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Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 6, 2020 • \$2

## \$4 trillion in relief ‘doomed’ from start

Economy-focused bills made a key omission: Containing the virus

BY PETER WHORISKEY, DOUGLAS MACMILLAN AND JONATHAN O’CONNELL

The four spending bills that Congress passed earlier this year to address the coronavirus crisis amounted to one of the costliest relief efforts in U.S. history, and the undertaking soon won praise across the political spectrum for its size and speed.

The \$4 trillion total of government grants and loans exceeded the cost of 18 years of war in Afghanistan.

“We’re going to win this battle in the very near future,” Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said after the Senate approved the Cares Act, the largest of the four measures.

Six months later, however, the nation’s coronavirus battle is far from won, and if the prodigious relief spending was supposed to target the neediest and move the country beyond the pandemic, much of the money missed the mark.

The legislation bestowed billions in benefits on companies and wealthy individuals largely unscathed by the pandemic, according to a Washington Post analysis, while at the same time allowing special aid for unemployed workers to expire over the summer and leaving some local public health efforts struggling for money to conduct testing and other prevention efforts.

The relief packages amounted to a massive economic Band-Aid for what is fundamentally a health crisis, and much of the relief consisted of economic measures similar to those that have worked in previous recessions. But by failing to focus on containing the virus, the packages risked prolonging the crisis.

SEE STIMULUS ON A18

## Trump returns to familiar territory



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump removes his mask on a White House balcony Monday evening after returning from Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda, Md. Trump’s doctor described his condition as improving though said he was “not out of the woods yet.”

### President tries to convince public he’s calling all the shots

BY PHILIP RUCKER, ASHLEY PARKER AND JOSH DAWSEY

He wore a suit and tie for his flight to the hospital. He posed for photos signing blank pieces of paper. He recorded videos declaring himself recovering. He inspired aides to describe him as hard at work. And the infectious patient briefly left the hospital for a drive to wave at supporters.

Throughout his four-day hospitalization with the novel coronavirus, during which time he was administered a cocktail of

steroids and therapeutic drugs, President Trump strove to convince the public that he was fully in charge — not only of the country he leads, but also of his own body and care — even if it was not the case.

“Feeling really good!” he wrote Monday on Twitter from his chambers at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, as he announced his forthcoming discharge. “Don’t be afraid of Covid. Don’t let it dominate your life. We have developed, under the Trump Administration, some re-

SEE IMAGE ON A10

### Doctors stay silent on details, say they remain ‘on guard’

BY FRANCES STEAD SELLERS, LAURIE MCGINLEY, ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA AND AMY GOLDSTEIN

President Trump left an elite medical center Monday evening, even as his doctors acknowledged that they were entering “uncharted territory” and — citing privacy laws — continued to withhold information that could illuminate the president’s prognosis for recovering from covid-19.

Trump’s determination to appear in control in the waning

weeks of the presidential race left unclear whether he or his doctors were calling the shots, especially because members of his medical team at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center continued to cherry-pick what they shared with the public. They said his oxygen levels were normal and he had no fever, but refused to answer questions about results from lung scans, his last negative test for the coronavirus or why he is receiving the steroid dexamethasone, typically reserved for patients with severe illness.

SEE HEALTH ON A12

### DOWNPLAYS VIRUS AS HE HEADS HOME

Meanwhile, West Wing outbreak grows

BY TOLUSE OLORUNNIP A AND JOSH DAWSEY

President Trump returned to the White House from the hospital on Monday, saying that he had recovered from the novel coronavirus and that people should not be afraid of a disease that has killed more than 209,000 Americans.

Trump’s comments a few hours before leaving Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda, Md., again downplaying the coronavirus came despite evidence that White House decisions to flout public health guidelines and engage in practices viewed as reckless have had dire consequences in the West Wing.

More than a dozen White House officials have tested positive for the coronavirus in recent days, a steadily increasing total that grew again Monday to include press secretary Kayleigh McEnany. How the return of an infected president to such a setting could be managed safely was one of several questions left unanswered Monday as Trump’s medical team briefed reporters about his condition.

“We’ve worked with our infectious-disease experts to make some recommendations for how to keep everything safe down at the White House,” Trump’s doctor Sean Conley said after describing the president’s condition as improving, though he said Trump was “not out of the woods yet.”

Conley declined to describe what specific steps would be made to ensure a safe environment at a building that doubles as a personal residence and a government office while the president remains contagious, which could be for several more days at

SEE TRUMP ON A12

**CDC:** Airborne transmission of virus is possible, agency says. **A11**

## Long guns, body armor and a sense of ‘purpose’

Oath Keepers vigilante group rose amid charges of racism

BY ROBERT KLEMKO IN LOUISVILLE

They’d already spent a full night — from dusk until dawn — defending a Shell gas station, standing behind concrete barriers at each street entrance with fatigues on and AR-15s at the ready. But when the action finally arrived after a grand jury declined to indict the police officers involved in Breonna Taylor’s death, the armed men were caught largely unprepared, still strapping into body armor in a hotel parking lot.

More than 100 protesters — some wearing all black and carrying pistols — marched up to the approximately 20 people who had gathered on the evening of Sept. 24 awaiting instructions from the Oath Keepers, a heavily armed civilian group that has guarded private businesses during racial justice demonstrations this year.

The man leading the protesters, Chris Will, 34, criticized the people in fatigues for showing up without a plan.

SEE OATH KEEPERS ON A4



LEANDRO LOZADA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A protester confronts Oath Keepers in Louisville on Sept. 24. More than 100 protesters approached members of the armed civilian group, which stood watch over a gas station.

## Harris learned early how to win a political brawl

BY MICHAEL KRANISH

When Kamala D. Harris first ran for public office in 2003, she took on the incumbent district attorney for whom she had worked. He was nicknamed Kayo, as in K.O. for knockouts, and he attacked her mercilessly, questioning whether she would investigate corrupt politicians.

Harris coolly turned the attack against her former boss with a devastating rhetorical counterpunch, suggesting she might even investigate him. She won.

Now, as Harris is set to debate Vice President Pence on Wednesday as the Democrats’ vice-presidential nominee, the lessons

she learned from her first campaign reveal the birth of a political brawler. It is an approach she has honed ever since, and it has come to define her blunt-force, prosecutor-like manner of taking on an opponent.

“Kamala has shown her mettle over time in terms of being able to fend off unwarranted and scurrilous attacks, of which I’m sure there will be many” before the election, said Jim Stearns, a consultant on her 2003 campaign for

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## IN THE NEWS



ROSHAN PATEL/NATIONAL ZOO

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**A Virginia** state trooper won’t be charged in an April 2019 traffic stop in which he threatened a Black driver before forcefully removing him from his car. **B1**

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HAPPENING TODAY

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**All day | MLB's National League Division Series** begins. Follow the action at [postsports.com](https://www.postsports.com)

**10 a.m. | The Supreme Court** hears arguments in *Rutledge v. Pharmaceutical Care Management*, a case involving the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, and *Tanzin v. Tanvir*, a case regarding the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/politics](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics).

**10:40 a.m. | Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell** delivers remarks at the annual meeting of the National Association for Business Economics. Visit [washingtonpost.com/business](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business) for details.

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CORRECTIONS

• An Oct. 5 Page One article about the killings of three protesters in Iraq and how Prime Minister Mustafa al-Kadhimi will deal with such deaths incorrectly said that the family of protester Mohammed al-Mokhtar is Sunni Muslim. The family is Shiite Muslim.

• A Home Sales listing in the Loudoun County edition of the Oct. 1 Local Living section misspelled the first name of Lindsay Langstaff, one of the buyers of a property at 702 E. Dickenson Ct. in Sterling.

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Trump cares about his image. That's pretty much it.



Robin Givhan

THE CRITIQUE

President Trump walked out of the double brass doors at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center wearing a disposable mask and surrounded by security. He paused for the cameras. He gave a thumbs-up for the benefit of the pictures. And he climbed aboard Marine One. And when he arrived at the White House, he walked up the steps, stood in front of four American flags. And removed his mask. He removed his mask in a show of what? Ego. Recklessness. Selfishness.

He is still convalescing from covid-19, a highly unpredictable and deadly disease. He remains contagious. His doctor has noted that he may not be “entirely out of the woods.” And since he has been at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, the White House has become a coronavirus hot spot. Press secretary Kayleigh McEnany on Monday added her name to the list of staff, residents and recent visitors who have tested positive in the past week, which also includes the first lady.

But no matter. Image is Donald Trump's everything. Health — his, others', yours — be damned.

Trump announced his return in a victorious tweet in which he described covid-19 as nothing to worry about despite the fact that more than 209,000 people have died in the United States. After receiving treatment unavailable to the average American, he declared himself feeling better than he did 20 years ago, as if he had just spent a few days at a spa: “Feeling really good! Don't be afraid of Covid. Don't let it dominate your life. We have developed, under the Trump Administration, some really great drugs & knowledge. I feel better than I did 20 years ago!”

The fact of his discharge was reiterated by his physician, Sean Conley, who in a news conference said, “He's back!” All that was missing was the roar of the crowd.

Trump's response to his covid-19 diagnosis has reeked of disregard for human life. But he has given his image loving,



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**President Trump leaves Walter Reed National Military Medical Center. He said in a tweet not to let covid-19 “dominate your life.”**

obsessive attention.

On Sunday, the highly contagious commander in chief demanded that Secret Service agents risk their own health to feed his hunger for adulation. He climbed into the back of an SUV so he could ride by the crowd of supporters that had assembled outside Walter Reed. Agents are well prepared to face the dangers inherent in protecting the president. But requiring agents to seal themselves inside a vehicle along with the president's personal viral load simply because he needed an ego boost should not be part of their job description.

The sight of cheering crowds was the medicine Trump craved. He didn't seem to understand that what ails him cannot be cured with boisterous chants or celebratory tweets.

But Trump would not be denied. Yet the man who fancies himself the ultimate showman has proved to be terrible at choreographing these bids for attention. His law-and-order posturing in front of St. John's Church this summer had him looking like a confused would-be strongman manhandling a Bible. And over the weekend, as Trump waved to his devoted followers from behind the tinted windows of the black Chevy Suburban, he looked like the caged ringmaster in a circus of his own creation.

He did not look tough; he looked trapped.

He looked desperate. He looked pathetic. He looked weak — not because he was ill or because he was finally wearing a mask but because instead of doing the hard work of accepting his own vulnerabilities in the face of sickness, he'd propped himself up on the strength and professionalism of Secret Service agents. Instead of focusing on the humbling task of getting better, he was consumed by the desire to simply look good.

Trump is 74 years old and obese, both of which are significant risk factors. He was at one point on supplemental oxygen and is now on multiple therapies as doctors try to see him through a deadly illness with unknown dangers at every turn. But when he left the hospital for that publicity jaunt, he thought it was a great idea and so did his supporters. It would seem that they care for him about as much as Trump's past actions — notably hosting a Rose Garden reception for judge Amy Coney Barrett during which few people wore masks and at least eight attendees later tested positive for the coronavirus — suggest he cares for others.

Trump's callous dismissal of human life is reflected back by many of his supporters. They can stand and applaud his motorcade with little thought to how dangerous it is for everyone involved in it — including the very person they're cheering.

High court hears case on judges' party affiliations

BY ROBERT BARNES

As battles rage over the independence of the judiciary and whether one political party has claimed partisan control of the third branch of government, the state of Delaware says it has a better idea.

For more than a century, the state has required its major courts to be roughly balanced, so that no more than a bare majority of a court is made up of members of one political party. And then it required the minority be made up of the other political party.

The result, Stanford law professor Michael W. McConnell told the U.S. Supreme Court on Monday, is that “Delaware's courts are widely regarded as the least partisan and most professional in the nation.”

The problem, countered Wilmington, Del., lawyer David L. Finger, is that it is unconstitutional. The plan denies the chance for his client, lawyer James Adams, to serve on the courts because he is neither a Democrat nor a Republican but a political independent, Finger said, and that violates his First Amendment rights of political association.

It seemed a fitting beginning for the Supreme Court's new term, as the Senate is torn along partisan lines about whether to confirm

just before the election President Trump's nominee, Judge Amy Coney Barrett, to replace Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who died Sept. 18. Ginsburg's death left the court with five conservative justices, all named by Republican presidents, and three liberals named by Democrats. Barrett's confirmation would install a 6-to-3 majority for conservatives.

That reality was unspoken, as the justices again gathered by teleconference to begin their traditional first-Monday-in-October arguments.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. began the session by noting that the door and Ginsburg's spot in the empty courtroom are hung with black crepe.

“Justice Ginsburg's contributions, as advocate, jurist and citizen, are immeasurable,” Roberts said before the session began. “We at the court will remember her as a dear friend and treasured colleague.”

The Delaware case raised intriguing questions, but the court's first order of business was whether Adams had the legal standing to raise them. A former Democrat who became an independent because he identifies more with Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.), Adams did not actually apply for a judicial opening. He said there was no point in doing so because of the Republi-



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Amid partisan rancor over Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg's replacement, the Supreme Court on Monday heard a case regarding Delaware's requirement that its major courts be roughly balanced.**

can or Democrat requirement.

But McConnell said two of the state's five levels of court do not have the partisan requirement, and Adams would be better suited for one of those anyway.

“He's really interested here in pursuing a theory that he read about in a law review, not really getting a judgeship,” McConnell said.

That seemed to some justices an appealing way to get rid of the

case. But others agreed with Finger there was no reason to force Adams to apply just to challenge the policy.

On the merits, Justice Stephen G. Breyer wondered about how a state could condition application for a judgeship on membership in one of the two major political parties.

“How do you get around the fact that the way that it's written and applied is you have to be a Repub-

lican or a Democrat? And there are other parties,” Breyer said. “And so why is that constitutional?”

Justice Clarence Thomas asked if a state could mandate that all members of a court be of one party. McConnell said that would be problematic.

Justice Neil M. Gorsuch said eliminating independents from service was “quite a sweeping rule.” And Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh wondered about its wis-

dom, given Delaware's goal.

“Why can't independents even better serve the goal of a balanced judiciary nonpartisan/bipartisan judiciary?” he asked.

McConnell responded that the provision “is not really about whether independents can do a good job as judges.” It's about limiting the governor's discretion in making judicial appointments so that the courts remain balanced, McConnell said.

Finger appealed to the court's own statements that the political affiliations of judges do not affect their actions on the bench.

Delaware's restrictions are “based on the assumption that a judge's political affiliation is determinative of how that judge will vote in a case,” Finger said. “And this court can look to its own history as a refutation of that premise. If this court accepts the premise, it's the end of the idea of an independent judiciary.”

McConnell rebutted that in an answer to Justice Sonia Sotomayor, who made a similar point.

Partisan affiliation is “universally used by political science and scientists as the proxy for a philosophy and ideology, and it's especially true now in the last . . . 20 or 30 years,” said McConnell.

The parties have been through “what they call partisan sorting, so that today the most liberal Republican is — is at least similar to but, you know, probably more conservative than the most conservative Democrat,” he said.

The case is *Carney v. Adams*.  
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Justices will not hear case of Ky. clerk who opposed same-sex marriage

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court on Monday said it will not hear a case from a Kentucky clerk who refused to issue marriage licenses for same-sex couples, but two dissenters in the court's landmark 2015 decision repeated their criticism of its “ruinous consequences for religious liberty.”

The court turned aside a case from Kim Davis, the former Rowan County clerk who was sued after she said her religious convictions kept her from recognizing same-sex marriages, even after the Supreme Court found a constitutional right to those unions in *Obergefell v. Hodges*. She was briefly jailed over the matter, and her case had attracted national attention.

Davis was defeated for reelection, and sued by two same-sex couples for refusing to issue marriage certificates. Her claim of qualified immunity was rejected by a panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit.

Justices Clarence Thomas and Samuel A. Alito Jr. said they agreed with the court's decision not to accept Davis's appeal but used the occasion to renew their objections.

“Davis may have been one of the first victims of this court's cavalier treatment of religion in its *Obergefell* decision, but she will not be the last,” Thomas wrote. “Due to *Obergefell*, those with sincerely held religious beliefs concerning marriage will find it increasingly difficult to participate in society without running afoul

of *Obergefell* and its effect on other anti-discrimination laws.”

Thomas continued: “It would be one thing if recognition for same-sex marriage had been debated and adopted through the democratic process, with the people deciding not to provide statutory protections for religious liberty under state law. But it is quite another when the court forces that choice upon society through its creation of atextual constitutional rights and its ungenerous interpretation of the Free Exercise Clause, leaving those with religious objections in the lurch.”

The stinging opinion from Thomas renewed the debate over how established the court's *Obergefell* decision should be seen. Some liberal activists said it was an indication the court might

revisit the decision, especially if President Trump's nomination of Judge Amy Coney Barrett is successful.

That would give the court a 6-to-3 conservative majority, and Barrett in the past has expressed skepticism about the *Obergefell* decision.

But Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., the only other dissenter from the 2015 decision still on the court, did not join Thomas's opinion, nor did Trump's other nominees to the court, Justices Neil M. Gorsuch and Brett M. Kavanaugh. As is customary, the court did not give a reason for not accepting Davis's case.

“It is appalling that five years after the historic decision in *Obergefell*, two justices still consider same-sex couples less wor-

thy of marriage than other couples,” said James Esseks, director of the ACLU's LGBT & HIV Project. “When you do a job on behalf of the government — as an employee or a contractor — there is no license to discriminate or turn people away because they do not meet religious criteria. Our government could not function if everyone doing the government's business got to pick their own rules.”

Thomas and Alito said they agreed with the decision not to accept the case, because it did not “cleanly” present the questions they felt are raised by the court's 5-to-4 decision. And Thomas did not call explicitly for revisiting the question of whether states may deny marriage to same-sex couples.

“Nevertheless, this petition provides a stark reminder of the consequences of *Obergefell*,” Thomas wrote. “By choosing to privilege a novel constitutional right over the religious liberty interests explicitly protected in the First Amendment, and by doing so undemocratically, the court has created a problem that only it can fix.”

The question of what happens when religious beliefs collide with anti-discrimination laws returns to the court next month. It will hear a case about the city of Philadelphia's decision to end a contract for foster-care services with a Catholic agency that refuses to work with same-sex couples.

The case denied Monday is *Davis v. Ernmold*.  
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POLITICS & THE NATION

Nobel Prize in medicine awarded for work on hepatitis C

Two Americans, Brit honored for lifesaving research over decades

BY SARAH KAPLAN

The Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine was awarded Monday to researchers from the United States and Britain whose discoveries helped save millions of lives from the ravages of blood-borne hepatitis, a major global health problem that causes cirrhosis and liver cancer.

Harvey J. Alter, then a clinical scientist at a National Institutes of Health blood bank, showed that the chronic form of hepatitis disease, known as hepatitis C, was blood-borne and probably caused by a virus.

Years later, British-born virologist Michael Houghton — then working for the pharmaceutical company Chiron — found a way to clone the virus and to identify antibodies created against it by the immune system. That led to the development of ways to screen and eliminate the virus from the blood supply. Through genetic analysis, then-Washington University in St. Louis researcher Charles M. Rice characterized the machinery of the virus and set scientists on a path to finding a cure.

Their research helped almost eliminate the risk of getting hepatitis C through blood transfusions and led to the development of antiviral medications that can clear the virus from the bodies of infected patients.

“One of the greatest thrills for me has been having identified the first patient [with hepatitis C] and now seeing that not only he was cured, but everyone else I’ve followed over the years was cured,” Alter told reporters Monday morning. “I could not have imagined this, not in my lifetime.”

The Nobel Committee called the three researchers’ work “a landmark achievement in our battle against viral infections.”

“It’s hard to find something that is of such benefit to mankind as what we are awarding this year,” said Thomas Perlmann, secretary of the Nobel Committee. “This discovery . . . has led to improvements for millions of people around the world.”

Health policy analyst Sonia

Canzater, senior associate for the Hepatitis Policy Project at Georgetown Law School, said she hoped this year’s choice of laureates would draw attention to the lingering challenge of fighting hepatitis C, which is still the most common blood-borne illness in the United States. Even though the disease is curable, each year it kills tens of thousands of Americans and hundreds of thousands of people around the world.

“Maybe we’ll really start effecting some change toward elimination now that this has been featured in the most prestigious medical award,” she said.

Hepatitis viruses come in several forms — hepatitis A, which is transmitted through contaminated water or food and is rarely deadly, and hepatitis B and C, which are carried in blood and bodily fluids and can be far more dangerous. The latter viruses are “insidious,” the Nobel Committee said, because they can linger for years in the blood of an apparently healthy person before erupting into a dangerous disease.

Before these Nobel-winning discoveries, the world had struggled to control these blood-borne pathogens. Geneticist Baruch Blumberg discovered hepatitis B in the 1960s (and was awarded a Nobel the following decade). But patients who received blood transfusions were still coming down with severe liver disease, even after the donor blood had been screened for hepatitis B.

“The situation was becoming alarming,” said Nobel Committee member Gunilla Karlsson-Hedestam. “Because the disease was silent but progressive, it was impossible to know who of all the apparently healthy blood donors were carriers.”

Alter, who had worked with Blumberg, spearheaded a new NIH project to create a storehouse of blood samples that could be used to uncover the causes of the transfusion-associated disease. He also tracked people who developed hepatitis after receiving a blood transfusion. His work showed that, before 1970, 30 percent of people who got heart transplants at NIH later came down with liver disease. Yet most illnesses weren’t caused by the A or B virus — there had to be “another infectious agent,” Karlsson-Hedestam said.

In 1978, Alter showed that plasma from patients carrying this unknown form of hepatitis could transmit the disease to



MARIO MORGADO/ROCKEFELLER UNIVERSITY/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Charles M. Rice used genetics to develop a method for studying hepatitis C in Petri dishes, setting scientists on a path to a cure.



CHIA-CHI CHARLIE CHANG/NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Harvey J. Alter showed that a chronic form of hepatitis disease, hepatitis C, was blood-borne and probably caused by a virus.



RICHARD SIEMENS/UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Michael Houghton identified antibodies the body creates to fight hepatitis C, helping eliminate the virus from blood supplies.

chimpanzees. The pathogen was small enough to slip through filters, suggesting it was a tiny virus rather than a bacterium.

But much about the germ remained unknown — a fact that

frustrated Alter so much he was moved to write poetry. “No antigen or DNA / No little test to mark its way,” he wrote in 1988:

Oh GREAT LIVER in the sky Show us where and tell us why

Send us thoughts that will inspire us. Let us see this elusive virus.

The answer to Alter’s lament would come not from a “great liver in the sky” but from Houghton, the British scientist.

From the blood of an infected chimpanzee, he and his team collected as many fragments of genetic material as they could find. Most came from the animal, but they hoped a few fragments would belong to the virus. Injected into a bacterial cell, these fragments would produce the same proteins that form the shell of the virus.

Next, Houghton added serum from an infected human into the petri dish. That person’s antibodies would react to viral proteins, allowing the scientist to determine which bacterium was carrying the virus’s RNA. His team then analyzed the genetic fragment and realized it closely resembled a family of germs called flaviviruses that includes the pathogens that cause yellow fever and the West Nile virus.

The experiments took the better part of a decade, Houghton wrote in a 2009 review for the Journal of Hepatology. The “eureka moment,” he said, “was in fact a very gradual and extended one.”

The research led to the development of a test for screening hepatitis C in the blood supply. Since screening began in 1992, the risk of infection from a transfusion has fallen dramatically.

The final step to characterize the virus came when Rice sequenced its genome and created a clone of it. Animals injected with the clone fell ill, providing conclusive evidence the hepatitis C virus was, in fact, the cause of the disease.

Genetic research also allowed Rice to tweak the virus so it was easier to study in a petri dish. This set the stage for the development of powerful antiviral drugs, which are able to eliminate the virus in more than 95 percent of treated patients, Karlsson-Hedestam said. Few other viral diseases have such an effective cure.

Though hepatitis C has been mostly eliminated from the blood supply, it is still transmitted through shared needles and non-sterile medical equipment. A combination of stigma and the high cost of treatment means that many of the 2.4 million Americans living with chronic

hepatitis C infections cannot access the lifesaving drugs, Canzater said.

“We’ve had these medications for going on a decade, and we have on paper all the resources needed to eliminate this disease,” she said. “It’s just the will that is really needed in this country to get it down to zero.”

Patrik Ernfors, another member of the Nobel Committee, contrasted the decades-long effort to identify hepatitis C with the discovery of the novel coronavirus, which took only weeks after the emergence of the disease late last year. Armed with rapid sequencing technology, today’s scientists can easily discern the entire genome of a new germ, allowing them to avoid the painstaking work of their predecessors.

But the importance of identifying the viral cause of a new disease remains the same, Ernfors said. Scientists must understand a pathogen to fight it.

The award is also a testament to the significance of long-term basic research, Alter said. When he began his work, he was not sure what kind of pathogen he was looking for, let alone what might be done once he found it. Discovering hepatitis C required the support of an employer such as NIH, which would allow him to spend decades categorizing samples and tracking the progress of patients.

From the time Alter began his experiments, it took almost two decades to identify the hepatitis C virus and nearly a half century to develop a cure. “But with a persistent virus,” Alter said, “persisting research paid off.”

In what has become an annual ritual, the announcement also sparked discussion of the Nobel Prize’s shortcomings. This is the fifth year in a row that the laureates for the medical prize have been all male; only 12 women have been awarded the prize in its 120-year history. And in awarding the prize to just a few people, the Nobel Committee overlooks the large teams comprising hundreds of researchers who make most discoveries possible.

“What I did and my colleagues in the lab did, I’m very proud of,” Rice said. “But really, we’re just one part of a cast of thousands that are working together and are responsible for where we are today.”

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DIGEST

PENNSYLVANIA

Sen. Toomey to retire, won’t run for governor

Sen. Patrick J. Toomey (R-Pa.) announced Monday that he will not seek reelection in 2022 and, more surprisingly, will not run for governor either.

Toomey, 58, said that he had been fielding increasing calls from supporters asking how they could help a gubernatorial campaign, so, after a discussion with his family, he wanted to announce his decision as early as possible to inform other Republicans about his plans to retire from all elective politics.

Toomey, who was joined by his wife, Kris, and his three children

at a news conference in Bethlehem, Pa., called 18 years in public service a “long time.”

Toomey said that the timing of the announcement had nothing to do with President Trump’s standing in Pennsylvania, where Democrat Joe Biden has held a steady lead in polls for months ahead of the Nov. 3 election, and that he believed his prior victories gave him confidence that he could have won.

Pennsylvania Republicans had been privately talking up the idea of Toomey coming home to run for governor, given his previous victories and relative strength in the Philadelphia suburbs in his 2010 and 2016 Senate wins.

Despite Trump’s narrow victory there in 2016, the

Pennsylvania GOP has been in a political death spiral. Democrats have won four of the past five governor’s races, all by huge margins, and despite Trump’s and Toomey’s victories in 2016, Democrats won statewide races for attorney general, auditor general and treasurer on the same ballot.

In recent months, Toomey had taken steps to prepare for a governor’s race, issuing reports critical of Gov. Tom Wolf’s handling of the state’s economic shutdown in the early months of responding to the coronavirus pandemic. Wolf (D), who won reelection in 2018 by 17 percentage points, is term-limited out of office at the end of 2022.

— Paul Kane

Tulsa removes Black Lives

**Matter sign:** The city of Tulsa removed a massive Black Lives Matter painting on Monday from the site of the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre after activists painted it without the city’s permission. The 250-foot-long sign was painted days before Trump’s rally in the

city in June and weeks after George Floyd’s death in May after a Minneapolis police officer pressed his knee on the neck of the handcuffed Black man for several minutes. Terry Ball, the streets and storm water director, said work to remove the sign began about 4:15 a.m. While the

sign was up, it was vandalized with a streak of blue paint, which moved volunteers in the community to repaint it. Mayor G.T. Bynum (R) has said he supports the sign’s message but cannot support keeping it on a city street.

— Associated Press



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# Armed civilian group is looming presence at BLM protests

OATH KEEPERS FROM AI

ing up to defend property but not the life of the 26-year-old Black woman who was killed by Louisville police in her apartment in March.

“Why didn’t every single one of you motherf---ers put this s--- on to come help Breonna Taylor when they killed her?” Will asked the armed men, pointing at their body armor.

Oath Keepers leaders urged members not to respond; escalating tensions with demonstrators would only feed public perception that they were the problem, not the solution.

Oath Keepers is one of numerous vigilante groups that have flocked to cities where police killings and protests have sometimes been followed by property damage and violence. Its members travel from across the country equipped with long guns and protective gear to stand in plain view of demonstrators or loom over them from the edges of rooftops, unauthorized — and frequently unquestioned — by law enforcement.

Founder Stewart Rhodes refuses to say how many members he has accrued since the group was founded in 2009, but experts say it is among the largest of the armed civilian groups that have grown in popularity with the proliferation of social justice demonstrations.

The presence of armed civilian groups, many organized on Facebook, has brought street brawls and deadly shootings to a handful of protest scenes. Most notably, in August, a 17-year-old traveled to Kenosha, Wis., to guard businesses during unrest there and allegedly shot three men, two fatally. He has been charged with homicide.

The Oath Keepers Twitter account lauded the teen as “a Hero, a Patriot.” Meanwhile, Rhodes has called Black Lives Matter protesters “well-funded Marxist and racist agitators” and regularly warns of a coming civil war. Both Rhodes’s and the organization’s Twitter accounts were suspended in September after predicting “open warfare” with protesters on election night.

The Southern Poverty Law Center describes Oath Keepers as a far-right extremist group with a radical anti-government ideology rooted in dangerous conspiracy theories. Social media accounts associated with the group traffic in debunked ideas related to QAnon, the novel coronavirus and vaccines.

But Rhodes, a former paratrooper, has rejected those labels. The group’s website describes itself as a nonpartisan collection of former military and law enforcement officers who have pledged to “defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic.”

“We feel a duty to protect people’s rights,” said Rhodes, 55. “We respect the rights of the protesters, but they don’t have a right to terrorize other people, assault them or burn their property to the ground.”

Rhodes, who wears a black eye patch over his left eye — the result of a bullet wound he says was an accident but declined to detail — issued a “call to action” in Louisville last month, appealing for volunteers with backgrounds in emergency medical services, fire-fighting, combat and other skills. Dozens of followers from around the United States showed up.

Some said they were not concerned with Rhodes’s political stances, and some appeared unfamiliar with his history of extreme remarks.

Instead, they talked about finding a sense of purpose and fellowship in a group whose stated mission reflects the one that guided their military service.

Former Army sergeant Kenny Harrelson, who traveled from Florida to answer Rhodes’s call, joined the Oath Keepers in 2017. He spent five years in the service but wasn’t deployed after injuring his back and shoulder in training accidents.

“You do spend the rest of your life looking for that camaraderie,” Harrelson said of his military experience. “When I found Oath Keepers, I fell headfirst in it, helping train the civilians in the group. Makes me feel like I’m back in it.”

John Temple, a West Virginia University professor who studies the so-called “patriot” movement, called Oath Keepers the “most PR-savvy” of the groups that have surged in popularity since President Barack Obama’s election in 2008.

In the 1990s, self-styled militias that touted overtly racist messaging pivoted to anti-government stances, he said. They rallied around notions that the federal government was going to confiscate citizens’ guns and abandon rural families, a fear



LEANDRO LOZADA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Demonstrators in Louisville on Sept. 24 confront members of Oath Keepers, an armed civilian group that has traveled to cities that have seen racial justice protests.**

that proliferated under Obama.

But under President Trump, those concerns have waned, and the groups have pivoted again.

“They’ve turned toward other political motivations, and a lot of it has to do with race, if you just look at what they’re showing up at,” Temple said, referring to social justice protests. “But they know if they have an overtly racist message, that’s not going to help the cause.”

Oath Keepers has become one of the largest of these groups, experts say, in part by actively rejecting labels such as “militia,” “far-right” and “racist,” and crafting a message that resonates with highly trained and mission-oriented people.

“There’s a sense of purpose there,” Temple said. “I’ve encountered guys who serve with distinction in combat and get home and never figure things out as civilians. And then they find these groups and it becomes their new mission, and there’s this feeling they’re serving a greater purpose.”

Beneath the bulletproof helmets surrounding the gas station last month was a hodgepodge of ideas about what Oath Keepers is and isn’t.

The group was Trump-leaning, to be sure, with a handful of exceptions. Members are largely White. Some believe the people protesting police brutality have a legitimate concern but see the small-business owners victimized by rioting and looting as

innocent bystanders more deserving of their support. Others echo false conspiracy theories that the Black Lives Matter movement is a farce, the protesters are paid, and billionaire George Soros is pulling the strings.

Several declined interviews with The Washington Post.

After the confrontation with protesters in the hotel parking lot, Rhodes asked one of Oath Keepers’ few Black members, an Army veteran and former Indianapolis police officer named Mike,

*“When I found Oath Keepers, I fell headfirst in it, helping train the civilians in the group. Makes me feel like I’m back in it.”*

Kenny Harrelson, Oath Keepers member and former Army sergeant

to speak to the news media. Mike, who goes by “Whip” but refused to give his last name for fear that his private security employer would reprimand him, joined the group several years ago and was leading the field operation in Louisville. A reporter asked him if he believed there was racism in America.

“I said, ‘Yeah, there’s racism in America,’” Mike, 36, later recounted with a chuckle. “There’s racism wherever there are Black people, all over the world.”

But the Oath Keepers get a bad rap, he said, insisting the racists who were once in its ranks have been kicked out.

“When I first ran into some Oath Keepers, they were good ol’ boys, the definition of prejudiced people. And I thought they were a racist group, so I didn’t really mess with them,” Mike said. But he said he’s since been attracted to the group’s food drives, disaster relief missions and efforts to protect businesses and people.

“Reputation is everything in this new, sensitive America, and a lot of times perception is reality,” he said. “The reputation of militias is a bunch of racist White

guys. Some of them are but not all of them.”

Oath Keepers works with a variety of groups. In Louisville, members connected with the Kentucky Mountain Rangers, another armed group in the mold of the Oath Keepers, who helped guard the gas station.

David Dohn, 57, recently joined the Kentucky group after retiring in 1998 from a 19-year career in the Special Forces. Both he and his teenage son carried AR-15s and wore desert camo tactical gear as they patrolled the Shell.

