•**BOBSLED:** In St. Moritz, Switzerland, Germany’s Francesco Friedrich won the World Cup four-man overall championship, while Canada’s Justin Kripps got the victory in the final four-man race in the series this season.

Friedrich won the four-man title for the second consecutive year, clinching the championship despite finishing a season-worst fifth in the finale.

Germany’s Johannes Lochner was second in the four-man standings this season, and Kripps was third — the best finish by a Canadian since Pierre Lueders finished second in 2005-06.

Kripps earned his third four-man win of the season. Latvia’s Oskars Kibermanis was second.

Hunter Church of the United States drove to eighth place in the finale and finished the four-man season in fifth place overall.

NFL NOTES

# Redskins’ Davis airs his plans to retire

FROM NEWS SERVICES AND STAFF REPORTS

Washington Redskins tight end Vernon Davis announced his retirement in style Sunday, alongside two NFL greats during the Super Bowl LIV pregame show.

After being introduced as one of the members of former New England Patriots tight end Rob Gronkowski’s “retirement crew,” Davis — in floral swim trunks and a white T-shirt — turned to the camera and smiled.

“That’s right! I’m retired,” he said, with Gronkowski and former Pittsburgh Steelers linebacker James Harrison on a couch beside him.

Davis, 36, played in the NFL for 14 seasons after being selected by the San Francisco 49ers out of Maryland with the sixth pick in the 2006 draft. He earned a reputation as one of the league’s iron men in San Francisco, appearing in 148 of 160 games in his first decade in pro football and starting in 140 of them. He was selected to two Pro Bowls, after the 2009 and 2013 seasons.

In 2015, he was traded to Denver and became a key late-season target for Peyton Manning as the Broncos won Super Bowl 50.

Davis came to Washington, his hometown, in the 2016 season and immediately became a fan favorite. Davis grew up in the District and attended Dunbar High, where he was a 2002 All-Met selection and played in the U.S. Army All-American Bowl. He was also a track star.

In his first season with the Redskins, he caught 44 passes and scored two touchdowns, then signed a three-year contract to stay with the team. He provided veteran leadership and a voice of accountability on a team that struggled to contend and then went into full-blown rebuilding mode after moving from Kirk Cousins to Alex Smith to Case Keenum to Dwayne Haskins at quarterback.

Davis struggled with nagging injuries and appeared in only four games in 2019, making one start. He had 10 catches and a touchdown reception.

Even before Davis announced his retirement, tight end was a position of need for Washington after Jordan Reed did not play at all during the 2019 regular season following a concussion he suffered in the third preseason game. Washington also lists Jeremy Sprinkle, Hale Hentges and Caleb Wilson on its depth chart. Sprinkle and Hentges combined for 34 catches and two touchdowns in 2019. Wilson did not appear in a game.

Tight end Greg Olsen, who just parted ways with the Carolina Panthers, would consider reuniting with Ron Rivera by signing with the Redskins, a person familiar with the situation told The Washington Post.

*— Jacob Bogage*

•**MISC.:** Fans have spoken, and the Immaculate Reception is their pick for the greatest moment of the NFL’s first 100 years.

The NFL announced the results of fan voting before the Super Bowl, choosing the pass from Steelers quarterback Terry Bradshaw that Franco Harris scooped up at Three Rivers Stadium in Pittsburgh and took for a 60-yard touchdown in a 13-7 win over the Oakland Raiders in an AFC divisional game in December 1972.

Voting started in July, with fans picking the best moment for each team, and the 32 moments were pared down before fans finally ranked the final four as part of the league’s centennial celebration.

The victory by the Immaculate Reception beat out the Helmet Catch by David Tyree of a pass from Eli Manning in the 2008 Super Bowl as the New York Giants denied New England both perfection at 19-0 and the Lombardi Trophy.

Dwight Clark’s reception in the final minute of the 1981 NFC championship game for the 49ers at San Francisco’s Candlestick Park, best known as “The Catch,” ranked third, with Miami’s perfect season in 1972 fourth.

To celebrate the Immaculate Reception’s victory, Bradshaw and Harris, both members of the Pro Football Hall of Fame, teamed up Sunday to reenact the moment during the Super Bowl pregame show on Fox.

“We put the ball in Terry’s hands, and the rest is history,” Harris said.

*— Associated Press*



SCOREBOARD

PRO BASKETBALL

NBA

EASTERN CONFERENCE

ATLANTIC	W	L	Pct	GB
Toronto	36	14	.720	—
Boston	30	19	.608	2
Philadelphia	31	19	.620	5
Brooklyn	27	27	.438	14
New York	14	36	.280	22

SOUTHEAST	W	L	Pct	GB
Miami	33	15	.688	—
Orlando	31	18	.633	12½
Washington	17	31	.354	16
Charlotte	16	32	.327	17½
Atlanta	13	37	.260	21

CENTRAL	W	L	Pct	GB
Milwaukee	42	7	.857	—
Utah	38	11	.773	11
Chicago	19	33	.365	24½
Detroit	18	33	.353	25
Cleveland	13	37	.260	29½

WESTERN CONFERENCE

SOUTHWEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Houston	31	17	.653	—
Phoenix	30	18	.612	1
Memphis	24	25	.490	7
San Antonio	22	26	.458	8½
New Orleans	20	30	.400	11½

NORTHWEST	W	L	Pct	GB
Denver	34	16	.680	—
Utah	32	17	.653	1½
Oklahoma City	30	20	.600	4
Portland	23	27	.460	11
Minnesota	15	33	.313	18

PACIFIC	W	L	Pct	GB
L.A. Lakers	37	11	.771	—
Clippers	34	15	.692	3½
Phoenix	20	29	.408	17½
Sacramento	18	31	.367	19½
Golden State	11	39	.220	27

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

at Washington 113, Brooklyn 107  
at L.A. Clippers 118, Minnesota 106  
Miami 102, at Orlando 89  
New York 92, at Indiana 85  
Golden State 131, at Cleveland 112  
at Dallas 123, Atlanta 100  
at Boston 116, Philadelphia 95  
at San Antonio 114, Charlotte 90  
L.A. Lakers 129, at Sacramento 113  
at Portland 124, Utah 107

SUNDAY'S RESULTS

at Detroit 128, Denver 123 (OT)  
at Houston 117, New Orleans 109  
at Milwaukee 129, Phoenix 108  
at Toronto 129, Chicago 102

MONDAY'S GAMES

Golden State at Washington, 7  
Dallas at Indiana, 7  
New York at Cleveland, 7  
Orlando at Charlotte, 7  
Boston at Atlanta, 7:30  
Philadelphia at Miami, 7:30  
Phoenix at Brooklyn, 7:30  
Detroit at Memphis, 8  
Minnesota at Sacramento, 10  
San Antonio at L.A. Clippers, 10:30

TUESDAY'S GAMES

Milwaukee at New Orleans, 7:30  
Charlotte at Houston, 8  
Portland at Denver, 9  
San Antonio at L.A. Lakers, 10

WEDNESDAY'S GAMES

Phoenix at Detroit, 7  
Golden State at Brooklyn, 7:30  
Orlando at Boston, 7:30  
Atlanta at Minnesota, 8  
Cleveland at Oklahoma City, 8  
Memphis at Dallas, 8:30  
Denver at Utah, 9  
Miami at L.A. Clippers, 10

Pistons 128, Nuggets 123 (OT)

DENVER	44	21	22	12 - 123
DETROIT	30	38	22	17 - 128

DENVER: Craig 2-3 0-1 5, Grant 5-11 2-2 14, Jokic 16-23 6-7 39, Barton 7-14 5-20, Mo-Morris 8-15 1-19, Dozier 2-7 1-2 5, Hernanomez 0-3 2-2 2, Vanderbilt 2-2 0-4, Beasley 5-9 0-12, Harris 1-6 1-2 3. Totals 48-96 17-22 123.

DETROIT:	Doumbouya 6-12 3-4 17, Snell 4-7 2-2 13, Drummond 9-17 3-4 21, Mykhailiuk 3-9 6-8 13, Rose 1-3 0-2 2, Brown 7-10 2-19, Wood 5-10 0-0 11, Maker 2-2 0-4, Galloway 3-6 0-0 8, Jackson 8-18 2-2 20. Totals 48-94 18-24 128.
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Three-point goals:	Denver 10-23 (Beasley 2-5, Barton 2-6, Grant 2-6, Mo-Morris 2-7, Craig 1-2, Jokic 1-3), Detroit 14-31 (Brown 3-3, Snell 3-5, Galloway 2-4, Jackson 2-4, Doumbouya 2-5, Wood 1-3, Mykhailiuk 1-6).
Fouled Out:	Denver None, Detroit 1 (Drummond).
Rebounds:	Denver 47 (Jokic 10), Detroit 43 (Drummond 17).
Assists:	Denver 30 (Jokic 11), Detroit 33 (Brown 8).
Total Fouls:	Denver 19, Detroit 22. A: 15,488 (20,491)

Rockets 117, Pelicans 109

NEW ORLEANS	28	32	33	16 - 109
HOUSTON	30	35	27	25 - 117

NEW ORLEANS: Ingram 10-23 3-3 28, Williamson 8-14 5-7 21, Favors 4-7 1-19, Ball 3-7 2-2 10, Holiday 5-14 1-3, Hayes 1-3 0-0 2, Meli 1-4 0-0 2, Hart 5-11 3-4 16, Moore 5-8 0-0 10, Redick 0-3 0-0 0. Totals 42-94 15-20 109.

HOUSTON:	Gordon 4-12 0-0 9, House Jr. 5-14 0-0 12, Tucker 0-5 0-0 0, Harden 12-24 9-40, Westbrook 9-24 3-22, Seferloshia 1-2 1-4, McLemore 6-12 6-8 22, Rivers 4-12 0-0 8. Totals 41-105 19-22 117.
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Three-point goals:	New Orleans 10-23 (Ingram 5-11, Hart 3-5, Ball 2-6, Meli 0-2, Moore 0-2, Redick 0-2), Houston 10-23 (Ingram 5-11, Harden 7-15, McLemore 4-9, House Jr. 2-8, Seferloshia 1-2, Westbrook 1-4, Gordon 1-7, Tucker 0-2, Rivers 0-4). Fouled Out: None.
Rebounds:	New Orleans 63 (Ingram 12), Houston 43 (House Jr. 12).
Assists:	New Orleans 21 (Ball 9), Houston 22 (Harden 9).
Total Fouls:	New Orleans 16, Houston 18. A: 18,095 (18,500)

Bucks 129, Suns 108

PHOENIX	26	26	28	- 108
MILWAUKEE	30	37	30	32 - 129

PHOENIX: Bridges 2-9 3-4 7, Oubre Jr. 5-20 4-4 15, Ayton 10-27 0-0 20, Booker 9-15 12-33 32, Okobo 1-4 0-0 2, Owens 1-4 0-0 2, Liddle 5-9 1-2 11, Carter 6-10 0-0 15, Harper 0-1 0-0 0, Deane 2-3 0-0 4, Johnson 3-0 0-0 0.

MILWAUKEE:	G.Antetokounmpo 10-21 9-16 30, Middleton 10-15 4-25, B.Lopez 7-16 2-2 17, Bledsoe 5-8 0-12, Hachimura 0-3 2-2 2, Brown 2-2 0-0 0, Connaughton 4-4 0-8, Ilyasova 3-9 0-8, Korver 3-5 0-8 2, Lopez 0-1 0-0 0, DiVincenzo 6-12 1-15. Totals 48-97 18-27 129.
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Three-point goals:	Phoenix 6-23 (Carter 3-5, Booker 2-5, Oubre Jr. 1-6, Bridges 0-2), Milwaukee 15-38 (Middleton 3-5, Ilyasova 2-2, Bledsoe 2-3, Connaughton 2-3, Korver 2-4, DiVincenzo 2-6, G.Antetokounmpo 1-5, B.Lopez 1-6, Matthews 0-2). Fouled Out: None.
Rebounds:	Phoenix 50 (Ayton 14), Milwaukee 60 (G.Antetokounmpo 19).
Assists:	Phoenix 20 (Booker 6), Milwaukee 30 (G.Antetokounmpo 9).
Total Fouls:	Phoenix 24, Milwaukee 25. A: 18,095 (18,500)

Raptors 129, Bulls 102

CHICAGO	29	34	22	17 - 102
TORONTO	32	28	33	24 - 129

CHICAGO: Hutchison 5-13 6-9 17, Young 9-12 0-1 21, Komet 3-11 1-2 8, LaVine 6-10 6-8 18, Satoransky 3-11 0-0 8, Felicio 0-0 0-0 0, Gafford 0-1 1-2 1, Arcidiacono 4-10 1-2 12, Harrison 0-2 2-2 2, Mokoika 0-2 0-0 0, Valentine 1-5 0-0 3, White 4-13 0-0 12. Totals 35-90 17-26 102.

TORONTO:	Anunoby 2-3 0-4, Siakam 6-14 5-17 17, Ibaka 7-12 1-2 16, Lowry 3-7 5-6 14, VanVleet 5-11 0-0 12, McCaw 3-5 2-2 10, Boucher 5-10 4-15, Brissett 1-1 0-0 2, Johnson 0-0 0-0 0, Davis 12-15 1-2 31, Thomas 3-6 0-0 7, Watson 0-0 1-2 1. Totals 47-84 19-23 129.
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Three-point goals:	Chicago 15-48 (White 4-11, Young 3-5, Arcidiacono 3-8, Satoransky 2-6, Hutchison 1-4, Valentine 1-5, Komet 1-7), Toronto 16-24 (Davis 6-7, Lowry 3-7, McCaw 2-3, VanVleet 2-6, Ibaka 1-2, Thomas 1-3, Boucher 1-4, Siakam 0-2). Fouled Out: Chicago 1 (Young), Toronto None.
Rebounds:	Chicago 41 (LaVine, Young 7), Toronto 46 (Siakam 9).
Assists:	Chicago 25 (Celtic 7), Toronto 28 (VanVleet 8).
Total Fouls:	Chicago 21, Toronto 18. A: 19,800 (19,800)

Spurs 114, Hornets 90

CHARLOTTE	28	35	11	16 - 90
SAN ANTONIO	30	20	29	35 - 114

CHARLOTTE: Bridges 10-19 1-2 25, Williams 2-5 0-4 0, Zeller 7-10 0-14, Graham 3-11 0-0 8, Rozier 3-12 2-10, Hernanomez 3-7 4-10, Co-Martin 3-7 1-2 8, Monk 4-12 2-2 11. Totals 35-83 10-12 90.

SAN ANTONIO:	Alridge 4-10 0-1 8, DeRozan 10-15 4-5 22, Lytle 4-6 1-2 11, Forbes 2-8 0-0 6, Murray 4-8 0-0 9, Walker IV 3-6 0-0 6, Metu 0-2 0-2 2, Gay 2-4 0-0 5, Johnson 1-1 0-0 2, Poeltl 7-8 3-5 17, Belinelli 0-2 1-2 1, Mills 4-11 0-0 11, White 4-8 3-4 12. Totals 45-87 14-21 114.
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Three-point goals:	Charlotte 10-26 (Bridges 4-9, Rozier 2-7, Graham 2-8, Monk 1-3, Co-Martin 1-5, Hernanomez 0-2, Williams 0-2), San Antonio 10-28 (Mills 3-9, Lyles 2-3, Forbes 2-5, Murray 1-2, White 1-4, Belinelli 0-2).
Rebounds:	Charlotte 37 (Zeller 12), San Antonio 44 (Murray 10).
Assists:	Charlotte 29 (Graham 9), San Antonio 27 (DeRozan 6).

Lakers 129, Kings 113

L.A. LAKERS	44	37	23	25 - 129
SACRAMENTO	30	42	25	24 - 113

L.A. LAKERS: Davis 5-9 10-22 21, L.James 6-15 2-3 15, McGee 2-2 3-4 7, Bradley 7-13 0-0 19, Green 3-8 0-0 9, Dudley 0-0 0-0 0, Kuzma 4-10 3-4 12, Howard 0-1 0-0 0, Caldwell-Pope 7-4 5-15, Caruso 5-6 0-1 13, Cook 2-0 0-0 5, Daniels 0-2 0-0 0, Rondo 6-11 0-0 13. Totals 44-86 22-27 129.

SACRAMENTO:	Barnes 1-8 0-0 2, Bjelica 3-8 0-0 9, Glines III 7-8 2-2 16, Bogdanovic 3-8 1-1 8, Fox 7-17 10-13 24, Bazemore 3-7 4-5 10, J.James 0-0 0-0 0, Mika 2-3 2-2 6, Tolliver 1-2 1-2 4, Ferrell 1-5 1-1 3, Hield 8-16 0-0 22, Joseph 3-9 0-0 9. Totals 39-91 21-26 113.
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Three-point goals:	L.A. Lakers 19-43 (Bradley 5-9, Caruso 3-4, Caldwell-Pope 3-6, Green 3-8, Davis 1-2, Kuzma 1-2, James 1-4, Rondo 1-5, Daniels 0-2), Sacramento 14-44 (Hield 6-13, Joseph 3-6, Bjelica 3-8, Tolliver 1-2, Bogdanovic 1-6, Barnes 0-2, Ferrell 0-2, Fox 0-2, Bazemore 0-3). Fouled Out: None.
Rebounds:	L.A. Lakers 46 (L.James 10), Sacramento 44 (Giles III 8).
Assists:	L.A. Lakers 33 (L.James 11), Sacramento 21 (Fox, Joseph 5).
Total Fouls:	L.A. Lakers 22, Sacramento 24. A: 17,553 (17,608)

Trail Blazers 124, Jazz 107

UTAH	34	19	30	24 - 107
PORTLAND	33	30	31	30 - 124

UTAH: Bogdanovic 6-11 5-22, Ingles 1-20 0-3, Gobert 1-4 4-4 22, Brown 9-20 0-0 12, Mitchell 11-21 0-0 25, Brantley 0-0 0-0 0, Davis 2-20 0-4, Morgan 1-10 0-2, Niang 3-10 0-0 6, O'Neal 1-6 0-0 3, Tucker 1-10 0-2, Clarkson 4-14 0-12, Portland 0-2 0-0 0. Totals 40-94 9-9 107.

PORTLAND:	Anthony 5-15 4-4 15, Ariza 3-6 0-0 6, Whitehead 7-10 3-17, Lillard 17-29 8-51, McCollum 6-14 0-14, Gabriel 0-0 0-0 0, Swanigan 0-0 0-0 0, Trent Jr. 3-9 0-0 7, Little 3-3 0-0 7, Simons 3-6 0-0 7. Totals 47-92 15-18 124.
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Three-point goals:	Utah 18-41 (Bogdanovic 5-9, Conley 4-6, Clarkson 4-8, Mitchell 3-5, Ingles 1-2, O'Neal 1-4, Niang 0-5), Portland 15-29 (Lillard 8-15, McCollum 4, Anthony 1-3, Trent Jr. 1-4). Fouled Out: None.
Rebounds:	Utah 37 (Gobert 11), Portland 51 (Whiteside 21).
Assists:	Utah 19 (Ingles 5), Portland 20 (Lillard 12).
Total Fouls:	Utah 17, Portland 19. A: 19,603 (19,393)

GOLF

PGA Tour

PHOENIX OPEN

at TPC Scottsdale (Ariz.)  
Purse: \$7.3 million  
Yardage: 7,261; Par: 71

FINAL

x-Webb Simpson (500)	\$131,000	71	63	64	69	- 267	- 17
Tony Finau (300)	\$795,700	69	66	62	70	- 267	- 17
Nate Lashley (145)	\$386,900	66	67	69	68	- 270	- 14
Justin Thomas (145)		68	68	69	65	- 270	- 14
Bubba Watson (145)		68	66	69	66	- 270	- 14

Max Homa (95)	\$255,500	72	67	64	68	- 271	- 13
Scott Piercy (95)		72	65	68	71	- 271	- 13
Adam Long (85)	\$228,125	66	68	66	72	- 272	- 12
Daniel Berger (66)	\$170,768	69	71	66	67	- 273	- 11
Brandon Grace (66)		67	67	70	69	- 273	- 11
Billy Horschel (66)		63	68	73	69	- 273	- 11
Mark Hubbard (66)		69	68	64	72	- 273	- 11
Jon Rahm (66)		67	68	68	70	- 273	- 11
Byeong Hun An (66)		65	66	72	73	- 273	- 11
Hudson Swafford (66)		66	67	66	74	- 273	- 11

Harris English (45)	\$97,212	65	72	68	69	- 274	- 10
Brandon Hays (45)		67	69	69	69	- 274	- 10
Matt Kuchar (45)		68	67	69	69	- 274	- 10
Hideki Matsuyama (45)		67	74	65	68	- 274	- 10
Keith Mitchell (45)		68	67	70	69	- 274	- 10
Patrick Rodgers (45)		67	69	70	68	- 274	- 10
J.B. Holmes (45)		64	65	70	75	- 274	- 10
Russell Knox (45)		71	67	67	69	- 274	- 10
Xander Schauffele (45)		67	67	66	74	- 274	- 10