“In the Army, you can’t be racist or ignorant. Everybody’s green. I don’t judge anybody. I

don’t care what color you are — purple, White, Black,” Dohn said. “I made it perfectly clear I will not associate, train with racists. I ain’t got time for that. I’m not bringing my children around that.”

Dohn explained he owned a commercial paint company in Kentucky and that one of his longtime employees, who joined the Mountain Rangers alongside him, has two Palestinian parents. “I always joke with him, I probably killed some of your cousins,” Dohn said before introducing his employee using an ethnic slur. “I call him a ‘camel jockey’ to mess with him a little bit, but whatever. I don’t care about his race: We’re family.”

The man, Jack Shunnarah, of Hodgenville, Ky., laughed awkwardly as other men resting against the wall of the gas station repeated the pejorative.

“Somebody needs to make a stand,” Shunnarah said of his motivation to join the group. “We need to take Louisville back. We’re not here to start no s---. But if we see somebody getting hurt, we’re going to protect them. All this ‘Black Lives Matter’ mess . . . it’s all lives matter.”

Oath Keepers is selective about who it associates with, Mike said. He turned down an offer for assistance from the Proud Boys — the extreme-right group Trump referenced in last week’s debate, telling them to “stand down and stand by” — expressing contempt for a group that has gained a

reputation for virulent racism and violent confrontations with demonstrators in numerous American cities.

Unbeknown to Mike, a former Proud Boys member stood nearby with an AR-15 as they protected the gas station. The 40-year-old White man — who would only give his nickname, Stitch, out of fear of being doxed — said he had attended more than a dozen protests with the Proud Boys before recently leaving the organization for reasons he declined to share.

He described the Oath Keepers’ encounter with protesters in the parking lot as evidence that the “civil discourse is completely and utterly broken down in this country.”

“This,” the man said, lifting his rifle, “is the only thing keeping these people from taking us over completely and having the CCP right here in America,” referring to the Chinese Communist Party.

Rhodes said the Oath Keepers were given written consent from business owners to protect a handful of buildings in Louisville throughout the week, including two pawnshops, a day care, the gas station and a private residence.

The gas station had been the subject of vandalism in recent weeks, and Rhodes said the owner believed demonstrators targeted her store because a White employee had shot a Black man there last month after the man threw items at him. The store owner declined an interview with The Post.

In the following days, Rhodes said, the owner was made aware of threats against the store, and someone tagged the entrance with graffiti. Oath Keepers, making rounds of vandalized properties near downtown, offered help and she accepted, he said.

Mike said he has relationships within Louisville law enforcement, and Rhodes maintains that members of Oath Keepers are vetted, their credentials verified, and their abilities and competence highly scrutinized.

But the Sept. 24 confrontation in the parking lot showed cracks in the screening process. Protesters lambasted a young man holding an AR-15 rifle who was visibly trembling during the interaction.

Another man with Oath Keepers had his finger on the trigger of his rifle, violating a key gun safety principle and earning a lecture from fellow group members.

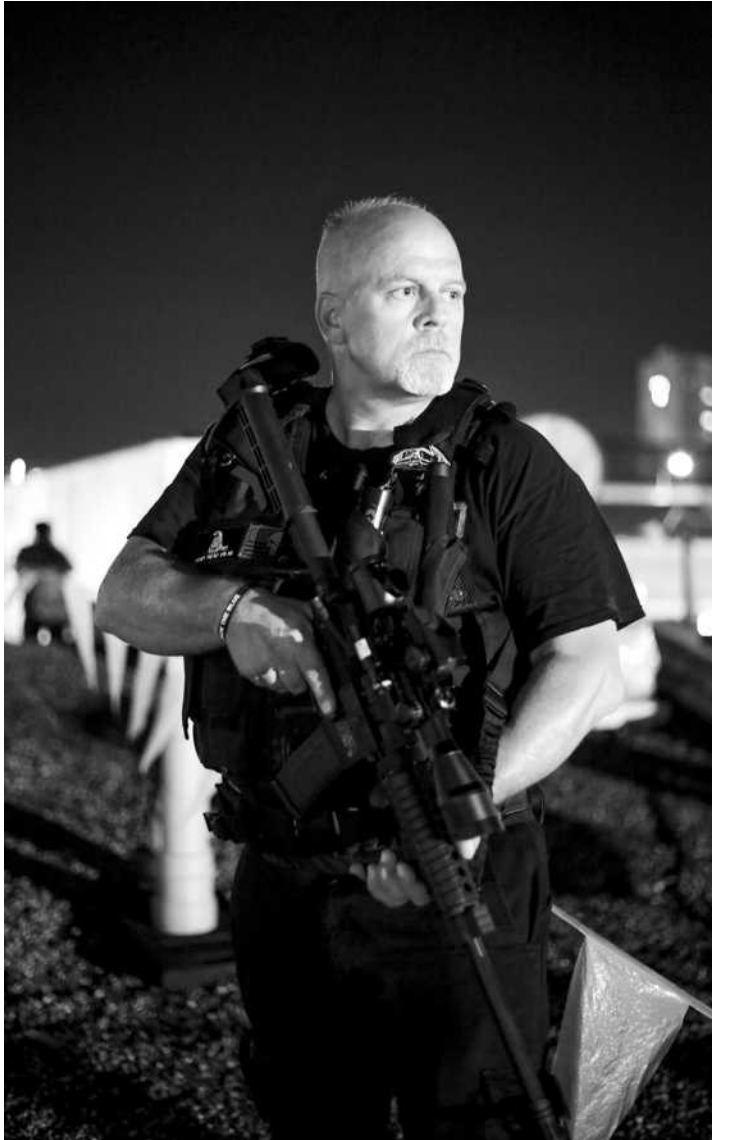
Concerns about vetting will follow the Oath Keepers as they attempt to involve themselves in other social justice protests that make national news.

In 2016, Rhodes promised to “hunt down” voter fraud and voter intimidation, particularly “by leftists.” In Tuesday night’s debate, Trump called on his supporters to do much the same this November.

Rhodes believes the risk this time around is greater, fearing the “Marxists” are planning violence. He hasn’t specified Oath Keepers’ plans for poll-watching, but he said the group will be involved on Election Day.

“We’ll be ready,” he said.

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LEANDRO LOZADA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**Members from the Oath Keepers stand guard in downtown Louisville during ongoing protests Sept. 25. The group has rejected labels like “far-right” and “racist,” crafting a message that resonates with mission-oriented people with military experience.**



A CALL TO CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY



As evangelical Christians, we are called by Jesus to love God and to love our neighbor. As citizens who follow this call, we must engage with humility, civility, intellectual rigor and honesty in the complex and contentious social issues that face our nation. We invite all followers of Jesus — whether Democrats, Republicans or Independents — to join us in seeking the health of the nation for the good of all people.

REPENT

We first acknowledge that we have not always loved God and loved our neighbor, and we repent. Despite the example of Jesus and the teaching of Scripture, many of us have not adequately opposed the unjust systems that fail people of color, women, children and the unborn. We have not always fulfilled God’s commands to protect the immigrant, refugee and poor. We have not always treated those who hold different opinions — both inside and outside of our faith — with dignity. We have not always displayed the beauty of the gospel of Jesus or the joyful relationship with him through faith.

RENEW

Faithful evangelical civic engagement and witness must champion a biblically balanced agenda. We renew our commitment to follow the way of Jesus in our personal lives and our spheres of influence, seeking the flourishing of our communities through just and merciful laws and leadership. This includes:

- **Protecting** religious freedom and liberty of conscience
- **Safeguarding** the nature and sanctity of human life
- **Strengthening** marriages, families and children
- **Seeking** justice and compassion for the poor and vulnerable
- **Preserving** human rights
- **Pursuing** racial justice and reconciliation
- **Promoting** just peace and restraining violence
- **Caring** for God’s creation

These principles are detailed in *For the Health of the Nation*, published in 2004 and available at [forthehealthofthenation.org](http://forthehealthofthenation.org). While these issues do not exhaust the concerns of faith or government, they illustrate broad commitments in which evangelicals can engage in common action.

RESOLVE

The needs of the moment are critical. We therefore resolve to:

- **Seek** racial justice and reconciliation, asking for or extending forgiveness on an individual, local and national level;
- **Uphold** a comprehensive pro-life ethic that protects both the unborn and the vulnerable of all ages, enriching life through equal opportunity and justice so that all women and men may flourish;
- **Resist** being co-opted by political agendas and instead pursue the breadth of commitments that Jesus displayed and Scriptures teach;
- **Embody** God’s love for all, treating people with dignity even when we must confront them as required by our Christian conscience and convictions; and
- **Pray** for all who carry the responsibilities and burdens of leadership.

As we trust in God, we the undersigned commit to the biblical calling to act justly, love mercy and walk humbly with our God. We invite you to join us.

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Free Methodist Church USA

Daniel Akin  
Southeastern Baptist  
Theological Seminary

Claude Alexander  
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National Association of  
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Scott Arbeiter  
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Tim Breene  
CEO  
World Relief





ELECTION 2020

# VP debate to feature plexiglass barriers to boost safety

Move comes amid dispute over staging events in person

BY CHELSEA JANES, JOSH DAWSEY AND MATT VISER

The vice-presidential debate set for Wednesday will feature plexiglass barriers between Vice President Pence (R), Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.) and the moderator, organizers said Monday, amid a growing dispute over whether in-person debates should be held at all.

The Commission on Presidential Debates agreed to the request from the Biden campaign. The Trump team did not object, though “they didn’t want the vice president surrounded by plexiglass,” said commission co-chairman Frank Fahrenkopf Jr. “They don’t want to have him in what looks like a box.”

Top Pence advisers said late Monday they did not support plexiglass for their candidate and that discussions were ongoing.

The decision follows a furor over last Tuesday’s debate between President Trump and former vice president Joe Biden, at which several people in Trump’s entourage did not wear masks. The president tested positive for the novel coronavirus later in the week and was hospitalized for three days.

At least 11 people involved in the setup and staging of last week’s presidential debate have tested positive for the virus. Several senior members of Trump’s administration have also announced positive tests, including people involved in the debate preparations.

The news came hours after the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention updated its website to say that the coronavirus can sometimes be spread by tiny droplets that linger in the air for hours and infect people who are farther than six feet apart, solidifying a long-held consensus



The University of Utah’s Kingsbury Hall is set to host Wednesday’s debate between Vice President Pence and Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.). A growing number of public health experts and some political operatives are asking why the debates can’t take place virtually.

among public health experts that even indoor distancing measures are not infallible.

As the dangers of large indoor gatherings have become increasingly apparent, a growing number of public health experts and some political operatives are asking why the debates must be held in person, at a time when Americans are getting accustomed to virtual versions of everything from concerts to plays to high school graduations.

Pence should be in a 14-day quarantine, some experts said, because he has interacted with Trump and attended a recent Supreme Court nomination ceremony in the Rose Garden, seated with a number of people who have since tested positive.

“The vice-presidential debate is one that if you’re following CDC guidelines, that debate should be virtual,” said Rochelle Walensky, chief of infectious diseases at Massachusetts General Hospital and a professor at Harvard Medical School.

Extra precautions taken in the debate hall will not be sufficient, she said.

“It’s not necessarily how many feet away [Pence] is from Kamala Harris,” Walensky said. “The fact is, he’s going to drive somewhere, fly somewhere. There’s a whole

cascade of people that he could be exposing for him to show up on that stage. When they say quarantine, they mean stay at home and don’t be out and about.”

Pence aides say he does not need to quarantine because he has not been close to Trump.

Joshua M. Sharfstein, a vice dean at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, said the debate’s organizers should make sure the federal guidelines are enforced.

“There’s CDC guidance on this. The advice that’s being given all around the country is stay home for two weeks. He should stay

home for two weeks. It’s not that complicated,” Sharfstein said.

“The vice-presidential debate is important,” Sharfstein added. “Just do it virtually.”

Both campaigns, however, say they fully intend to take part in Wednesday’s debate and are moving forward with the expectation that the next presidential debate will take place Oct. 15 in Miami.

The campaigns have signaled that they do not want to risk being portrayed as afraid to show up for a debate, concerned it could be cast as a sign of weakness.

The Commission on Presidential Debates has said it defers to the campaigns, and the Cleveland Clinic, which is overseeing the safety guidelines, has taken an advisory approach rather than an enforcement role.

The result is that none of the participants or organizers is heeding the advice of a broad swath of public health experts who recommend moving the debates online. And some political experts are making the same case.

Longtime Republican operative Doug Heye tweeted: “Given what’s happening with positive testing in the West Wing and how positive tests can lag, Wednesday’s Vice-Presidential debate should be postponed until we know it can be safely held. Moving forward is irresponsible.”

A spokeswoman for the Cleveland Clinic did not respond to specific questions about individual safety measures.

“There’s nothing specific to share at this point, as discussions are taking place,” spokeswoman Alicia Reale Cooney said in an emailed statement.

But the clinic has distanced itself from responsibility for the infection of 11 people involved in debate preparations in Ohio.

“The 11 positive individuals identified under the testing protocol did not receive credentials to perform their duties. The 11 positive test results were confirmed before the individuals accessed the building or debate hall the day of the debate,” Cooney said. “They were instructed to quarantine as a result of their positive test.”

The safety problem also arose in a debate Saturday in the South Carolina race for the U.S. Senate, when Democratic candidate Jaime Harrison brought a plexiglass barrier and placed it between himself and Republican Sen. Lindsey O. Graham, saying it was not just for his own sake, but also that of the people he cares for.

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Annie Linskey, Sean Sullivan and Michael Scherer contributed to this report.



## The Washington Post | LIVE

# Voting Matters

### DISINFORMATION

Tuesday, Oct. 6 at 3:00 p.m. ET

To receive a live stream reminder for this event, visit: **wapo.st/votingmatters**



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CONTENT FROM PEN AMERICA

**SUZANNE NOSSEL**  
Chief Executive Officer  
PEN America



✿ ELECTION 2020

# In first race, Harris honed her counterpunch

HARRIS FROM A1

San Francisco district attorney, which he said “absolutely” prepared her for the fights to come.

In that race, Harris became the first woman and the first African American to be elected district attorney for San Francisco, and she later broke the same barriers to become attorney general of California. Now she's seeking to become the first vice president who is female or a person of color. Wednesday's debate will be the most visible test of her career-long effort to break campaign molds by forcefully presenting her views and challenging opponents.

Harris plans to spend much of the debate highlighting differences between President Trump and Democratic nominee Joe Biden, rather than confronting Pence, according to people familiar with her plans and preparation.

An aide said that Harris will probably follow the lead set by Biden, who has acknowledged that he doesn't want to levy personal attacks at Trump while he is ill but has criticized Trump's handling of the pandemic and other policy-related choices.

Harris won election to the U.S. Senate in 2016 after blitzing her opponent in a debate for missing votes. Her national profile rose in 2018 with her questioning of Supreme Court nominee Brett M. Kavanaugh. In framing a question about a woman's right to an abortion, she asked whether he knew of any law that gives the government control over a man's body.

Kavanaugh seemed speechless before he conceded, “I'm not thinking of any right now, Senator.” Trump called her questioning “extraordinarily nasty.”

Then, in a Democratic primary debate last year, she attacked Biden's position against federally mandated busing to integrate schools, saying she had benefited from it as a young girl. Biden eventually picked Harris as his running mate, but the strike was so strong that it initially turned some Biden associates against her.

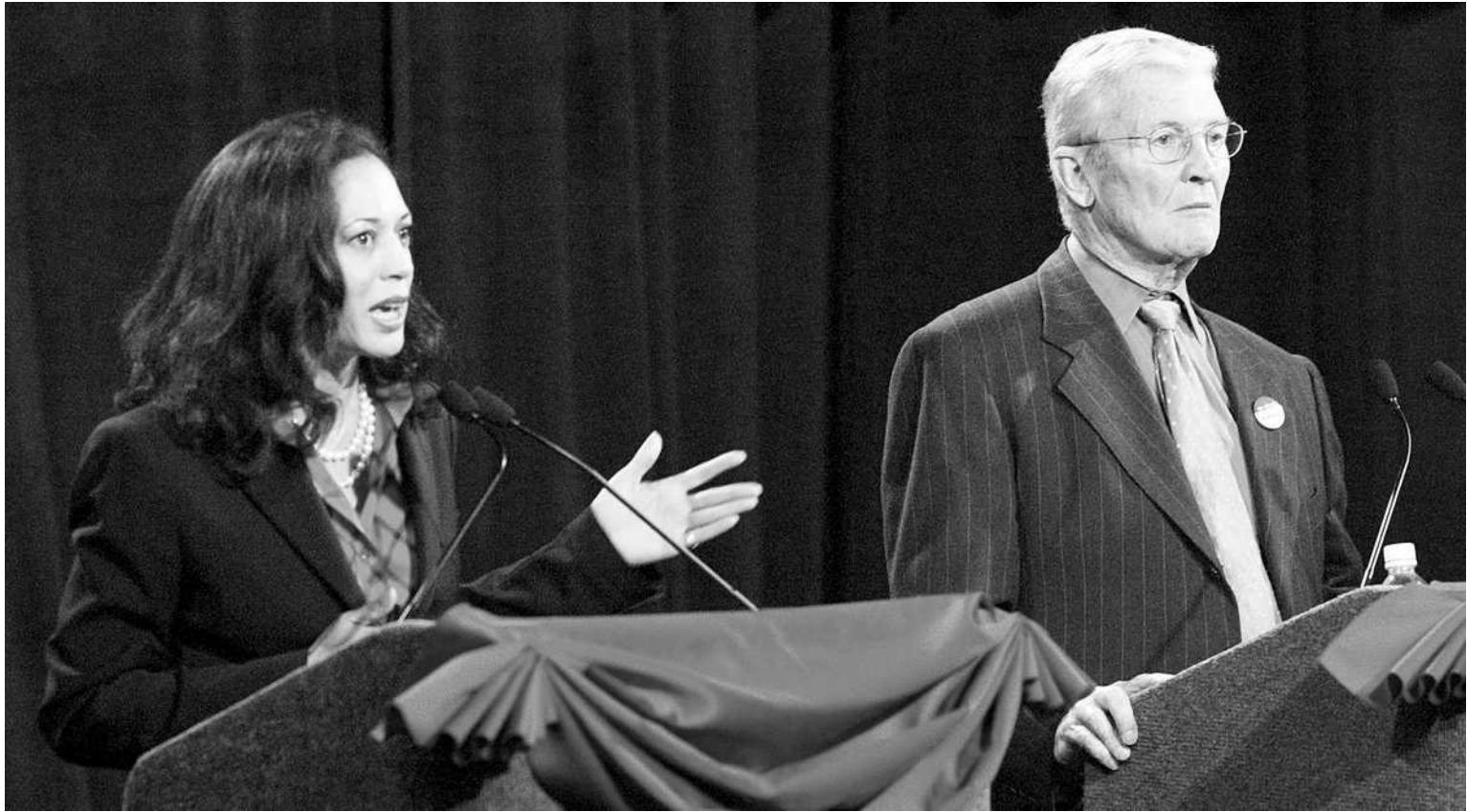
It is a style that was shaped in that first race as a candidate, in which she audaciously ran against the man who hired her in 1998, San Francisco District Attorney Terence “Kayo” Hallinan.

Harris began working for Hallinan as an assistant district attorney, prosecuting homicides and other criminal cases. She later wrote that the office was “self-destructing” and that “violent offenders were walking free.”

She left in 2000 for a job in the San Francisco City Attorney's Office, running the family and children's services division, before deciding in 2003 to run against Hallinan. A third candidate, Bill Fazio, joined the race.

Harris wrote in her autobiography, “The Truths We Hold,” about how daunting the race seemed to her, especially taking on her former boss, who “had a reputation as a fighter.”

“A campaign would be not only bruising but also expensive, and I had no experience as a fund-raiser,” Harris wrote. She decided to run after mulling the words of the Black author James Baldwin, who had said, “The challenge is in the moment; the time is always now.”



MICHAEL MACOR/SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

**Kamala D. Harris and then-San Francisco District Attorney Terence Hallinan at a 2003 debate. When Hallinan charged that Harris wouldn't investigate the mayor, whom she had dated, Harris turned the attack around and suggested she would even investigate Hallinan.**

## Line of attack

Harris, who was 38 years old at the start of the race, was relatively unknown at the time, with only 6 percent of voters saying in initial polls that they had heard of her.

Still, her opponents, Fazio and Hallinan, recognized the threat she posed and viewed her association with a political legend, former speaker of the California State Assembly and San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown, as a line of attack to try to end her candidacy.

Harris and Brown dated in 1994 and 1995. Brown urged her to consider a political career and — in a move that generated much controversy in San Francisco politics — appointed her to two state boards, for which she was paid \$400,000 over five years, according to news reports at the time.

In mid-1994, Brown appointed Harris to a \$97,000-a-year job on the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board, but that position expired at the end of the year, the Los Angeles Times reported in 1994. She took a leave from her full-time position as an Alameda County prosecutor while she served on the board, according to reports.

Then, just before leaving his post as speaker, Brown in November 1994 appointed Harris to the California Medical Assistance Commission, a part-time position that the Los Angeles Times said paid \$72,000 a year.

The Brown-Harris romance ended in late 1995, but the repercussions of the alliance played out more fully when Harris ran for district attorney. Her opponents questioned the propriety of her acceptance of the positions from Brown and sought to raise doubts about whether she would investigate possible corruption in Brown's mayoral administration.

An investigation by the San Francisco Chronicle of what it called “Willie Brown Inc.” revealed that Brown's administration had created 350 mayoral “special assistant” jobs with a \$45 million payroll. City Hall was investigated by the FBI for at least five years starting in 1998 as part

of a wide-ranging probe into municipal corruption, but no charges were brought against him. Brown and his allies dismissed the criticism and said he had been vindicated.

Fazio sent a mailer to voters that showed a woman saying of Harris, “I don't care if Willie Brown is Kamala Harris' ex-boyfriend. What bothers me is that Kamala accepted two appointments from Willie Brown to high-paying, part-time state boards — including one she had no training for — while being paid \$100,000 a year as a full-time county employee.”

Harris told SF Weekly at the time that Brown was “an albattross around my neck” but said she was torn over how to respond. SF Weekly said “the charge is that she is Brown's puppet” and suggested that she could win her race only “if she can just get out from under this damn Willie Brown thing.” Just the mention of Brown, the Weekly's reporter wrote, made Harris's “shoulders tense, her hands clench, and her eyes narrow.”

Harris told the Weekly that not only was she independent of Brown, but also “he would probably right now express some fright about the fact that he can't control me.” If she was elected and discovered corruption occurred under Brown, “it will be prosecuted.”

Responding to Fazio's mailer, Harris sent a recorded telephone message to voters that sought to explain what she did on the boards on which she served. She said in the message that her work on the unemployment commission enabled her to help extend benefits to gay couples, and that her service on the California Medical Assistance Commission enabled her to keep open a hospital.

Stearns, the former Harris campaign consultant, said Fazio's attack backfired.

“We never had a poll that showed Kamala in anything but third place, but she was climbing steadily, and that attack on her was the catalyst to put her over the top,” Stearns said. Voters were

turned off by the negativity “and decided that if this is the only thing wrong with Kamala Harris, she'd be a pretty good choice.”

Brown, in a recent interview with The Washington Post, said he saw nothing inappropriate in appointing Harris to the state panels. He said he saw no conflict in appointing her at a time he had a relationship with her.

“You have to select people to serve on boards and commissions,” he said. “And it's really difficult to find people who are sincere enough to do the job because it's a thankless task.”

Harris and her campaign spokeswoman declined a request for comment. She has defended her work on the panels and has said that raising questions about her association with Brown is sexist. She told the Los Angeles Times in 2015 that “My opponents chose to tell a story that was salacious and made it sound like I didn't do anything of my own merit, that I was a creation of somebody,” a charge she said was untrue.

Fazio failed to secure enough votes in the initial round, setting up a runoff between Hallinan, who had narrowly led the first round, and Harris. Fazio said in an interview that he agreed with Stearns's assessment that the ad “backfired on me.” In retrospect, Fazio said, “Brown helped a ton of politicians,” and he said he doesn't think her service on the boards was problematic, saying it was how such “plum” appointments are often handed out.

## Stepped-up attacks

The runoff only heightened the focus on the Brown-Harris relationship, as Hallinan stepped up the attacks.

Harris had initially said she would support Hallinan but decided to run against him after observing what she called a lack of professionalism in the office. Hallinan was considered one of the nation's most liberal prosecutors, and Harris — who today says she was a “progressive prosecutor” — ran to Hallinan's right.

During a debate, Hallinan said

Harris should not be elected because she wouldn't investigate corruption. Speaking of Brown, Hallinan said: “He has an interest in having a friend in the district attorney's office.”

Harris, in a fiery response that foreshadowed her political style, responded: “I will set up a public integrity desk dedicated to dealing with investigating and prosecuting cases involving corruption by any public official — be it Terence Hallinan or anyone else.”

“That really takes my breath away,” Hallinan said.

Harris, who emphasized in a campaign mailer that every person who had held the office had been a White man, won the race in the December 2003 runoff with 56 percent of the vote.

Brown appeared at the victory celebration at Harris's headquarters, telling the San Francisco Chronicle that “It is obviously a gender victory. It is obviously an ethnic victory. But it was her competence that defeated Terence Hallinan.” Hallinan died earlier this year.

Reflecting on her election in her autobiography, Harris wrote that she was inaugurated on the same day as Gavin Newsom became mayor, recalling a “palpable sense in the city that a new chapter was opening for San Francisco politics — and what might be possible for us all.”

Brown, meanwhile, has continued to dispense political advice to Harris. In an Aug. 8 column for the San Francisco Chronicle, he wrote that Harris should reject the vice-presidential slot if it was offered. He suggested she instead seek to be U.S. attorney general and then president.

But after Harris accepted Biden's offer and followed his introduction with powerful remarks, Brown said she will play a vital role in helping Democrats win back the White House. The best thing Biden can do, Brown said, is to get out of her way and “let her do her thing.”

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Alice Crites and Chelsea Janes contributed to this report.

# High court hands GOP win in S.C. mail voting

Ballots need witness signatures, with waiver for those already sent

BY ROBERT BARNES

The Supreme Court on Monday night agreed with South Carolina Republicans and said mail-in ballots must contain a witness's signature, something federal courts had said should be waived because of the coronavirus pandemic.

The high court made one concession, saying ballots already sent in without a witness should be counted. Tens of thousands of ballots have been sent to voters across the state.

The court's brief order did not list any objecting justices. Justices Clarence Thomas, Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Neil M. Gorsuch said they would have granted the request in full, meaning the ballots already in without a witness signature would not be counted.

The request to the high court came after the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit last week left in place an order blocking the requirement because of the risks associated with in-person voting during the pandemic.

It is one of several battles over voting procedure in the presidential election to already have made its way to the Supreme Court. The justices are also considering a request from Pennsylvania's Republican legislative leaders to block a decision to count ballots received by mail up to three days after Election Day.

South Carolina lawmakers told the Supreme Court that the legislature took steps to expand absentee voting because of the pandemic but intentionally did not suspend the witness requirement, “deeming it an important tool for deterring fraud and promoting confidence in this unprecedented election.”

*A lower court left in place an order blocking the requirement because of in-person voting risks during the pandemic*

More than 150,000 absentee ballots have already been mailed out, according to the request filed with Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., who oversees the Richmond-based 4th Circuit.

According to Monday night's order, any ballots cast before the court's action “and received within two days of this order may not be rejected for failing to comply with the witness requirement.”

South Carolina Democrats said that because the witness requirement was not in place during the state's primary, imposing it in the general election “would risk substantial voter confusion.”

As is usual in emergency orders, the court did not provide a reason for reimposing the requirement.

But Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh, writing only for himself, said there were two: respecting decisions of state officials and not interfering with election procedures close to the election.

He wrote that the “state legislature's decision either to keep or to make changes to election rules to address covid-19” should not be subject to second-guessing by the judiciary.

That reflects an earlier decision by the court keeping in place restrictions on worship services. Kavanaugh was a dissenter in that case, in which Roberts was joined by the court's liberals.

Kavanaugh also said the court's precedents say federal courts should not intervene in state voting rules close to an election. “By enjoining South Carolina's witness requirement shortly before the election, the district court defied that principle and this Court's precedents,” he wrote.

U.S. District Judge J. Michelle Childs said that requiring voters to get a witness signature would probably confuse and deter voters because of the rules in place during the primary, and that complying could increase their risk of exposure to the novel coronavirus.

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Ann Marimow contributed to this report.

# Pompeo accused of mixing politics, diplomacy as vote nears

BY CAROL MORELLO

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's pre-election speeches in battleground states are drawing increased scrutiny from Democratic lawmakers, who say his remarks cross a line that has traditionally separated foreign policy from domestic politics.

Reps. Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Joaquin Castro (D-Tex.), chairman of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on oversight and investigations, on Monday asked the State Department for documents relating to Pompeo's “domestic political speeches” to groups in Texas, Wisconsin and Florida.

“It is concerning that the Secretary is suddenly crisscrossing the country at taxpayers' expense to speak with state legislators and private groups and that these events appear to be increasing in frequency as the November 3rd election approaches,” the lawmakers wrote in a letter.

“There is no place for partisan politics in the halls and offices of the State Department, and we consider it deeply inappropriate and potentially illegal for the

Secretary of State even to seriously consider actively campaigning for a presidential candidate,” they added.

Castro said the requests for documents are part of an effort to draw up stricter guidelines in the future.

“For generations, U.S. Secretaries of State avoided domestic politics in order to speak more credibly as a representative of our entire nation, not one political party,” he said. “The corruption of the Trump era has unfortunately demonstrated how many important practices were norms not written into black letter law, and we need to do a damage assessment after this administration to inform necessary reforms.”

Pompeo's office insisted his appearances have been an appropriate exercise of his job as America's top diplomat and blasted the Democratic lawmakers' characterization of his speeches.

“The Secretary's job is to lead the State Department in executing on the foreign policy priorities President Trump has established to serve the American people,” according to a statement

from the State Department. “Communicating our mission directly to the American people is one of the most important ways of strengthening it.”

The statement said that the State Department takes congressional oversight “seriously” but that “the unilateral characterization of official travel as ‘political trips’ seems to reveal a less than serious tone to this oversight request.”

Pompeo's public remarks have drawn more attention since he addressed the Republican National Convention in August, talking to delegates by videotape from a rooftop of the King David Hotel overlooking Jerusalem's Old City on a hastily scheduled trip to the Middle East.

Since then, he has flown to Texas to speak before a Baptist megachurch on “Keeping Faith in the Public Square” and to Wisconsin to address the state legislature. Last weekend, he canceled an in-person visit to Florida and appeared by video, telling a conservative Christian group that abortion is not an international human right and urging it to fight against the “pro-abortion” groups that are “lobbying” for the

practice to be legal “internationally, just as they do here at home.”

Perceptions of a double standard have arisen in light of a December memo, which Pompeo approved, warning State Department employees not to “improperly engage the Department of State in the political process.”

“Whatever the legal technicalities, there is the appearance of considerable conflict between what the secretary of state is doing and what the secretary of state tells employees they must not do,” said Ron Neumann, a former ambassador who heads the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Pompeo has cast his remarks as an explanation of U.S. foreign policy. He extolled the Trump administration's antiabortion policies when delivering a keynote address to the Florida Family Policy Council, titled “Respecting Life in America's Foreign Policy.”

But Democrats say that does not mean his behavior was appropriate.

“Pompeo is careful in the way he chooses words and frames these events,” said a Democratic aide in Congress, speaking on the

condition of anonymity to be frank about views of Pompeo. “But you'd have be willfully blind to look at events in Wisconsin and Florida and say he's not trying to involve himself in an election.”

The U.S. ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, directly criticized Democratic nominee Joe Biden in an interview published Sunday on the website of a United Arab Emirates news outlet.

“If Biden wins, we will see a policy shift that in my personal opinion will be wrong and will be bad for the region, including for Israel, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait,” he said.

Many see a difference between staying within the Hatch Act prohibitions on federal employees engaging in political activities and the appearance of endorsing political views.

“Generally, secretaries of state have stayed out of election campaigns as part of the larger preference to keep foreign policy separate from domestic policy,” Neumann said. “From that perspective, many people would find this tacky.”

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✿ ELECTION 2020

# Republicans face head winds in final stretch to maintain Senate majority

BY RACHAEL BADE  
AND PAUL KANE

Republicans are facing major head winds in their bid to maintain control of the Senate, a troubling outlook for the party roiled by news of President Trump and three GOP senators contracting the coronavirus four weeks before the election.

In a tumultuous year marked by a pandemic that has killed nearly 210,000 Americans and civil unrest, Republicans saw the fight over a Supreme Court vacancy as a chance to boost their political fortunes. Court fights typically rally the GOP base, and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) encouraged Trump to move quickly to select a conservative nominee to galvanize voters.

But the GOP's predicted Supreme Court bump has yet to materialize. And the party is now facing down a new level of uncertainty as the coronavirus spreads in GOP circles in Washington, with Sens. Thom Tillis (N.C.), Mike Lee (Utah) and Ron Johnson (Wis.) testing positive.

Rather than serving as a major boost to their campaigns, Trump's Supreme Court announcement at the White House on Sept. 26 appears to have served as a super-spreader event, with a couple dozen infections connected to that day. That is certain to bring Trump's response to the pandemic to the forefront of voter's minds in the lead-up to Nov. 3 — the last thing Republicans wanted.

"I think it's 50-50," McConnell told conservative talk radio host Hugh Hewitt on Friday when asked whether the GOP will hold the Senate. "We always knew this was going to be challenging."

"We have close, hard-fought races all over the country," McConnell said, adding that "the Democrats are competing with us in Kansas and Georgia and even South Carolina."

That concern grew as Democratic challengers began unveiling eye-popping fundraising totals, revealing that anti-Trump liberal energy has only grown stronger as sides gird for a Supreme Court fight.

In North Carolina, Cal Cunningham (D), running in what many consider the tipping-point race, raised more than \$28 million, a three-month haul that represents more than double the amount that Tillis, the GOP in-

cumbent, raised in the previous 5½ years.

It remained to be seen how badly Cunningham has damaged his chances with his acknowledgment Friday of intimate texts with a woman who is not his wife, a self-inflicted blow that could ensure the GOP holds the seat.