Bud Cauley (30)	\$52,601	65	72	68	69	- 275	- 9
James Hahn (30)		69	67	70	68	- 275	- 9
Harry Higgs (30)		70	68	68	69	- 275	- 9
Danny Lee (30)		68	68	69	69	- 275	- 9
Carlos Ortiz (30)		71	69	67	68	- 275	- 9
Tom Hoge (30)		69	71	67	72	- 275	- 9
Luke List (30)		70	69	74	72	- 275	- 9
Chunlin Morikawa (30)		69	67	68	71	- 275	- 9
Xijun Zhang (30)		69	67	68	66	- 275	- 9

Wyndham Clark (21)	\$39,785	61	69	72	70	- 276	- 8
Sungjae Im (21)		62	72	68	72	- 276	- 8
Doc Redman (21)		69	67	71	69	- 276	- 8
Rickie Fowler (18)	\$34,675	74	65	69	69	- 277	- 7
J.T. Poston (18)		70	68	71	68	- 277	- 7
Kevin Tran (18)		72	67	70	68	- 277	- 7

Aaron Baddeley (14)	\$28,835	70	67	72	68	- 278	- 6
Adam Hadwin (14)		69	67	72	70	- 278	- 6
Charles Hoffman (14)		71	70	72	70	- 278	- 6
John Huh (14)		71	66	65	75	- 278	- 6
Gary Woodland (14)		70	67	69	72	- 278	- 6
Corey Connors (11)	\$23,725	71	69	71	68	- 279	- 5
Andrew Landry (11)		69	72	69	69	- 279	- 5

Sebastian Munoz (10)	\$20,951	71	71	69	70	- 280	- 4
J.J. Spaun (10)		70	71	68	71	- 280	- 4
Keegan Bradley (9)	\$18,810	67	70	71	73	- 281	- 3
Brian Harman (9)		71	68	73	75	- 281	- 3
Nick Taylor (9)		70	70	71	70	- 281	- 3
Bryson DeChambeau (7)	\$17,593	70	69	70	73	- 282	-



SUPER BOWL LIV



Fifty years after the franchise earned its first Super Bowl championship, the Kansas City Chiefs brought title No. 2 to their fans, overcoming a 10-point deficit with three consecutive touchdowns Sunday night.

Mahomes propels Kansas City with a fourth-quarter rally

SUPER BOWL FROM D1

of the second half and trailed 20-10 midway through the fourth quarter. But Mahomes, who had thrown a pair of earlier interceptions, delivered a one-yard touchdown pass to tight end Travis Kelce with just more than six minutes remaining. The Chiefs got the ball back, and Mahomes threw a five-yard touchdown pass to running back Damien Williams with 2:44 left.

After the Kansas City defense sacked 49ers quarterback Jimmy Garoppolo on a fourth-down play, Williams added a 38-yard touchdown run with 1:12 to play to put the Chiefs and their fans in full celebration mode. The Chiefs secured the second Super Bowl triumph in franchise history. They beat the Minnesota Vikings in Super Bowl IV in January 1970 in their only other appearance.

“We never are out of a game,” Chiefs linebacker Damien Wilson said. “Never. . . It’s not how you start. It’s how you finish. We’re the embodiment of that.”

The Chiefs overcame deficits in their AFC playoff victories over the Houston Texans and Tennessee Titans. Their latest comeback denied the 49ers what would have been their sixth Super Bowl win.

“That team, that’s kind of how they’ve been all year,” 49ers Coach Kyle Shanahan said of the Chiefs. “They’re not a team that



MARK J. TERRILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Chiefs’ Damien Williams leaves Jimmie Ward behind on his 38-yard, game-clinching touchdown.

does it every drive. They get a little bit hot and cold. They can score very fast.”

Garoppolo had a touchdown throw to fullback Kyle Juszczyk in a 20-for-31, 219-yard passing performance for the 49ers. He threw two interceptions, the second of which came in the game’s final minute. Tailback Raheem Mostert had a rushing touchdown for San Francisco.

“It hurts everybody in our room, losing a Super Bowl,” Shanahan said. “We had an opportunity to win that and came up short. But win or lose, it doesn’t change how I feel about our team. . . . They were better than us today. We can deal with that. But we’re obviously pretty disappointed.”

Mahomes became a Super Bowl winner in his third NFL

season. He had a first-half rushing touchdown and ended up completing 26 of 42 passes for 286 yards. Chiefs Coach Andy Reid added a Super Bowl victory to his distinguished career.

“He’s one of the greatest coaches of all time,” Mahomes said. “I don’t think he needed a Lombardi Trophy to prove that. But just to do that, it puts all doubt aside. He’s going to be

listed as one of the all-time great coaches in history whenever he wants to be done, which I hope is not anytime soon.”

Reid had lost his previous Super Bowl head coaching appearance while with the Philadelphia Eagles. He seemed on his way to another Super Bowl defeat until Mahomes connected with wide receiver Tyreek Hill for a 44-yard gain on a third-and-15 play to set up the first of the Chiefs’ three late touchdowns. From there, their offense appeared typically unstoppable.

“I told them that I’d coach another 20 years if I could have that group right there, man,” Reid said. “They’re a beautiful bunch — resilient, tough, tough-minded. . . . I’m so proud of them.”

Reid did his part by sending his offense back on the field for a fourth-and-one try from the San Francisco 5-yard line in the opening quarter, trailing by a field goal. As the Chiefs lined up, Mahomes and three other players performed a synchronized twirl to their right as part of a shift. Williams took a direct snap and ran for four yards and a first down at the 1. Mahomes scored from there on a second-down quarterback keeper.

Garoppolo threw an interception to hand the Chiefs a second-quarter field goal. But Garoppolo and the 49ers regrouped quickly. A superb drive ended with Garoppolo connecting with

Juszczyk for a 15-yard touchdown. The 49ers had a chance to take the lead just before halftime. But Shanahan at first took a conservative approach to clock management. When the 49ers suddenly turned aggressive, a long completion from Garoppolo to tight end George Kittle was negated by an offensive pass interference penalty called against Kittle for a light push-off.

“The ref made the call,” Kittle said, “and I’ve got to live with it.”

Shanahan opted against a fourth-and-two try from the Kansas City 24-yard line in favor of a field goal and a 13-10 lead in the third quarter. Mahomes threw an interception that led to Mostert’s one-yard touchdown run that gave the 49ers a 20-10 lead.

“I just tried to fight,” Mahomes said. “I thought that was the biggest thing. Obviously the third quarter didn’t go the way I wanted it to. I tried to force some things and got some turnovers. That’s a really good [49ers] defense. . . . I didn’t play to my liking in the third quarter. The guys believed in me and gave me confidence and kept fighting, and we found ways to win at the end.”

Mahomes and the Chiefs just were getting started, as it turned out.

“He’s greatness in a bottle,” Wilson said. “He showed up big for us today. Everybody did.”

mark.maske@washpost.com

JERRY BREWER

By rebounding from a bad start, quarterback establishes how great he truly is

BREWER FROM D1

“You’ve got to believe, brother,” Mahomes insisted. “It’s going to happen, man. I can feel it.”

Looking back, it seems foolish that Hill had such doubt. In a rousing rally, Mahomes turned his most perplexing performance into his pluckiest in a 31-20 Kansas City victory at Hard Rock Stadium. In the Chiefs’ first Super Bowl appearance in 50 years, on a night when the NFL celebrated its 100th season by honoring its 100 greatest players, Mahomes cemented his legend as a phenom who could help define the next century. He proved he is more than the sport’s greatest entertainer. He is its best active player, period, and now he has the championship, the signature comeback and all the requisite toughness and resilience to boot.

With the Chiefs trailing 20-10 midway through the fourth quarter, Mahomes bounced back and delivered the Lombardi

Trophy to a long-suffering football town and to Andy Reid, his long-suffering coach.

He didn’t do it simply by believing. He had to recover, and he had to do so against the San Francisco defense, a force as mighty as the offense he directs so brilliantly. The 49ers were dragging Mahomes by the mohawk toward his ultimate humbling.

Then magic happened. Mahomes Magic, as they call it. On third and 15, he connected with Hill for 44 yards. *Man, how are we going to pull this off?* Mahomes’ answer: Quickly. Marvelously. Emphatically.

Four plays after Hill’s catch ignited the offense, Mahomes hit all-pro tight end Travis Kelce for a one-yard touchdown. The deficit had been trimmed to three. After the Kansas City defense came through with a three-and-out, Mahomes went to work again. He needed only 2:26 to drive 65 yards and take the lead. He and Sammy

Watkins combined to burn San Francisco cornerback Richard Sherman on a 38-yard pass. Three plays after that, Mahomes found Damien Williams for a five-yard score. All of a sudden, the Chiefs led 24-20. They had broken a 49ers defense that seemingly broke them.

“It’s Magic Mahomes,” Kelce said. “It’s Showtime Mahomes. He’s going to be himself no matter what the scenario is, and you know what? I love him. He willed this team back into the game.”

And now Reid is a winner. The coach entered this game with 221 career regular season and postseason victories, the most in league history for any coach without a Super Bowl or NFL championship. After 21 NFL seasons as a head coach, we now know why it took so long for Reid to win the big one: He had to wait for Mahomes.

Mahomes might have been worth all the heartbreaking losses, all the criticisms of his

clock management. Mahomes needed until nearly the last minute to find himself, but he finally did so. After that second interception, Mahomes completed 8 of 13 passes for 114 yards and two touchdowns to cap the most memorable of Kansas City’s three come-from-behind victories this postseason.

“I’m going to go get the biggest cheeseburger you’ve ever seen,” Reid joked. “And it might be a double.”

By the end, Mahomes’ numbers looked quite nice: He completed 26 of 42 passes for 286 yards and two touchdowns. But to get there, he had to accept his toughest challenge. San Francisco had the most potent defense he has faced, and it had the perfect game plan to limit the Chiefs’ big plays, to keep Mahomes from improvising and to hit the quarterback enough to make him flustered.

For 3½ quarters, the 49ers made the game look uglier for

Mahomes than he has experienced as an NFL player. But in the end, it merely enabled him to show how great he truly is.

“I had the mind-set that I’m going to keep firing it,” Mahomes said.

He didn’t need another flawless performance. Mahomes needed to show he can do it the hard way. He needed to overcome the opponent and himself. That he figured it out was an impressive way to take his place as the new face of the NFL.

It’s a designation that Mahomes is too humble to claim. “There are several guys that can be the face of the NFL,” he said. “Lamar Jackson was just the unanimous MVP and had one of the greatest seasons ever for a quarterback.”

Mahomes won the MVP a year ago at age 23 after throwing for 5,097 yards and 50 touchdowns. Now, at 24, he became the second-youngest quarterback to win a Super Bowl. But he is a different

animal than some of the other 25-and-under Super Bowl-winning QBs. That list includes Ben Roethlisberger, Tom Brady and Russell Wilson, and it’s likely all of them are headed to the Hall of Fame. But put Mahomes with those three, and here’s the difference: He is the only one who was asked to carry his team as a young quarterback. Roethlisberger, Brady and Wilson grew into their responsibilities. Mahomes has been the franchise since he became a starter. And he is not just an extraordinary athlete with a gifted arm. He is a relentless competitor, too.

“Doesn’t matter the score,” Kelce said. “Doesn’t matter. We’ve got Pat Mahomes.”

And the Chiefs will never doubt what he is capable of again. The rest of us would be wise to join them.

jerry.brewer@washpost.com

For more by Jerry Brewer, visit [washingtonpost.com/brewer](https://www.washingtonpost.com/brewer).



















**851 Prince Georges County 851 Prince Georges County**  
**ORLANDS PC**  
 1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310  
 LEESBURG, VA 20175  
 703-777-7101

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE  
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY**

**2512 Gateshead Drive  
Upper Marlboro, MD 20774**

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from JACQUELINE L. STIRKENS, dated December 23, 2005 and recorded in Liber 24521, folio 381 among the Land Records of **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD**, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.CAEF15-32621; Tax ID No.03-3512043 ) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE**, located at **FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772**, on

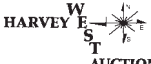
**FEBRUARY 5, 2020 at 10:00 AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD** and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$50,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in **CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK**, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 587141)

JAMES E. CLARKE,  
HUGH J. GREEN,  
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,  
BRIAN THOMAS,  
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



**AUCTIONEERS, LLC**  
 300 E. Joppa Road  
 Hampton Plaza, Suite 1103  
 Baltimore, MD 21206  
 410-768-9797  
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JANUARY 20, 27, FEBRUARY 3, 2020

12293839

**ORLANDS PC**  
 1602 VILLAGE MARKET BLVD. SE, SUITE 310  
 LEESBURG, VA 20175  
 703-777-7101

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEE'S SALE  
OF IMPROVED REAL PROPERTY**

**9196 Autoville Drive  
College Park, MD 20740**

Under a power of sale contained in a Deed of Trust from ANTHONY R. BEHARRY AND ANVALAURA G. BEHARRY, dated July 13, 2005 and recorded in Liber 23102, folio 607 among the Land Records of **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD**, default having occurred thereunder (Foreclosure Case docketed as Case No.CAEF17-13158; Tax ID No.21-3030939) the Sub. Trustees will sell at public auction at the **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY COURTHOUSE**, located at **FRONT OF THE DUVAL WING OF THE COURTHOUSE COMPLEX 14735 MAIN ST, UPPER MARLBORO, MD 20772**, on

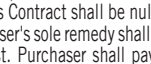
**FEBRUARY 12, 2020 at 10:00 AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in **PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY, MD** and more fully described in above referenced Deed of Trust.

The property will be sold in an "as is" condition and subject to conditions, restrictions and agreements of record affecting the same, if any and with no warranty of any kind.

Terms of Sale: A deposit \$50,000.00 will be required at the time of sale, such deposit to be in **CERTIFIED CHECK OR BY CASHIER'S CHECK**, CASH WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED. Balance of the purchase price to be paid in cash within ten days of final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court for PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY. Time is of the essence as to the purchaser. If the purchaser defaults, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the purchaser's risk and expense. The purchaser waives personal service and accepts service by first class mail and certified mail addressed to the address provided by said Purchaser as identified on the Memorandum of Sale for any Motion or Show Cause Order incident to this sale including a Motion to Default Purchaser and for Resale of the Property. In the event of a resale, the defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to receive any benefit from the resale, including, but not limited to, additional proceeds or surplus which may arise therefrom. Interest to be paid on the unpaid purchase money at the rate pursuant to the Deed of Trust Note from the date of sale to the date funds are received by the Substitute Trustees. There will be no abatement of interest in the event additional funds are tendered at the time of sale or any time prior to settlement or if the settlement is delayed for any reason. In the event that the Secured Party executes a forbearance agreement with the borrower(s) described in the above-mentioned Deed of Trust, or allows the borrower(s) to execute their right to reinstate or payoff the subject loan, prior to the sale, with or without the Substitute Trustee's prior knowledge, this Contract shall be null and void and of no effect, and the Purchaser's sole remedy shall be the return of the deposit without interest. Purchaser shall pay for documentary stamps, transfer taxes and settlement expenses. Taxes, ground rent, water rent, condominium fees and/or homeowner association dues, all public charges/assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if applicable, shall be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 558316)

JAMES E. CLARKE,  
RENEE DYSON,  
HUGH J. GREEN,  
SHANNON MENAPACE,  
KHALID D. WALKER,  
CHRISTINE M. DREXEL,  
BRIAN THOMAS,  
SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES



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JANUARY 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

12294344

**851 Prince Georges County 851 Prince Georges County**  
**Henry & O'Donnell, P.C.**  
 300 N. Washington Street, Suite 204  
 Alexandria, Virginia 22314

**ASSIGNEES SALE  
OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE  
(PROPERTIES)**

**3016 MITCHELLVILLE ROAD-SUITE 202  
&  
3018 MITCHELLVILLE ROAD-SUITE 201  
BOWIE, MARYLAND 20716-6324**

Pursuant to the power of sale contained in a Mortgage dated September 14, 2006, and recorded among the Land Records of **PRINCE GEORGE'S County, Maryland** in Liber No. 26140, folio 403, default having occurred thereunder, the undersigned duly appointed Assignees will offer for sale at public auction, at the Courthouse of the Circuit Court for Prince George's County, 14735 Main Street, Upper Marlboro, MD 20772, on

**FEBRUARY 12, 2020 at 9:30 AM**

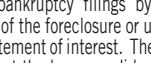
ALL that lot of ground and the improvements thereon situated and lying in Prince George's County, Maryland and described as follows:

**Units 3016/202 and 3018/201 in Phase A in a condominium known as "North Oak Professional Park Townhouse Condominium" as per plat thereof recorded among the Land Records of Prince George's County, Maryland in Plat Book NLP145-18, et seq., and NLP145-24 et seq., pursuant to a Declaration of Condominium recorded in Liber 6206, folio 949, Liber 7165, folio 484, Liber 7248, folio 840 and as amended by Supplementary Declaration recorded in Liber 7248, folio 917 among the land records of Prince George's County, Maryland.**

The properties will be sold in an as is, condition and subject to all conditions, restrictions, easements, covenants, and agreements of record affecting the same, if any, and without expressed or implied warranty as to the nature and description of the improvements as contained herein.

Terms of Sale: Each property will be offered separately, bids reserved, and then offered as an entirety and will be sold in the manner producing the greater amount. A deposit in the amount of \$10,000.00 for each OR \$20,000.00 for entirety cashiers check, or in other form as the Assignees may determine acceptable, in the party's sole discretion. The deposit shall be increased to Ten (10) percent of the purchase price within twenty-four (24) hours of the sale at the Assignees Office and shall be in the same form as the original deposit. If payment of the balance does not take place within the specified period, the deposit will be forfeited and the properties may be resold at the risk and expense of the defaulting purchaser. The defaulting purchaser shall not be entitled to any surplus proceeds or profits resulting from any resale of the properties, even if such surplus results from improvements to the properties by said defaulted purchaser. Interest will accrue on the unpaid purchase money, at the rate stated in the foreclosed Mortgage, from date of sale to date of settlement, in the event the properties are purchased by someone other than the Mortgage Holder. In the event settlement is delayed for any reason, including, but not limited to, exceptions to this sale, bankruptcy filings by interested parties, court administration of the foreclosure or unknown title defects, there shall be no abatement of interest. The sale is subject to post-sale confirmation that the borrower did not file for protection under the U.S. Bankruptcy Code prior to the sale. In such event, this sale shall be null and void, and the purchaser's sole remedy, in law and equity, shall be the return of the deposit without interest. All taxes, ground rent, and water rent to be adjusted to date of sale. Purchaser shall be responsible for the payment of the ground rent escrow, if required. All other state, county, city, and other taxes, public charges or assessments payable on an annual basis, including sanitary and/or metropolitan district charges, if any, to be adjusted for the current year to date of sale and assumed by the purchaser thereafter. Purchaser is responsible for any amount in excess of \$250 of outstanding water bills, if any, incurred prior to date of sale. Costs of all transfer taxes, documentary stamps and recordation costs shall be borne by the purchaser. Purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the properties. Purchaser waives and releases the Assignees, the holder of the indebtedness, the Auctioneers, and their respective agents, successors and assigns from any and all claims the purchaser and/or its successors and assigns may now have or may have in the future relating to the condition of the properties, including but not limited to the environmental condition thereof. If the sale is not ratified, or if for any reason the Assignees are unable to convey good and marketable title, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the deposit. Upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be null and void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Assignees, Mortgage Holder, or Auctioneers. The purchaser at the foreclosure sale shall assume the risk of loss for the properties immediately after the sale. Additional terms, if any, to be announced at sale. Purchaser agrees to pay a fee of \$250 at settlement to the seller's attorney for the review of any motion which may be subsequently filed with the Court to substitute a purchaser herein. Time shall be of the essence for the purchaser.

Kevin M. O'Donnell,  
Jeffery T. Martin, Jr.,  
Assignees



**AUCTIONEERS, LLC**  
 300 E. Joppa Road  
 Hampton Plaza, Suite 1103  
 Baltimore, MD 21206  
 410-768-9797  
[www.hwestauct.com](http://www.hwestauct.com)

JANUARY 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

12294344

**852 Anne Arundel County 852 Anne Arundel County**

**852 Anne Arundel County 852 Anne Arundel County**  
**HEISE JORGENSEN & STEFANELLI P.A.**  
 18310 Montgomery Village Avenue, Suite 400  
 Gaithersburg, MD 20879  
 (301) 977-8400

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE REAL ESTATE**

Known as

**5348 DEALE CHURCHTON ROAD, CHURCHTON, MARYLAND 20733**

By virtue of the power and authority contained in a certain Deed of Trust from Joseph Isaiah Brown and Loretta Thompson to Nancy S. Rase and C. Dale Janney, Trustees, dated March 1, 1988 and recorded in Book 4576 at Page 1 among the Land Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, the undersigned substituted trustees (by virtue of Deed of Appointment between the Department of Housing and Community Development for the State of Maryland and the undersigned Substituted Trustees recorded among the Land Records of Anne Arundel County), will, on

**FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 2020 at 10:05 O'Clock, A.M.**

offer for sale at public auction at the Anne Arundel County Circuit Court, located at 7 Church Circle, Annapolis, Maryland 21401, all of the property and improvements thereon, including but not limited to, as described as 5348 Deale Churchton Road, Churchton, Maryland 20733. Tax Identification No. 07-00034396-100 (the "Property") and more fully described in the above referenced Deed of Trust.