Overall, Democratic candidates MJ Hegar in Texas and Raphael Warnock in Georgia reported raising \$13.5 million and \$12.5 million, providing enough funds to turn races where Republicans had distinct advantages into more competitive battles in the final weeks. And GOP strategists were bracing for a potentially record-setting haul from Jaime Harrison, the South Carolina Democrat who has forced Republicans to divert about \$10 million to defend Sen. Lindsey O. Graham in a state Trump won by more than 14 percentage points four years ago.

"We have grassroots momentum behind us, we hold an advantage on the issues that matter most to voters, and we continue to have a strong path to winning back the majority," Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) said in a statement to The Washington Post. "The Republicans' mismanaged response to this pandemic and the rush to confirm a Supreme Court justice . . . has underscored just how important it is to flip the Senate."

Republicans have divided their map into two tiers of four races. The most vulnerable incumbents in Democratic-leaning or swing states are Tillis and Sens. Susan Collins (Maine), Cory Gardner (Colo.) and Martha McSally (Ariz.).

The next tier is what the GOP has privately referred to as its firewall for holding the majority, races in GOP-leaning states that they must win. The incumbents are Sens. Joni Ernst (Iowa), Steve Daines (Mont.), David Perdue (Ga.) and Kelly Loeffler (Ga.).

Republicans and Democrats expect GOP candidate Tommy Tuberville to oust Sen. Doug Jones (D) in strongly Republican Alabama, giving the GOP one more seat. Republicans can lose all four of their most vulnerable senators as long as they maintain their firewall and Trump wins a second term. Should Joe Biden win, they have to hold on to one of those front-line seats, as well as their second tier.

Yet there are fresh signs that



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**The GOP is hoping four Senate incumbents — Iowa's Joni Ernst, above, Montana's Steve Daines and Georgia's David Perdue and Kelly Loeffler — can provide a firewall to protect the party's majority.**

even the GOP's firewall is cracking. In Georgia, a recent Quinnipiac University poll shows Warnock ahead, with the special election turning into a nail-biter amid Republican infighting. Rep. Douglas A. Collins (R-Ga.) has waged a vicious campaign against Loeffler, siphoning off GOP support she needs to defeat the little-known Black Baptist pastor from Atlanta.

Perdue's race is too close for GOP comfort, with Democrat Jon Ossoff competitive with the Republican incumbent whose deep ties to the Atlanta suburbs have long boosted him. The races have led some Republicans to joke privately about the possibility of celebrating the holidays in the Peach State, amid the possibility of run-offs in January.

To win, a candidate must get a majority of the vote.

In South Carolina, Graham is tied with Harrison, according to a Post analysis of three polls taken there last month. In the traditionally conservative state, Graham, the three-term senator who won his last race by 17 percentage points, is getting so desperate for cash that he has taken to begging Fox News viewers to donate to his race on live national television.

"I'm getting overwhelmed," he told prime-time host Sean Hannity late last month. Then, he turned

to Hannity's viewers, adding: "Help me! They're killing me mon-ey-wise. Help me. You did last week. Help me again."

The shape of the races is evident based on where outside conservative groups, aligned with McConnell, are spending their resources to defend the Republican majority. In the final five weeks of the campaign, those groups have devoted \$110 million to nine states where Republicans hold the seat, according to estimates from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Those groups are on offense against just one Democratic seat, that of Sen. Gary Peters (Mich.), whose race against a well-funded Republican, John James, has grown increasingly close despite Biden's continued strength in a state that Trump narrowly won in 2016. Some allies of Peters have sent warnings to Democratic leaders that if they do not shore up what should be an easy victory, they could fall shy of the majority.

Republicans also argue that there is plenty of time to steady the ship. GOP operatives are still predicting a Supreme Court boost once the confirmation hearings begin Oct. 12 for Judge Amy Coney Barrett, Trump's choice to replace Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg after her death last month.

But in debates Saturday night, Graham and Ernst found themselves on the defensive over the coronavirus, the government response and some of their past comments.

Graham, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, sought to focus on his concerted effort to confirm Barrett. But Harrison, who brought his own plexiglass divider as he shared the stage with Graham, criticized the response to the disease. "We failed to act," Harrison said. "The Senate failed to act. The governors failed to act. We need leaders who are going to step up and act."

Graham called the virus "serious" but said that "we have to move on as a nation."

In Iowa, Democratic challenger Theresa Greenfield called on Ernst to apologize for her comments last month echoing a conspiracy theory that deaths have been overcounted and arguing that health-care providers are reimbursed at a higher rate when deaths are linked to covid-19.

"I have apologized to our health-care workers and I will apologize again tonight," Ernst said. "I am so sorry that my words may have offended you. I know that you are tremendous workers. You are essential workers."

# As GOP faces growing turmoil, many continue to dismiss concerns over virus

BY ROBERT COSTA

Widespread Republican recalcitrance about federal health guidelines showed few signs of waning on Monday, even as the party faces growing turmoil following President Trump's hospitalization and as more White House aides test positive for the novel coronavirus.

White House press secretary Kayleigh McEnany and at least two of her deputies have now contracted the virus, further derailing the functioning of a West Wing plunged into crisis and adding to a long list of top Republicans who have been infected.

But many Republicans continue to dismiss calls for alarm — and for changes to the party's message on the virus and its operations.

Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), who tested positive last week, said in an interview with a conservative talk-show host that there is "a level of unjustifiable hysteria" about a virus that has killed nearly 210,000 Americans and asked, "Why do we think we actually can stop the progression of a contagious disease?"

Johnson added that "from day one, we never should have gone through the shutdowns" and said, "We've got to carry on with our lives."

Johnson's remarks came as Trump's doctors asserted that he could be discharged from the hospital Monday, baffling infectious-disease experts, and then he later left Walter Reed National Military Medical Center.

Trump played down the threat of the disease on Monday, tweeting: "Feeling really good! Don't be afraid of Covid. Don't let it dominate your life."

Meanwhile, the Trump campaign plowed ahead with planning for rallies with large crowds, with Vice President Pence scheduled to campaign Thursday in Arizona. Thousands of attendees at similar events this year have frequently flouted federal guidelines on masks and social distancing.

"This begins at the top," said William A. Galston, a senior fel-

low in governance at the Brookings Institution. "Unless the president announces and underscores a change of course, I don't believe the administration or rank-and-file members of his party are going to change more than marginally."

Galston said Trump has made the pandemic a "culture and identity issue, and culture and identity are much harder to shift than policy."

Some GOP strategists said many Republicans are deeply shaped by the skepticism about the guidelines and the danger of the virus that is promulgated daily by conservative media stars and echoed by the president's core voters, creating a culture in the party where loyalty to Trump's approach is the rule.

"They have to replace the party's elephant logo with a cowering politician who's afraid of Trump," said Mike Murphy, a veteran GOP consultant and Trump critic. "Whatever the Fox News, Trump line is about covid-19 being some snowflake thing is what they end up saying. The grip is still there."

The political cost of the GOP's seemingly unflinching posture on the pandemic is unclear. The latest diagnoses inside the White House and the party have thrust its response to the pandemic back to the fore of this year's campaign after months of Republicans seeking to pull the spotlight toward other issues.

In the House, three Minnesota Republicans who flew commercially Friday — Reps. Pete Stauber, Tom Emmer and Jim Hagedorn — have been criticized for doing so one day after Trump tested positive and after flying on Air Force One with the president Wednesday.

And from Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.), who was spotted on a flight Friday without a mask after being in Capitol meetings with infected senators, to Johnson — who attended a GOP-hosted Oktoberfest event in Wisconsin last week after being tested for the virus but before he was informed of his positive result — Republicans' conduct is now under increasing scrutiny.



MANDEL NGAN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

**President Trump listens to Sen. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.), right, during a tour of an emergency operations center in Kenosha, Wis., on Sept. 1. Both have recently tested positive for the novel coronavirus.**

Wisconsin has experienced a record number of new virus cases as temperatures have dropped.

Wicker's spokesman said he "lowered his face mask to eat a snack and forgot to put it back up." When he was reminded by a flight attendant he put the mask up, the spokesman said, and he has not been in contact with people who have tested positive.

Democrats see a party consumed by Trump and in lockstep with his view of the virus, sharing his distaste for face coverings and social distancing.

"For the future and safety of our fellow citizens, I implore my Republican colleagues to join Democrats in taking this seriously. Wear a mask. Social distance. Follow the science, CDC guidance, and listen to experts," said Sen. Tammy Duckworth (D-Ill.). "Your actions now can still set an example, and it may very well save the lives of some of your supporters, colleagues and leaders, too."

Yet there was muted acknowledgment Monday by one promi-

nent Republican running for reelection that Trump's handling of the pandemic has included mistakes, reflecting the way embattled candidates are uneasily navigating a party that is dominated by Trump and sliding in the polls.

Sen. John Cornyn (R-Tex.) told the Houston Chronicle Editorial Board that Trump "let his guard down" on the pandemic.

"I think in his desire to try to demonstrate that we are somehow coming out of this and that the danger is not still with us — I think he got out over his skis, and frankly, I think it's a lesson to all of us that we need to exercise self-discipline," Cornyn said.

The GOP-controlled Senate is confronting its own challenges as Johnson and Sens. Mike Lee (R-Utah) and Thom Tillis (R-N.C.) isolate following positive tests for the coronavirus. Some senators, such as Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), age 87 and third in the line of succession as the Senate's president pro tempore, have declined to be tested despite being in the same vicinity as Lee.

"Sen. Grassley's doctors have not recommended he be tested as he has not come into close contact with anyone suspected of having or confirmed to have coronavirus," Grassley spokesman Michael Zona said in a statement to the Des Moines Register.

On Monday, Tillis's office said the senator, who is facing a tough reelection race and has fallen behind his Democratic challenger in recent polls, is "no longer exhibiting any symptoms."

Despite the three positive tests in his ranks, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) said Monday the Senate was "going ahead with the full, thorough and timely confirmation process" to install Judge Amy Coney Barrett on the Supreme Court before Election Day — an effort that only days ago was seen by Republicans as a crowning achievement in an otherwise difficult year. The Senate Judiciary Committee plans to begin hearings Oct. 12.

Johnson, speaking Monday in the radio interview with host Ross Kaminsky of Denver-based

Even before Trump's coronavirus diagnosis, Republicans acknowledged that his combative debate performance last week did not help them. His refusal to condemn white supremacy dumbfounded many GOP lawmakers, who also thought he lost a chance to cast Biden and the Democrats as beholden to what they call the "radical left."

"You know we didn't get great clarity from the debate last night about the differences in vision of the future of this country," said Sen. Todd C. Young (R-Ind.), who's leading the GOP's campaign arm. "And I think that was unfortunate."

In clear sign of GOP nervousness, five Republicans on the ballot this fall cast symbolic votes to block the Trump administration from continuing its legal fight to overturn the Affordable Care Act and its protections for preexisting conditions. Collins, Gardner, Ernst, McSally and Sen. Dan Sullivan (R-Alaska) joined Democrats last week in backing the measure, which fell short of the 60-vote threshold.

Democrats, meanwhile, point to evidence of a jolt of energy on their side. ActBlue, the liberal online donation site, has raised nearly \$500 million for Democratic candidates since Ginsburg's death, and Senate candidates have seen a rush of donations as well.

Crooked Media, a liberal group founded by alumni of the Obama White House, set up a "Get Mitch" fund for Senate candidates in the summer of 2019 that had raised only \$3.5 million before the evening of Sept. 18. In the next 12 days, after Ginsburg's death, the fund hauled in more than \$23 million, disbursing between \$1.7 million and \$1.9 million to 13 Senate candidates, according to Shaniqua McClendon, political director for Crooked Media.

A pair of Democratic challengers, Mark Kelly in Arizona and Amy McGrath in Kentucky, have already raised so much money that McClendon turned off the online donor drive for their campaigns, to steer money into campaigns that need the cash more. They expect to turn Harrison's campaign off for donors soon.

"We want it to be impactful dollars," McClendon said. "They don't need the money. Other people do. So let's get it to them."

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KHOW, said he is prepared to wear a "moon suit" if necessary to cast a vote to confirm Barrett.

"I've already told leadership, I'll go in in a moon suit," Johnson said. "We think this is pretty important. I think people can be fairly confident that Mitch McConnell is dedicated to holding this vote."

In the interview, Johnson also said he is feeling "perfectly fine" but is "in total isolation" since testing positive.

The Republican from Wisconsin repeatedly said he is "not downplaying covid," while at the same time arguing that "the press has done such a good job in ingraining in almost everybody's brain that if you get covid, it's a death sentence. It's not."

Sen. Kelly Loeffler (R-Ga.), who is in a competitive special election race, tweeted a video that showed Trump, at a wrestling match, pummeling an individual with a digitally edited and spiky covid-19 particle for a head.

"Covid stood no chance against @realDonaldTrump," she tweeted.

In his remarks Monday, McConnell, who had polio as a child, offered a far more somber assessment of the virus and its devastating toll than Trump's message not to be afraid.

"The standard cliché would say these past few days have provided a stark reminder of the danger of this terrible virus. But the truth is that our nation did not need any such reminder," McConnell said on the Senate floor. "More than 209,000 of our fellow citizens have lost their lives. Millions have battled illness or had their lives disrupted by positive tests. . . . We all need to remain vigilant. We all need to remain careful."

Elsewhere, key Republicans isolating on Monday after recently testing positive for the coronavirus included Trump campaign manager Bill Stepien and Ronna McDaniel, chairwoman of the Republican National Committee. Other Trump advisers — such as former White House counselor Kellyanne Conway and former New Jersey governor Chris Christie — have also tested positive.

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ELECTION 2020

A hoax, no big deal, a sign from God: Early voters react to Trump’s illness

BY ROB WOLFE,  
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BRIAN WELLNER  
AND ELISE VIEBECK

WINDHAM, MAINE — To Ed Couture, a 67-year-old contractor in rural Maine, President Trump becoming sick with covid-19 shows that the White House did not take the health threat posed by the novel coronavirus seriously. But that does not change Couture’s support for the president. A former union member who once voted with Democrats, Couture cast a ballot for Trump in 2016, and he did the same thing Monday, the first day of in-person absentee voting for the general election in Maine. “I just like him because he speaks like a regular person,” Couture said of the president, whose illness after contracting the coronavirus has upended the 2020 campaign. “He’s just like us.”

With four weeks until the election, voters are facing circumstances that are virtually unprecedented. The president is sick with an illness that has killed more than 209,000 Americans. The virus has spread to much of his inner circle, hobbling parts of the White House at a pivotal moment. And with the coronavirus still threatening much of the country, many voters are casting ballots by mail — or early in person — for the first time to protect their health. Voters in a half-dozen states turned up at polling places or election offices Monday for the start of early voting. And Trump’s health loomed large for many of them — a reminder that many Americans will be casting their ballots long before the campaign ends on Nov. 3. In Omaha, at the Douglas County Election Commission office, a 72-year-old oral surgeon and former longtime Republican expressed disappointment with Trump’s handling of the pandemic, including his rhetoric blaming China as “a kind of boogeyman.” “It should not be politicized,” said Harold Tu. “It should be based on science and medicine.



People cast ballots at Merrill Auditorium in Portland, Maine, on the state’s first day of absentee in-person voting for the general election. The president’s recent covid-19 diagnosis was on the minds of many voters in the half-dozen states where early voting started Monday.

It’s so important that people see information as credible.” Blaming Trump, Tu called the handling of the pandemic “an example of a failure of leadership, and a failure to address the public health crisis of our time.” He said he had switched his party affiliation to Democrat earlier this year. Voters who leaned toward Democrats tied Trump’s illness to his opposition to the Affordable Care Act, arguing that repealing the law would hurt patients. In Davenport, Iowa, Sally Ellis, 76, said that the president is “pretending to be well because it makes him look powerful and strong. He’s being self-centered and not caring about the people around him.” Noting that she has never missed an opportunity to vote, Ellis said the pandemic, the environment and the Affordable Care Act were motivating her to cast a ballot against Trump. “There are so many people covered by that insurance that will die if they’re not covered,” Ellis said of the 2010 health-care law, as dozens stood outside the Scott County auditor’s office waiting to vote. About 20 voters were waiting when the office opened at 8 a.m. The line swelled to more than 50 as the morning went on. Auditor Roxanna Moritz, wearing a mask, asked voters to stand at least six feet apart. James Hickles, 62, of Davenport, who also voted in person, said he doesn’t think the president is being truthful about the severity of his covid-19 diagnosis. “I think he may have a mild case of it, and his team is [exaggerating] the intensity of it,” Hickles said through his mask, which had the word “vote” on it. Hickles, a federal contract specialist, said he believes that Trump is taking the country in the wrong direction. “He’s not doing anything to correct the problems out there, and add to that covid and the distrust and madness associated with it,” he said. “I need a 46th president.” Not everyone who stood in line wore a mask. Ronald Baumbach, who works for the Illinois Nation-

al Guard, said he is supporting Republicans this year because of how well he believes the economy is running. Baumbach, 51, said he knows a few co-workers who were diagnosed with covid-19. As for the president’s diagnosis, he said: “It happens. It’s something that’s going around.” He added that he wished the president a full recovery. Yvonne Johnson, 82, of Davenport also wished the president well as he fights the illness but added that she was glad he contracted the coronavirus. “He always said it’s a hoax,” said Johnson, a retired foundry inspector. “Now he knows it’s not a hoax.”

In Portland, Maine, recently naturalized citizen Jeanne Mendomo, who emigrated from Cameroon, chose to take her absentee ballot home to fill out with help from her daughter, who helps her translate between English and French. Mendomo, 74, said she had not decided whom she was voting for in most races yet, but she thought Trump’s covid-19 diagnosis was a divine message telling him to take the virus more seriously. “God is speaking to President Trump,” she said, adding: “Everyone is the same, Black or White, rich or poor. God is telling Trump that anyone can get this.” Back in Windham, Maine, Maxine Campbell, 82, dropped her ballot in a box outside the clerk’s office shortly before 1 p.m. She said the high stakes of the election had motivated her to get out early. “This is probably the most important election of my lifetime,” she said. “I couldn’t wait to come and vote. We need a change.” Campbell, a retired nurse, is not supporting the president and said she keeps her head down in the rural town of 17,000, which backed Trump in 2016. She said her reaction to his covid-19 diagnosis was skepticism — about how serious his case was or whether he had it at all. “I’m not sure if I believe him or not,” she said. “I feel like he’s controlling everything behind the scenes.” Ron Dyer, a 77-year-old Vietnam veteran also in Windham, said he voted against Trump because he thought the president was too close to Russian President Vladimir Putin. “The country’s going to turn communist if Trump gets reelected,” he said, and then raised two fingers pressed closely together. “He and Putin are like this.” Dyer said he thought the president “got [covid-19] because he deserved it — not wearing a mask, and all that.” elise.viebeck@washpost.com

Wolfe reported from Maine, Genoways reported from Nebraska, and Wellner reported from Iowa.

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THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Despite his illness, the president is maintaining a tight grip on messaging

IMAGE FROM A1

ally great drugs & knowledge. I feel better than I did 20 years ago!”

The president’s physician, Sean Conley, described Trump as “a phenomenal patient.” And, in a sign that Trump has exerted personal control over deciding his treatments, Conley told reporters on Monday that the president “has been working hand in glove with us.”

It was Trump’s decision to return to the White House, where doctors plan to continue his treatments, and it was supported by Conley and others on the medical team, according to a senior administration official who, like some others interviewed for this story, spoke on the condition of anonymity to candidly discuss the president’s health.

Trump came back to the White House by helicopter late Monday, walking up stairs from Marine One into the residence. He pumped his fist and stopped on the balcony, flanked by flags, and took off his mask for a dramatic photo opportunity. He then walked into the residence, past others, without his mask.

Trump’s quest to come across as commanding even while suffering from a deadly illness that is especially dangerous for men of his age and with his comorbidities is in keeping with one of his great phobias in life: appearing weak.

Trump has sought to mask his physical vulnerabilities with his own machismo and Conley’s rosy assessments of his condition.

“It seems as though Trump is calling all the shots,” said Chris Whipple, author of “The Gatekeepers,” a history of White House chiefs of staff. “He has what he’s always wanted, which is a presidency without any guardrails and without anyone to tell him what he doesn’t want to hear.”

Though Conley told reporters that Trump had not yet recovered from covid-19, the disease caused by the virus, the president was adamant about returning to the White House and encouraged his advisers to tell journalists that he is healthy, according to a Republican official with knowledge of the conversations.

“I have to get out of here,” Trump said in at least one of those calls, pushing back against suggestions that he remain at Walter Reed longer, according to this official.

Some of Trump’s advisers expressed concern about the president’s decision to leave Walter Reed, said someone familiar with the discussions. The worry was twofold, as they both feared for Trump’s health and worried that if the president needs to return to the hospital in coming days, the ensuing news cycle would be a



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump returns to the White House on Monday after spending several days in the hospital for coronavirus treatment.

public relations disaster.

Of paramount concern for the president during his hospital stay was his political standing. With the election now just four weeks away, Trump called allies on Monday to discuss the latest polls in various battleground states, what television advertisements his campaign has on the air, and which competitive states he could visit as soon as he can return to the campaign trail and again stage large in-person events.

Trump also has spent time discussing with advisers what kind of dramatic imagery would make him appear presidential and in charge, a White House official said.

White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows has been at the president’s side consistently in recent days, but other White House aides have grown increasingly frustrated with Meadows for not communicating clearly about the president’s condition or what those working in the West Wing should be doing. This includes members of the White House’s coronavirus task force, according to people familiar with the dynamic.

Trump called advisers such as personal lawyer Rudolph W. Giuliani and campaign advisers Jason Miller and Corey Lewandowski to say that he is strong and

ready to return to work and begin campaigning again — messages all three quickly repeated in interviews. Trump was angry that Meadows had indicated he was sick, according to two campaign advisers and a White House official.

Notably quiet during Trump’s hospital stay were Vice President Pence and military officials. They gave no public assurances that the nation was in good hands and that a plan was in place to ensure continuity of government should the president become incapacitated.

That might have been by design, said David Lapan, a former senior official in Trump’s Department of Homeland Security who is now a vice president at the Bipartisan Policy Center.

“You would want to hear the secretary of defense, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the vice president say, ‘Look, we are going through a situation here. We have it well in hand. Make no mistake, our adversaries should not see this as an opportunity. We are fully prepared to execute all of our authorities,’ ” Lapan said.

But, he added, “the president doesn’t want to create an appearance that anybody is in charge except him.”

Indeed, Trump has found a vo-

cal chorus of evangelists to spread his message, publicly taking pains to persuade people that the president is healthy and full of vigor.

“President Trump won’t have to recover from COVID. COVID will have to recover from President Trump.#MAGA,” Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.) tweeted Monday morning.

Sen. Kelly Loeffler (R-Ga.) also tried to flatter Trump. In a tweet Monday, Loeffler posted a video of a long-ago publicity event in which Trump tackled WWE chairman Vince McMahon to the ground outside a wrestling ring — only this time, the video was doctored so that McMahon’s head was instead a 3-D rendering of the virus.

“COVID stood NO chance against @realDonaldTrump!” Loeffler wrote.

Inside Trump’s orbit, there was considerable consternation about his Sunday evening appearance outside Walter Reed, where he waved at supporters from inside an armored vehicle.

Though the president wore a mask, the event risked infecting two Secret Service agents who were in the vehicle, as well as other personnel the president may have encountered coming and going from his hospital quarters. The move drew widespread criticism from health officials, in-

cluding a Walter Reed attending physician who was not directly involved in the president’s care.

One senior administration official defended the outing, claiming that Centers for Disease Control and Prevention protocols were followed, Trump’s medical team approved it, Secret Service agents used personal protective equipment, and the two who drove with him volunteered to do so.

Assessing how it would play politically, Miller said: “Anyone who hated that [outing] hates the president anyway.”

But a second senior administration official expressed far more discomfort — especially over the president endangering the lives of Secret Service officers sworn to protect him.

“First they have to take a bullet for the guy,” this official said. “Now they have to get the ‘rona.’ ”

Other officials were aghast at the photo op, which was reminiscent of others pushed personally by the image-obsessed Trump and executed on the fly.

After the 2016 release of the “Access Hollywood” video in which he bragged about sexual assault, then-candidate Trump stepped out of Trump Tower in New York to mingle with supporters who had gathered to cheer him.

And on June 1, amid nationwide protests of racial injustice, Trump opted to leave the White House, walk across Lafayette Square flanked by an entourage and pose for photos while holding a Bible in front of St. John’s Church. Federal officers used rubber bullets and chemical irritants to clear peaceful protesters from the area for the president’s photo op.

It is unclear, however, whether anyone working for Trump could have stopped him from executing his plan for, as he put it Sunday in a video, “a little surprise.” That is the kind of role that ordinarily would fall to the White House chief of staff.

“You have to wonder if anyone is performing that job, because no competent White House chief of staff would ever have permitted a president with a lethal disease to go take a joyride, thereby threatening the health of the Secret Service,” Whipple said. “It’s just absolute chief of staff malpractice.”

Meadows has long had a reputation of being a Trump sycophant, dating to his time in Congress earlier in the administration. He has drawn criticism inside the White House for sugarcoating things for the president — and, in the view of his critics, for being at times two-faced and duplicitous.

Thomas F. “Mack” McLarty III, a former chief of staff in the Clinton White House, was loath to directly criticize Meadows or his operation. But McLarty explained that a chief of staff’s duty during a medical crisis involving the president is to immediately address the situation with the Cabinet, White House staff and Congress with clear guidance and regular updates.

“This is a pretty unprecedented situation,” McLarty said. “It was unexpected and you’re dealing with it as best you can. You obviously have emotions about the president and the first lady, particularly when you see that helicopter lifting off to Walter Reed.”

But, he added, “It behooves any White House to find their footing quickly and to get their coordination and communication efforts in really tight sync.”

For now, at least, the person in charge of doing so is the president.

“It’s been a very interesting journey,” Trump said in a video message released Sunday night. “I learned a lot about covid. I learned it by really going to school. This is the real school. This isn’t the ‘let’s read the book’ school, and I get it, and I understand it. And it’s a very interesting thing, and I’m going to be letting you know about it.”

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Senator who chairs transportation panel had to be reminded to wear mask

BY MICHAEL LARIS  
AND LORI ARATANI

The chairman of the Senate committee that oversees airlines and U.S. transportation policy had his mask off for extended periods on a Delta flight to Mississippi on Thursday night, according to another passenger, and the company said he had to be reminded twice by a flight attendant to follow the airline’s mask requirement.

The next day, the Trump administration rejected a union petition calling for a federal mandate requiring masks be worn on planes, trains and buses, saying the Department of Transportation “embraces the notion that there should be no more regulations than necessary.”

The developments bracketed President Trump’s own announcement early Friday that he had tested positive for the coronavirus and undercut safety assurances from top Republican policymakers who say federal mandates should take a back seat to state, local and private actions in fighting the coronavirus, union officials and others said.

Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.) was on a Delta flight to Jackson on Thursday when he was spotted with his mask off by passenger Matt Harringer, a Democratic media consultant.

Harringer provided three time-stamped photos — one at 8:37 p.m. while the plane was on the ground, one at 9:27 and one at 9:46, as the plane was preparing for landing — showing Wicker with a blue surgical mask hanging beneath his mouth or under his chin.

Delta, which has banned more than 400 people for refusing to wear masks while flying, said it takes its mask mandate very seri-

ously. The company — which is overseen by the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, which Wicker chairs — offered no criticism of the senator Monday.

“In this case, all customers followed all crew member instructions regarding our mask requirements,” Delta spokeswoman Lisa Hanna said in a statement.

Hanna said Delta does not dispute the time-stamped photos but added that the flight attendant recalled just two instances during the flight in which Wicker wasn’t wearing his mask properly. She asked the senator to adjust it in both cases, which he did, Hanna said.

Rick VanMeter, Wicker’s communications director, said the senator “lowered his face mask to eat a snack and forgot to put it back up. When he was reminded by a flight attendant, he put the mask back up.”

But, Harringer said, “the flight attendant shouldn’t have to remind a United States senator to wear his mask.”

Harringer added that passengers and crew members deserve to know if Wicker will be tested for the virus, and his results, particularly given the large number of top Republicans and Trump allies who have tested positive for the virus in recent days.

VanMeter did not answer questions about whether Wicker had been tested before or after the flight, or about the multiple photographs showing Wicker without a face covering.

“He did not attend any recent events at the White House and has not been in contact with any of the individuals who have tested positive for COVID-19 in recent days,” VanMeter said.

Photos of Wicker maskless on the flight were posted on social



MATT HARRINGER

Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.) was photographed wearing his mask on his chin on a Delta flight on Thursday. The photo was taken by passenger Matt Harringer, a Democratic media consultant.

media, and many accused Delta of a double standard — one for lawmakers and another for the regular public, noting that the airline has turned planes around at the gate and removed passengers who refused to wear masks.

The criticism continued when it was learned that three Minnesota congressmen boarded a Delta flight home from Washington on Friday, just two days after having been on board Air Force One with Trump, who traveled to Duluth for a rally. Trump’s positive test result was made public Friday morning.

The congressmen — Reps. Pete Stauber, Tom Emmer and Jim Hagedorn — and Delta said the airline was aware of the lawmakers’ time aboard Trump’s plane but that they tested negative for the coronavirus before their flight and were assessed by Delta’s med-

ical consultants before being allowed to fly.

Delta’s policy appeared straightforward.

“To protect the safety of all our customers, we cannot allow anyone to fly who knows they have been exposed to COVID-19 in the past two weeks,” the policy says. “To travel with us, you must agree that you are not aware that you and, to your knowledge, those in your itinerary have been exposed to someone with COVID-19 in the past 14 days.”

In a statement, Delta pointed to measures taken before the flight departed that cleared the representatives to fly.

Jacob Murphy, a spokesman for Hagedorn, said the congressman consulted directly with Brian P. Monahan, the attending physician for Congress, who advised him that he did not meet the

criteria of “close contact” with the president, which includes being within six feet for more than 15 minutes. Even so, Hagedorn was tested as an “extreme precaution,” and the results were negative.

In a statement, Stauber said he also consulted with Congress’s office of the attending physician.

“After a full assessment, the doctor determined I had a low risk of exposure and that I should continue my normal duties, including voting on the House floor and travel,” he said. Stauber said he was tested on Friday, the second test in 72 hours, and the results of both tests were negative. He said his office consulted with Delta to ensure he met all travel protocols, including a confirmed negative coronavirus test that permitted him to fly.

“I met all of Delta Air Lines’ protocols and safety measures, which is why the flight was allowed to take off with me on board,” Stauber said.

Emmer’s office did not respond to requests for comment.

Hanna, the Delta spokeswoman, said Delta’s medical consultants “conducted additional screening measures, including assessing symptoms, distance and time spent with someone who tests positive, and whether the individual has been asked by a health official to quarantine.”

“All of these conditions were met,” she said.

In July, the Transportation Trades Department of the AFL-CIO called for a federal mandate making one safety measure — mask-wearing — mandatory.

The group’s petition requested that the Transportation Department temporarily require mask usage on airlines, passenger vessels, subways and commuter trains, school buses, motor coaches, and at stations and airports.

Efforts to protect transportation workers “from inherently hazardous workplaces and the threat of deadly communicable disease have been limited to a patchwork of state or local mandates, and a deeply inadequate federal response consisting of non-mandatory guidance,” according to the petition.

But the Transportation Department’s general counsel, Steven G. Bradbury, wrote Friday, in denying the petition, that “most State, local, and private sector transportation entities have adopted policies requiring face mask usage.”

Such efforts, along with the “continual reassessment of existing regulations,” are adequate, he wrote.

“The decision by the administration here is both tone deaf and stubborn,” said Larry Willis, president of the Transportation Trades Department, whose 33 affiliated unions include those representing pilots, flight attendants, transit workers, sailors and others. And for it to be announced “on the day the president himself announced that he tested positive for the coronavirus is absolutely ridiculous.”

In a statement, the Department of Transportation said that “DOT is not a public health authority” and that officials there defer to guidance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Passengers “should follow the requirements of local public health authorities and the CDC’s guidance, for their own protection and the protection of those around them, including wearing face coverings,” according to the statement. The department notes that all passenger airlines and most transit systems require masks.

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THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

In long-awaited update, CDC says airborne transmission plays role in spread

Website’s mention of aerosols had been taken down last month

BY LENA H. SUN AND BEN GUARINO

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention acknowledged Monday that people can sometimes become infected with the novel coronavirus through airborne transmission, especially in enclosed spaces with inadequate ventilation.

The long-awaited update to the agency Web page explaining how the virus spreads represents an official acknowledgment of growing evidence that under certain conditions, people farther than six feet apart can become infected by tiny droplets and particles that float in the air for minutes and hours, and that they play a role in the pandemic.

The update follows an embarrassing incident last month when the agency removed a draft that had not gone through proper review and was posted in error. The draft’s wording included a reference to aerosols — tiny droplets that can stay in the air, potentially traveling a significant distance. Officials said the draft was removed because they feared the language could be misinterpreted as suggesting that airborne transmission is the main way the virus spreads.

That is not the case. The CDC says the main way the virus spreads is through close contact with virus-containing droplets — large and small — that are emitted when someone coughs, sneezes, sings, talks or breathes. When people are in proximity, within six feet, they are exposed to the whole spectrum of spray that can cause infection. “It’s not just big goobers, but everything that’s exhaled, big and tiny,” said one CDC scientist who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak on the record.

Now, the CDC is saying infection can also spread through

exposure to smaller virus-containing droplets and particles that can remain suspended in the air over long distances and time.

“There is evidence that under certain conditions, people with COVID-19 seem to have infected others who were more than six feet away,” the updated Web page states. “These transmissions occurred within enclosed spaces that had inadequate ventilation. Sometimes the infected person was breathing heavily, for example while singing or exercising.”

“Under these circumstances,” the Web page says, “scientists believe that the amount of infectious smaller droplet and particles produced by the people with COVID-19 became concentrated enough to spread the virus to other people. The people who were infected were in the same space during the same time or shortly after the person with COVID-19 had left.”

In a statement, the agency said it “continues to believe, based on current science, that people are more likely to become infected the longer and closer they are to a person with COVID-19.”

The CDC added: “Today’s update acknowledges the existence of some published reports showing limited, uncommon circumstances where people with COVID-19 infected others who were more than 6 feet away or shortly after the COVID-19-positive person left an area.” The agency said transmission took place in “poorly ventilated and enclosed spaces that often involved activities that caused heavier breathing, like singing or exercise. Such environments and activities may contribute to the buildup of virus-carrying particles.”

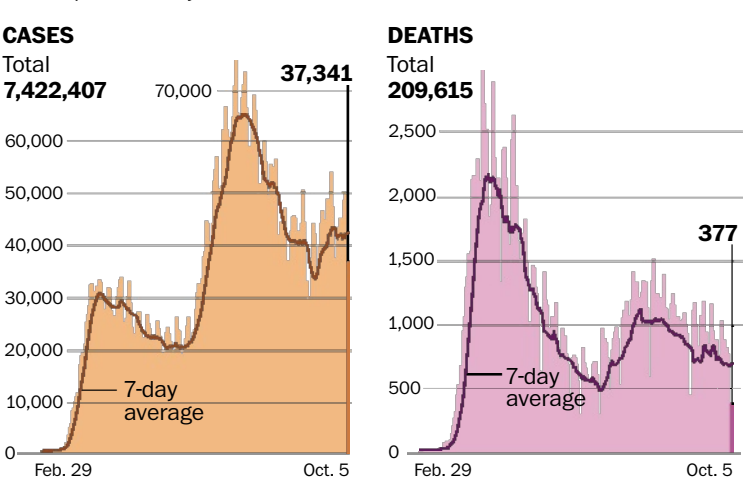
The agency said its recommendations for avoiding the virus remain the same.

People can protect themselves by staying at least six feet from others, wearing a mask that covers their nose and mouth, washing their hands frequently, cleaning touched surfaces often and staying home when sick, the CDC said. People should also avoid crowded indoor spaces and ensure indoor spaces are properly



A man walks by Los Angeles murals on Thursday. The CDC’s advice for avoiding the virus, such as wearing a mask, remains the same.

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



ventilated by bringing in outdoor air as much as possible, the agency said.

Although many experts have already pointed to mounting evidence that airborne transmission plays a role in spreading the virus, the official acknowledgment from the CDC is certain to add to public health concerns about risks of infection from crowded indoor spaces with poor ventilation.

Both presidential campaigns and the Commission on Presidential Debates say they plan to move ahead with in-person events less than a week after President Trump tested positive

for the coronavirus. As more White House personnel announce they have tested positive, it is not clear what protocols have been put in place to reduce the risk of infection for staff members, many of whom don’t wear masks and work in cramped conditions.

When there is adequate ventilation, respiratory droplets are diluted by outdoor air or pushed out by air exchanges, according to experts. To improve indoor airflow in public buildings, experts at the Yale School of Public Health recommend switching off sensor-based ventilation to more constantly flush air. Open win-

dows for fresh breezes, they said. And reverse ceiling fan blades, which can draw air up, away from a room’s occupants.

Experts have pointed to the spread of the virus in choirs, buses, fitness classes and other poorly ventilated spaces. In July, more than 200 aerosol biologists and other experts sent a letter expressing concerns about airborne transmission to the World Health Organization, which responded by acknowledging the “emerging evidence” the pathogen can spread through the air.

A group of infectious-disease physicians and aerosol experts, in a letter published Monday in the journal Science, more strongly emphasized the airborne potential of the virus than the CDC did in its update.

“The balance of attention must be shifted to protecting against airborne transmission,” they said, because people are “far more likely” to breathe in floating virus than be sprayed by quickly falling droplets of contaminated body fluid.

Aerosols and airborne transmission “are the only way to explain super-spreader events we are seeing,” letter author Kimberly Prather, an atmospheric chemist at the University of California at San Diego, said in an interview. Once the airborne route is acknowledged, she said, this becomes a “fixable” problem through proper ventilation.

“Wear masks at all times indoors when others are present,” Prather said. Separation is important — but, inside, no such thing as a completely “safe social distance” exists.

Experts welcomed the CDC’s new guidance on airborne transmission.

“There is overwhelming evidence that this is an important route of transmission for covid-19, and we have desperately needed federal guidance on this route,” said Linsey Marr, who studies aerosols at Virginia Tech and was an author of the Science letter. “I would like to emphasize that short-range airborne transmission when people are in close contact, meaning inhalation of aerosols, probably is more impor-

tant than transmission by large droplets that are sprayed onto mucous membranes.”

Some of the debate about airborne transmission may stem not from substance but from terms used differently in the fields of aerosol chemistry and infectious disease. The Science letter clarifies that fluid blobs up to 100 microns wide (the thickness of a sheet of paper) can behave as aerosols, unlike some definitions focused on smaller particles.

“Aerosol biologists speak a slightly different language than, say, clinicians like myself do, where we’re looking more at the pragmatic application of transmission for infection control, especially in a health-care environment,” Jay Butler, the CDC’s deputy director for infectious diseases, said last month. He summed up a National Academies of Sciences workshop, convened in late August to discuss the growing evidence of airborne transmission, as having “much more agreement than disagreement” about its possibility.

Covid-19 is not as contagious as measles or tuberculosis, which are primarily spread through airborne transmission and require hospitals and health-care settings to care for patients in special negative-pressure isolation rooms to prevent spread.

There have been several well-documented cases in which the coronavirus spread rapidly and widely in an enclosed or indoor environment — a restaurant in Guangzhou, China; a bus traveling in China’s Zhejiang province; a call center in Seoul; and a church choir in Washington state. In the last instance, a singer spread the virus up to 45 feet and infected more than 50 people.

Those reports prompted the CDC to update its guidance about coronavirus transmission, officials have said. Adding to that urgency is the arrival of fall and colder weather, when people will be indoors.

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● To learn more about aerosols and the transmission of the virus, visit [wapo.st/virusaerosol1006](https://wapo.st/virusaerosol1006).

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THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

Unclear how long Trump should — or will — isolate himself

**TRUMP FROM A1**

least.

“I wish I could go into that more, but I just can’t,” he said.

The transformation of the White House into a vector of a deadly pathogen has done little to change the approach of an administration that has been determined to downplay the coronavirus for months. Trump used his personal experience with the disease — which twice knocked his oxygen levels down significantly and required him to be hospitalized and injected with several drugs — to again play down its severity.

“Don’t be afraid of Covid. Don’t let it dominate your life,” Trump tweeted Monday afternoon, three days after he was transported to Walter Reed for treatment. “We have developed, under the Trump Administration, some really great drugs & knowledge. I feel better than I did 20 years ago!”

His statement — seeming to again minimize the pandemic, something he has done consistently since it emerged as a threat earlier this year — immediately drew rebukes.

“Don’t be afraid?” I wish every American had access to the same health care you’re getting — but they don’t,” Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.) wrote on Twitter.

But Trump has given little indication that he plans to change his behavior if or when he is told by doctors that he can resume normal activities.

When he returned to the White House on Monday evening, the contagious president climbed up the stairs rather than use the usual ground-level entrance and posed for pictures. After a few seconds, he reached up with his right hand, took off his mask, put it in his pocket and resumed flashing thumbs up. He then turned and entered the building.

Trump spent Sunday and Monday discussing his campaign, the polls, advertising in key states

and what Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden is doing, according to people who spoke to the president. He began discussing with officials Sunday when he could return to the campaign trail — and how.

“Will be back on the Campaign Trail soon!!! The Fake News only shows the Fake Polls,” he tweeted Monday afternoon shortly before leaving the hospital.

Trump is trailing Biden in national and key state polls.

Aides said the Diplomatic Reception Room and Map Room are being prepared for working spaces for Trump at the White House, where many staff members have opted to work from home in the coming days.

Even before Trump’s return, several officials have cleared out of the building amid ongoing news reports of lawmakers, aides, visitors and residence staffers who have tested positive for the coronavirus after spending time in the White House in recent days.

“The West Wing is a total ghost town,” said one official who worked at the White House on Monday. The official, like others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss internal dynamics in the building.

Trump walked out of the hospital Monday evening around 6:30 p.m., boarded Marine One, flew back to Washington and then strolled into the White House about 10 minutes later.

He entered a building that has become a hot spot for the coronavirus.

On Monday, McEnany announced that she had tested positive for the virus, after taking several tests that came back negative in previous days. News reports also identified two other press aides who had contracted the virus. Altogether, at least 20 people have tested positive for the coronavirus after spending time at the White House, a list that includes senators, journalists, first lady Melania Trump



White House social media director Dan Scavino, left, and Chief of Staff Mark Meadows listen to physician Sean Conley’s briefing.

and senior aides and campaign advisers to the president.

The medical team treating Trump held a news conference Monday, telling reporters that the president was breathing without difficulty and had normal vital signs.

“Though he may not be entirely out of the woods yet, the team and I agree that all our evaluations — and most importantly, his clinical status — support the president’s safe return home,” Conley said, later adding, “He’s back.”

It was not clear how or how long Trump might remain isolated upon returning to the White House. Guidelines from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention call for infected individuals to stay away from other people for at least 10 days after symptoms first appear. The guidelines say patients who experienced severe illness while infected may need to stay home for up to 20 days after symptoms first appear.

Trump had already been dismissive of many CDC guidelines, putting himself and others at higher risk of catching the virus before it began circulating in the

White House. He has held crowded events, eschewed mask-wearing and ignored social distancing rules as his campaign for reelection has heated up.

His experience with the disease appeared to fall into the category of severe illness. Trump’s oxygen levels twice dropped to concerning levels on Friday and Saturday, and he suffered from symptoms including a cough, fatigue and a fever, according to his medical team.

Trump has been treated with a range of drugs and experimental therapeutics, including the steroid dexamethasone, the antiviral drug remdesivir and a cocktail of monoclonal antibodies that has not yet been approved to fight the virus by the Food and Drug Administration. He was also twice put on supplemental oxygen Friday and Saturday, Conley said, referring to “several little temporary drops” in Trump’s oxygen levels.

Doctors said Monday that Trump continued to be treated with dexamethasone, a steroid that is typically reserved for severely ill coronavirus patients. He was scheduled to receive another injection of remdesivir

Monday before being released and a final dose at the White House after his return, doctors said.

Conley dodged several questions about Trump’s condition, at one point citing privacy laws that he appeared to employ selectively.

Asked about whether Trump had any lung damage or inflammation, he demurred.

“We’ve done routine standard imaging,” he said. “I’m just not at liberty to discuss.”

He also declined to answer questions about the viral load detected in Trump, or whether Trump had taken blood thinners.

“He’s on a routine regimen of covid therapy,” he said. “I’m not going into specifics of what he is and isn’t on.”

Asked when Trump last tested negative for the coronavirus, Conley again dodged — continuing a pattern from White House officials who have avoided answering the question.

“I don’t want to go backwards,” Conley said.

Understanding the date of Trump’s last negative test could help determine how long the president may have been contagious before his positive test Thursday — and how many people he may have put at risk in the interim.

McEnany also declined to directly answer questions about when Trump last tested negative.

Her own experience came to serve as a cautionary tale for a White House that has held up its rapid testing system as a kind of cure-all to protect Trump and his aides from the coronavirus. That system has failed to keep the virus out of the West Wing, resulting in the hospitalization of the president and raising questions about the Trump administration’s cavalier attitude toward public health measures for people who do not have access to on-demand rapid tests.

“After testing negative consistently, including every day since

Thursday, I tested positive for the coronavirus on Monday morning while experiencing no symptoms,” McEnany said in a statement.

White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows also has spoken to reporters without a mask since Trump’s diagnosis. Meadows has not tested positive for the virus.

As Trump prepared to return to the White House from Walter Reed, aides were being asked to wear masks when around others.

Meadows had a call with senior staffers Monday morning to say the president was likely to return to the White House later in the day, officials said. He encouraged staffers to work remotely and suggested that some meetings could happen in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, where there is more space.

Officials said many spaces inside the White House complex — offices used by the National Economic Council, the press staff, even the hallways — were almost entirely bereft of people. Among those who remained, mask-wearing was more prevalent than it had been previously — but not universal.

Disdain among staffers for Meadows in the West Wing is “through the roof” right now, one senior administration official said, citing the chief of staff’s contradictory messaging about Trump’s health on Saturday and a lack of communication with aides about what was going on.

Conley said Trump would continue to be monitored daily to determine when it is safe for him to leave isolation.

“We’re looking to this weekend,” Conley said. “If we can get through to Monday with him remaining the same or improving, better yet, then we will all take that final deep sigh of relief.”

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John Wagner contributed to this report.

Trump leaves hospital at pivotal time in recovery

HEALTH FROM A1

The president returns to the White House at a fraught moment in his recovery — before he has seemingly escaped a period when some patients are known to crash.

“The problem with covid-19 is that people’s condition can deteriorate rapidly, even after days of stability,” said Harlan Krumholz, a cardiologist and health-care researcher at Yale University and Yale New Haven Hospital. “And so we are more accustomed to be cautious with people with high risk.”

The president has received care accessible to few other Americans. He was given a brew of laboratory-made antibodies that fewer than 10 other patients have received outside of clinical trials. And for him, returning home means arriving at a place that can be adapted to cater to his needs, Krumholz and others said.

Jonathan Reiner, a George Washington University Hospital cardiologist, said that in an emergency, the White House medical unit “can do what an emergency room can do in the first 15 minutes” — someone could be resuscitated and stabilized during a heart attack, for example, and then transferred to a hospital. Still for ongoing treatment, he said, it would be wise for Trump to remain hospitalized.

“It makes zero sense to move him from Walter Reed,” Reiner said.

At a Monday news conference, White House physician Sean P. Conley said doctors were “cautiously optimistic and on guard” about Trump’s discharge. But he said the benefits of returning to the White House outweighed the risks.

“Every day a patient stays in the hospital unnecessarily is a risk to themselves,” Conley said. “And right now there’s nothing that’s being done upstairs here that we can’t safely conduct down home.”

But Conley acknowledged that the medical team is in “uncharted territory” with the mix of medications the president has been given and that the dangerous period for the infection is not over. He’s “looking to this weekend” for assurance that Trump has cleared rough waters.

“If we can get through to Monday” of next week, he said, doctors will “take that final deep sigh of relief.”

Conley declined for the third

briefing in a row to answer additional questions about X-rays and other images taken of Trump’s lungs, and about other key data, such as when he last received a negative coronavirus test before falling ill. Instead, Conley emphasized symptoms the president was not experiencing: A “slight cough” was gone. There were never complaints of muscle aches. And fever-reducing drugs had not been deployed for at least 72 hours.

“He’s up and back to his old self, predominantly,” Conley said.

In the White House, Trump’s doctors will be vigilant for sudden changes, specialists predicted.

“You would want to be prepared to take care of any sudden unanticipated or very concerning event,” said Jeanne Marrazzo, an infectious-diseases expert at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. The biggest risk, she said, would be the sudden onset of acute respiratory distress syndrome, which sometimes occurs with covid-19. Patients’ lungs fill with fluid, and they can’t breathe on their own.

While Trump could get supplemental oxygen at the White House, “if I were that sick, I would want to be at Walter Reed,” she said.

Marrazzo said she would also be on the lookout for cardiac abnormalities, especially given Trump’s age and lack of exercise. She said covid-19 causes heart problems including myocarditis, heart failure and clotting. While Trump could be whisked back to Walter Reed in the Maryland suburbs if problems developed, she said, “lots of things can happen in 20 minutes, lots of things can happen in five minutes.”

Daniel Kaul, an infectious-diseases expert at the University of Michigan, said people of Trump’s age and with similar severity of illness — to the extent that is known — “usually have a pretty slow recovery, with weeks and sometimes months of cognitive difficulties, shortness of breath, severe fatigue.”

Like other experts, Kaul said it is highly likely that Trump had covid pneumonia.

At the briefing, Conley selectively invoked health privacy laws known as HIPAA — the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act — when questions arose about the president’s respiratory-system scans or whether he remained infectious.

Asked when Trump last tested



negative for the coronavirus, Conley replied, “HIPAA precludes me from going into too much depth.”

When asked about imaging tests of the president’s lungs, Conley responded, “So there are HIPAA rules and regulations that restrict me in sharing certain things for his safety and his own health.”

The president’s doctors showed no such hesitancy in disclosing details about his temperature, blood pressure, heart rate and

blood oxygen level — all of which they said were normal.

Trump minimized in a tweet Monday the dangers of the virus that has felled at least 209,000 people in the United States.

“Don’t be afraid of Covid. Don’t let it dominate your life,” he tweeted. “We have developed, under the Trump Administration, some really great drugs & knowledge. I feel better than I did 20 years ago!”

Trump returns to a White House complex with two medical

clinics, according to people familiar with the facilities: a small one on the ground floor available to the first family and others working in the building, and a larger one in the Executive Office Building. The latter unit is equipped to stabilize patients needing urgent care following incidents ranging from an accident to a heart attack or stroke. The goal is to stabilize patients before transferring them to a hospital.

Health officials from current and past administrations agreed that the White House medical unit can bulk up on staffing and equipment to ensure that it can care for and at least stabilize a patient who takes a turn for the worse.

“But it’s really inefficient and risky compared to being on site in a hospital” with Walter Reed’s capability, said a health official from a previous administration who spoke on the condition of anonymity to freely discuss the topic.

Greg Martin, a pulmonary critical-care specialist at Emory University, said Trump’s blood oxygen levels could be tracked constantly through a finger monitor available at drugstores. The president would be watched for changes in mental status as a side effect of medications, especially the steroid dexamethasone, which might include difficulty with attention, depression or mania.

His blood would probably be tested several times a day for changes in coagulation or inflammation — those might indicate a higher risk of clotting or that his body may be heading into a dangerous “cytokine storm,” which would require more serious interventions. Doctors may run an echocardiogram on his heart once a day to look for signs of a hardening of the walls, which is a known and relatively common issue with covid-19.

But Martin cautioned that there are a few known complications of covid-19 for which there is often no warning or advance notice: strokes or heart failure due to microclots, or a pulmonary embolism from a clot in the legs or other part of the body suddenly moving to the lungs.

“These are things you wouldn’t know are going to happen until they do,” Martin said.

The White House did not respond to specific questions about the equipment and staffing it would provide, but spokesman Judd Deere wrote in an email that “every precaution necessary,” including the use of personal protective equipment, would be taken to protect Trump and staffers “consistent with CDC guidelines and best practices.”

Trump will continue to receive around-the-clock medical care

from a state-of-the-art clinic, Deere wrote, and physical access to him would be “significantly limited.”

The degree of monitoring available from medical staff could be important for a patient such as Trump, whose risk factors include his age and weight, and who may be contagious for days to come.

“I think he has to be assumed to be infectious,” said William Schaffner, a professor of infectious diseases at Vanderbilt University Medical School.

“We need to know some details — how closely is he going to be monitored?” Schaffner said. “That’s very important. The concern is, though he’s feeling rather chipper, he could still crash.”

In particular, he said, the president faces a potential hazard of developing cardiac problems that could disrupt his heart rhythm or breathing difficulty that could damage his lungs.

Schaffner said one of the metrics of improving health highlighted by the president’s physician Monday — Trump’s lack of a fever for more than 72 hours — could be a byproduct of the fever-suppressing qualities of dexamethasone.

One significant question Trump’s doctors have not addressed is how long they plan to continue giving him the steroid and a cocktail of disease-fighting antibodies, said John W. Mellors, chief of the division of infectious diseases at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine.

Mellors said some patients with symptoms similar to those described by the president’s doctors achieve a full recovery. Others feel unwell for weeks or even months, with symptoms that can include fatigue, body aches, shortness of breath, low-grade fever and mental foggy.

In other cases, the virus can be suppressed temporarily but then come back to cause major damage in the lungs or the heart, or by developing blood clots. Which trajectory any given patient takes “is all emerging” in terms of medical research findings.

The president probably is still contagious, experts said. Conley said doctors were using “advanced diagnostics” to determine “when it’s safe to get around and be around people.”

The real question, Marrazzo said, is why Trump returned.

“Is it a continued theatrical effort to assure us he is well enough to be discharged, or is it that they think he truly improved that quickly and can recover in the comfort of his own home?”

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# THE WORLD



PHOTOS BY RODRIGO ABD/ASSOCIATED PRESS



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: A casket at El Angel cemetery in Lima, Peru, contains the body of a person thought to have died of covid-19, the disease caused by the novel coronavirus. Victoria Flores kisses the marble urn holding the cremated remains of her husband, Gregorio Flores. His ashes sit on an altar at home.

## With pandemic's toll, Peruvians adjust how they honor the dead

Cremation instead of traditional burial in Lima

BY KENNETH DICKERMAN

Rodrigo Abd is no stranger to death. The Argentine photographer, who is on staff with the Associated Press, has worked in Afghanistan, Haiti, Venezuela, Syria and Libya.

Now based in Lima, Peru, he's again seeing death, in the world's deadliest outbreak of the coronavirus. The South American nation has suffered 100.7 deaths per 100,000 people — half again as many as the United States.

Many of us have been touched by the novel coronavirus. We've had family and friends who have contracted it — some coming out the other side relatively unscathed, others not. But while the United States has reported the most infections and deaths in the world, Americans might be more likely than people in other countries to grieve in private.

In other countries, death is a more public affair. Growing up in Macao and going to boarding school in Taiwan gave me a different experience. I'll never forget one of the first funerals I attended, as a young boy. The setting was sparse; the deceased lay on a gurney covered by only a single white sheet. Death was presented in a very raw form. On the way out of the service, we were given candy — something sweet to remember.

In Taiwan, I played tennis on my high school team. We

practiced on public courts right next to a crematorium. The smell of the ovens punctuated every lob, volley, backhand and serve. Then there were the very public displays. I remember trucks with an organist and a woman singing, followed by buses full of mourners dressed in white.

Death is one thing we all have in common, but we commemorate it in so many ways. The pandemic has fundamentally changed even this, as Abd's photos from Peru show.

Covid-19 has killed 1 in 1,000 people in Peru. In Lima, mourners have turned to cremating the dead, "to prevent infection and save space in the capital's overstretched cemeteries," the AP reports. This is a step away from burying the dead, "a tradition for both Peru's Indigenous Inca culture and the Spanish who colonized the country," and a fundamental change in the rites and traditions that surround death.

The pandemic continues to fundamentally shift how people around the world live their lives — and how they commemorate lives lost. Abd's photos are a grim reminder. But they also show that people can adapt, even in the face of what seems to be hopeless.

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### DIGEST

#### BRITAIN Court ruling snarls fate of Venezuelan gold

A British court on Monday threw into question who controls nearly \$2 billion in Venezuelan gold stowed in a London bank vault amid a power struggle between President Nicolás Maduro and his leading rival.

The appeals court ruling set aside a British judge's earlier decision granting control of the bullion to U.S.-backed opposition leader Juan Guaidó.

Britain recognizes Guaidó as Venezuela's legitimate leader, while also maintaining diplomatic ties with Maduro. The appeals court has ordered a deeper investigation into the matter before either side is given access to the gold inside the Bank of England.

Maduro's government has

demanded the gold, saying it will transfer some proceeds from its sale to the United Nations Development Program for supplies to battle the coronavirus pandemic.

But Britain's central bank had refused to hand it over to his government, and a judge in July sided with Guaidó, who contends that Maduro's government is illegitimate and corrupt.

The dispute hinges on Britain's stance toward Venezuela, which is in economic and political crisis. Britain recognizes Guaidó's claim to the Venezuelan presidency, as do the United States and dozens of other countries. Guaidó proclaimed himself the interim president in early 2019, months after Maduro declared victory in an election that his critics say was rigged in his favor.

Despite its support for Guaidó, however, the British government has not granted diplomatic

credentials to Vanessa Neumann, whom he has named ambassador to the United Kingdom.

Maduro's ambassador is recognized by the British government.

— Associated Press

#### WESTERN EUROPE Deadly flooding sweeps parts of France, Italy

Three more bodies were discovered Monday on the French side of the border with Italy after severe mountain flooding ravaged parts of both countries, leaving at least 12 dead.

Hundreds of rescue workers were searching for up to 20 people.

Flooding devastated mountainous areas in France's southeastern Alpes-Maritimes region and Italy's northwestern regions of Liguria and Piedmont

after a storm on Friday and Saturday.

The identities of many of the dead remained unclear.

The prefect of France's Alpes-Maritimes region told the Nice Matin newspaper that some bodies found in Italy were apparently corpses from coffins that had been swept across the border by the floodwaters.

The flooding has put additional stress on regions coping with the coronavirus pandemic. The governors of Liguria and Piedmont have asked the Italian government for emergency aid.

— Associated Press

#### Oman is 1st gulf Arab state to reinstate ambassador in Syria:

Oman has sent an ambassador to Syria after an eight-year hiatus, the state news agency reported, the latest sign of deepening engagement between Persian

Gulf Arab states and Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Oman is the first gulf Arab state to reinstate its ambassador to Syria since the eruption of the country's civil war. In 2012, Oman and other gulf Arab countries withdrew their ambassadors in protest of the Syrian government's violent suppression of the uprising. Other Arab states shuttered their embassies, but Oman kept its open throughout the years of conflict.

#### Pakistan charges ex-leader Zardari with graft:

A Pakistani court officially charged former president Asif Ali Zardari in two corruption cases, escalating the legal challenges facing the widower of assassinated former prime minister Benazir Bhutto. Zardari, now a leading opposition lawmaker, was released on bail on medical grounds in December, six months after his arrest. He is

accused of having dozens of bogus bank accounts, a charge he denies, saying he has been politically victimized by Prime Minister Imran Khan's government.

#### 6 dead in gang shootout in Mexico City:

A shootout between rival gangs in Mexico City left six people dead and four wounded, and police in the north-central state of Guanajuato found two heads and bags of severed body parts scattered on roadsides in two cities there. The violent and fast-growing Jalisco cartel has been expanding into Mexico City and Guanajuato, though it was unclear who was responsible for the killings. Officials have repeatedly denied that the big cartels operate openly in Mexico City, acknowledging only that they use it as a shipment point for drugs.

— From news services



# Kurdish-led zone to release Syrians from detention camp for ISIS families

Conditions for the 65,000 at al-Hol have alarmed humanitarian groups

BY LOUISA LOVELUCK

BEIRUT — Authorities in north-eastern Syria said Monday that they were preparing to release thousands of Syrian families from a detention camp holding civilians displaced during the final battle to defeat the Islamic State's self-proclaimed caliphate.

Conditions inside al-Hol displacement camp, a sprawl of tents perched in the desert west of Hasekah city, have alarmed humanitarian groups and in some cases aided the radicalization of women and children who spent years under Islamic State rule.

Health-care services for the roughly 65,000 camp residents are almost nonexistent, and children who began their education inside the group's caliphate often have little to no access to schooling. Sewage leaks into tents, and wild dogs prowl the perimeter

for food.

"A decision will be issued to empty the Syrians from the camp completely," said Ilham Ahmed, president of the Kurdish-dominated Syrian Democratic Council's Executive Committee, which is responsible for governing the area. She made the announcement in a video shared on the body's Twitter page.

"Those who remain in the camp will not be the responsibility of the Self-Administration," Ahmed said, referring to an autonomous region in northeastern Syria. It was not clear what this would mean in practice. The announcement did not refer to the network of prisons holding some 10,000 male detainees, several thousand of them foreigners.

Al-Hol's population swelled drastically at the beginning of 2019 as a joint Kurdish and Arab force, known as the Syrian Democratic Forces, fought a final battle to reclaim territory from Islamic State militants, backed by coalition air power.

Thousands of women and children were trucked to the camp nightly, often in pitiful condition and sometimes shellshocked. As



Health-care services for the camp residents at al-Hol, a sprawl of tents in the desert of northeastern Syria, are almost nonexistent.

the chaos subsided and camp authorities surveyed the challenge ahead of them, they separated non-Iraqi foreigners — among them, the camp's most radical elements — from the rest, and locked them in an annex with chain-link fencing.

There was also no immediate clarity about whether Monday's announcement marked a new ap-

proach to Syrian residents on the part of the administration, or simply an acceleration of ongoing efforts to release Syrian inhabitants under a program in which families vouch for them from outside the facility.

The move appeared to be a response to local pressure, at least in part. The detention of so many Syrians in the tightly guarded

camp has stoked resentment among local Arab communities against the Kurdish-led force.

But Kurdish residents have also voiced frustration that the local administration is paying to support people who lived inside the caliphate, while thousands of people displaced by it are still suffering.

The Self-Administration has repeatedly emphasized that it has neither the means nor the desire to secure camps such as al-Hol and has urged governments in neighboring Iraq and across the West to repatriate their citizens.

Ahmed described the camp as a "heavy burden on the shoulders" of the administration.

For the most part, the United States has opted to bring its citizens home. But countries such as Britain and France have dragged their feet, repatriating only a small number of orphans.

A year and a half after Kurdish-dominated forces spearheaded the defeat of the Islamic State in Syria, losing thousands of soldiers in the process, they are now charged with handling security around the camps and prisons holding the tens of thousands of

men, women and children who streamed out in surrender.

Attempted jailbreaks are increasingly common, sparking concerns for security in the area. Smugglers are also spiriting an increasing number of women and children away from al-Hol and northwest toward rebel-held territory. Some are believed to be escaping to Turkey, prompting concerns that they might seek to return to their home countries without the knowledge of law enforcement.

Experts monitoring the camp dismissed the idea that recently released Syrians have gone on to rejoin Islamic State sleeper cells, a fear commonly cited by local authorities.

Dareen Khalifa, a senior analyst with the International Crisis Group, said that a more pressing concern for the women was avoiding rejection and destitution.

"The people who have been released are struggling to reintegrate, and the economic situation outside is already very bad," she said. Frequently, and quickly, she added, they become the "poorest of the poor."

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# In Russia, suspected oil leak blamed for deaths of sea creatures at surf spot

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN

MOSCOW — The sight would be compared to a graveyard: Along a bay shore on Russia's far eastern Kamchatka Peninsula, more than a dozen octopuses washed up lifeless.

Anna Strelchenko was walking along the beach last week when she encountered clusters of dead sea creatures. She recorded a video of one small stretch covered with fish, sea urchins, starfish and octopuses and posted it to her social media accounts. Within days, the images were widely shared across Russia — evidence of the country's latest ecological disaster.

"I never expected my video to get so much attention — at first I thought that maybe this was just the product of a really strong storm," Strelchenko said. "But I had just felt awful seeing all of those dead octopi on the beach. It

wasn't just one or two; there must have been 20."

Four months after a ruptured reservoir at a power plant in the Siberian city of Norilsk spilled 20,000 tons of diesel fuel into two rivers, another oil leak is believed to be responsible for the incident in Kamchatka. And just as in the Norilsk incident, local authorities' initially dismissive response has come under sharp scrutiny.

On Saturday, Kamchatka's Ministry of Natural Resources and Ecology posted a video of Khalaktyrsky Beach to Instagram with the caption: "The color of the water is normal, the smell of the air is normal, the beach is completely clean. ... Nothing anomalous was recorded."

The social media backlash was swift. Yuri Dud, a Russian video blogger with more than 4 million followers on Instagram, responded with a post of his own: Video showing discolored streaks of

contamination in the water and another video of a dead octopus on the shore.

Khalaktyrsky Beach, a popular surfing spot about 20 miles from the place where Strelchenko initially discovered the dead marine life, has been the subject of local surfers' gripes for weeks. Katya Dyba, who works at the local Snowave Surf School, said she experienced foggy vision, a sore throat, nausea and fatigue after surfing on Sept. 14. She said other surfers were later diagnosed with poisoning.

The Russian branch of Greenpeace said tests conducted on water samples from Khalaktyrsky Beach showed petroleum levels four times higher than usual, and phenol levels were 2.5 times higher. Scuba divers reported seeing more dead sea animals at shallow depths over the weekend.

"There was this yellow-green film over the water," Dyba said.



"Now at Khalaktyrsky Beach, the situation seems better, but we know that the contamination just moved south because people there are seeing the signs with

the dead animals."

On Sunday, the local government's tone changed. Kamchatka Gov. Vladimir Solodov said samples of the water had been sent to Moscow for analysis, and he promised to fire anyone who is found to have deliberately tried to cover up or embellish the crisis.

"We learned about the environmental situation from bloggers," Solodov said. "I'm going to address the federal authorities with a proposal to establish a unified system of monitoring harmful factors for the environment."

"We should constantly monitor the condition of our main treasure, the ocean, and take proper steps. Today's situation proves that this work on monitoring should be intensified — it is not sufficient as of now."

The source and cause of the leak remain unclear. Russia's

Tass news agency, citing unnamed sources, reported that a commercial oil tanker was the likely culprit. But some locals have speculated that recent military training exercises could have caused the damage. The Defense Ministry has rejected the theory.

Cristina Rozenberg, who works for a tour company in Kamchatka, said locals pick berries and mushrooms around their beaches. She went to visit the site on Sunday morning.

"You just feel helpless," Rozenberg said. "It's a real tragedy because we don't know how we can help. We all live on this ocean, we eat out of this ocean, our kids play in this ocean."

"Honestly, I don't know who is responsible, and I'm not sure local authorities know what to do, either."

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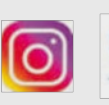
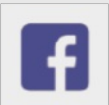


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# 16,000 coronavirus cases in England ‘lost’ for a week

Missing data, lack of contact tracing blamed on software glitch

BY WILLIAM BOOTH AND TEO ARMUS

LONDON — An epic fail of a simple computer program “lost” nearly 16,000 new coronavirus cases in England for more than a week, British public health officials said.

Everyone who tested positive was informed. But the cases were left out of the daily totals between Sept. 25 and Friday and ignored by contact tracers during that time. Given the average number of in-person contacts, that means as many as 50,000 people may have been exposed without being called about it.

By Monday morning, only half of the 16,000 who tested positive had gotten a contact tracing call. The other half “should be contacted as soon as possible,” said Health Secretary Matt Hancock, who was excoriated in the House of Commons by lawmakers.

The accounting error — blamed on operators entering data in an Excel spreadsheet program — was another serious stumble for the British government, at a crucial moment, when it is daily trying to decide where to tighten regional restrictions to slow a second wave of the virus.