**TERMS OF SALE:** The Property, which is improved by a dwelling, will be offered for sale, subject to matters known and unknown, in an "AS IS, WHERE IS" condition with no warranty of any kind and will be sold and conveyed by the Substitute Trustees subject to all encumbrances, easements, agreements, covenants, conditions, restrictions, and statutory liens, if any, having priority over the Deed of Trust, as they may lawfully affect the Property. The Property shall be sold subject to a prior recorded easement, the "Beneficial Use" as described in Book 7580 at Page 893 among the Land Records for Anne Arundel County, Maryland. The risk of loss or damage to the Property shall be borne by the successful bidder from and after the time of the sale. The purchaser's possession of the Property shall be the sole responsibility of the successful bidder. A deposit of Five Thousand Dollars (\$5,000.00), in the form of certified check, cashier's check, or other negotiable instrument, shall be paid in cash within fifteen (15) days after final ratification of the sale of the Property by the Circuit Court, TIME BEING OF THE ESSENCE WITH REGARD TO ALL OF PURCHASE TAXES, water, sewer, ground rent, condominium fees, and/or homeowners association dues, if applicable, will be adjusted to the date of sale and assumed thereafter by the purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association fees and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post-sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 587141)

STEPHEN B. JACKSON and STEVEN P. HENNE  
Substitute Trustees

JANUARY 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

12295030

**852 Anne Arundel County 852 Anne Arundel County**  
**BROCK & SCOTT, PLLC**  
 484 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 203  
 VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS:**

**614 Jupiter Hills Court, Unit 6-6H, Arnold, Maryland 21012**

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to Thomas F. Retton and John W. Renner, Trustees, dated October 23, 1990 and recorded among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 19779, Folio 077, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees to sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

**February 11, 2020 at 10:00AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

**BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS UNIT 6-H, building 6, Phase 6, in the horizontal property regime known as "DEEP CREEK COMMONS", and being part of all that property more particularly described in a certain Declaration of Condominium recorded in Liber 6206, folio 949, among the Land Records of Prince George's County, Maryland in Liber 19779, Folio 077, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees to sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on**

**February 11, 2020 at 10:00AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

**BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS UNIT 6-H, building 6, Phase 6, in the horizontal property regime known as "DEEP CREEK COMMONS", and being part of all that property more particularly described in a certain Declaration of Condominium recorded in Liber 6206, folio 949, among the Land Records of Prince George's County, Maryland in Liber 19779, Folio 077, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees to sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on**

**February 11, 2020 at 10:00AM**

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of \$20,000.00 payable in a certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 6.5% on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk and expense of the purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association fees and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post-sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 16-10545 FCOI)

Brennan Ferguson, Christine N. Johnson, Jeana McCurray,  
Robert M. Oliveri, Melissa Alcocer, Substitute Trustees

**Mid-Atlantic Auctioneers, LLC**  
 305 West Chesapeake Ave., Ste. 105  
 Towson, MD 21204  
[www.mid-atlanticauctioneers.com](http://www.mid-atlanticauctioneers.com)  
 410.825.2900

JANUARY 27, February 3, 10, 2020

12295652

**852 Anne Arundel County 852 Anne Arundel County**  
**BROCK & SCOTT, PLLC**  
 484 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 203  
 VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS:**

**7975 Heather Mist Drive, Severn, Maryland 21144**

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to Old Republic National Title Insurance Company, Trustees, dated April 24, 2017, and recorded among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 30898, Folio 413, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees to sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

**February 18, 2020 at 10:00AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

**THE LAND REFERRED TO HEREIN BELOW IS SITUATED IN THE COUNTY OF ANNE ARUNDEL, STATE OF Maryland, AND IS DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:**

**BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS CONDOMINIUM UNIT NO. 99, IN BUILDING NO. 14, PHASE NO. 14 OF THE "QUAL RUN SOUTH TOWNHOUSE STATE OF MARYLAND, AND DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS: BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED FOURTEEN (14) AS SHOWN ON A PLAT ENTITLED, "HARMONS WOODS, SECTION THREE, PHASE THREE", WHICH PLAT IS RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, AT PLAT BOOK 90, AT PAGE 88, AND 89.**

**SUBJECT TO A LIEN FOR WATER AND SEWER UTILITIES CHARGES (PRIVATE FRONT YOT UTILITY BENEFIT ASSESSMENT) IMPOSED BY ANNE ARUNDEL UTILITIES INC. ITS SUCCESSORS AND OR ASSIGNS PURSUANT TO A DECLARATION ESTABLISHING LIEN FOR UTILITY ASSESSMENTS FOR WATER AND SEWER FACILITIES RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND IN LIBER 9546 AT FOLIO 806 AND FOLIO 807, AND TO THE SUBDIVISION AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENTS THERETO AND AS SHOWN ON THE CONDOMINIUM PLATS FOR QUAL RUN SOUTH TOWNHOUSE CONDOMINIUM, PROJECT AS THE "SALE OF QUAL RUN SOUTH TOWNHOUSE CONDOMINIUM, SECTION ONE" A CONDOMINIUM DATED SEPTEMBER 30, 1993 AND RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND IN LIBER 2322 AND 2323.**

**PER ANNUAL FOR THE SEWER FACILITIES UTILITY ASSESSMENTS CHARGES, WHICH COVENANT AND LIEN LAST FOR THIRTY-THREE (33) YEARS FROM THE DATE OF RECORDATION OF SAID DECLARATION.**

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of \$23,500.00 payable in a certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 2.25% on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk and expense of the purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association fees and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post-sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser shall be responsible for obtaining physical possession of the property. Purchaser assumes the risk of loss or damage to the property from the date of sale forward. If the Substitute Trustee(s) are unable to convey insurable title for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to a refund of the aforementioned deposit without interest. In the event the sale is not ratified for any reason, the Purchaser's sole remedy, at law or equity, is the return of the deposit without interest. (File # 19-06362 FCOI)

Brennan Ferguson, Christine N. Johnson, Jeana McCurray,  
Robert M. Oliveri, Melissa Alcocer, Substitute Trustees

**Mid-Atlantic Auctioneers, LLC**  
 305 West Chesapeake Ave., Ste. 105  
 Towson, MD 21204  
[www.mid-atlanticauctioneers.com](http://www.mid-atlanticauctioneers.com)  
 410.825.2900

JANUARY 27, February 3, 10, 2020

12295653

**852 Anne Arundel County 852 Anne Arundel County**  
**BROCK & SCOTT, PLLC**  
 484 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 203  
 VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

**SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS:**

**7975 Heather Mist Drive, Severn, Maryland 21144**

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to Old Republic National Title Insurance Company, Trustees, dated April 24, 2017, and recorded among the Land Records of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 30898, Folio 413, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees to sell at public auction at the ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY COURTHOUSE LOCATED AT 8 CHURCH CIR, ANNAPOLIS, MD 21401, on

**February 18, 2020 at 10:00AM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

**BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS CONDOMINIUM UNIT NO. 99, IN BUILDING NO. 14, PHASE NO. 14 OF THE "QUAL RUN SOUTH TOWNHOUSE STATE OF MARYLAND, AND DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS: BEING KNOWN AND DESIGNATED AS LOT NUMBERED FOURTEEN (14) AS SHOWN ON A PLAT ENTITLED, "HARMONS WOODS, SECTION THREE, PHASE THREE", WHICH PLAT IS RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, AT PLAT BOOK 90, AT PAGE 88, AND 89.**

**SUBJECT TO A LIEN FOR WATER AND SEWER UTILITIES CHARGES (PRIVATE FRONT YOT UTILITY BENEFIT ASSESSMENT) IMPOSED BY ANNE ARUNDEL UTILITIES INC. ITS SUCCESSORS AND OR ASSIGNS PURSUANT TO A DECLARATION ESTABLISHING LIEN FOR UTILITY ASSESSMENTS FOR WATER AND SEWER FACILITIES RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND IN LIBER 9546 AT FOLIO 806 AND FOLIO 807, AND TO THE SUBDIVISION AGREEMENT AND SUPPLEMENTS THERETO AND AS SHOWN ON THE CONDOMINIUM PLATS FOR QUAL RUN SOUTH TOWNHOUSE CONDOMINIUM, PROJECT AS THE "SALE OF QUAL RUN SOUTH TOWNHOUSE CONDOMINIUM, SECTION ONE" A CONDOMINIUM DATED SEPTEMBER 30, 1993 AND RECORDED AMONG THE LAND RECORDS OF ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND IN LIBER 2322 AND 2323.**

**PER ANNUAL FOR THE SEWER FACILITIES UTILITY ASSESSMENTS CHARGES, WHICH COVENANT AND LIEN LAST FOR THIRTY-THREE (33) YEARS FROM THE DATE OF RECORDATION OF SAID DECLARATION.**

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of \$23,500.00 payable in a certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 2.25% on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk and expense of the purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale. Cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association fees and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post-sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser's sole remedy in law or equity shall



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**Calvert County**

BROCK & SCOTT, PLLC  
484 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 203  
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS:  
2554 Woodland Pl, Chesapeake Beach, Maryland 20732

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to Jack Adams, Trustees), dated July 18, 2005, and recorded among the Land Records of CALVERT COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 2540, Folio 499, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees), by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees(s) will offer for sale at public auction at the front of the Calvert County courthouse located at 175 Main Street, Prince Frederick, MD 20676, on:

**February 4, 2020 at 11:55PM**

ALL THAT FEE SIMPLE LOT OF GROUND and improvements thereon situated in CALVERT COUNTY, MD and described as follows:

**Being known and designated as Lot Thirty (30) Final Plat, Lots 29-35, & Lots 36-42, Section One, Block F, Phase 6 in a subdivision known as "Richfield Station" as per plat thereof recorded in Plat Book B/S 1, Page 64, as recorded among the land records of Calvert County, Maryland, being in the third election district of said county.**

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of \$24,500.00 payable in a certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of CALVERT COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 5.75% on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk and expense, of the defaulting purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale, cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights and claims against the Substitute Trustees whether known or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. The sale is subject to post-sale review of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit shall be refunded without interest. Additional deposits or conditions, if applicable, may be announced at the time and date of sale. File No. (19-12326 FC01)

Christine N. Johnson, Brennan Ferguson, Jeana McMurray,  
Robert M. Oliveri, Melissa Alcocer, Substitute Trustees

Mid-Atlantic Auctioneers, LLC  
305 West Chesapeake Ave., Ste. 105  
Farmingdale, NY 11735  
www.mid-atlanticauctioneers.com  
410.825.2900

853

**Calvert County**

BROCK & SCOTT, PLLC  
484 VIKING DRIVE, SUITE 203  
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA 23452

SUBSTITUTE TRUSTEES' SALE OF  
VALUABLE FEE SIMPLE PROPERTY KNOWN AS:  
2554 Woodland Pl, Chesapeake Beach, Maryland 20732

Under and by virtue of the power of sale contained in a certain Deed of Trust to Jack Adams, Trustees), dated July 18, 2005, and recorded among the Land Records of CALVERT COUNTY, MARYLAND in Liber 2540, Folio 499, the holder of the indebtedness secured by this Deed of Trust having appointed the undersigned Substitute Trustees), by instrument duly recorded among the aforesaid Land Records, default having occurred under the terms thereof, and at the request of the party secured thereby, the undersigned Substitute Trustees(s) will offer for sale at public auction at the front of the Calvert County courthouse located at 175 Main Street, Prince Frederick, MD 20676, on:

**February 4, 2020 at 11:55PM**

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**Being known and designated as Lot Thirty (30) Final Plat, Lots 29-35, & Lots 36-42, Section One, Block F, Phase 6 in a subdivision known as "Richfield Station" as per plat thereof recorded in Plat Book B/S 1, Page 64, as recorded among the land records of Calvert County, Maryland, being in the third election district of said county.**

The property will be sold in an "AS IS WHERE IS" condition without either express or implied warranty or representation, including but not limited to the description, fitness for a particular purpose or use, structural integrity, physical condition, construction, extent of construction, workmanship, materials, liability, zoning, subdivision, environmental condition, merchantability, compliance with building or housing codes or other laws, ordinances or regulations, or other similar matters, and subject to easements, agreements and restrictions of record which affect the same, if any. The property will be sold subject to all conditions liens, restrictions and agreements of record affecting same including any condominium and HOA assessments pursuant to Md Real Property Article 11-110.

**TERMS OF SALE:** A deposit of \$24,500.00 payable in a certified check or by a cashier's check will be required from purchaser at time of sale, balance in immediately available funds upon final ratification of sale by the Circuit Court of CALVERT COUNTY, MARYLAND interest to be paid at the rate of 5.75% on unpaid purchase money from date of sale to date of settlement. The secured party herein, if a bidder, shall not be required to post a deposit. Third party purchaser (excluding the secured party) will be required to complete full settlement of the purchase of the property within TEN (10) CALENDAR DAYS of the ratification of the sale by the Circuit Court otherwise the purchaser's deposit shall be forfeited and the property will be resold at the risk and expense, of the defaulting purchaser. All other public charges and private charges or assessments, including water/sewer charges, ground rent, taxes if any, to be adjusted to date of sale, cost of all documentary stamps and transfer taxes and all other costs incident to the settlement shall be borne by the purchaser. If applicable, condominium and/or homeowner association dues and assessments will be adjusted to date of sale. If the sale is rescinded or not ratified for any reason, including post sale lender audit, or the Substitute Trustees are unable to convey marketable title or a resale is to take place for any reason, the purchaser(s) sole remedy in law or equity shall be limited to the refund of the aforementioned deposit. The purchaser waives all rights and claims against the Substitute Trustees whether known or unknown. These provisions shall survive settlement upon refund of the deposit, this sale shall be void and of no effect, and the purchaser shall have no further claim against the Substitute Trustees. The sale is subject to post-sale review of the status of the loan and that if any agreement to cancel the sale was entered into by the lender and borrower prior to the sale then the sale is void and the purchaser's deposit shall be refunded without interest. Additional deposits or conditions, if applicable, may be announced at the time and date of sale. File No. (19-12326 FC01)

Christine N. Johnson, Brennan Ferguson, Jeana McMurray,  
Robert M. Oliveri, Melissa Alcocer, Substitute Trustees

Mid-Atlantic Auctioneers, LLC  
305 West Chesapeake Ave., Ste. 105  
Farmingdale, NY 11735  
www.mid-atlanticauctioneers.com  
410.825.2900

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**Fairfax County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEES' SALE  
8953 FORT HUNT ROAD  
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22308

In execution of a Purchase Money Deed of Trust ("Deed of Trust") dated December 5, 2018, in the original amount of \$203,000.00, recorded in Deed Book 2540s at Page 0739 in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of Fairfax County, Virginia, default having been made in the payment of the debt therein secured, and being instructed to do so by the party secured by the Deed of Trust (the "Noteholder"), the undersigned Substitute Trustees, any of whom may act, will on **February 12, 2020, at 10:00 a.m.**, in front of the main entrance to the Fairfax County Judicial Center, 4110 Chain Bridge Road, Fairfax, Virginia 22030, offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder the real property ("Property") with improvements thereon described as follows:

BEGINNING at the Southeast corner of the Phillips property in line of the Fort Hunt Reservation and in the original outline and corner to property remaining in Bridges, and running thence with said outline and with the line of the Fort Hunt Reservation North 74 degrees 22' West 104.6 feet to a new corner with Phillips and the property hereby conveyed; thence through the Phillips property in a line parallel with the west line North 23 degrees 26' East 210.2 feet to a point in the northerly line of the entire tract and in the line of Miller, thence with said line and the outline South 74 degrees 22' East 104.6 feet to a stake in the Miller line and corner to Bridges and one of the original corners of the Phillips acquisition; and thence with the Phillips outline South 23 degrees 26' West 210.2 feet to the beginning, containing one-half acre, more or less being the Eastern one-half of the Phillips acquisition and lying between the portion still owned by Phillips and the remaining Bridges property.

Tax Map No. 111-2-01-0008

A deposit in the form of a cashier's check of \$10,000.00 will be required of all bidders at the time of sale, except from a bidder on behalf of the Noteholder or its subsidiary or affiliate. The Noteholder or any subsidiary or affiliate thereof may apply the outstanding amount of the debt under the Note as a credit to its bid.

The deposit, without interest, is applied to the purchase price at settlement. Settlement will be held on or before fifteen (15) days after sale; time being of the essence. Upon purchaser's default, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. After any such default and forfeiture, the Property and any and all personal property applicable thereto may, at the discretion of the Substitute Trustees, be conveyed to the next highest bidder on the Property whose bid was acceptable to the Substitute Trustees.

The Property and all personal property applicable thereto shall be sold "AS IS" and "WITH ALL FAULTS." Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Noteholder, nor their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Property including, without limitation, representations or warranties as to the structural integrity, physical condition, construction, workmanship, materials, habitability, compliance with applicable zoning regulations, fitness for a particular purpose or merchantability of all or any part of the Property or personal property applicable thereto. The purchaser recognizes and agrees that any investigation, examination, or inspection of the Property and personal property applicable thereto being sold is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession and their agents and not the Note or a credit to its bid.

Conveyance of the Property shall be with special warranty and shall be subject to all existing housing, building, zoning and other code violations, if any subject to all critical area and wetland violations, if any, subject to all environmental problems and violations which may exist on or with respect to the Property, if any, and shall be subject to all recorded and unrecorded liens, encumbrances, security interests, easements, rights-of-way, covenants, agreements, conditions, restrictions, leases, occupancy agreements and mechanics and materialmen's liens, to the extent any of the foregoing may lawfully apply to the Property being sold, or any part thereof, and take priority over the liens and security interests of the Deed of Trust.

Risk of loss or damage to the Property and personal property applicable thereto shall be borne by the purchaser from and after the strike down of the bid at the foreclosure sale. The purchaser shall pay all closing costs, including the preparation of the Trustees' Deed and all taxes and recording costs assessed thereon including, but not limited to, the grantor's tax, and congestion relief fee, if applicable, settlement fees, title examination charges and title insurance premiums. Real estate taxes prorated to the date of the foreclosure will be paid by the Substitute Trustees. Purchaser shall be responsible for all real estate taxes due on the Property from and after the date of the sale. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of all or any part of the Property being sold.

The Substitute Trustees reserve the right to amend or supplement the terms of sale by verbal announcements during the sale, to modify the requirements for bidders' deposits, to reject any and all bids, to withdraw all or part of the Property from the sale prior to the commencement of bidding, to postpone the sale, and to conduct such other sales as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their discretion.

At the time of sale, the successful bidder shall be required to execute a memorandum of sale (the "Memorandum of Sale") which shall include, by reference, all the terms and conditions contained herein. The form of Memorandum of Sale is available from the Substitute Trustee upon request and will be available at sale time.

Immediately upon delivery of the deed for the property by the Substitute Trustees, all duties, liabilities, and obligations of the Substitute Trustees, if any, to the purchaser with respect to the Property shall be extinguished.

William H. Casteline, Jr.  
Jeremy B. Root  
James R. Meizanis, Jr.

872

**Fairfax County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEES' SALE  
8953 FORT HUNT ROAD  
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22308

In execution of a Purchase Money Deed of Trust ("Deed of Trust") dated December 5, 2018, in the original amount of \$203,000.00, recorded in Deed Book 2540s at Page 0739 in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of Fairfax County, Virginia, default having been made in the payment of the debt therein secured, and being instructed to do so by the party secured by the Deed of Trust (the "Noteholder"), the undersigned Substitute Trustees, any of whom may act, will on **February 12, 2020, at 10:00 a.m.**, in front of the main entrance to the Fairfax County Judicial Center, 4110 Chain Bridge Road, Fairfax, Virginia 22030, offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder the real property ("Property") with improvements thereon described as follows:

BEGINNING at the Southeast corner of the Phillips property in line of the Fort Hunt Reservation and in the original outline and corner to property remaining in Bridges, and running thence with said outline and with the line of the Fort Hunt Reservation North 74 degrees 22' West 104.6 feet to a new corner with Phillips and the property hereby conveyed; thence through the Phillips property in a line parallel with the west line North 23 degrees 26' East 210.2 feet to a point in the northerly line of the entire tract and in the line of Miller, thence with said line and the outline South 74 degrees 22' East 104.6 feet to a stake in the Miller line and corner to Bridges and one of the original corners of the Phillips acquisition; and thence with the Phillips outline South 23 degrees 26' West 210.2 feet to the beginning, containing one-half acre, more or less being the Eastern one-half of the Phillips acquisition and lying between the portion still owned by Phillips and the remaining Bridges property.

Tax Map No. 111-2-01-0008

A deposit in the form of a cashier's check of \$10,000.00 will be required of all bidders at the time of sale, except from a bidder on behalf of the Noteholder or its subsidiary or affiliate. The Noteholder or any subsidiary or affiliate thereof may apply the outstanding amount of the debt under the Note as a credit to its bid.