After the error was spotted and the lost cases accounted for, the government’s report of new daily infections nearly doubled — from 12,872 on Saturday to 22,961 on Sunday — sparking



People enter a subway station in London on Friday after a 10 p.m. curfew that affects pubs and restaurants. A problem with the data about virus cases comes as the British government is daily trying to decide where to tighten restrictions to slow a second wave of the virus.

renewed angst among officials in London and England’s north, where most of the new cases were centered.

Michael Brodie, the interim head of Public Health England, said the issue was identified late

Friday in the computer process that communicates positive results from labs to the country’s reporting dashboards. Some data files containing positive results had exceeded the maximum file size, he said, according to the

BBC.

“We fully understand the concern this may cause,” Brodie added, “and further robust measures have been put in place as a result.”

While health authorities said the glitch had not affected the

pandemic response at the local level, 10 Downing Street announced an investigation and politicians in the opposition described the episode as “shambolic.”

“This isn’t just a shambles. It’s

so much worse than this and it gives me no comfort to say it, but it’s putting lives at risk,” Labour Party lawmaker Jonathan Ashworth told Parliament.

Liverpool Mayor Joe Anderson told the Guardian newspaper that the missing data was the latest in a “pandemic of incompetence from the government.”

Anderson said, “There are mistakes and there are really serious mistakes. This is a highly significant mistake that tells me the system is not fit for purpose.”

Paul Hunter, a professor of health protection at the University of East Anglia, told BBC Radio, “I think the thing that surprised me was the size of it — almost 16,000 results — going missing over the course of a week is quite alarming, I think.”

Hunter said for contact tracing to be effective, people who were in proximity with those who test positive need to be reached quickly.

“And the reason is that we know now that this infection is most infectious at around the time people develop symptoms — so very early on in the illness,” he said. “It really needs to be done within a matter of a day or so if you’re going to actually have any effect.”

The error delivered another significant blow to the public perceptions of Britain’s stuttering contact tracing efforts, which critics say are already too far slow to properly track the spread of the outbreak.

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# Administration revokes visas of Ukrainian fixer, lawmaker tied to Giuliani

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA,  
DAVID L. STERN,  
NATALIE GRVNYAK  
AND PAUL SONNE

The State Department last month revoked the visa of a Ukrainian political fixer who aided President Trump's personal attorney, Rudolph W. Giuliani, in his gambit last year to dig up information from Ukraine that would damage former vice president Joe Biden in the 2020 election, according to U.S. officials.

The revocation of Andrii Telizhenko's visa comes as U.S. officials crack down on Russian efforts to influence the November vote. The revocation, which hasn't previously been reported, came shortly before the Treasury Department sanctioned a different Ukrainian who was cooperating with Giuliani — lawmaker Andriy Derkach — and dubbed Derkach an “active Russian agent for over a decade” and said he was trying to interfere in the election, the U.S. officials said.

Telizhenko was unable to board a Sept. 9 Ukrainian International Airlines flight from Kyiv to New York, according to a person familiar with his travel plans and a Ukrainian government official who, like others interviewed, spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the matter's sensitivity.

Telizhenko accompanied Giuliani during a trip to Kyiv late last year, which included a meeting with Derkach. Derkach's visa was pulled by the State Department earlier this year. Both Ukrainians had been interacting regularly with Giuliani, as the former New York mayor sought to obtain information from Ukraine that would help Trump's electoral chances.

On Monday, in a statement on the Derkach designation, a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine said that anyone who does business with a sanctioned person could themselves be subject to sanctions.

Derkach has not responded to requests for interviews since he was sanctioned but in a statement on Facebook described the U.S. action as a “preventive response to my next press conference. . . . It is revenge against me, as a representative of the team of investigators.”

The U.S. moves, officials say, show an administration willing to



A Ukrainian fixer who worked last year with President Trump's personal attorney, Rudolph W. Giuliani, center, had his visa revoked by the State Department last month. The Treasury Department also revoked the visa of a Ukrainian lawmaker considered a “Russian agent.”

target people furthering Moscow's efforts to stoke political divisions in American society. They come despite the president's aversion to acknowledging the Kremlin's interference activities.

A State Department spokeswoman declined to comment on Telizhenko's visa revocation.

Giuliani didn't respond to phone calls and emails requesting comment.

The Ukrainian ambassador to the United States, Volodymyr Yelchenko, praised the administration's actions against Derkach and Telizhenko. “They are just ruining our efforts to preserve bipartisan support for Ukraine,” he said of the two Ukrainians in an interview. “They've tried to torpedo our relationship. When they come up with unsubstantiated stories to help one side on the eve of elections, that's concerning. I'm glad the United States has seen them for what they are.”

Telizhenko has denied any involvement in Russian interference or disinformation operations and denied working with Derkach.

Derkach has denied he is a Russian agent.

Telizhenko told The Washington Post several times over the last two weeks that he had no knowledge of his U.S. visa being revoked. “I didn't hear anything of that at all,” he said. The State Department usually notifies an affected individual of a visa revocation, but as a rule does not make the information public.

Telizhenko provided The Post with documentation purporting to show that he traveled from Kyiv to New York in September. However, a Ukrainian government official and another person familiar with his travel said he did not board that flight — the only flight from Kyiv to New York in September — and did not leave the country that month.

Telizhenko declined repeated requests to provide proof of his entry or his stay in the United States. He said that for “security reasons” he is shielding information about his movements. Telizhenko worked for the Ukrainian prosecutor general's office in Kyiv before moving to Washington in

2015 and getting a job at the Ukraine Embassy. He left in mid-2016 and went to work for a year for Blue Star Strategies, a Democrat-run lobbying firm. That firm represented Burisma, a Ukrainian gas company that placed Biden's son Hunter on its board of directors and is at the center of unfounded allegations by Giuliani against Joe Biden.

“He got hired by BlueStar to help facilitate the Democrats and the Clinton agenda,” one U.S. official said. “Then he reinvented himself as this pro-Trump truth teller. He doesn't care — as long as he's paid.”

Beginning in 2017, Telizhenko promoted the narrative that Ukraine interfered in the 2016 election. Citing his experience at the Ukraine Embassy, he asserted that Ukrainian officials colluded with the Democratic Party to assist Hillary Clinton. That fueled the baseless theory — one pushed by Moscow — that Ukraine, not Russia, interfered in the 2016 election.

Giuliani joined the president's allies in seizing upon Telizhenko's

theory as a way to defend Trump in the midst of former special counsel Robert S. Mueller III's investigation of Russian interference and contacts between the Russian government and Trump associates.

Telizhenko first sparked U.S. officials' concern in early 2019 when he began promoting such pro-Russian narratives by sharing information with Republican lawmakers. Later that year, he began discussions with Giuliani.

Giuliani met with Telizhenko several times last year and relied on him to organize a trip to Hungary and Ukraine during the impeachment proceedings. On that trip, Giuliani met twice with Derkach, according to Telizhenko. Telizhenko said he was present for one of the meetings but denied arranging them.

Derkach appeared earlier this year on Giuliani's YouTube podcast “Common Sense,” a platform for Giuliani to share his take on politics. Though Telizhenko denies working with Derkach, he provided the English-language voice-over for Derkach's Russian com-

ments to Giuliani.

Derkach again drew the attention of U.S. officials this spring when he began releasing leaked edited recordings of then-Vice President Biden speaking to Petro Poroshenko, then-president of Ukraine.

Around the time Derkach released the tapes, Telizhenko made public a transcript of Biden speaking with Poroshenko. He claimed he received the document from someone other than Derkach.

“I know that [Derkach] is not a good person,” Telizhenko told The Post. “That's why I try to keep away from him as far as possible. It's a total different game what he's doing and I'm doing. I don't publicly support Derkach. That's the main point.”

In an interview with The Post earlier this year, Telizhenko said he had more transcripts of Biden's conversations, which he said he provided to someone in the United States who might release them closer to the election.

Telizhenko also became a flash point in Senate Republicans' probe of Biden and Ukraine this year. Democrats assailed Sens. Ron Johnson (R-Wis.) and Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa) for taking information from Telizhenko in the course of their investigation, which culminated in a report released in September.

Telizhenko told The Post in September that he cooperated extensively with Johnson's probe. This included handing over “more than 100 emails,” which were drawn mainly from Telizhenko's previous work at the Ukraine Embassy. This prompted Democrats to accuse the Johnson of laundering foreign disinformation.

Johnson denied the allegation and said the Democrats were smearing him to discredit the report. The report said Hunter Biden's involvement with Burisma gave the appearance of a conflict of interest, but it failed to demonstrate that his involvement with the Ukrainian gas firm changed U.S. policy toward Ukraine or influenced Joe Biden's actions in any way.

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# ECONOMY & BUSINESS

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## In Trump actions, uniquely hands-on economic strategy

BY DAVID J. LYNCH

President Trump last month personally intervened in a corporate transaction, tweeted an endorsement of a political ally's new book, praised a friendly business executive at one of his campaign rallies and warned social media companies that he is "watching them closely."

The whirl of presidential action reflects Trump's determination, even as he campaigns for reelection, to command the \$19 trillion U.S. economy with the same hands-on vigor he brought to his Manhattan real estate firm.

From the Oval Office, Trump has pushed to set the value of both the U.S. dollar and interest rates, determine the winner of federal contracts and overrule corporate decisions on factory locations. He has called for executives to be fired at businesses that displeased him and urged his 87 million Twitter followers to buy some products and shun others.

This populist activism has more in common with strongman leaders in countries such as Turkey, Russia and China than with Republican free-market orthodoxy and could undermine the U.S. economy's long-term appeal, according to economists, former government officials and historians.

"He's more of a central planner than the communists," said economist Douglas Holtz-Eakin, who served in President George W. Bush's White House and advised Sen. John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign.

The latest illustration of Trump's highly personal style began Aug. 6, when he issued an executive order banning TikTok, the popular video-sharing app owned by China's ByteDance. Trump gave the company 45 days to develop a corporate structure that would eliminate the risk that the personal data it collects on American users could be tapped by the Chinese government.

As potential buyers circled, the president demanded "a very large percentage" of the sales price for allowing a deal, a payment White House lawyers later told him the U.S. government could not legally accept.

Oracle, a software company co-

founded by Larry Ellison, a vocal Trump supporter, struck a deal last month to establish a TikTok unit that will effectively be a U.S.-owned entity. Welcoming the announcement, the president said it included \$5 billion to fund a "patriotic" education initiative he had championed.

"I can say that I have given the deal my blessing," he told reporters, lavishing praise on Ellison and Walmart, Oracle's partner.

The transaction awaits approval by the Chinese government. But the president's involvement drew criticism from normally supportive quarters.

"Maybe the deal will protect national security as the Trump Administration claims, but it reeks of corporate cronyism that will damage the U.S. government's credibility and reputation for free-market rules," said the Wall Street Journal editorial page.

Scott Lincicome, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, said the president's approach erodes the law-based predictability that has made the United States a magnet for foreign investment.

"The very appearance of that involvement tarnishes the bureaucracy and undermines the rule of law," he said. "These type of things matter."

As winning the president's favor has become more important, companies have beefed up their Washington influence efforts. Total lobbying spending increased in each of the past three years, reversing five consecutive years of decline, according to Open Secrets, a nonpartisan organization. In 2019, business groups and others spent a total of \$3.51 billion, up 11 percent from 2016.

To be sure, many presidents have had harsh words for business. In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, President Barack Obama regularly assailed "fat-cat bankers" for awarding lavish executive bonuses after receiving taxpayer bailouts.

In 1962, President John F. Kennedy criticized U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel for raising prices in what he called "a wholly unjustifiable and irresponsible defiance of the public interest" and pressured them with a Justice Department investigation and



BRENDAN SMIALOWSKI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

**President Trump urged his Twitter followers not to buy Goodyear tires and threatened to swap out those on his limousine, above, after reports that the company banned attire bearing political slogans.**

the loss of military contracts.

Trump has yet to match President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who in 1944 sent his attorney general and steel-helmeted National Guardsmen to physically remove retailer Montgomery Ward's chief executive from his office after he repeatedly refused to comply with wartime labor agreements.

But Trump attacks individual companies and executives more often and with greater venom than his predecessors, seeking both policy and culture war wins.

"It has happened with presidents before, but they usually have been very light on the touch. It's usually been a last resort. People have understood in the past that it was generally not a president's job to get into the domestic economy with this degree of specificity," said historian Michael Beschloss, an author of nine books on the presidency.

During the 2016 campaign, Trump attacked Carrier over a decision to relocate manufacturing work from Indianapolis to Mexico. Within weeks of his election victory, he took credit for persuading the company to retain hundreds of jobs it had planned to move. Yet six months later, the company informed the state that 632 other jobs were being eliminated.

Still, the Carrier episode was a sign Trump would be a different kind of Republican president, less likely to reflexively support decisions made in corporate boardrooms and ever eager to pose as a working-class champion.

On Sept. 21, during a complaint

about Chinese trade practices, Trump told a campaign rally that he had to be talked out of manipulating the value of the dollar to hurt Beijing.

"I go to my guys, they said, 'What about doing a little movement on the dollar?' 'Sir, we can't do that. It has to float naturally,'" the president said, casually describing a proposal that would have rocked global financial markets.

"He does not behave like a typical Chamber of Commerce Republican," said Greg Valliere, chief U.S. policy strategist for AGF Investments. "He is comfortable bashing companies that he feels are not doing enough for his constituents."

In 2018, Trump took to Twitter to encourage a boycott of Harley-Davidson after the motorcycle manufacturer announced plans to shift from the U.S. production of bikes sold in Europe. The company blamed Trump's tariffs on imported steel and aluminum and European retaliatory measures for the move.

This year, as the election campaign has heated up, the president's activism has centered on stirring up his supporters.

In August, he urged Americans to boycott Goodyear tires amid reports that the company had banned attire bearing political slogans, including Trump's signature "Make America Great Again," from the workplace.

"Don't buy GOODYEAR TIRES - They announced a BAN ON MAGA HATS. Get better tires for far less!" the president tweeted

Aug. 19.

Within minutes, shares of Goodyear plunged more than 4 percent. But in a sign that years of incendiary presidential tweets may have lost their punch, the stock more than fully recovered in just three trading days.

"Except in rare circumstances, that is not a president's business. That's what a dictator does in a dictatorship, especially if he's doing it for his own political gain," Beschloss said. "A bedrock principle of our system should be that a president's decisions are always to benefit the nation, not the president personally."

Trump also has lent the power of the presidency to his political allies. So far this year, the president has tweeted praise for 28 books, including those by Lou Dobbs of Fox Business; conservative activist Charlie Kirk; and former aide Sarah Sanders.

On Sept. 22, he praised Goya Foods chief executive Robert Unanue, who suffered a consumer backlash after praising Trump at a White House meeting in July.

"Goya, he's great, isn't he? Great guy," the president said during a campaign rally in Moon Township, Pa.

But Trump's activism goes beyond words. His inflammatory tweets shape government action, according to John Elias, a career antitrust prosecutor in the Justice Department.

In 2019, after Trump relaxed federal emissions regulations, he was enraged when the state of California agreed with four automakers — Ford, Volkswagen,

BMW and Honda — to abide by stricter limits.

"Henry Ford would be very disappointed if he saw his modern-day descendants," Trump wrote in a tweet criticizing the deal.

The next day, political appointees in the Justice Department ordered an antitrust investigation of the carmakers, Elias told members of the House Judiciary Committee in June.

The investigation quickly fizzled when each of the companies swore they had reached individual agreements with the state, undercutting any antitrust case. The department, which denied Elias's allegations, abandoned its investigation in February.

The president also has weighed in on government contracting. This year, Fisher Sand and Gravel was awarded the largest ever border wall construction contract.

The \$1.3 billion deal came after the president repeatedly urged military officials to hire the company, whose chief executive had repeatedly praised him on cable television. The Defense Department inspector general is auditing an earlier \$400 million contract the company received after House Democrats complained the president had exerted "inappropriate influence" over the decision.

In 2019, Trump directed then-Defense Secretary Jim Mattis "to screw Amazon" out of a \$10 billion Pentagon cloud-computing contract the company was expected to win, according to a book by Guy Snodgrass, a former Mattis speechwriter.

Mattis later told aides the "JEDI" contract would be handled "by the book," Snodgrass wrote.

Defense officials subsequently chose Microsoft for the lucrative job, triggering an Amazon lawsuit. After an internal review, Pentagon officials last month rejected Amazon's protest and reaffirmed the original verdict.

(Jeff Bezos, Amazon's chief executive, owns The Washington Post.)

Amazon blistered the choice as "a flawed, biased, and politically corrupted decision" and complained the White House had stonewalled an investigation by the department's inspector general.

"The JEDI contract award creates a dangerous precedent that threatens the integrity of the federal procurement system . . . Others have raised similar concerns around a growing trend where defense officials act based on a desire to please the President, rather than do what's right," Amazon said.

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### DIGEST

#### ECONOMY

##### Services activities grow in September

The U.S. services sector, where most Americans work, grew for a fourth consecutive month in September as the country attempts to reopen after coronavirus shutdowns.

The Institute for Supply Management reported Monday that its index of services activity rose to a reading of 57.8 last month, 0.9 percentage point higher than the August reading of 56.9. Any reading above 50 signifies expansion in services industries such as restaurants and department stores.

The index fell sharply for three months starting in March as shutdowns aimed at containing the virus closed many businesses and put millions of Americans out of work. But starting in June, the index began to rise again and now stands above its February level of 57.3.

The strength in September

reflected big gains in new orders and the employment index, which rose above 50 for the first time since February.

— Associated Press

#### OPIOID EPIDEMIC

##### Walmart must turn over pharmacy files

Walmart must disclose some internal files related to alleged mishandling of opioid painkillers sold through the company's in-store pharmacies, after a judge ruled in favor of investors seeking to hold directors liable for the company's lack of oversight.

Two pension funds have shown that they "quite clearly have a credible basis" to probe whether board members wrongfully turned a blind eye to containing the virus closed many businesses and put millions of Americans out of work. But starting in June, the index began to rise again and now stands above its February level of 57.3.

States and local governments suing companies over the U.S.

opioid epidemic named Walmart as a defendant in the cases. The retailer faces a November trial in Cleveland in which the municipalities will seek billions in damages for what they call the chain's failure to recognize "red flags" about heavily repeated sales of the painkillers.

— Bloomberg News

#### PHARMACEUTICALS

##### Bristol Myers Squibb to buy MyoKardia

Bristol Myers Squibb will buy MyoKardia for \$13.1 billion in cash in a deal to expand its offerings of heart therapies, according to a statement Monday from the companies.

With the purchase, Bristol Myers gets access to MyoKardia's lead product, mavacamten, an experimental drug that treats obstructive hypertrophic cardiomyopathy, in which the heart muscle becomes abnormally thick.

— Bloomberg News



SHAHZAIB AKBER/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

**A worker in Karachi, Pakistan, repairs a hot-water heater in his workshop. As winter's colder temperatures approach, the demand for the heaters is high.**

#### ALSO IN BUSINESS

**Federal Communications Commission** Chairman Ajit Pai said Monday that he stands by the agency's repeal of landmark

net neutrality rules, and he circulated a proposal to address three issues raised by a U.S. appeals court. The appeals court in October 2019 largely upheld

the FCC's December 2017 net neutrality repeal, but it directed the agency to reconsider the order's impact on public safety, pole attachment regulations and the agency's ability to provide subsidies for broadband service.

**Bank of America** said Monday that it is rolling out a digital budgeting tool, wading into a space that has been dominated by fintech companies. Life Plan, a new functionality on Bank of America's website and app, allows customers to set multiple goals such as buying a home, improving credit or saving for retirement, and uses its existing trove of client data to serve them recommendations. Such personalized advice used to be reserved for high-net-worth customers who had enough cash to retain a financial adviser to help manage their wealth, but a host of digital budgeting tools, like Intuit's Mint app, have used artificial intelligence to bring such planning to the masses.

— From news reports

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ing the virus and the particular harms of the pandemic, the relief packages distributed money to those with little need for it while allowing the illness, which is now more widespread than when the bills passed, to outstrip the aid.

To be sure, the legislation rendered essential aid to the unemployed and helped boost the economy by injecting it with billions of government dollars. After the largest bill passed and the Federal Reserve took action, the stock market soared and the economy recovered about half of the jobs lost during the early shutdowns.

But the stock market has slumped recently, the unemployment rate stands at more than double pre-pandemic levels, and one of the few things both sides generally agree on is that trillions didn't end the crisis. Both Democrats and Republicans have proposed more relief, but developing another spending bill has been complicated by disagreements over what has been achieved so far. On Thursday, House Democrats approved a \$2.2 trillion relief proposal that is unlikely to move through the Republican-led Senate.

Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, one of the key negotiators, said it is clear that more relief is necessary.

Business reopenings and the Cares Act "have enabled a remarkable economic rebound, but some industries particularly hard-hit by the pandemic require additional relief," Mnuchin said during his Sept. 22 testimony to Congress. "I believe a targeted package is still needed, and the administration is ready to reach a bipartisan agreement."

More than half of the \$4 trillion approved by Congress this spring was targeted to businesses, according to a Post analysis based on figures from the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, an independent, non-profit and bipartisan group. That and the other dollar figures in this story reflect the amounts Congress authorized. In some cases, the amounts spent and the projected impact on the U.S. deficit are lower.

Much of the money was issued to companies regardless of whether they were impacted by the pandemic or used it to pay employees.

The bill included \$651 billion in business tax breaks that often went to companies unaffected by the pandemic and others that laid off thousands of workers. The Cheesecake Factory, for example, furloughed 41,000 people, and said it will claim a tax break worth \$50 million.

Billions more went to the Federal Reserve to help stabilize markets, and those efforts enabled many companies — including Wells Fargo, AT&T and Carnival, the cruise company — to borrow at lower rates while also laying off thousands of workers.

Finally, while a complete accounting of the \$670 billion Paycheck Protection Program isn't likely to be available for months or years, companies that received the money were not compelled to use it to protect paychecks — and many didn't.

More than 210 hotel owners received PPP funds, for example, and have yet to rehire most of their staffs, according to Unite Here, the union whose members staff the properties. Among them: Omni Hotels & Resorts, a chain controlled by Texas billionaire Robert Rowling. A group of Omni properties received between \$30 million and \$71 million from the PPP while also furloughing workers and cutting off their health insurance coverage.

"This has hit pretty hard for me and my daughters," said Greg Kiraly, 43, who was a cook at the Omni hotel in Pittsburgh and who in recent weeks has found it "really humbling" to visit a food pantry for groceries. "It was something I never thought I would have to do."

A hotel spokesperson, Kristen Cadenhead, said that the loan program has been "instrumental to our survival" and that the property has had to suspend operations because of extremely low business volumes.

"They should have thought about giving that money to the workers — rather than [Rowling]," Kiraly said. "I can guarantee he hasn't walked to the food pantry to get a box of cornflakes to bring home to his kids."

Aid running out

After the money for businesses, the next largest portion of the trillions in relief money, about one-fifth, went to help workers and families. The bills supplemented pay and sent one-time economic impact payments of up to \$1,200 per person to 159 million American families. Other smaller portions went to state and local governments, other public agencies and health-care providers.



LIBBY MARCH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The toughest aspect of the relief efforts, at least for many workers and their employers, is that while the government programs offered a few months of help, the aid ceased well before the crisis did.

The PPP was designed to give eight weeks of help; unemployment supplements for millions of workers stopped this summer; airlines that received federal aid moved forward with plans to lay off tens of thousands of employees last Thursday, the first day on which the legislation permitted such cuts. The PPP aid was expanded in June to cover a 24-week period.

Yet the pandemic continues: More people are dying daily of the coronavirus than at the time the law was passed, on average, and the jobs numbers announced Friday indicate the recovery has slowed even as millions remain out of work. On Friday, Trump said he tested positive for the virus.

Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Romer, who devised a pandemic recovery plan, said the problem with the federal response is it treated the crisis largely as an ordinary recession and overlooked the need to suppress the coronavirus.

"Too many people were fighting the last war and not recognizing the new circumstances we were facing," Romer said in an interview. "They missed this point: For any other recession, this may have been a very good response. But because of this virus, it was doomed to fail."

Of the trillions authorized by federal relief bills through mid-April, only a small portion was dedicated to the kinds of testing and contact-tracing programs most public health experts say are essential to reducing the virus. In the last relief bill, passed April 24, Congress approved \$25 billion for testing, but much of that has yet to be spent.

Romer's plan dedicated \$100 billion to testing; bipartisan expert groups have estimated similar or even larger costs.

"This is why the stimulus mon-

# U.S. relief effort focused on the economic, omitted virus

ey was a waste: It got people back out there, but it also increased the rate of spread of the virus," Romer said. "It was really totally ineffective to stimulate the economy without implementing measures to restrain the spread of the virus."

The authors of a recent National Bureau of Economic Research paper similarly raised doubts about whether the traditional government response to a recession was appropriate.

"The only path to full economic recovery in the long run may be to restore consumer confidence by addressing the virus itself," according to the paper by economists at Opportunity Insights.

Spending ballooned as panic mounted

The centerpiece of the federal relief programs is the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security (Cares) Act, the third and largest of the four relief bills.

It came together during a time of vertiginous panic.

By mid-March, Congress already had assembled two relief bills: an \$8 billion one, and another for \$192 billion. But even before the second was approved March 18, it was clear the moment demanded something more.

Stock prices had plunged by about a third in just a month;

NBA games and Broadway performances were being suspended; hospital staffs pleaded that without help, they might run out of intensive care beds and ventilators.

"It is only a matter of time before ICU beds are full," warned New York Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo (D).

The negotiations quickly snowballed into \$2.6 trillion in spending.

Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) first rolled out a proposal March 16 to spend at least \$750 billion. It offered money to pay for ventilators, hospital beds and masks, as well as aid for the unemployed.

Days later, McConnell and Republican leaders announced a broader, more costly bill. Much of it was aimed at businesses, with a \$300 billion fund for small businesses that would evolve into the PPP, more than \$100 billion in tax breaks, and \$208 billion in loans to airlines and other industries.

The plan also gave individuals one-time payments of as much as \$1,200.

The spending was now over \$1 trillion, but negotiations continued, with Mnuchin shuttling between the offices of Schumer and McConnell, and the costs mounted. Additions to the bill included bumping unemployment checks to \$600 a week, and billions more for state and local

governments, health-care providers and Federal Reserve programs to make corporate borrowing cheaper.

The bill passed unanimously in the Senate and by voice vote in the House. Trump signed it on March 27.

In recessions, governments often spend in order to pump up flagging economic demand: This keeps companies and households afloat and encourages growth. Because the effects of a recession are often widespread, it makes sense to distribute the money widely, economists say.

The Cares Act and other federal relief followed this approach on a grand scale.

Critically, lawmakers issued benefits to companies without requiring them to show that they had been significantly affected by the pandemic. Most corporate recipients didn't have to promise to forgo layoffs, either.

But the current economic crisis is fundamentally different from past recessions. The lack of economic demand arises from a pandemic that keeps people from going out to spend, and the damage so far has been uneven. Hotels, restaurants, barbershops, movies and the like have been hammered. Others such as insurance companies, technology firms and home goods manufacturers have prospered.

So while the Cares Act and other legislation spread out the money, much of it appears to have benefited companies that don't need help.

There may be no clearer example of this than the Cares Act tax breaks.

The legislation offered generous tax breaks for businesses of any size, in any industry and regardless of need. Congress estimated they will cost the federal government \$250 billion, an amount that is significant even within the scope of federal budgets: The IRS collected roughly the same amount from all corporate income taxes in 2019.

The largest chunk of those tax breaks consisted of a \$135 billion benefit for business owners. The

measure gives an average benefit of \$1.6 million to 43,000 individuals with incomes in excess of \$1 million, according to the Joint Committee on Taxation, a non-partisan congressional body. Applicants must have suffered an operating loss in 2018, 2019 or 2020 — so they're eligible even if their loss occurred well before the coronavirus appeared.

The IRS does not publicly share identities of these business owners. But dozens of public companies applied for a similar Cares Act tax break and have disclosed the benefit to shareholders. Many were unaffected by the pandemic.

Manulife, a Canadian insurance giant with \$20 billion in cash reserves, said that it is eligible for a \$54 million tax refund under the new law. Owens & Minor, a medical equipment maker, plans to claim \$13 million, even though rising demand for personal protective gear sent its stock soaring. Organic grocery distributor United Natural Foods, where revenue jumped by \$1 billion during the pandemic as more people cooked at home, applied to receive a \$28 million tax refund.

"We're thriving," Chris Testa, the president of United Natural Foods, boasted during a June trade conference.

Jeff Swanson, a United Natural Foods spokesman, noted that the company has hired during the pandemic, extended temporary raises and offered additional employee health benefits. Owens & Minor did not respond to requests for comment, and a Manulife spokeswoman declined to comment.

Generally, the tax breaks were not well targeted to companies affected by the pandemic, according to an analysis of hundreds of corporate filings conducted at the University of Chicago. Companies in the hardest-hit industries and regions were no more likely to claim the tax breaks than others, researchers found.

Moreover, while enriching shareholders, the tax breaks offered little incentive to keep workers. Companies that receive them are under no obligation to refrain from furloughs and layoffs.

The Cheesecake Factory, for example, furloughed 41,000 workers earlier this year but fulfilled its commitment to issue \$3.7 million in stock dividends to preferred shareholders. It expects to receive a \$50 million tax refund.

Among those furloughed from the restaurant chain was bartender Austin Dombrosky, who was out of work for more than 11 weeks.

"They're not worried about their employees," said Dombrosky, 31, who earns Utah's minimum wage of \$2.13 an hour plus tips, which he relies on to pay rent and school tuition. "I see them looking at the money as a safety net for future problems, but they could care less about their hourly employees."

Matthew Clark, the Cheesecake Factory's chief financial officer, said that the furloughs followed government-ordered store closures and that for their duration the company paid health-care premiums and offered a free meal daily to those out of work.

The tax breaks may even help some companies eliminate jobs. Boeing, which laid off 19,000 employees this year, said on a July earnings call that its Cares Act tax refund would help cover the cost of the severance packages it owed departing workers.

A Boeing spokesperson declined to comment.

One tax break in the Cares Act permits any company that lost money in 2018, 2019 or 2020 to apply those losses to previous, more profitable years. Some form of this provision, called a "carry-back" of net operating losses, has been permitted by the U.S. tax code for over a century to help businesses that face ups and downs to even out their taxes.

The Cares Act supercharged this tax strategy, raising the limit on the amount of losses companies can use to offset taxes and permitting them to apply those losses to earlier periods. By exploiting the difference in corporate tax rates in previous years, companies with recent losses can increase tax refunds they received years ago by up to 67 percent.

One of the reasons Senate Republicans decided to include this particular tax break is that it has been used in years past following U.S. disasters, according to a Republican aide involved in the Cares Act negotiation who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the person was not authorized to speak publicly. Congress expanded this type of tax break following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Hurricane Katrina and the Great Recession.

The tax breaks will "unburden businesses so they can keep employing those who are home caring for their families and helping

SEE STIMULUS ON A19



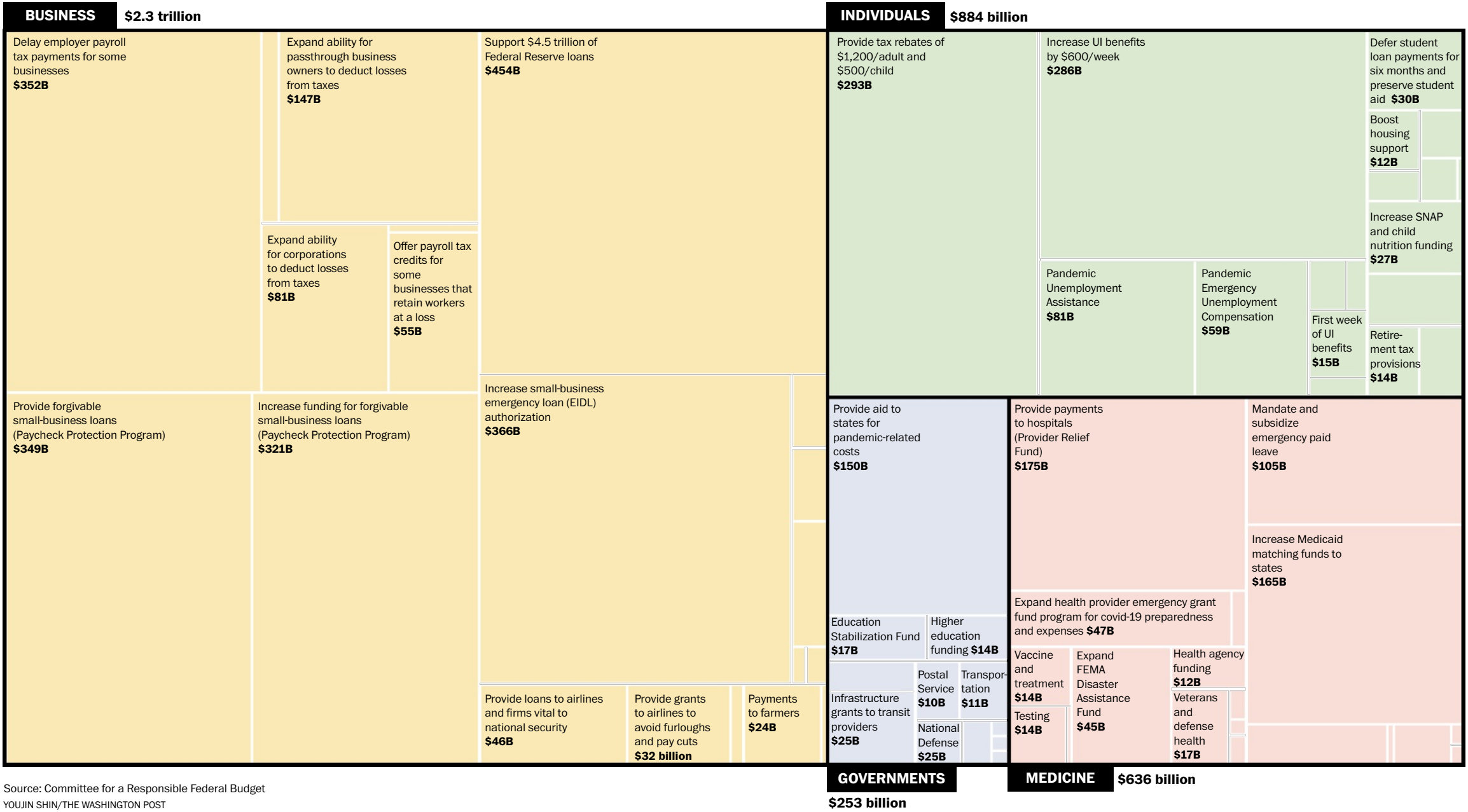
JOEL ANGEL JUAREZ FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP:** Julie Stone, who owns an EconoLodge near Buffalo, was approved for a \$60,000 Paycheck Protection Program loan but didn't take it as business stalled. **ABOVE:** Uriel Sanchez, a trainer at a Pothelly in El Paso, left before the store was shut in the pandemic.



Total U.S. coronavirus bailout

\$4 trillion



STIMULUS FROM A18

to prevent the spread of the virus,” said Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), who led Senate Republicans proposing the tax breaks.

But rather than helping people and companies most affected by the pandemic, the tax breaks may simply enrich shareholders. Many of the firms claiming the tax break are rewarding investors with dividends and share buybacks.

In August, for example, the CEO of home insurer Assurant told investors it made sense to reward shareholders “given the attractiveness of our stock and strong capital position.” It reported no negative impact from the pandemic, and paid investors \$160 million in buybacks and dividends.

Assurant’s Cares Act tax refunds totaled \$205 million. Linda Recupero, an Assurant spokeswoman, said the company would have used existing tax laws to recoup some of this tax benefit even without the Cares Act.

Borrowing cheaply, laying off workers

Other Cares Act programs likewise offered billions in help to companies regardless of whether they needed it, and regardless of whether they would maintain their payrolls.

Officials have committed \$75 billion, for example, for a Federal Reserve program that has helped lower interest rates on corporate bonds, allowing most companies to borrow more cheaply. The result has been a borrowing binge that made April the busiest month on record for investment-grade corporate bond sales, according to Bloomberg.

All of these companies are weathering the pandemic: Procter & Gamble issued \$5 billion worth; Coca-Cola got \$6.5 billion; Apple issued \$8.5 billion. Oracle had a \$20 billion debt offering.

There are no requirements that they keep their workers on the payroll, and of the 34 companies that offered the largest corporate bond issues between March and August, 1 in 3 have reportedly had or announced layoffs, according to a Post review based on data from S&P Global Intelligence.

AT&T, for example, reportedly issued \$12 billion in corporate bonds in May and within a few weeks announced it was laying off thousands of workers. Among them was Jay Toro, who worked in sales at a company store at Orlando’s Altamonte Mall. About the same time, Toro and his wife had their first child. They soon fell behind on rent and lost one apartment. They have a new place now, but he’s relying on savings and still looking for a job.

“It’s not fair to leave [workers] high and dry,” Toro said. “I would tell them to just take it easy on their workers.”

An AT&T spokesperson noted that the Fed’s intervention did not amount to a direct subsidy and that laid-off employees

would receive severance pay and health-care coverage for up to six months.

The largest single relief effort to help affected businesses and workers was the PPP, which offered “small” companies

Businesses with up to 500 employees were eligible, though that limit was relaxed for restaurant and hotel companies. To encourage companies to use the money to retain employees, the loans were forgiven if more than 60 percent went toward payroll. To apply for the loans, companies had to certify they had experienced the “current economic uncertainty,” but did not have to offer proof.

It was, according to the Trump administration, a resounding success.

“Thanks to our Paycheck Protection Program, we have saved or supported more than 50 million American jobs,” President Trump said during his speech at the Republican National Convention in August.

Caillin Schmeer, a Treasury spokesperson, said the administration’s jobs estimate was based on economic modeling, although the analysis was not published.

“It’s called the Paycheck Protection Program,” Mnuchin said in May. “The real purpose here was to get people back to work.”

Economists who have studied the results, however, have come up with far more modest estimates of the program’s effects.

In the first two months of the program, when shutdowns were the most widespread, the program saved only 2.3 million jobs, a small fraction of Trump’s estimate, researchers from the Federal Reserve, ADP Research Institute and MIT estimated. If their figure is correct, that means the program laid out about \$286,000 to save each job.

Most of the money probably accrued to owners of companies that were going to retain their employees anyway, said David Autor, an MIT professor who was one of the researchers. He noted that if the government offers money to people to take a certain action — such as retaining employees — the first in line will be people who were going to do that anyway.

“The Paycheck Protection Program had grand ambitions,” Autor said, noting that it aided millions of business owners. “But it does not appear to have preserved very many jobs.”

Government statistics similarly indicate the money did not flow proportionally to the most affected industries and cities.

For example, in New York, which experienced the worst coronavirus outbreak in the United States, less than 20 percent of small businesses were approved to receive PPP loans, economists at the New York Fed wrote in May, while in Nebraska more than 55 percent of small businesses were expecting PPP funding.

“There is actually a negative relationship between COVID-19 cases per capita and the share of small firms getting PPP funding,”



President Trump hands a pen to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) after signing the Cares Act on March 27. Six months on, the bill hasn’t helped the most vulnerable Americans.

the economists wrote.

The mismatch was not just geographical, either.

Industries relatively unaffected by the pandemic received large chunks of PPP money; meanwhile, some of the hardest-hit received less.

‘Will I survive? I hope so.’

Companies categorized as providing professional, scientific or technical services — such as legal advice, engineering or accounting — suffered relatively light pandemic losses. For example, they accounted for only about 3 percent of all U.S. job losses between February and April. Yet they received 13 percent of the loan money.

Job losses in the hotel and restaurant industry, meanwhile, accounted for about 32 percent of the nation’s total, but those companies received only 8 percent of the PPP money.

One key problem with the Paycheck Protection Program is that many of the most affected businesses saw no reason to use it. Why take a loan to hire employees back for eight weeks, they asked, when the customers weren’t returning?

Julie Stone, who owns a 73-room EconoLodge outside Buf-

falo, applied for a \$60,000 PPP loan in April. She was quickly approved, but then decided not to take the money.

“At the time, we were renting 10 rooms a night, five rooms a night. I’m going to bring back all my staff to bring them back and kind of do nothing?” she asked. “Truth be told, we’re so far down in the hole that \$60,000 wasn’t going to make or break us.”

When the program closed Aug. 8, more than \$130 billion of the money Congress put up was left unused even though millions of jobs hadn’t returned.

Like others in the hotel and restaurant business, Stone is still waiting for customers. In typical summers, many Canadian travelers would drive south for vacations and stop at her place, but they didn’t this year. The nearby Six Flags amusement park never opened at all. She brought back nine of the 14 employees, but only three days a week. She asked family to help with cleaning and maintenance.

“Will I survive? I hope so,” she said.

Even at companies that received Paycheck Protection Program money, many paychecks were not protected — there were significant job losses.

About this story

Data for this story and accompanying graphics are based on estimates by the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, an independent, nonprofit and bipartisan group that has attempted to track every fiscal and monetary action taken by the federal government in response to the coronavirus. The CRFB’s estimate for all legislative measures, \$4 trillion, represents the maximum amount of gross financial support Congress has authorized in all its relief measures combined. It does not reflect the actual amounts that have been disbursed or the expected deficit impact, both of which may be lower for several categories of spending.

For each category of relief, The Washington Post assessed whether most of its benefits appeared to be going to businesses, individuals, the health-care community, or the state governments and public agencies tasked with managing the coronavirus response. The Post categorized one of the largest chunks of spending, the \$670 billion Paycheck Protection Program, as a business benefit. Although the PPP was designed to help workers, businesses applied, received the checks and, in many cases, used the funds to pay rent, utilities and other costs instead of keeping people employed.

Potbelly, the Chicago-based sandwich chain, is worth an estimated \$93 million and its backers include private equity and venture capital firms. In August, the company won a \$10 million PPP loan.

Its restaurants serving downtown office workers have suffered massive losses, and the company has been forced to close 16 stores and cut costs.

CEO Robert Wright said in a statement to The Post that “the [PPP] funds will go to our dedicated employees, to preserving jobs and to keeping shops open.”

The company would not say, however, how many of its 6,000 employees it has furloughed or laid off permanently, but its financial filings indicate it has made significant job cuts: Company spending on labor in the second quarter dropped by about a third, a decline of \$10 million.

Among the jobs not likely to return are those at the Potbelly store in El Paso, which closed with the arrival of the pandemic, throwing eight or nine people out of work. Many of those employees started at \$8.25 an hour and sometimes worked off the clock to keep the store open to keep costs under budget, said Uriel Sanchez, a trainer who left the restaurant before the closure.

“A lot of people, including me, did that because they like their jobs and they care about their co-workers,” he said, adding that Potbelly cared about its employees and that he hoped the company would use most of its PPP funds to keep employees. “A lot of these people have big families and this is their only source of income.”

Scant funding for ‘hurricane’

Six months after the Cares Act, however, what may be its most obvious flaw is that the virus has outdistanced the trillions of dollars in relief.

The reasons for the disease’s persistence in the United States are complicated, but there are signs that despite the historic spending so far, too little has reached some groups fighting to

suppress the virus.

Under the Trump administration’s “Opening Up America Again” plan, the critical tasks of testing and contact tracing have been left to state and local governments. What that has meant in practice is that state and local health groups — community health centers, local health departments, nonprofit groups — have mobilized to set up test sites. Local health departments have sought to undertake contact tracing.

Exactly how they would pay for those efforts was less clear.

The relief bills devoted \$13.4 billion to local public health efforts, according to the Kaiser Family Foundation. An additional \$150 billion was devoted generally to state and local governments, but public health agencies have seen just a small fraction of that. The relief bills also ordered insurance companies to pay the costs of testing for those they insure.

Neither Democrats nor Republicans think that’s been enough. A \$1.6 trillion offer Mnuchin made to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) last week included \$75 billion for testing and tracing, according to people familiar with it.

Meanwhile, other estimates say even more is necessary: Romer called for a \$100 billion testing and tracing program; a bipartisan group based at Harvard including economists and public health experts estimated in April that appropriate testing needed as much as \$300 billion over two years; a bipartisan group known as the United States of Care called for devoting \$46 billion to contact tracing alone.

Jennifer Kates, a senior vice president at the Kaiser Family Foundation, said the local agencies directly tackling the pandemic have been underfunded for years, and agrees that the money allocated to local efforts hasn’t been enough.

“The pandemic is like a hurricane,” she said. “This strong wind is blowing and we’re running around trying to patch up small holes in a wall that’s toppling over.”

The situation may be most dire at small local health departments.

At the Cooper County Public Health Center in rural Missouri, officials said they’ve been forced to refuse tests to some people, including those from outside the county or those who might feel sick but lack respiratory symptoms.

“We’ve been operating on virtually nothing,” said administrator Melanie Hutton. “It’s hard to say ‘No, you’re not from our county, we’re unable to test you.’ We can’t just take anyone.”

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Alyssa Fowers contributed to this report. Atthar Mirza and Armand Emamdjomeh contributed to the graphics.



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DOW JONES

Close

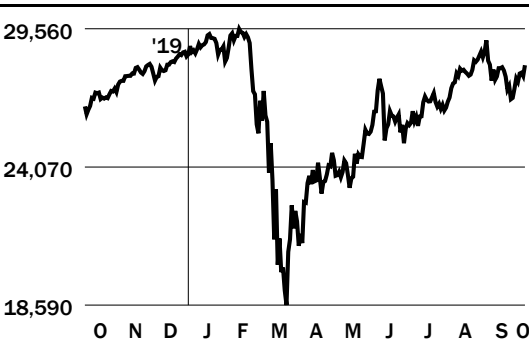
28,148.64

1D % Change

1.7%

YTD % Change

-1.4%



Dow Jones 30 Industrials

Company	Close	1D % Chg	Chg % YTD	Company	Close	1D % Chg	Chg % YTD
3M Co	162.75	1.5	-7.8	J&J	148.23	1.4	1.6
AmerExpCo	103.89	2.2	-16.4	JPMorgan	99.04	1.2	-28.9
Amgen Inc	256.01	4.3	6.2	McDonald's	226.07	1.5	14.4
Apple Inc	116.50	3.1	58.7	Merck & Co	81.24	0.5	-10.7
Boeing	171.20	1.9	-47.5	Microsoft	210.38	2.0	33.4
Caterpillr	153.49	2.4	4.2	NIKE Inc	127.91	1.0	26.4
Chevron	72.70	2.1	-39.9	Prcter & Gmbl	139.39	0.9	11.4
Cisco Sys	38.57	0.8	-19.6	salsfr.com	251.53	1.5	54.7
Coca-Cola	49.38	0.0	-10.9	Travelers Cos I	111.91	3.1	-18.3
Dow Inc	48.58	2.7	-11.0	UntdHlthGr	318.15	2.0	8.2
Gldman Schs	201.80	1.0	-12.1	Verzn Comm	59.66	0.7	-3.0
Hnywll Int	168.72	1.9	-4.7	Visa Inc	203.54	1.0	8.2
Home Depot	282.10	1.0	29.2	Walgreens	36.62	2.4	-37.9
IBM	122.01	1.2	-9.1	Walmart	141.80	0.9	19.1
Intel Corp	51.69	1.3	-13.7	Walt Disney	123.37	0.7	-14.8

COMMODITIES

Futures	Close	1D % Chg	Futures	Close	1D % Chg
Copper	2.96	-0.5	Silver	24.56	2.2
Crude Oil	39.22	5.9	Sugar	13.61	0.4
Gold	1920.10	0.7	Soybean	10.22	0.1
Natural Gas	2.62	7.3	Wheat	5.84	1.9
Orange Juice	1.14	1.8	Corn	3.80	-0.1

\$1000 invested over 1 Year

\$1000 invested over 1 Month

Exchange-Traded (Ticker)

1D % Chg

\$468

\$1335

Coffee (COFF.L)	-1.6
Copper (COPA.L)	-0.7
Corn (CORN.L)	-0.4
Cotton (COTN.L)	2.2
Crude Oil (CRUD.L)	4.5
Gasoline (UGAS.L)	7.5
Gold (BULL.L)	0.4
Natural Gas (NGAS.L)	7.8
Silver (SLVR.L)	0.5

THE MARKETS

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX

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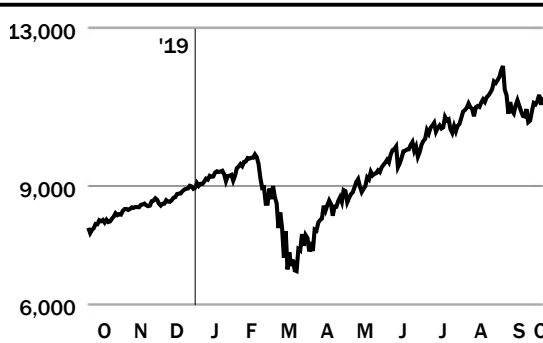
11,332.49

1D % Change

2.3%

YTD % Change

26.3%



RATES

Bank Prime	3.25%	30-Yr Fixed mtg	3.05%	1D-yr note Yield:	0.78%
Federal Funds	0.25%	15-Yr Fixed mtg	2.56%	5-yr note Yield:	0.33%
LIBOR 3-Month	0.23%	1-Yr ARM	2.96%	2-yr note Yield:	0.14%
Consumer Rates		5Yr CD Natl	0.63	6-month bill Yield:	0.10%
Money Market Natl	0.22	New Car Loan Natl	4.12		
6Mo CD Natl	0.30	Home Equity Loan Natl	4.91		
1Yr CD Natl	0.44				

Currency Exchange

EU €	Japan ¥	Britain £	Brazil R\$	Canada \$	Mexico \$
0.85	105.75	0.77	5.56	1.33	21.40

INTERNATIONAL STOCK MARKETS

Markets	Close	Daily % Chg	YTD % Chg
Americas			+17%
BRAZIL IBOVESPA INDEX	96089.20	2.2	
S&P/TSX COMPOSITE INDEX	16410.19	1.3	
S&P/BMV IPC	36740.33	0.3	
Europe		-21.3%	+21.3%
STXE 600 (EUR) Pr	365.63	0.8	
CAC 40 INDEX	4871.87	1.0	
DAX INDEX	12828.31	1.1	
FTSE 100 INDEX	5942.94	0.7	
Asia Pacific		-15.7%	+15.7%
S&P/ASX 200 INDEX	5941.58	2.6	
CSI 300 INDEX	4587.40	-0.1	
HANG SENG INDEX	23767.78	1.3	
NIKKEI 225	23312.14	1.2	

STANDARD & POOR'S

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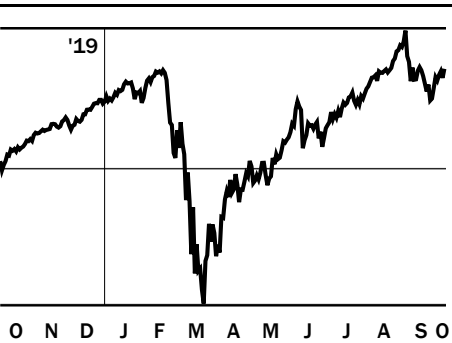
3,408.60

1D % Change

1.8%

YTD % Change

5.5%



S&P 500 Industry Group Snapshot

Industry Group	Daily % Chg	-49.3%	Chg % 1Yr	+49.3%
Auto Components	4.0			
Trading Co's & Distr	4.0			
Energy Equipment & Svcs	3.7			
Construction Materials	3.5			
Biotechnology	3.4			
Diversified Consumer Svcs	-7.3			
Gas Utilities	-0.8			
Beverages	-0.1			
Leisure Equipment & Prod	0.1			
Power Prodct & Enrgy Trdr	0.2			

Galners and Losers from the S&P 1500 Index

Company	Close	1D % Chg	Company	Close	1D % Chg
Cytokinetics Inc	28.61	19.3	Cinemark Inc	8.33	-17.4
Livent Corp	11.29	18.1	EPR Properties	25.40	-11.3
Fulgent Genetics Inc	46.98	17.5	Marcus Corp/The	7.56	-6.2
St Joe Co/The	24.34	14.5	ChathamLodgingTrust	7.42	-5.2
Gulfport Energy Corp	0.54	14.2	Chefs' Warehouse Inc	14.80	-5.1
HMS Holdings Corp	27.39	12.4	AMAG Pharmaceutical	13.08	-4.8
Rayonier Adv Matrl	3.82	11.7	Barnes & Noble Edu	2.65	-4.7
Terex Corp	24.04	11.3	Herman Miller Inc	32.29	-4.1
Comtech Telecom	15.54	11.2	ProAssurance Corp	15.22	-3.5
Fossil Group Inc	6.54	10.6	Red Robin Grmt Brgs	12.65	-3.5
Comty Health Systems	4.85	9.2	CoreCivic Inc	8.03	-3.4
Endo International	3.73	8.9	Ruth's Hospt Grp	10.71	-3.3
Hibbett Sports Inc	48.58	8.9	GEO Group Inc/The	11.31	-3.3
Lydall Inc	18.96	8.7	M/I Homes Inc	45.30	-3.2
Range Resources Corp	7.06	8.6	Penn National Gaming	70.49	-3.1
Enphase Energy Inc	98.05	8.4	EssntlPropRltyTrst	19.04	-3.1
Newpark Resources	0.87	8.4	Dunkin' Brands Group	81.92	-3.0
XPO Logistics Inc	93.48	8.4	Six Flags Ent	20.16	-2.8
SolarEdge Tech	272.59	8.4	Hersha Hospt Trust	5.56	-2.8
Veritiv Corp	14.57	8.3	DR Horton Inc	75.70	-2.8

Data and graphics by: Bloomberg

Note: Bank prime is from 10 major banks. Federal Funds rate is the market rate, which can vary from the federal target rate. LIBOR is the London Interbank Offered Rate. Consumer rates are from Bankrate. All figures as of 4:30 p.m. New York time.



The Washington Post | LIVE

a Conversation with Sen. Ted Cruz

Author of “One Vote Away: How a Single Supreme Court Seat Can Change History”

Hosted by The Post’s Robert Costa  
on Tues. Oct. 6 at 9:30 a.m. ET

To receive a live stream reminder for this event, visit: [washingtonpostlive.com](https://www.washingtonpostlive.com)

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**MORE THAN 37 MILLION  
PEOPLE IN THE U.S.,  
INCLUDING 11 MILLION  
CHILDREN, STRUGGLE  
WITH HUNGER.**

**AND AS THE COVID-19  
OUTBREAK CONTINUES,  
THEY NEED YOUR HELP  
NOW MORE THAN EVER.**

As the nation’s largest hunger relief organization, the Feeding America network of food banks is committed to serving communities, families and children facing hunger in America, wherever they are.



**You can be there for your neighbors in need by  
donating now at [FeedingAmerica.org/washpost](https://FeedingAmerica.org/washpost)**



In response to the covid-19 crisis, The Washington Post has launched a national Helping Hand campaign to help provide food for at-risk groups and medical professionals. Partners include: Feeding America, No Kid Hungry, Meals on Wheels America and World Central Kitchen.

[www.posthelpinghand.com](https://www.posthelpinghand.com)  
🐦 [@PostHelpingHand](https://twitter.com/PostHelpingHand)







# TUESDAY OPINION

DANA MILBANK  
WASHINGTON SKETCH

## We showed him compassion. He repaid us with contempt.

Americans of all political stripes wished President Trump well in his battle with covid-19. Now he is repaying our compassion with reckless disregard and callous contempt for the well-being of anybody but himself.

Trump, announcing via Twitter on Monday afternoon that he was ending his hospitalization at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center after three days, told Americans that the pandemic is no big deal. “Don’t be afraid of Covid. Don’t let it dominate your life,” he wrote. “I feel better than I did 20 years ago!” he added.

A more selfish man has never occupied his high office. He received a cutting-edge treatment, monoclonal antibodies, unavailable to virtually all other Americans. He received an antiviral, remdesivir, that is rationed for ordinary Americans. He required oxygen and steroids.

Yet Trump has the audacity to tell Americans the virus is no biggie. No doubt the families of the 209,000 dead are greatly reassured.

Trump, his doctors say, appears to be recovering. His administration, however, has had so many recurrences of old pathologies in the past four days that it looks like a terminal case.

**Recklessness.** The White House ceremony for Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett, held in violation of public health guidelines, has made the White House, Trump campaign and Senate Republican caucus look like a nursing home in the early days of the pandemic. On Monday, White House press secretary Kayleigh McEnany and various junior White House officials joined a list of the infected that includes Trump’s wife, his campaign manager, three Republican senators and several other senior Trump advisers.

**Incompetence.** Trump’s chief of staff, Mark Meadows, contradicted the president’s doctor about Trump’s prognosis. White House officials complain about a lack of direction. Meadows allies attempt Al Haig-like assertions that he’s running the government. “Where are the adults?” a former Secret Service member asked The Post after Trump jeopardized the lives of his security detail by forcing them to take him driving Sunday.

**Lies.** Trump’s White House physician destroyed his own credibility, misleading the public about the president’s health and omitting crucial information. “I was trying to reflect the upbeat attitude that the team, the president, that his course of illness has had,” he explained when caught. Trump reportedly didn’t disclose his first positive coronavirus test and told one adviser who had tested positive, “Don’t tell anyone.” Even in the hospital he has deceived the public, with staged photos showing the illusion of business as usual.

Above all, we’ve seen Trump’s arrogant disregard for others. He and his lieutenants jeopardized the health of Democratic nominee Joe Biden and others at the debate when Trump’s family and aides broke the rules and took off their masks. He put supporters in Minnesota and donors in New Jersey at risk when he knew, or had reason to suspect, that he and those around him had been exposed.

The recklessness in the White House (McEnany, when she was supposed to quarantine, instead briefed reporters without wearing a mask) has spread the virus to journalists and members of the White House housekeeping staff (who’ve reportedly been told to keep quiet).

Biden respectfully pulled his negative ads after Trump’s diagnosis, but Trump is having Vice President Pence continue holding crowded, maskless campaign events, while Trump has been firing off all-caps tweets and political attacks from his hospital bed.

And of course there was Trump’s joyride to greet supporters outside Walter Reed, endangering health-care workers and the Secret Service. “Commanded by Trump to put their lives at risk for theater,” is how one attending physician at Walter Reed put it.

Trump, who once tweeted that a doctor who went out in public after a potential Ebola exposure “is a very SELFISH man,” has set a new standard for selfishness. And his appointees abuse their positions of public trust to validate the president’s contempt for others.

Sean Conley, the White House physician, wearing his white coat with other doctors outside Walter Reed on Monday afternoon, refused to say when Trump last tested negative — vital information to the Biden campaign and many others potentially exposed. “I don’t want to go backwards,” he said.

Conley also declined to say what quarantine controls would guarantee others’ safety at the White House. He refused to provide details about Trump’s lungs — crucial details four weeks before Election Day. He dismissed any concern about the man with the nuclear codes taking a steroid medication that can increase irritability and impulsivity and induce psychosis.

As for Trump telling people not to fear covid-19, Conley said: “I’m not going to get into what the president says.” If he were looking out for the American public’s well-being and not Trump’s political well-being, he would have given a different answer.

After the past four days, it’s fair to ask: Why should we care about Trump when he obviously doesn’t care about us?

Twitter: @Milbank



TIFFANY HAGLER-GEARD/BLOOMBERG

Cuban President Miguel Díaz-Canel speaks during the U.N. General Assembly in September.

ABRAHAM JIMÉNEZ ENOA

## The Cuban regime wants to put me in jail for writing this

HAVANA

As I felt the cold metal of the handcuffs dig into my wrists and tried to adjust my body after being forced to hunch forward, I looked at my shoes and wondered how a government can be so afraid of reality that it tramples with impunity over someone willing to show the world that reality. Shortly before, three state security agents dressed as civilians had strip-searched me and made me face a wall to handcuff me, and now I was being taken in a car to their headquarters for interrogation. One of the agents had his right arm pressing over my body during part of the trip to keep my head down.

I suffered a very serious act of violence on Thursday, but what happened to me was not even the worst of the arbitrary detentions that political dissidents, activists, artists and other independent journalists frequently suffer in Cuba. It is a fact that many fundamental rights, such as freedom of expression, press and association, don’t exist in Cuba, because the regime is incapable of coexisting with people who think differently. But the Cuban government not only systematically commits flagrant violations of human rights, it also has the nerve to seek a seat on the Human Rights Council of the United Nations.

In Cuba, the only journalists authorized by the state to practice the profession are those who decide to do

so in the Communist Party media, which is the only party recognized by the state. This is what the constitution dictates. Therefore, the regime has the power to harass and repress journalists who work outside that legal umbrella, in the ecosystem of independent media.

State security is the agency tasked with making our lives difficult, the one in charge of hijacking the reality of Cuba. State security can have your mother fired from her job. State security can summon your father for questioning. State security can write slanderous messages to your pregnant partner. State security can put a neighbor in jail and then question that neighbor just because he’s your friend. State security can detain you at your own home whenever they please. State security can prohibit you from leaving the country. State security can tap your phones and cut off your Internet.

State security can do all this, which is more or less the summary of what it has done to me in recent years, but I say, once again, that I have fared better than other victims.

Now, state security doesn’t want me to write this column. They don’t want me to write what I write here. The accounts of life in Cuba that I publish every month are part of what the Cuban government wants to keep under lock to protect the progressive image that it tries to cultivate worldwide. Part of the essence of totalitarian

regimes is to silence the voices that narrate the most subversive aspects of daily life.

That’s why they stripped me, that’s why they handcuffed me, and that’s why they warned me that if I wrote one more column — meaning this one — they would take me to prison. What would be the charge? It doesn’t really matter: State security has been building legal cases against innocent people for more than six decades. If they decide to carry out their threat, they will find a crime and smear me with some interpretation of the law to criminalize my actions.

On the day of my detention, President Miguel Díaz-Canel posted on Twitter a photo of a smiling Fidel Castro, followed by the phrase: “The ridiculous pretense of imposing solutions by force is incompatible with all civilized reason and the essential principles of international law.”

It’s a coherent message, but where was the civility during my arbitrary detention? Where was the respect for international law and my rights during the hours of interrogation? It was all a despotic abuse. I urge the president of Cuba to truly comply with one of the essential principles of international law: Informing is not a crime. If I go to prison for writing this column, those words should be used to hold you accountable.

Abraham Jiménez Enoa is a Post Opinión columnist.

## The debt is huge because Trump kept his promises

BY MAYA MACGUINEAS

President Trump has, to a remarkable degree, fulfilled his 2016 campaign promises — and the country’s fiscal health is worse for it.

Every presidential election cycle, our nonpartisan organization estimates the budgetary impact of the major candidates’ proposals. In 2016, candidate Trump ran on a platform of steep tax cuts, increased defense and veterans spending, and no major changes to Social Security and Medicare. The numbers proposed were so huge that, frankly, they seemed exaggerated and improbable.

That year, when the debt was already on an unsustainable path and growing faster than the economy, we estimated that Trump’s agenda would increase deficits by \$4.6 trillion over the next decade. We also warned that, under his proposals, the debt would eclipse the size of the economy by 2025 and reach an all-time high soon after.

We came reasonably close on the policy projections. And now, because of all that borrowing, along with the additional debt-financing needed to fight the pandemic and recession, the debt numbers are alarming.

In his first three years in office, before the coronavirus pandemic, President Trump approved a whopping \$3.9 trillion in borrowing for new tax cuts and spending between 2017 and 2026. This substantially expanded the national debt during a period of strong, sustained economic growth. As far as we could ascertain, the deficit had never been as high while paired with an economy as strong as it was in 2019.

As a result, we entered this year’s health and economic crisis with a debt,

expressed as a share of gross domestic product, higher than any time in U.S. history, other than just after World War II. Adding in covid-19 relief measures, the president has enacted a total of \$6.6 trillion in new borrowing in his first term. The debt is now likely to exceed the size of the economy as soon as next year.

Setting the crisis spending aside, the president largely followed through on his campaign proposals — though with some differences.

Most significantly, he signed into law about \$2.3 trillion of individual, business and corporate tax cuts. That’s a huge number but, as a result of smaller rate reductions than initially proposed, the cost of the tax cuts was only about half of the \$4.5 trillion his 2016 campaign’s tax plan would have cost. During the campaign and leading up to the tax law’s passage, there was much hand-waving about how the tax cuts would pay for themselves. Still, revenue proved to be lower than it would have otherwise been by any meaningful metric.

Trump more or less matched his proposal to increase defense and veterans spending by \$950 billion; he signed into law two massive increases for the defense budget, along with new funding for veterans.

The president’s biggest departure from his 2016 agenda related to his campaign plan to reduce domestic discretionary spending, which would have saved \$750 billion over 10 years. Instead, he *increased* that part of the budget between 2017 and 2021, at a 10-year cost of \$700 billion. All told, every major area of the government has grown significantly under the Trump administration.

Finally, Trump has largely kept his promise not to touch Social Security

and Medicare — an unfortunate commitment because both programs face huge funding shortfalls and critical solvency challenges. According to the Congressional Budget Office, Medicare’s Hospital Insurance Trust Fund is projected to run out of reserves by 2024. Social Security’s old-age fund is projected to be insolvent by 2031, when today’s youngest retirees turn 73. Ignoring these programs is not the same as protecting them; it dooms beneficiaries to large, abrupt across-the-board benefit cuts. It is time to stop the demagoguery on this issue and acknowledge that, while we can disagree on *how* to shore these programs up, we cannot ignore that changes need to be made.

So here we are. Our debt is headed to a new record in just a couple of years and is projected to grow faster than the economy indefinitely. All major trust funds are headed toward insolvency. We are slated to spend \$3.7 trillion on interest over the next decade, enough to send every American household \$2,900 per year.

Yes, we need to borrow to address the current crisis. But we didn’t have to enter this crisis with trillion-dollar deficits, and we don’t need to continue with massive deficits afterward, either.

Whoever assumes office in January will need to put in place a credible long-term plan to reduce the debt once the economy is strong enough, and save Social Security and Medicare. But if the last election is any indication, the problem isn’t that politicians are failing to keep their promises; it’s the promises they’re keeping that we simply cannot afford.

The writer is president of the nonpartisan Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

CHARLES LANE

## Rules are for everyone, except Trump

Seldom in recent history have Americans coped with a torrent of events like the one that has just rushed over us.

Can it really be only 10 days since the White House ceremonies at which President Trump announced Judge Amy Coney Barrett’s nomination to replace Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg on the Supreme Court? Or nine days since the New York Times published details from Trump’s long-undisclosed tax returns?

The tumultuous debate between Trump and Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden happened two days after the Times article appeared, but it already feels like a lifetime ago. Then the president’s hospitalization with covid-19 seized the headlines — for the time being.

And yet there is a unifying theme to these chaotic happenings: Trump’s belief that rules, both written and unwritten, do not necessarily apply to him.

Start with that Times article about Trump’s taxes, which never would have been such a big story, at least not in 2020, if Trump had agreed to release his returns in 2016, as per an unwritten rule that other presidential candidates have obeyed for roughly 40 years.

The picture that emerged from the Times report was of a businessman who made highly aggressive, if arguably lawful, use of loopholes to avoid almost all tax in recent years, but who also made much more questionable claims: a deduction for large consulting fees paid to his daughter Ivanka, and a refund for all \$72.9 million in federal income tax he had paid for 2005 through 2008, plus interest.

Two nights after the tax story ran, Trump debated Biden, before a studio audience that included his family and aides who refused to wear face coverings, contrary to public health rules set by the Cleveland Clinic, a debate co-sponsor.

During the debate, Trump repeatedly and aggressively interrupted Biden, violating rules for the debate that he and his campaign had accepted in advance, not to mention the violation of basic decorum he committed by taking a shot at Biden’s son Hunter’s former drug addiction. Or his violation of a democratic norm by refusing to unequivocally urge his supporters to remain calm in the event of an extended count of votes after Nov. 3.

Finally, Trump tested positive for the coronavirus, as did several of his aides and Republican senators, possibly due to exposure during the Sept. 26 White House gatherings to announce Barrett’s nomination.

The day included both a seated Rose Garden event and indoor receptions for dozens of VIPs, during which the president and most of his guests did not cover their faces and did not observe social distancing, consistent with Trump’s resistance to mask-wearing and other rules that public health officials, including those of the president’s own administration, have asked Americans to follow during the pandemic.