The deposit, without interest, is applied to the purchase price at settlement. Settlement will be held on or before fifteen (15) days after sale; time being of the essence. Upon purchaser's default, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. After any such default and forfeiture, the Property and any and all personal property applicable thereto may, at the discretion of the Substitute Trustees, be conveyed to the next highest bidder on the Property whose bid was acceptable to the Substitute Trustees.

The Property and all personal property applicable thereto shall be sold "AS IS" and "WITH ALL FAULTS." Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Noteholder, nor their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Property including, without limitation, representations or warranties as to the structural integrity, physical condition, construction, workmanship, materials, habitability, compliance with applicable zoning regulations, fitness for a particular purpose or merchantability of all or any part of the Property or personal property applicable thereto. The purchaser recognizes and agrees that any investigation, examination, or inspection of the Property and personal property applicable thereto being sold is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession and their agents and not the Note or a credit to its bid.

Conveyance of the Property shall be with special warranty and shall be subject to all existing housing, building, zoning and other code violations, if any subject to all critical area and wetland violations, if any, subject to all environmental problems and violations which may exist on or with respect to the Property, if any, and shall be subject to all recorded and unrecorded liens, encumbrances, security interests, easements, rights-of-way, covenants, agreements, conditions, restrictions, leases, occupancy agreements and mechanics and materialmen's liens, to the extent any of the foregoing may lawfully apply to the Property being sold, or any part thereof, and take priority over the liens and security interests of the Deed of Trust.

Risk of loss or damage to the Property and personal property applicable thereto shall be borne by the purchaser from and after the strike down of the bid at the foreclosure sale. The purchaser shall pay all closing costs, including the preparation of the Trustees' Deed and all taxes and recording costs assessed thereon including, but not limited to, the grantor's tax, and congestion relief fee, if applicable, settlement fees, title examination charges and title insurance premiums. Real estate taxes prorated to the date of the foreclosure will be paid by the Substitute Trustees. Purchaser shall be responsible for all real estate taxes due on the Property from and after the date of the sale. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of all or any part of the Property being sold.

The Substitute Trustees reserve the right to amend or supplement the terms of sale by verbal announcements during the sale, to modify the requirements for bidders' deposits, to reject any and all bids, to withdraw all or part of the Property from the sale prior to the commencement of bidding, to postpone the sale, and to conduct such other sales as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their discretion.

At the time of sale, the successful bidder shall be required to execute a memorandum of sale (the "Memorandum of Sale") which shall include, by reference, all the terms and conditions contained herein. The form of Memorandum of Sale is available from the Substitute Trustee upon request and will be available at sale time.

Immediately upon delivery of the deed for the property by the Substitute Trustees, all duties, liabilities, and obligations of the Substitute Trustees, if any, to the purchaser with respect to the Property shall be extinguished.

William H. Casteline, Jr.  
Jeremy B. Root  
James R. Meizanis, Jr.

875

**Fauquier County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEES' SALE  
5815 WILDFIRE COURT  
WARRENTON, VIRGINIA 20187

In execution of a Second Deed of Trust ("Deed of Trust") dated March 22, 2019, in the original amount of \$50,000.00, recorded in Deed Book 1592 at Page 1615 in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of Fauquier County, Virginia, default having been made in the payment of the debt therein secured, and being instructed to do so by the party secured by the Deed of Trust (the "Noteholder"), the undersigned Substitute Trustees, any of whom may act, will on **February 13, 2020, at 11:00 a.m.**, in front of the building housing the Fauquier County Circuit Court, 40 Culpeper Street, Warrenton, Virginia 20186, offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder the real property ("Property") with improvements thereon described as follows:

Lot 19, Phase Two, CEDAR KNOLLS, as shown on plat of subdivision dated January 15, 1987, and prepared by James G. Butler, Jr. and Associates, P.C., and recorded in Deed Book 556, at page 556, among the land records of Fauquier County, Virginia.

Tax Map No. 699-89-8875-000

A deposit in the form of a cashier's check of \$5,000.00 will be required of all bidders at the time of sale, except from a bidder on behalf of the Noteholder or its subsidiary or affiliate. The Noteholder or any subsidiary or affiliate thereof may apply the outstanding amount of the debt under the Note as a credit to its bid.

The deposit, without interest, is applied to the purchase price at settlement. Settlement will be held on or before fifteen (15) days after sale; time being of the essence. Upon purchaser's default, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. After any such default and forfeiture, the Property and any and all personal property applicable thereto may, at the discretion of the Substitute Trustees, be conveyed to the next highest bidder on the Property whose bid was acceptable to the Substitute Trustees.

The Property and all personal property applicable thereto shall be sold "AS IS" and "WITH ALL FAULTS." Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Noteholder, nor their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Property including, without limitation, representations or warranties as to the structural integrity, physical condition, construction, workmanship, materials, habitability, compliance with applicable zoning regulations, fitness for a particular purpose or merchantability of all or any part of the Property or personal property applicable thereto. The purchaser recognizes and agrees that any investigation, examination, or inspection of the Property and personal property applicable thereto being sold is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession and their agents and not within the control of the Substitute Trustees, the Noteholder, or their agents, successors or assigns.

Conveyance of the Property shall be with special warranty and shall be subject to all existing housing, building, zoning and other code violations, if any, subject to all critical area and wetland violations, if any, subject to all environmental problems and violations which may exist on or with respect to the Property, if any, and shall be subject to all recorded and unrecorded liens, encumbrances, security interests, easements, rights-of-way, covenants, agreements, conditions, restrictions, leases, occupancy agreements and mechanics and materialmen's liens, to the extent any of the foregoing may lawfully apply to the Property being sold, or any part thereof, and take priority over the liens and security interests of the Deed of Trust. This sale further is subject to the Property recorded in Deed Book 1143 at Page 132 in the original amount of \$240,000.00

Risk of loss or damage to the Property and personal property applicable thereto shall be borne by the purchaser from and after the strike down of the bid at the foreclosure sale. The purchaser shall pay all closing costs, including the preparation of the Trustees' Deed and all taxes and recording costs assessed thereon including, but not limited to, the grantor's tax, and congestion relief fee, if applicable, settlement fees, title examination charges and title insurance premiums. Real estate taxes prorated to the date of the foreclosure will be paid by the Substitute Trustees. Purchaser shall be responsible for all real estate taxes due on the Property from and after the date of the sale. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of all or any part of the Property being sold.

The Substitute Trustees reserve the right to amend or supplement the terms of sale by verbal announcements during the sale, to modify the requirements for bidders' deposits, to reject any and all bids, to withdraw all or part of the Property from the sale prior to the commencement of bidding, to postpone the sale, and to conduct such other sales as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their discretion.

At the time of sale, the successful bidder shall be required to execute a memorandum of sale (the "Memorandum of Sale") which shall include, by reference, all the terms and conditions contained herein. The form of Memorandum of Sale is available from the Substitute Trustee upon request and will be available at sale time.

Immediately upon delivery of the deed for the property by the Substitute Trustees, all duties, liabilities, and obligations of the Substitute Trustees, if any, to the purchaser with respect to the Property shall be extinguished.

William H. Casteline, Jr.  
Jeremy B. Root  
James R. Meizanis, Jr.

875

**Fauquier County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEES' SALE  
5815 WILDFIRE COURT  
WARRENTON, VIRGINIA 20187

In execution of a Second Deed of Trust ("Deed of Trust") dated March 22, 2019, in the original amount of \$50,000.00, recorded in Deed Book 1592 at Page 1615 in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of Fauquier County, Virginia, default having been made in the payment of the debt therein secured, and being instructed to do so by the party secured by the Deed of Trust (the "Noteholder"), the undersigned Substitute Trustees, any of whom may act, will on **February 13, 2020, at 11:00 a.m.**, in front of the building housing the Fauquier County Circuit Court, 40 Culpeper Street, Warrenton, Virginia 20186, offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder the real property ("Property") with improvements thereon described as follows:

Lot 19, Phase Two, CEDAR KNOLLS, as shown on plat of subdivision dated January 15, 1987, and prepared by James G. Butler, Jr. and Associates, P.C., and recorded in Deed Book 556, at page 556, among the land records of Fauquier County, Virginia.

Tax Map No. 699-89-8875-000

A deposit in the form of a cashier's check of \$5,000.00 will be required of all bidders at the time of sale, except from a bidder on behalf of the Noteholder or its subsidiary or affiliate. The Noteholder or any subsidiary or affiliate thereof may apply the outstanding amount of the debt under the Note as a credit to its bid.

The deposit, without interest, is applied to the purchase price at settlement. Settlement will be held on or before fifteen (15) days after sale; time being of the essence. Upon purchaser's default, the deposit shall be forfeited and the property shall be resold at the risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. After any such default and forfeiture, the Property and any and all personal property applicable thereto may, at the discretion of the Substitute Trustees, be conveyed to the next highest bidder on the Property whose bid was acceptable to the Substitute Trustees.

The Property and all personal property applicable thereto shall be sold "AS IS" and "WITH ALL FAULTS." Neither the Substitute Trustees nor the Noteholder, nor their respective agents, successors, and assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Property including, without limitation, representations or warranties as to the structural integrity, physical condition, construction, workmanship, materials, habitability, compliance with applicable zoning regulations, fitness for a particular purpose or merchantability of all or any part of the Property or personal property applicable thereto. The purchaser recognizes and agrees that any investigation, examination, or inspection of the Property and personal property applicable thereto being sold is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession and their agents and not within the control of the Substitute Trustees, the Noteholder, or their agents, successors or assigns.

Conveyance of the Property shall be with special warranty and shall be subject to all existing housing, building, zoning and other code violations, if any, subject to all critical area and wetland violations, if any, subject to all environmental problems and violations which may exist on or with respect to the Property, if any, and shall be subject to all recorded and unrecorded liens, encumbrances, security interests, easements, rights-of-way, covenants, agreements, conditions, restrictions, leases, occupancy agreements and mechanics and materialmen's liens, to the extent any of the foregoing may lawfully apply to the Property being sold, or any part thereof, and take priority over the liens and security interests of the Deed of Trust. This sale further is subject to the Property recorded in Deed Book 1143 at Page 132 in the original amount of \$240,000.00

Risk of loss or damage to the Property and personal property applicable thereto shall be borne by the purchaser from and after the strike down of the bid at the foreclosure sale. The purchaser shall pay all closing costs, including the preparation of the Trustees' Deed and all taxes and recording costs assessed thereon including, but not limited to, the grantor's tax, and congestion relief fee, if applicable, settlement fees, title examination charges and title insurance premiums. Real estate taxes prorated to the date of the foreclosure will be paid by the Substitute Trustees. Purchaser shall be responsible for all real estate taxes due on the Property from and after the date of the sale. The Substitute Trustees will not deliver possession of all or any part of the Property being sold.