For months, ordinary people have refrained from embracing their loved ones, out of respect for these rules, but there was plenty of hand-shaking and hugging at the White House celebration for Barrett.

Now that Trump has paid a price, by becoming ill, the Biden campaign has wisely resisted any temptation to cry “I told you so.”

Instead, Biden has suspended negative advertising and publicly wished the president well, in conformity with this basic rule of etiquette: Always express concern for the sick, even when it’s someone you oppose or, indeed, despise.

The contrast is clear, and it underscores Biden’s strongest selling point as a candidate: that, whatever else you can say about him, he is at least a normal, decent human being who would restore a sense of basic propriety to the highest office in the land.

His lead in the polls seems to confirm that voters are eager to install someone with a more settled personality in the Oval Office.

Never underestimate, though, the degree to which Trump’s supporters like him because of his rule-breaking — not despite it. That, in turn, reflects widespread sentiment that the U.S. political and economic systems are “rigged” against people like them, and in favor of urban elites. Through Trump, they fight back.

This was the well of grievance that the president tapped to eke out a win in 2016, and which he is attempting to exploit again, running as an outsider who will arrest the country’s deterioration, not as an incumbent responsible for it.

It may be much harder for Trump to pull this off in 2020, now that the risks of his rule-breaking, even to himself and his own friends and family, are apparent for all to see.

Biden would be well advised to continue modeling a decent respect for sensible rules, which, when you think about it, is the essential condition for a stable democracy.

lanec@washpost.com



# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS

## Foolhardy bravado

Covid-19 is a fearsome killer. Mr. Trump’s magical thinking will not change that.

WE WISH President Trump and the first lady speedy recovery from the coronavirus. We wish the infected White House staff speedy recovery, and the unknown number of people in this cluster who might have caught the virus over the last week or so, from Cleveland to Duluth to Westminster to the White House Rose Garden. But everyone of them — and the nation as a whole — must reject Mr. Trump’s unconscionable declaration Monday: “Don’t be afraid of Covid. Don’t let it dominate your life.” This disease is a fearsome killer, and Mr. Trump’s magical thinking will not change that.

We had hoped that perhaps once Mr. Trump tested positive, once he was on oxygen and had to be hospitalized, he would be chastened, perhaps gaining a better understanding of the fear and anger across the country at his botched handling of the pandemic. Mr. Trump shows no sign of undergoing any such epiphany. His tweet suggests that he is returning to the tactic of happy talk that has characterized his disastrous response to the pandemic all year long.

To say that people should not be afraid is to slight

the memory of the more than 1 million who have died, including 209,000 Americans. It demeans the thousands more who have endured frightening illness and, in many cases, continue to suffer persistent symptoms. It disrespects the additional thousands of nurses, doctors, cleaners and other front-line workers who have risked their own lives and health to care for the ill. Mr. Trump shows not a shred of awareness that his own abdication of duty, failing to mount an effective pandemic response, played a major role in the United States suffering the highest coronavirus death toll in the world.

Mr. Trump’s over-the-top statement that he feels 20 years younger should be read like so many of his sugary superlatives — with caution. This is especially so given the unconscionable secrecy about his condition. No one has explained why he is being treated with the steroid dexamethasone, usually reserved for the seriously ill. The White House physician, Sean Conley, refused to say Monday when Mr. Trump last tested negative, a critical timestamp that would help determine how long he has been infected. It might reveal whether Mr. Trump was spreading the virus to others at the Rose Garden

ceremony, in Cleveland at the debate, or in subsequent politicking in Minnesota and New Jersey last week, all without a face mask.

Mr. Trump has regarded face masks with foolhardy contempt, displaying the same bravado with which he summoned states to reopen, held mass rallies without social distancing or masks, and tamped down warnings of danger from government experts. In the past few days, this casual disregard for others has been on display again, including in an inexplicable joyride outside Walter Reed National Military Medical Center that put at risk those in the vehicle with him. There has been no sign of contact tracing at the White House as the contagion has spread down the corridors. This is a most callous hubris.

Dr. Conley’s evasiveness, on top of the president’s own bubbly tweet, will only feed suspicions of a coverup. We hope Mr. Trump has indeed rebounded, but he might have bouts of illness still to come. He should not risk his own health anymore, nor squander what public trust remains in his office, by further deception and denial, all of it an insult to a nation reeling.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

letters@washpost.com

#### A haunting visual aid

Regarding the Sept. 24 editorial “More could have been done”:

I am a recently retired science teacher who worked for Montgomery County Public Schools for 28 years. I always liked to use visual representations to help illustrate difficult concepts for my students. On May 28, The Post ran a feature that was called “The lives lost.” There were 48 pictures and bios of coronavirus victims on two pages.

I wondered what 100,000 would look like. I calculated it would take approximately 4,200 pages to represent that many people. The pile of newspapers grew to approximately 10 inches thick. Unfortunately, now we face a new grim milestone that doubles the thickness of the stack. I hope that stack does not double yet again.

**Randy Blair, Burtonsville**

#### Prescription price gouging’s dire cost

The insulin situation is even more dire than reported in the Oct. 1 news article “No proof of Trump’s boast on insulin cost.”

Many people with diabetes have been traveling to Canada to purchase their insulin because the prices are so much more reasonable there. But, because President Trump has mishandled the pandemic, Americans can no longer cross the border to Canada. People with diabetes, who suffer more seriously from the novel coronavirus, are struggling to control their condition — a condition that is considered preexisting and that insurance companies may no longer be required to cover if Mr. Trump has his way in the Supreme Court.

People with diabetes have nothing to cheer about.

**Emily Spitzer, Bethesda**

#### The real cause of wildfires

Contrary to President Trump’s assertion, forest management or the lack thereof has nothing to do with the cause or spread of the wildfires in the West. Rather, it is the severe dry conditions caused by sustained 100-plus-degree temperatures that seem to increase every year.

**Barry Wells Sr., Dumfries**

#### Injustice against immigrants

Regarding the Sept. 30 front-page article “Officials: ICE set to target ‘sanctuary’ jurisdictions”:

Yet again, injustices facing immigrant communities have reached a tipping point. Immigrants have been confronted with the disproportionate impacts of the pandemic, decades of over-prosecution and over-criminalization and systemic racism compounded by politically motivated, ramped-up attacks on their safety and dignity. And now, escalating enforcement by Immigration and Customs Enforcement means that more immigrants will be forced to navigate a complex legal system alone.

Unlike in criminal court proceedings, people facing deportation have no right to government-funded counsel. As a result, most defendants in immigration court — including 70 percent of people in detention — face steep odds. They’re also fighting for their lives as ICE continues to book thousands of immigrants into detention facilities with coronavirus outbreaks and deplorable health procedures. And release from detention is nearly impossible, even during this pandemic, without representation.

The devastating impacts of attacks on immigrants will outlast any federal administration. To keep communities safe and families together, local leaders should follow the lead of their peers in cities such as Philadelphia and Long Beach, Calif., and increase funding for deportation defense programs that provide a lifeline to immigrants and protect due process. They must send a message that amid heightened fear and enforcement, everyone in our communities will be protected.

**Annie Chen, New York**  
*The writer is director of the Safety and Fairness for Everyone (SAFE) Initiative at Vera Institute of Justice.*

**Regarding the Oct. 2** Politics & the Nation article “Trump cuts refugee cap to lowest ever, citing virus and asylum backlog”:

The Trump administration’s recent decision to limit the admission of refugees to the United States to only 15,000 in the next 12 months (from among the hundreds of thousands who have applied) is typical of the president’s heartless approach to immigration and of his selfish, one-dimensional view of public policy in general.

I’m a European refugee. In 1946, my mother, grandmother and I (then 4), the only members of my family to survive World War II in Poland, arrived in New York City to restart our lives. Left and lost behind us were my father, three grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins, all gone without epitaphs in the Holocaust. Refugees and immigration are deeply personal issues to me. Evidently, they’re not to our president, the son and grandson of immigrants. I’m also a veteran of Vietnam, a retired naval aviator and former aerospace industry executive. My wife of 55 years (an educator and daughter of a career Navy officer) and I have two children. Unlike our president, both served in uniform; one in the Air Force the other in the Army. One is now a member of Congress, the other a surgical nurse. Charity aside, and we should never put charity aside, the United States benefits from the presence, labor and ideas of immigrants, as we have since the very first arrivals, who launched the enterprise that improbably became the United States.

Such unconscionable restrictions on the admission of refugees as Mr. Trump proposes are not only inhuman but also unwise. November’s election gives us the voice to say no to this and to his other catastrophic policies.

**Andrew C. A. Jampoler, Washington**

✉ Letters to the editor: [letters@washpost.com](mailto:letters@washpost.com)

### CORRECTION

The Oct. 3 editorial “For school board in Montgomery and Prince George’s” misstated that there are four school board seats on the ballot in Prince George’s County. There are five.

## Don’t be deterred from voting

Local officials must protect against attempts to intimidate.

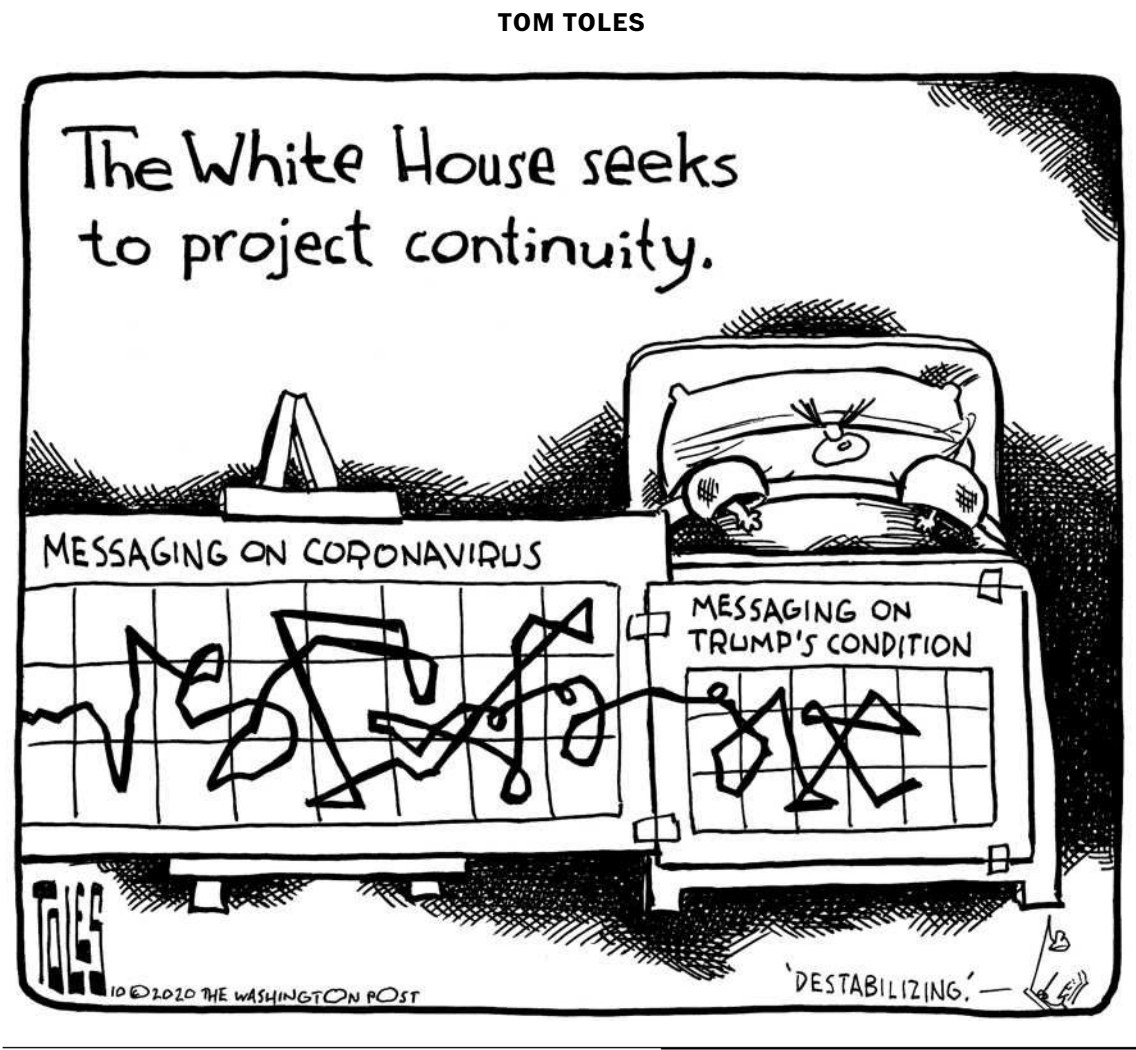
IT IS common in U.S. elections for members of political parties, candidate representatives, advocates for nonpartisan groups and others to observe the voting process. Poll watching — by people properly trained and certified — can promote transparency and help build confidence in the integrity of elections. It is clear, though, that those are not President Trump’s aims when he issues incendiary appeals to his supporters to go to the polls and “watch very carefully.”

Mr. Trump’s attempts to undermine the election and scare off voters need to be called out by officials of both parties. State and local officials must ensure that safeguards are in place to protect the rights of Americans to cast their ballots.

In the closing minutes of last week’s presidential debate, Mr. Trump called on his supporters to descend on voting places and lied about poll watchers being denied access to early voting sites in Philadelphia. It was not a new refrain. In 2016, Mr. Trump attempted to recruit “election observers” after alleging without evidence that Hillary Clinton was attempting to rig the vote, and he made a similar plea during the 2018 midterm elections.

In both cases, nothing materialized, but there may be more reason to worry this year. This will be the first presidential election since 1980 in which the Republican National Committee is not bound by a federal court consent decree restricting its poll-watching activities. The constraint was the result of a suit by Democrats that detailed how the GOP dispatched off-duty law enforcement officers as “ballot security” to New Jersey polling places that served predominantly Black and Hispanic voters.

Republican officials have said their efforts this year will consist only of legal tactics. But Mr. Trump has talked about dispatching law enforcement officers — sheriffs, U.S. attorneys and attorneys general, he told Fox News’s Sean Hannity in August — to polling places on Nov. 3, a move that some election experts say would run afoul of federal and state laws. The



party is attempting to recruit up to 50,000 poll watchers, with the president’s son Donald Trump Jr. issuing a call for “every able-bodied man and woman to join Army for Trump’s election security operation.” Such language — at a time when there have already been clashes between Mr. Trump’s supporters and critics — has fueled concerns of violence or intimidation on Election Day.

Officials and voting rights advocates also are stressing the need for voters not to allow Mr. Trump’s comments to deter them from voting. Election protection volunteers will be out in force; voter intimidation

is against the law, and officials say they are prepared to enforce the law. “It’s worth being vigilant but not fearful,” Wendy Weiser, director of the democracy program at the Brennan Center for Justice, told Politico. “The goals of voter suppression and voter intimidation are often accomplished by just sowing fear.”

Indeed, if there is to be any takeaway from the horror of the first presidential debate, it should be Mr. Biden’s full-throated exhortation to “Vote. Vote. Vote. If you’re able to vote early in your state, vote early. If you’re able to vote in person, vote in person. Vote whatever way is the best way for you.”

## A ‘miraculous’ transformation

A renovated D.C. library promises to be a hub for learning, cultural expression and civic engagement.

THIS IS historically an unloved building that people are ambivalent about. It’s never been a friendly building.” That is what D.C.’s chief librarian, Richard Reyes-Gavilan, once said about the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library. “Dirty, dark, unpleasant . . . a kind of negative space,” Dutch architect Francine Houben said after her visit to a building that had been the subject of a heated decades-long debate. Some thought the aging steel-and-glass building should be sold or turned into offices or even, at one point before it got landmark status, bulldozed.

Instead, the District undertook an ambitious modernization — and that effort has paid off with a stunning new central library that promises to be a hub for learning, cultural expression and civic engagement for residents of every part of the city.

After a 3½-year renovation, the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library has opened its doors at

9th and G Streets NW, albeit with services severely limited by safety restrictions put in place because of the coronavirus pandemic. For the moment, access is limited to the main level for quick book checkouts, returning materials, printing services, computer use and new library card applications. But the muted reopening shouldn’t detract from what the architects (Ms. Houben’s Mecanoo and OTJ Architects) and officials have accomplished. The \$211 million project was on time and on budget, and the redesign of modernist Ludwig Mies van der Rohe’s landmark building was hailed by architectural critics, including The Post’s Philip Kennicott, who called the transformation “miraculous.”

The building still has reading areas and book stacks, but the role of libraries has been reimagined — and, with it, new amenities such as an auditorium for concerts and author talks, a tool library, a dance studio, special offices for getting a passport or

having a video visit with a relative in prison, an expansive rooftop garden overlooking downtown and much more.

“When we’re able to do programming, we expect it to be a beacon of learning, fun and civic expression for District residents of all eight wards. Whether one is nearing a GED or seeking a PhD, this building will have something for them,” said Gregory McCarthy, the Washington Nationals vice president and chair of the library’s board of trustees. Officials hope that when fully functioning, the library will become a destination attraction with 1 million visitors a year.

The library’s completion caps an extraordinary 14-year period in which library officials built, modernized or funded the rejuvenation of 24 of the library’s 25 branches. “In many places that would take a generation,” said Mr. McCarthy. “It speaks to our residents’ love of libraries and our elected leaders’ dedication to fulfilling the original vision.”

### LOCAL OPINIONS

#### A lottery system would harm Thomas Jefferson High School

Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology is one of the premier high schools in the entire United States. It is now proposed that an entrance lottery be implemented for all applying students meeting minimum entrance criteria, instead of the extensive and competitive academic and testing requirements.

There are ethnic and racial issues in the current student body makeup that could be mitigated without threatening the integrity and viability of the school.

It is not unreasonable to set aside at least a few TJ slots, by source schools, for some good but disadvantaged students — at least as for initial tests or on a trial basis. Those slots could be filled by lottery, assuming the students met reasonable academic standards.

But to totally convert the entrance procedures, which the proposal seems to demand, could destroy

TJ’s standing as one of the best schools, if not the very the best, as the quality of the student body would be qualitatively diluted. At the very least, it would add some doubt about TJ diplomas. Kids who have been taking extra courses and studied for years to bolster their chances of acceptance at TJ will have their hopes smashed instantaneously under the new proposal.

TJ graduates can likely get into any college or university in the United States. Going to full lottery for all students could destroy that. Apparently, simply maintaining current minimum entrance requirements and winning the lottery with no additional credit toward acceptance for exceeding those requirements would inevitably dilute the overall quality of the student body. Lowering competitive entrance standards can have far-reaching effects. Let’s not let a TJ diploma fall in value and respect.

**John Chapman, Springfield**

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# Abortion may be on the agenda sooner than you think

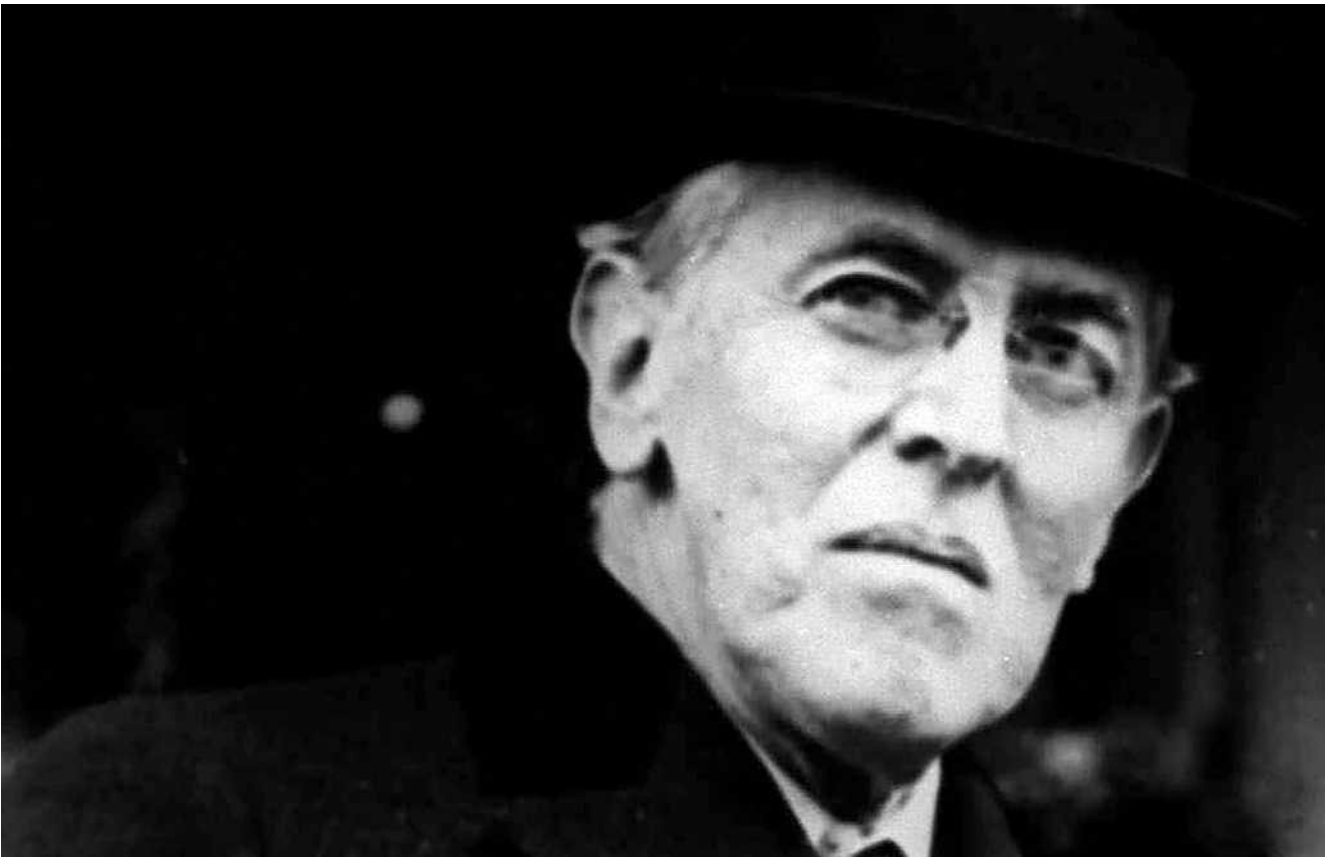
BY RACHEL REBOUCHÉ

A newly configured Supreme Court featuring a Justice Amy Coney Barrett need not overturn *Roe v. Wade* to gut abortion rights. The court stands poised to permit states and the federal government unfettered discretion to restrict abortion on the thinnest of justifications. The most immediate example is before the court now and could have repercussions for policies aimed at curbing the covid-19 pandemic. Since approving medication abortion 20 years ago, the Food and Drug Administration has required in-person delivery of the first drug, mifepristone, which precipitates a nonsurgical abortion. In July, the federal district court in Maryland suspended the in-person requirement during the pandemic, ruling that the FDA's restriction was unnecessary, given the safety and efficacy of medication abortion, and that it endangered patients who should otherwise minimize contact with providers. As long as the lower court's decision stands, abortion providers may counsel patients over the phone or online and then mail them mifepristone through a supervised delivery service. Being able to administer your own abortion, under the remote guidance of a physician, is not only in step with the expansion of telemedicine generally, but also reduces the costs of travel, taking time off work or finding child care for patients who otherwise would spend their scarce resources navigating a cumbersome and pointless policy. The district court held that the in-person requirement unduly burdens those most vulnerable to the harsher effects of the pandemic — people who work essential jobs or are unemployed, have lost health insurance, live in multi-generational homes or lack access to transportation. Numerous studies make clear that low-income people (who make up three-quarters of the nation's abortion patients) and people of color are more likely to become ill, to have inadequate resources to respond to illness, and to have worse health outcomes as a result of deep health inequalities in our country.

*Over the past year, some states have shown that they prioritize politics over the public's health.*

A few weeks ago, the Trump administration and several states, which are not party to the lawsuit but joined as amici, asked the Supreme Court to step in and issue an emergency stay of the order. The brief submitted by the states, all of which have numerous abortion restrictions on their books, argues that in-person dispensation and counseling impose no burdens and no risks for patients. States such as Texas, which effectively outlawed abortion in the spring under the guise of protecting people from covid-19, now claim that the pandemic poses no threat for people needing medical care. That Barrett could join the court and reinstate FDA policy is not a question of the future of *Roe*; the court, at any time now, could upend abortion access for thousands of people burdened by the FDA's requirement and hit hardest by covid-19. If the court sides with the Trump administration, it will send the clear message that the court is prepared to give states wide discretion to enact laws that have no health benefits and are contrary to clear clinical evidence. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., even when voting to strike down an abortion restriction in a recent abortion case, wrote an opinion that further opened the door to such deference. It might not matter to the court that FDA restrictions are untethered to patient safety and produce no health benefit for patients. Broad deference to legislators not only will further erode abortion rights, but also has significant implications for states' responses to the pandemic. Lawmakers should enact policies that take up, rather than contradict, sound scientific and medical evidence. Yet over the past year, some states have shown that they prioritize politics over the public's health. For instance, the same states supporting the FDA's in-person requirement are currently expanding telemedicine across various health-care sectors, but carving out exceptions for abortion. While an array of physicians develop capacity to deliver care remotely, those who provide abortions will be prohibited from adopting the public health advice issued by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and the FDA itself. Telemedicine, of course, is not a perfect solution to problems posed by covid-19. Telemedicine may not lower the cost of abortion services and will not lift bans on state funding for abortion. But it can reorient the health-care system to respond to people's everyday needs and fill gaps in our health-care infrastructure. We can only hope that the Supreme Court does not stand in the way of the health care so many people need.

Rachel Rebouché is a law professor at Temple University.



Former president Woodrow Wilson in 1924, shortly before his death.

# History tells us what a virus can do to a president

BY JOHN M. BARRY

Once before, a president has been infected by a pandemic virus, and the precedent is both similar and concerning. In March 1919, the Journal of the American Medical Association reported that in Paris “the epidemic of influenza which had declined has broken out anew in a most disquieting manner.” President Woodrow Wilson was there then negotiating the peace treaty to end World War I. Several members of the American delegation got influenza, and, like covid-19, influenza can be transmitted before symptoms appear. On Thursday, April 3, Wilson suddenly fell ill. White House physician Cary Grayson noted he was seized by “violent paroxysms of coughing, which were so severe and frequent that it interfered with his breathing,” followed by such other symptoms as high fever. Grayson tried to keep the illness secret, but word leaked out that Wilson was sick, and Grayson lied, insisting Wilson simply had a bad cold. Afraid of another leak, Grayson wrote a note to be hand-delivered to Wilson's chief of staff that said, “That night was one of the worst through which I have ever passed. I was able to control the spasms of coughing but his condition looked very serious.” Today, as coronavirus cases are beginning to surge again, President Trump has been infected and we have a White House less than forthright about his condition. In fairness, other administrations have also hidden the truth about a president's health, but more concerning than lack of candor are the potential effects of the virus. Like the 1918 virus, SARS-CoV-2 impacts virtually every organ in the body, including the brain. Most worrisome are cardiovascular and neurological impacts. For covid-19, cardiovascular complications including stroke are so common that some experts consider this, and not

the lungs, the primary problem. And according to a study in Annals of Neurology, 25 percent of patients have some neurological dysfunction, and 7 percent have “impaired consciousness.” Another study in Clinical Neurology and Neurosurgery found 36.4 percent of patients to have neurological symptoms. In 1918, it was much the same. Autopsies found the heart muscle itself often “relaxed and flabby, offering a strong contrast to the firm, contracted left ventricle nearly always present in post-mortem in bodies of patients dying from lobar pneumonia.” And the single most comprehensive study of the 1918 pandemic concluded — a conclusion shared by every study — “The effect of the influenza virus on the nervous system is hardly second to its effect on the respiratory tract. . . . From the delirium accompanying many acute attacks to the psychoses that develop as ‘post-influenza’ manifestations, there is no doubt that the neuropsychiatric effects of influenza are profound.” For Wilson, and the world, the effects were indeed profound. He became paranoid, convinced he was being spied on. Said one aide, “Something queer was happening in his mind. One thing was certain: he was never the same after this.” Another worried that “he could not remember without an effort what” had happened just a few hours earlier. Herbert Hoover believed Wilson's mind lost “resiliency” and its ability to reason clearly “in coming to conclusions.” Nonetheless, after five days in bed and too ill to go out, Wilson insisted on rejoining the peace negotiations. British and French Prime Ministers David Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau — whose nickname was “the Tiger” — came to his room. They too found a different man. Lloyd George commented on Wilson's “nervous and spiritual breakdown in the middle of the Conference.”

Nothing in Wilson's prior history suggests he would compromise on any principle, and before his illness, he had insisted upon “peace without victory” and supporting self-determination around the world. But over the next few days, he gave way on almost every point to Clemenceau and agreed to a peace deal that punished Germany and preserved other nations' imperial ambitions. John Maynard Keynes called Wilson “the greatest fraud on earth.” A Wilson aide resigned in a blistering letter, saying, “Our government has consented now to deliver the suffering peoples of the world to new oppressions, subjections, and dismemberments — a new century of war.” He was right. Historians agree that the treaty contributed significantly to the rise of Adolf Hitler and the start of World War II. A few months later, Wilson's influenza attack very likely contributed to his debilitating stroke. Today, the case mortality for a 65- to 74-year-old man — Trump is 74 — is 3.1 percent and somewhat higher for those who required oxygen, as he did, so the odds of recovery are strongly in his favor, especially given his immediate treatment with remdesivir and experimental monoclonal antibodies, and now dexamethasone. But recovery may leave him not only fatigued for an extended time but also with an increased chance of stroke or neurological impacts. In 1918, Grayson lied. Now, more than ever, White House doctors must tell the truth. Their first efforts only sowed confusion. Only complete transparency concerning Trump's health can cure this problem.

John M. Barry is the author of “The Great Influenza: The Story of the Deadliest Pandemic in History” and is a professor at the Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine.

EUGENE ROBINSON

# To Trump and the GOP: Get better. Then get out.

We should all hope that President Trump, first lady Melania Trump and the others in the White House cluster of covid-19 infections quickly recover. No one deserves to contract a deadly disease. But the Republican Party has earned a humiliating, debilitating fate in the upcoming elections. Following Trump's example, Republicans have been stunningly irresponsible about the raging pandemic that has sickened almost 7.5 million Americans and killed 210,000 of us. We must never forget that if the nation had mounted a serious, consistent and effective response to the novel coronavirus — as other wealthy countries did — many of those lives could have been saved. We could be returning to something like normal. Instead, here we are: The president contracted the disease, had to be admitted to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center and has been given experimental treatments generally reserved for the most serious covid-19 cases. Trump's campaign manager has tested positive for the virus. At least four of the president's closest advisers have tested positive, including his press secretary. Three Republican senators have tested positive. The chair of the Republican National Committee has tested positive. We may not know the extent of this outbreak for days or even weeks. Some of the Republicans who have been diagnosed in recent days attended a White House event for Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett or met with Trump to help him prepare for last week's debate. Hundreds of people who have been physically near Trump in recent days, includ-

ing campaign donors at a New Jersey fundraiser on Thursday, are scrambling to get tested and anxiously awaiting the results. The nation should wish all these new covid-19 patients well — and then should vote by a landslide to give control of the White House and Congress to Joe Biden and the Democrats, who pledge to implement sound, science-based measures to try to finally bring the pandemic under control. During his weekend in the hospital, Trump continued to model all the wrong behaviors. His joyride on Sunday to wave to supporters needlessly put the Secret Service agents protecting him in jeopardy — and made clear that even as his own immune system battles covid-19, Trump is prioritizing his image over his health. This is nothing new. From the beginning, Trump has acted as if he believed the pandemic could be willed away. Republican officials unwisely went along with his demands that businesses and schools reopen prematurely, despite infection rates that experts said were far too high. Now Trump himself is ill, and the nation faces a potential second wave of the virus, coinciding with flu season, that could be worse than the first. This is no moment for schadenfreude. It is, however, a time for consequences. On a human level, we have to wish every covid-19 victim a speedy and complete recovery, including the president who claimed that “virtually nobody” was affected by the virus. The fact that covid-19 was able to reach the most powerful man in the country, penetrating all of his layers of security and defying a White House regimen of daily testing, shows how vulner-

able all of us remain to this awful scourge. Still, surrender and wishful thinking weren't our only options. The virus may not succumb to spin, but it can be slowed by the sorts of common-sense health practices the president has transformed into signifiers of Republican tribal identity. At the first debate, Trump tried to mock Biden for wearing “the biggest mask I've ever seen,” even though those masks are one of the more effective weapons we have to fight infection. He promoted quack remedies and predicted that the virus would magically disappear. Republican officials went along with his nonsense — even as their constituents fell ill and died. There are just four weeks left before Election Day. Millions of voters have already cast or mailed their ballots. And what the nation decides on Nov. 3 will also chart our course in fighting covid-19. There are many reasons, in my view, to elect Biden and give control of the Senate to the Democratic Party. One of the most important — and most urgent — is the shamefully inadequate and shockingly callous GOP performance on the pandemic. Lives literally depend on who wins this election. From the confusing and contradictory reports issued by Trump's doctors, we don't really know how ill the president is. I sincerely hope his case is mild and his recovery is swift. I want Trump and all the Republicans in his orbit who have fallen ill to regain their health — in plenty of time for Biden and the Democrats to hand them a crushing defeat at the polls. It may be the only cure for the party, and for the country.