The Substitute Trustees reserve the right to amend or supplement the terms of sale by verbal announcements during the sale, to modify the requirements for bidders' deposits, to reject any and all bids, to withdraw all or part of the Property from the sale prior to the commencement of bidding, to postpone the sale, and to conduct such other sales as the Substitute Trustees may determine in their discretion.

At the time of sale, the successful bidder shall be required to execute a memorandum of sale (the "Memorandum of Sale") which shall include, by reference, all the terms and conditions contained herein. The form of Memorandum of Sale is available from the Substitute Trustee upon request and will be available at sale time.

Immediately upon delivery of the deed for the property by the Substitute Trustees, all duties, liabilities, and obligations of the Substitute Trustees, if any, to the purchaser with respect to the Property shall be extinguished.

William H. Casteline, Jr.  
Jeremy B. Root  
James R. Meizanis, Jr.

875

**Fauquier County**

TRUSTEE'S SALE OF  
5815 WILDFIRE CT  
WARRENTON, VA 20187

In execution of a Deed of Trust in the original principal amount of \$240,000.00, with an annual interest rate of 3.125000% dated February 18, 2005, recorded among the land records of the Circuit Court for the County of Fauquier as Deed Book 1143, Page 132, the undersigned appointed Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction all that property located in the County of Fauquier, on the courthouse steps at the front of the Circuit Court building for the County of Fauquier located at 40 Culpeper Street, Warrenton, Virginia on **March 3, 2020 at 2:00 PM**, the property with improvements to wit: Tax Map No. 699-89-8875-000 THIS COMMUNICATION IS FROM A DEBT COLLECTOR.

**TERMS OF SALE: ALL CASH.** A bidder's deposit of 10% of the sale price, will be required in cash, certified or cashier's check. Settlement within 30 days of sale. Additional terms to be announced at sale. If Trustee is unable for any reason, in his sole discretion, to convey title to the Property, the successful bidder's sole and exclusive shall be the return of its deposit, without interest. Trustee reserves the right, in his sole discretion, to (i) announce additional terms at the time of sale, (2) waive or modify the requirement with respect to the bidder's deposit, (3) accept or reject any or all bids, (4) extend the time to receive bids, (5) withdraw the Property from the sale at any time, and (6) postpone settlement following sale for a reasonable period of time as determined by Trustee. The information contained herein was obtained by sources deemed to be reliable but is offered for information purposes only. The Association cannot make any representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy of this information.

Direct any inquiries to counsel for the Association, Joseph Shannon Esq., Rees Broome, P.C., 1900 Gallows Road, Suite 700, Vienna, Virginia 22182, (703) 790-1911.

Mazin I. Elias, Trustee  
8000 Towers Crescent Drive, Suite 1400  
Vienna, Virginia 22182  
Telephone: (240) 507-1708

2451774  
JANUARY 20, 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

875

**Fauquier County**

TRUSTEE'S SALE OF  
5815 WILDFIRE CT  
WARRENTON, VA 20187

In execution of a Deed of Trust in the original principal amount of \$240,000.00, with an annual interest rate of 3.125000% dated February 18, 2005, recorded among the land records of the Circuit Court for the County of Fauquier as Deed Book 1143, Page 132, the undersigned appointed Substitute Trustee will offer for sale at public auction all that property located in the County of Fauquier, on the courthouse steps at the front of the Circuit Court building for the County of Fauquier located at 40 Culpeper Street, Warrenton, Virginia on **March 3, 2020 at 2:00 PM**, the property with improvements to wit: Tax Map No. 699-89-8875-000 THIS COMMUNICATION IS FROM A DEBT COLLECTOR.

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Mazin I. Elias, Trustee  
8000 Towers Crescent Drive, Suite 1400  
Vienna, Virginia 22182  
Telephone: (240) 507-1708

2451774  
JANUARY 20, 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

876

**Loudoun County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEE'S SALE  
PARCEL ID #: 116482592001

In execution of certain liens for unpaid assessments as perfected by the recording of memoranda of liens among the Land Records Office of the Loudoun County Circuit Court on (i) July 10, 2017 at instrument Number 20170710-0041669; (ii) August 7, 2018 at instrument 20180807-0045940; and (iii) May 17, 2019 at instrument 20190517-0025279 ("Liens"), Sander's Mill at Ashburn Farm Condominium ("Association"), by its appointed Trustee, as identified below, will offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder on **February 12, 2020 at 12:00 p.m.**, at the main entrance to the Courthouse for the Circuit Court of Loudoun County, Virginia, 18 E. Market St., Leesburg, Virginia 20176, the real property improvements, along with any limited common elements appurtenant thereto located at the street address of **43402 Edgecliff Terrace , Ashburn, VA 20147** ("Property").

The Property will be sold in "AS IS" condition and without any warranty, as to any aspect, restriction, covenant, or condition of the Property and subject to any liens, violations, and to all other matters taking priority over the Association's Liens, including but not limited to any deeds of trusts. The sale is further subject to all provisions, restrictions, easements, covenants, and conditions as contained in the Association's original, if applicable, amended, instruments, Declaration, and Bylaws and or any other governing instrument.

A nonrefundable bidder's deposit of 10% of the sale price, will be required to be paid by the successful bidder in cash, certified funds or by cashier's check. Settlement within 30 days of sale. Additional terms to be announced at sale. If Trustee is unable for any reason, in his sole discretion, to convey title to the Property, the successful bidder's sole and exclusive shall be the return of its deposit, without interest. Trustee reserves the right, in his sole discretion, to (i) announce additional terms at the time of sale, (2) waive or modify the requirement with respect to the bidder's deposit, (3) accept or reject any or all bids, (4) extend the time to receive bids, (5) withdraw the Property from the sale at any time, and (6) postpone settlement following sale for a reasonable period of time as determined by Trustee. The information contained herein was obtained by sources deemed to be reliable but is offered for information purposes only. The Association cannot make any representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy of this information.

Direct any inquiries to counsel for the Association, Joseph Shannon Esq., Rees Broome, P.C., 1900 Gallows Road, Suite 700, Vienna, Virginia 22182, (703) 790-1911.

Mazin I. Elias, Trustee  
8000 Towers Crescent Drive, Suite 1400  
Vienna, Virginia 22182  
Telephone: (240) 507-1708

2451774  
JANUARY 20, 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

876

**Loudoun County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEE'S SALE  
PARCEL ID #: 116482592001

In execution of certain liens for unpaid assessments as perfected by the recording of memoranda of liens among the Land Records Office of the Loudoun County Circuit Court on (i) July 10, 2017 at instrument Number 20170710-0041669; (ii) August 7, 2018 at instrument 20180807-0045940; and (iii) May 17, 2019 at instrument 20190517-0025279 ("Liens"), Sander's Mill at Ashburn Farm Condominium ("Association"), by its appointed Trustee, as identified below, will offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder on **February 12, 2020 at 12:00 p.m.**, at the main entrance to the Courthouse for the Circuit Court of Loudoun County, Virginia, 18 E. Market St., Leesburg, Virginia 20176, the real property improvements, along with any limited common elements appurtenant thereto located at the street address of **43402 Edgecliff Terrace , Ashburn, VA 20147** ("Property").

The Property will be sold in "AS IS" condition and without any warranty, as to any aspect, restriction, covenant, or condition of the Property and subject to any liens, violations, and to all other matters taking priority over the Association's Liens, including but not limited to any deeds of trusts. The sale is further subject to all provisions, restrictions, easements, covenants, and conditions as contained in the Association's original, if applicable, amended, instruments, Declaration, and Bylaws and or any other governing instrument.

A nonrefundable bidder's deposit of 10% of the sale price, will be required to be paid by the successful bidder in cash, certified funds or by cashier's check. Settlement within 30 days of sale. Additional terms to be announced at sale. If Trustee is unable for any reason, in his sole discretion, to convey title to the Property, the successful bidder's sole and exclusive shall be the return of its deposit, without interest. Trustee reserves the right, in his sole discretion, to (i) announce additional terms at the time of sale, (2) waive or modify the requirement with respect to the bidder's deposit, (3) accept or reject any or all bids, (4) extend the time to receive bids, (5) withdraw the Property from the sale at any time, and (6) postpone settlement following sale for a reasonable period of time as determined by Trustee. The information contained herein was obtained by sources deemed to be reliable but is offered for information purposes only. The Association cannot make any representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy of this information.

Direct any inquiries to counsel for the Association, Joseph Shannon Esq., Rees Broome, P.C., 1900 Gallows Road, Suite 700, Vienna, Virginia 22182, (703) 790-1911.

Mazin I. Elias, Trustee  
8000 Towers Crescent Drive, Suite 1400  
Vienna, Virginia 22182  
Telephone: (240) 507-1708

2451774  
JANUARY 20, 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

876

**Loudoun County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEE'S SALE  
PARCEL ID #: 116482592001

In execution of certain liens for unpaid assessments as perfected by the recording of memoranda of liens among the Land Records Office of the Loudoun County Circuit Court on (i) July 10, 2017 at instrument Number 20170710-0041669; (ii) August 7, 2018 at instrument 20180807-0045940; and (iii) May 17, 2019 at instrument 20190517-0025279 ("Liens"), Sander's Mill at Ashburn Farm Condominium ("Association"), by its appointed Trustee, as identified below, will offer for sale at public auction to the highest bidder on **February 12, 2020 at 12:00 p.m.**, at the main entrance to the Courthouse for the Circuit Court of Loudoun County, Virginia, 18 E. Market St., Leesburg, Virginia 20176, the real property improvements, along with any limited common elements appurtenant thereto located at the street address of **43402 Edgecliff Terrace , Ashburn, VA 20147** ("Property").

The Property will be sold in "AS IS" condition and without any warranty, as to any aspect, restriction, covenant, or condition of the Property and subject to any liens, violations, and to all other matters taking priority over the Association's Liens, including but not limited to any deeds of trusts. The sale is further subject to all provisions, restrictions, easements, covenants, and conditions as contained in the Association's original, if applicable, amended, instruments, Declaration, and Bylaws and or any other governing instrument.

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Mazin I. Elias, Trustee  
8000 Towers Crescent Drive, Suite 1400  
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2451774  
JANUARY 20, 27, FEBRUARY 3, 10, 2020

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**Loudoun County**

NOTICE OF TRUSTEE'S SALE  
PARCEL ID #: 116482592001

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The Property will be sold in "AS IS" condition and without any warranty, as to any aspect, restriction, covenant, or condition of the Property and subject to any liens, violations, and to all other matters taking priority over the Association's Liens, including but not limited to any deeds of trusts. The sale is further subject to all provisions, restrictions, easements, covenants, and conditions as contained in the Association's original, if applicable, amended, instruments, Declaration, and By





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