Twitter: @Eugene\_Robinson

MICHAEL GERSON

# Flaws of character, revealed

Following his covid-19 diagnosis, President Trump enjoyed about 10 minutes of appropriate, bipartisan sympathy before his subterfuge, selfishness and strangeness kicked in to sweep it all aside. The details of his illness were quickly placed under the protection of a bodyguard of incompetent, conflicting liars. Trump's actual bodyguards — the Secret Service — were subjected to heightened risk in the course of a mobile publicity stunt. And instead of accepting well-wishes like a normal convalescent, Trump wove a narrative of personal heroism. He “had no choice” but to subject himself to the risk of infection. “This is the most powerful country in the world,” he explained. “I can't be locked up in a room upstairs, totally safe.” There was, of course, an unmentioned alternative: conducting presidential business while practicing basic pandemic precautions, instead of dismissing and mocking them. But admitting this would involve the kind of critical self-reflection that Trump avoids like the plague. Actually, more than the plague. In spite of all this, let's stick with sympathy for a moment. Enjoying someone else's sickness is a sickness itself. While some behaviors invite illness, no human being deserves to be ill. Such judgmentalism could be turned easily against most of us in an hour of need. This is a difficult time for the president — a time combining the plagues of Egypt and the trials of Job. In less than two weeks, Trump has seen his embarrassing tax records leaked and plastered on every front page. His performance in the first presidential debate was almost universally panned. He was infected by a virus that he fervently hoped to wish away. And these problems have intersected and culminated on the eve of the election that will determine whether Trump is a force of history or a one-term footnote. Does Trump deserve his tribulations? That is more a theological than a political question. What we can say is that these challenges did not arrive randomly. They were created or deepened by failures of presidential character. And noting this is necessary for an informed electorate. The tax records were damaging to Trump because they revealed that his whole public identity is based on a carefully cultivated deception. He is not the successful, no-nonsense billionaire he played on NBC. He is, instead, a highly indebted, failing businessman who uses the presidency to steer business and attention toward properties in need of a cash infusion. When Trump ran for president, he concealed his financial records to maintain his myth. When the myth became president, he proved to be one of the worst managers in presidential history. Trump's successful deception — a failure of character — has been damaging to the country. The presidential debate hurt Trump because it revealed his volatility and ruthlessness. Every viewer saw the reality: Trump unfiltered is Trump unhinged. He obviously found it difficult to modulate his aggression, which seems more like compulsion. When Trump decorates our public life with vengeance and cruelty, it is not the reflection of a strategy; it appears to be the result of powerful, uncontrolled impulses. Trump's advocates may regard this as a sign of strength, but strong people are not servants to their urges. This weakness of presidential character is destroying the possibility of reasoned discourse at the highest levels of our politics. The pandemic is damaging to Trump because it has revealed his irresponsibility. He has been reckless with his own life and the lives of others. His approach to some public health matters has been determined not by deference to experts but by toxic masculinity, including a belief that masks are for sissies. His medical advice on Monday — “Don't be afraid of Covid” — will almost certainly leave some of his fellow citizens sick or dead. Trump embraced the early reopening of states with populist zeal but without any root in the science of pandemics. And the current burden of disease is generating shocking casualties among the vulnerable and elderly that the president seems to find acceptable, or at least unavoidable. Now it has come to him. We should hope that the president and first lady recover swiftly and completely. We should also hope that the experience of this disease awakens the president's sleeping empathy and stirs some executive leadership in the place of denial. There is a Shakespearean quality to Trump's travails. It is not primarily external, unpredictable events that have left him so exposed. It is his own character flaws — his deceptiveness, his ruthlessness, his irresponsibility — that are determining his political fate. Trump has spent a lifetime successfully fleeing accountability. At some point, you can't outrun yourself. michaelgerson@washpost.com





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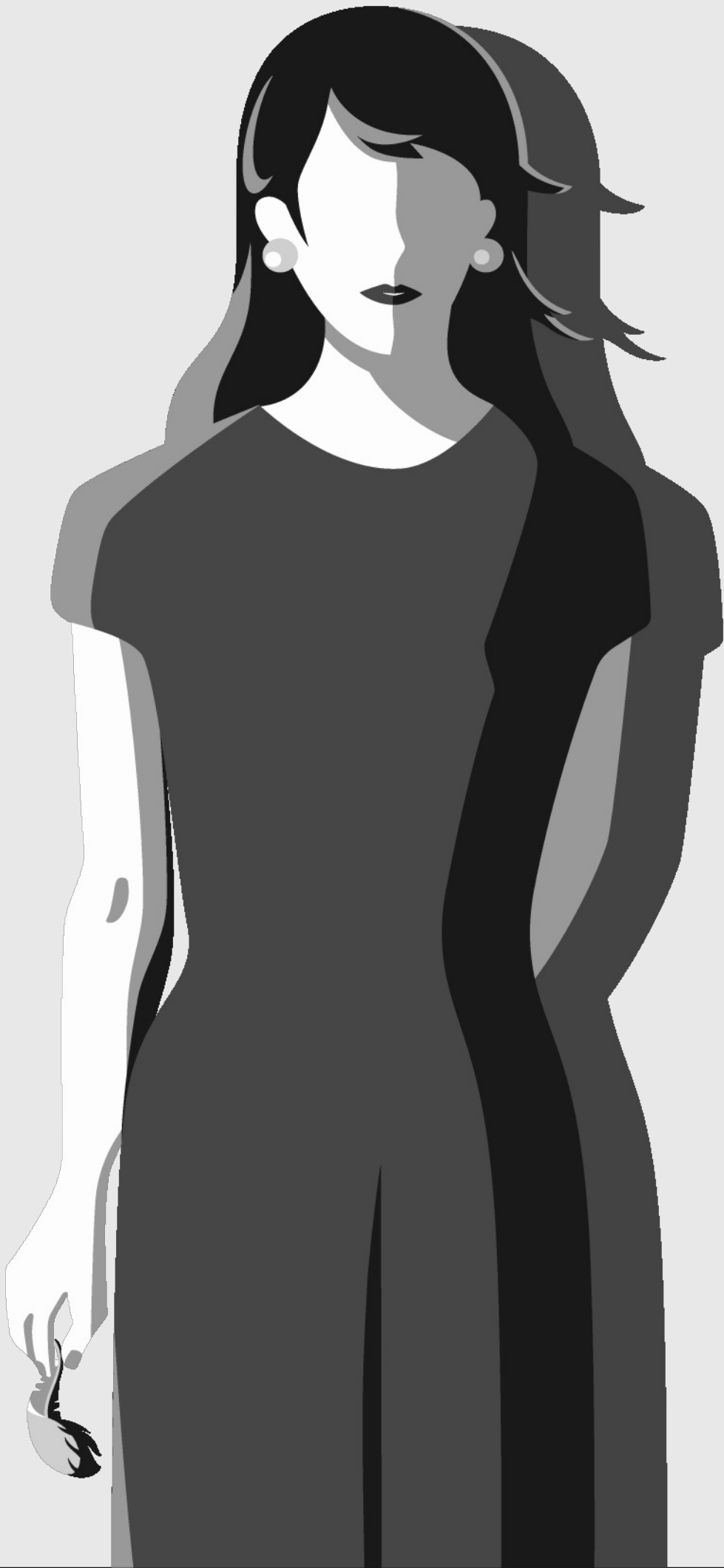
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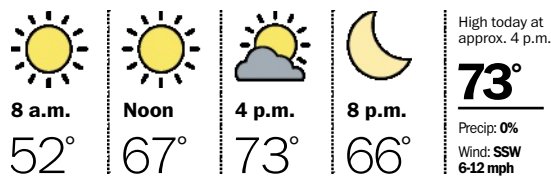
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**JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON**

Readers share more of the sounds that bring them joy, including a rooster's crow. **B3**



**THE DISTRICT**

Police are investigating a homicide at a gas station and the shooting of an Uber driver hours earlier. **B4**



**OBITUARIES**

Florence Howe nurtured the field of women's studies as a founder of the Feminist Press. **B6**

## A planned return to in-class learning

D.C. officials say select students may go back to schools in November

BY PERRY STEIN

The District plans to allow about 7,000 preschool and elementary school students who are homeless, learning English as a second language, or have special education needs to return to physical classrooms starting Nov. 9, Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) and D.C. Public Schools Chancellor Lewis D. Ferebee announced Monday.

Other students in these grade levels who want to return to school will be able to continue virtual learning in classrooms under the supervision of nonteaching staff. The chancellor referred to these as CARE classrooms.

In all, the city says it will be able to accommodate 21,000 preschool and elementary school students — 75 percent of all students in these grade levels — though the majority of these students will be taught remotely while in school classrooms and will not receive in-person instruction.

Middle and high school students will continue with virtual learning from home and probably

will not be allowed to return to classrooms until the third quarter of the academic year, which begins in February.

"Learning from home is not working for every student," Ferebee said Monday at a news conference with the mayor. "And we particularly know that it has been challenging for our youngest learners."

The Washington Teachers' Union has said it does not think school buildings are safe for teachers to return to classrooms in November. Refusals to teach in person could limit the number of slots for in-person instruction.

Every elementary school, Fere-

SEE SCHOOLS ON B2

## White House pressed on virus safety

Bowser, Elrich urge adherence by officials to coronavirus protocols

BY FENIT NIRAPPIL, RACHEL CHASON AND DANA HEDGPETH

Elected leaders in the Washington region are urging the White House to follow pandemic safety protocols to slow the coronavirus's spread, even as they said the Trump administration hasn't consulted with them over the growing outbreak.

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) said her administration has offered help to the White House but otherwise has had little contact with federal leaders. In Montgomery County, where President Trump was recovering for three nights after contracting the virus, the top elected official urged the president to act responsibly.

The Rose Garden event on Sept. 26 that is at the center of the outbreak came as the District's seven-day rolling average of new infections had trended downward for weeks. The city this month has recorded its lowest caseload numbers since early July, averaging fewer than 40 daily cases with an

SEE REGION ON B2

### New cases in region

Through 5 p.m. Monday, 1,216 new coronavirus cases were reported in the District, Maryland and Virginia, bringing the total number of cases to 295,895.

D.C.	MD.	VA.
<b>+28</b>	<b>+501</b>	<b>+687</b>
15,547	127,791	152,557

### Coronavirus-related deaths

As of 5 p.m. Monday:

D.C.	MD.*	VA.
<b>+0</b>	<b>+3</b>	<b>+3</b>
631	3,961	3,276

\* Includes probable covid-19 deaths

## IT'S A BOY!



SMITHSONIAN'S NATIONAL ZOO

The National Zoo's 6-week-old giant panda cub is a male, zoo officials announced Monday. A DNA analysis determined the sex of the cub, which is pictured on Sept. 19 during his first veterinary exam. **Story, B8**

## Politicians' charitable accounts go unused

NO DONATIONS FROM BOWSER, MENDELSON

Critics say D.C. residents need more pandemic aid

BY FENIT NIRAPPIL

D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser and Council Chairman Phil Mendelson have not made a single donation this year from the special charitable funds they control, records show, even as the coronavirus pandemic has left thousands of city residents jobless and businesses scrambling to stay afloat.

Bowser (D) has \$219,000 in her constituent services fund, while Mendelson (D) has nearly \$136,000, mostly from leftover campaign money. Six other council members have accumulated a total of \$39,000, according to a review of their financial reports filed last week, but spent only \$7,000 since the virus arrived in the region in March.

Bowser aides said she normally uses her fund for one-time grants to groups and doesn't have enough money to meet the needs of nonprofits during a pandemic. Some lawmakers said they have received fewer requests for donations than usual, perhaps because community events have been curtailed and a city-imposed moratorium on evictions and utility shut-offs has reduced the urgency of paying bills.

But government watchdogs — who have long criticized the constituent service program because it allows individuals and special-interest groups to give money to politicians outside campaign season — say that there is no shortage of organizations and residents in need of financial assistance and that elected officials should be more proactive.

"People are in need of help more than they've probably ever been since the Great Recession hit," said Mike Tanglis of Public Citizen, a government watchdog group that has criticized the existence of the constituent service funds. "The arguments in the past — that these are unbelievably crucial funds that we wouldn't be

SEE FUNDS ON B2

## Trump put staff at risk even before diagnosis



Petula Dvorak

They don't care whether their bosses are Republicans or Democrats, Midwesterners or coastal elites, veterans or draft dodgers.

The Washington workers deep inside the White House who keep America's first family safe and comfortable, fancy and fed, work equally hard throughout the churn of



ANTHONY PELTIER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Trump waves as he drives past supporters outside Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda on Sunday.

administrations, 24 hours a day, seven days a week, year after year.

Beloved in Washington, they often stay in their jobs for

decades. Some families even have multiple generations who work in the White House. They are loyal, caring and discreet

SEE DVORAK ON B4

## Virginia state trooper not charged in 2019 stop

Officer threatened Black driver before pulling him from vehicle

BY JUSTIN JOUVENAL

A White trooper with the Virginia State Police has been cleared of criminal wrongdoing in a controversial traffic stop during which he can be heard on video telling a Black driver "you are going to get your a-- whooped," before forcefully removing the man from his car.

Fairfax County Commonwealth's Attorney Steve T. Descano

said that Trooper Charles Hewitt's conduct was reprehensible but that the stop of Derrick Thompson, Hewitt's request for Thompson to leave his vehicle and the amount of force used on Thompson were legal.

Video of the April 2019 incident on Interstate 495 in Fairfax County was shared widely on social media and gained national media attention. Thompson filmed the encounter with his cellphone.

"Although we can all agree that this officer's demeanor does not conform to what our community would hope to see from law enforcement officers, our review is limited to issues of criminal liability," Descano's office said in a

SEE TROOPER ON B4

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# Local leaders urge White House officials to abide by public health regulations

REGION FROM B1

infection rate lower than that of most states.

During a Monday news conference, Bowser said city leaders “have reached out to the White House on a couple of levels, a political level and a public health level, to make sure that any assistance we could provide could be rendered.”

She suggested that White House officials abide by local public health regulations, including avoiding large gatherings and self-quarantining while waiting for the results of a coronavirus test. The mayor said her administration would not comment on individual cases in the city linked to the White House outbreak.

“Obviously we are concerned about the spread of covid-19, period, but we are especially concerned with people following scientifically justified protocols to contain the spread of the virus. And that’s for D.C. residents, that’s for D.C. workers, and that’s also for people who are on federal property, including the White House,” Bowser said.

The city government’s ban on gatherings of more than 50 people does not apply to federal property

such as the White House, which hosted more than 150 attendees at the Sept. 26 event where Trump introduced Supreme Court nominee Judge Amy Coney Barrett. The White House is conducting its own contact tracing efforts.

LaQuandra Nesbitt, the District’s top public health official, cautioned Monday that a negative coronavirus test result does not excuse a person exposed to the virus from self-quarantining.

“You cannot test your way out of quarantine,” she said.

The outbreak linked to the White House expanded Monday, as press secretary Kayleigh McEnany said in a statement that she has tested positive for the virus.

The number of D.C. residents seeking free coronavirus tests at the city’s public testing sites rose Monday against the backdrop of the burgeoning outbreak, according to city health data.

About 440 people sought tests at an Anacostia site that normally tests about 300 daily, and about 575 tests were conducted at the Judiciary Square location on F Street NW, compared with the usual 400.

In Maryland, Montgomery

County Executive Marc Elrich (D) was critical of Trump’s weekend drive outside Bethesda’s Walter Reed National Military Medical Center, where the president was treated for the coronavirus before his return to the White House on Monday evening. On Sunday, Trump waved from the back of his vehicle after announcing he would “pay a little surprise to some of the great patriots that we have out on the street.”

In a Twitter message directed at the president, Elrich wrote: “We take COVID-19 seriously in @MontgomeryCoMD. We ask our residents to act responsibly with family & friends and we expect the same from our guests. Please think about those caring for you and stay in the hospital until you can return to the White House.”

Prince George’s County, the Maryland jurisdiction with the highest number of coronavirus cases since the start of the pandemic, released a set of task force recommendations Monday for how to emerge stronger from the pandemic.

County Executive Angela D. Alsobrooks (D), who created the task force in the summer, accepted the vast majority of the recommenda-

tions, which cover the county’s health system, the economy, education, social services and government operations. The changes are scheduled to be implemented before Jan. 1.

“We are living in the milieu of what is truly a triple pandemic,” said Joseph Wright, chief medical officer of University of Maryland Capital Region Health, which oversees Prince George’s Hospital Center in Cheverly, referring to the coronavirus, economic recession and racism.

Wright, who headed the task force’s health recovery subcommittee, said the effects of the coronavirus on the health of residents in the majority-Black county combined with the economic recession have made clear the “underlying structural and systemic inequities that lead to the disparities we all know so well.”

His group’s recommendations include highlighting funding gaps in the county Health Department, which a recent study by the Rand Corp. found was underfunded compared with those of neighboring counties; requiring groups that receive county funding through the departments of health, social services and family services to col-

lect specific data to address diversity; and requiring a streamlined procedure for acquiring personal protective equipment.

Among the economic recommendations were fast-tracking projects near completion to show the county is “open for business” and helping small and minority-owned businesses apply for financial relief. The government operations team recommended transitioning from hard copies of documents to digital; the social services team recommended a mask distribution program and a public service announcement alerting renters about their rights; and the education team urged that public school students receive an iPad or laptop.

The work group will release two more reports with long-term goals and recommendations.

The greater Washington region on Monday recorded 1,216 new infections and six additional virus-related fatalities. Virginia had 687 new cases and three deaths, Maryland had 501 new cases and three deaths, and the District had 28 new cases and no deaths.

The seven-day rolling average

of new coronavirus infections across Virginia, Maryland and D.C. has ticked upward over the past week, standing at 1,451 cases Monday. That’s up from 1,293 one week ago.

The number of daily deaths in the region on Monday was the lowest since Sept. 13 and well below the seven-day rolling average of 19.

The District announced changes Monday to its list of states from which visitors are required to self-quarantine for 14 days, adding New Mexico and removing Arizona.

An order from Bowser identifies “high-risk” states as those with a seven-day moving average of new daily coronavirus cases at 10 or more per 100,000 people. The city requires anyone in the nation’s capital for nonessential activities from those states to self-quarantine.

The list, which exempts Maryland and Virginia, is updated every other Monday.

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David Nakamura contributed to this report.

# Little use of officials’ charitable funds

FUNDS FROM B1

able to survive without — don’t hold water anymore.”

D.C. politicians are allowed to operate constituent service accounts, funded by private donors and leftover campaign cash, for expenses such as burial assistance, utility bills and grants to nonprofits. But the rules on governing spending are not strict, enabling elected officials also to spend the money on expenses such as T-shirts bearing their names.

An investigation by Public Citizen concluded that the vast majority of spending between 2012 and 2018 did not benefit “immediate constituent needs.” But regulators have deemed only two expenses inappropriate in recent years: a \$500 donation in 2018 by council member Trayon White Sr. (D-Ward 8) to a controversial Nation of Islam summit in Chicago, and the use by then-council member Yvette M. Alexander (D-Ward 7) of constituent funds to pay for campaign robocalls in 2008.

Six council members do not maintain constituent service funds, citing the concerns from watchdog groups. They are Robert C. White Jr. (D-At Large), Elissa Silverman (I-At Large), David Grosso (I-At Large), Brianne K. Nadeau (D-Ward 1), Brooke Pinto (D-Ward 2) and Charles Allen (D-Ward 6).

Other politicians often send their leftover campaign money to their constituent service accounts, which is why the mayor and council chairman have so much money available. Bowser transferred \$200,000 from her 2019 inauguration fund, which was financed by private donations, and Mendelson shifted \$133,000 from his 2018 reelection campaign.

Since taking office in 2015, Bowser has used her fund to distribute more than \$100,000 to civic and community groups, such as the Woodland Tigers youth football team and the Anacostia Coordinating Council. But the report filed Friday lists no disbursements in 2020 except for bank fees.

Thorn Pozen, a lobbyist who chairs the mayor’s constituent services program, declined to comment on the spending. The mayor’s communications office said in a statement that the fund is normally used to help with “one-time needs” such as field trips and uniforms.

“Obviously in 2020, the needs of most local nonprofits are much greater than what this fund can support,” the statement says. “Therefore, the District has focused on finding much more substantial relief funds, such as the \$4 million that was provided to 77 nonprofit organizations through the DC HOPE Grants.”

At a Monday news conference, Bowser said she and the staff managing her constituent fund are responding to requests for financial help “through our regular budgeting process and the covid emergency budgeting proc-



ALEX BRANDON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**D.C. Mayor Muriel E. Bowser has not made a donation from her constituent services fund, which holds \$219,000. Aides say she doesn’t have enough money to meet nonprofits’ needs during a pandemic.**

ess.”

Mendelson has been one of the biggest spenders of constituent services funds — disbursing \$150,000 for power bills, Christmas toy drives, neighborhood groups and more since 2013. He also spent \$7,000 on holiday greeting cards and \$500 on council T-shirts.

The council chairman said that he has written several checks to constituents this year that have not yet cleared and that he eventually will report several thousand dollars’ worth of expenditures. But he also said that he has fielded fewer requests for help this year and that he did not think it was appropriate for him to proactively offer up the money to individuals or groups that may be hurting.

“I don’t just go out and wave the checkbook and say, ‘Hey, everyone, I’m writing checks, you want a check?’” he said.

Mendelson said residents should feel comfortable calling his office for assistance as bills pile up, even if they don’t face an immediate eviction or utility shut-off. “I’m here to help if somebody needs help,” he said.

One politician did distribute significant funding to groups hit hard by the pandemic: former Ward 2 council member Jack Evans (D), who resigned amid an ethics scandal in January and lost a comeback bid in June.

Evans was criticized in past years for using constituent money to buy tickets to sporting events, pay annual dues for organizations and cover a personal parking ticket in Arlington. This year, he donated the \$119,000 remaining in his account to a broad range of nonprofit and local organizations. Most of the money went to local arts institutions, including \$20,000 each to Woolly Mammoth Theatre and Ford’s Theatre.

“During these difficult times in the pandemic, arts organizations are really struggling and so I wanted to make sure we were able to give generously to many of the arts organizations that I’ve supported over the years,” Evans said.

Council member Anita Bonds (D-At Large) has spent the most of any sitting elected official since the pandemic started: \$3,300, including \$2,000 to support a rent relief program for residents living east of the Anacostia River.

Bonds said she originally intended to spread out disbursements of her remaining \$14,000 through the end of her term in 2022. But she said she has been hearing stories of children in need during the pandemic and now is considering raising money for the fund so she can send more to charities.

“If I were to get that kind of money, you can be rest assured we would be helping these kids, these families that are suffering,” she said.

Council member Mary M. Cheh (D-Ward 3) has the second biggest fund among rank-and-file lawmakers, with about \$12,000 in her account. She spent about \$1,500 this year, including payments for two water bills and cupcakes for a 9/11 memorial event.

She said the reason she hasn’t spent more is simple: Few in her wealthy ward are asking for help. “If I get some requests for use of the funds, then I will act on it,” Cheh said. “But I’m not just looking around for any reason to spend money.”

Council member Vincent C. Gray (D-Ward 7), who represents a higher-poverty part of the city, listed \$250 in burial assistance as this year’s sole disbursement from his fund, which had \$7,600 in it as of Oct. 1.

His chief of staff, Sheila Bunn,

said constituents usually come for help when they receive an eviction or utility shut-off notice — which isn’t allowed during the public health emergency. Others in dire financial situations need far more than the fund can provide, Bunn said, so the office refers them to charities that have more money available.

“We don’t necessarily like piecemealing assistance for people if we can connect you with another resource that takes care of your situation in totality,” she said.

White, whose Ward 8 district has had the most coronavirus cases and deaths, has \$2,100 in his Do Something Constituent Fund. He hasn’t distributed money this year. Neither he nor his fund treasurer returned requests for comment.

Council member Kenyan R. McDuffie (D-Ward 5), whose district also has pockets of poverty, had spent most of his \$4,000 fund before the pandemic and has \$500 left in his account.

Council member Brandon T. Todd (D-Ward 4) has spent more than \$1,300 since March on unspecified supplies, and has about \$1,000 remaining. Neither he nor his chief of staff returned requests for comment.

Craig Holman, a lobbyist for Public Citizen, said the group unsuccessfully pushed for the abolition of constituent services funds during an overhaul of city ethics laws in 2013. But lawmakers resisted.

“They are really set up because they allow wealthy corporate interests to throw more money at the feet of D.C. officials, and those funds are then used almost openly for self-promotion purposes,” Holman said. “It’s really a whole sham.”

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Perry Stein contributed to this report.

# Plan for limited return to classes suggests there is no deal with union

SCHOOLS FROM B1

bee said, would have one in-person classroom per grade level and one self-contained special-education classroom for all grade levels. If the priority groups do not fill up the seats, schools can offer them to other students.

Some teacher reassignments are inevitable. If a student is remaining virtual but the teacher is returning to a school building, that student will be assigned a different teacher.

City officials said they hope to pull from existing school system staff to supervise elementary students in CARE classrooms, though they are prepared to hire more adults if they need to. Adults supervising students must pass a background check and have at least 24 hours of college credit.

“We will provide the resources necessary based on what our students and families need,” Bowser said.

Bowser has said that the city’s latest virus metrics render it safe to return to in-person learning. Other school districts are also planning to bring back small groups of students to classrooms. Fairfax County Public Schools and Loudoun County Public Schools recently voted to start returning children with disabilities to classrooms in mid- to late October.

The District’s plan for a limited return to in-person teaching suggests that city officials did not reach significant agreements with the teachers union. Its members have said that they will not return to in-person teaching en masse until Ferebee agrees to their demands, including hazard pay, a full-time nurse assigned to every school, upgraded air filters and other safeguards in buildings.

Still, it’s unclear how many of the union demands the city will meet. Ferebee has not mentioned the possibility of hazard pay for teachers who return, for example.

During a walk-through on Monday of the safety measures at Wheatley Education Campus in Northeast Washington, reporters could see that teacher desks did not have protectors around them — one of the union demands. Ferebee said he believes these dividers would be a “barrier to student learning” and could be detrimental to student mental health. But other demands will be met. Teachers will be provided face shields and masks. Students will be provided masks daily. Temperatures will be taken daily. Signs and tape marks were affixed to the floor at Wheatley reminding students to stand six feet apart. City officials said they are updating air filters so that they meet the latest guidance from ASHRAE, which writes standards for indoor air systems.

Union leaders say that staff reluctance to return to classrooms reflects a long history of

poor communication and lack of trust between city leaders and school staff. The heads of the principals and teachers unions said they were not informed of the reopening plans before the news conference.

Richard Jackson — who heads the Council of School Officers, a union for mid-level leadership in the school system — said principals were flooded with calls from teachers and parents Monday asking them details after the city’s announcement.

“It’s Groundhog Day for every school announcement. They make an announcement; we react to the announcement,” Jackson said. “Principals’ phones were off the hook today. People think principals know what’s going on, but they don’t.”

Elizabeth Davis, president of the Washington Teachers’ Union, said that, based on internal surveys, the overwhelming number of teachers do not believe school buildings are ready to reopen on Nov. 9. “Their secrecy is a major part of our concern,” Davis said in a statement.

Preschool and elementary school students will be assigned to cohorts of 11 students, and the programs will run five days a week with a half-day Wednesday. Cohorts will have limited interaction with the other cohorts. Students

*“Learning from home is not working for every student.”*

**Lewis D. Ferebee**, chancellor of D.C. Public Schools

dents will remain in the same classroom for much of the day, including for lunch. Recess and bathroom breaks will be scheduled and staggered by classroom.

If a staff member or student in the cohort tests positive for the virus, that whole cohort would be required to quarantine for two weeks, but the entire school would not shut down.

Markita Bryant works from home and has a fourth-grade son at Thomson Elementary in Northwest Washington. She said virtual learning has been a success for him, and she will not be sending him back in November. She has relatives, though, who need to return to work and have students with priority needs who may opt to return.

But, she said, they all are wary about returning to classrooms and think the school system should communicate directly with families to inform them of upgrades made to their school buildings.

“We can’t just go off the word of DCPS,” Bryant said. “We want to know specifics.”

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# ‘The sound of happiness’: Kids laughing, playing



John Kelly's Washington

*Listen.* Do you hear that? It's the sound of me opening the ol' John Kelly's Washington mail bag and plucking out even more emails from readers eager to share the noises that bring them joy.

When **Douglas Thompson** was a child, his favorite thing to do late on a Saturday morning was take a nap.

"It was because outside my window, my friends would be playing street baseball," wrote Douglas, of Hyattsville. "I was never into sports. But the sound of yelling and laughter was like a lullaby to me. I loved to be lulled to sleep to that sound. It was the sound of happiness."

**Bill Griffiths** understands. "For me — especially as I've reached my mid-70s — there is nothing more joyful or heartwarming than the sounds of neighborhood children playing outside," wrote Bill, of Annandale. "Their squeals, laughter and shouts announce that the world is okay, and that it will be so tomorrow."

**Robert Linden** and his wife live in Northwest D.C., the oldest and longest residents on their

block. The pandemic has changed the neighborhood's school-day soundscape.

"We enjoy the small children's voices when they exit their 'homeroom' brightened by their Zoom classes to stretch their legs, shout for joy during recess and lunch breaks," Robert wrote. "Someday we will move to a retirement home and we will miss the joyous shouts and laughter of these young children."

**Tom Prelovsky** of Laurel said that as a child — and then as a teacher — his favorite sound was a snowplow scraping the road. Wrote Tom: "That sound usually meant schools were closed for the day!"

While we're on the subject of winter, **John Menocal** of Annapolis loves making fresh tracks in the snow on his skis. "I almost hold my breath as to not interrupt the soft flow of the sound," he wrote.

There's a warm-weather corollary from the District's **Tom Martella**, who adores the sound of "a canoe paddle gliding through lake water in the otherwise, absolute quiet of a trip in the wilderness."

**Chuck** from Columbia grew up in a Southern Illinois town situated between the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. An excursion steam paddle-wheeler, the Delta



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A rooster at Oxon Cove Park and Oxon Hill Farm in 2018 in Oxon Hill. For one reader, the charming sound of that cock-a-doodle-doo sealed the deal on a new country home in Virginia.

Queen, traveled up and down both rivers.

"It had a steam powered organ — a calliope — that was inimitable," wrote Chuck. "As it came upon or left the town dock, the organist always played. We could hear it for miles. Imagine a steam locomotive whistle 'pitched' just right, tooting 'Oh! Susanna.' Whimsical!"

The District's **Katy Daley** said that before the pandemic threw schedules off, she enjoyed hearing

the gun and cannon salutes wafting from Arlington National Cemetery, courtesy of the Presidential Salute Battery of the 3rd U.S. Infantry Regiment, a.k.a the Old Guard.

Wrote Katy: "We would always stop what we were doing and listen because they reminded us of how our hometown hosts 'official Washington' as part of our everyday life."

A spokeswoman at the Old Guard tells me that after a three-

month hiatus, the platoon has resumed training. It's authorized to fire from 7 to 8 a.m. on Tuesday and Thursday from two locations inside the cemetery.

**Sallie Bell's** family moved a lot, thanks to a father who was in the Army. "To this day, the sound of tractor trailers on the highway during their night runs reminds me of that wonderful time," wrote Sallie, of Waldorf. "The sound of their wheels on an otherwise quiet night was soothing to me. It

meant either new friends and adventures awaiting or sometimes joining my father at our new home when he had to go ahead of us."

Two years ago, **Martha E. Powers** and her husband stood on a vacant lot in Lake Frederick, Va., about 45 minutes northwest of Gainesville, with a salesperson from a community they were considering moving to.

"As we scrutinized the scrawny Virginia pines at the back of the lot, we heard it: a distant rooster crowing," Martha wrote. "The community backs up to several farms, and we found the rooster's crow charming. SOLD!"

"Nothing says 'You're living in the country' like that cock-a-doodle-doo."

Lovely sounds, all. But **Ramona** from Annapolis had a different thought. What about *awful* sounds? Some people experience a condition called misophonia: They detest certain sounds.

"It's what happens to me when I hear the crinkling sound of a chip bag or any bag made of similar material," Ramona wrote.

Oh boy, I can think of a few in our house. My Lovely Wife and I have different sounds that make our skin crawl. What sounds drive you crazy? Send the details to me — with "Bad Sounds" in the subject line — at [john.kelly@washpost.com](mailto:john.kelly@washpost.com).

[john.kelly@washpost.com](mailto:john.kelly@washpost.com)

Twitter: @johnkelly

For previous columns, visit [washingtonpost.com/john-kelly/](https://www.washingtonpost.com/john-kelly/).

## THE DISTRICT

# Health insurance costs to rise slightly for 2021

BY LOLA FADULU

The nearly 100,000 D.C. residents who buy health insurance through an online marketplace under the federal Affordable Care Act will see just a small increase in their insurance rates for 2021, in a victory for advocates who worry that people will be unable to afford health insurance as job losses mount during the coronavirus

pandemic.

Rates for individual coverage will increase overall by 0.2 percent and rates for small-group coverage, such as small businesses, will decrease by 0.5 percent, according to the D.C. Department of Insurance, Securities and Banking, which reviews and approves rates for the online marketplace.

The 2021 rates are a "big win for D.C. residents in making health

care more affordable and accessible," said William Borden, a professor of medicine and health policy at George Washington University. He pointed to how people struggled to keep up with rising health insurance premiums even before the novel coronavirus took hold.

"Having health insurance is clearly associated with better health outcomes, and so if there was going to be a sharp increase in insurance premiums that really could be devastating, especially as individuals, small businesses are already struggling financially," Borden said.

Nearly 150,000 D.C. residents have filed for unemployment insurance during the pandemic as

businesses have closed and either laid off workers or reduced their hours.

Insurers initially asked for rate increases as high as 30 percent, but most of the insurers decreased their initial rate filings after a virtual public hearing in September.

During that hearing, leaders of the D.C. Health Benefit Exchange Authority, which operates D.C. Health Link, the online health insurance marketplace, advocated premium reductions or freezing rates at 2020 levels. More than 30 people signed up to testify.

The gap between what insurers initially proposed and what the DISB approved after the hearing will save D.C. residents more than \$17 million, according to the depart-

ment's news release Friday.

More than 100,000 people have private insurance through D.C. Health Link, which includes more than 5,000 employers that cover 80,000-plus employees. The uninsured rate has been cut in half since the marketplace opened in 2013. More than 96 percent of D.C. residents have health coverage.

Open enrollment in the District runs from Nov. 1 through Jan. 31.

Other jurisdictions also have moved to limit increasing rates.

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan (R) approved an average 11.9 percent premium rate decrease for individual health insurance plans through Maryland Health Connection, the state-based health insurance marketplace, in 2021.

This is the third consecutive year that individual premium rates have gone down in Maryland. Open enrollment in Maryland runs from Nov. 1 through Dec. 15.

And in Virginia, insurers proposed an overall average rate decrease of 6.9 percent for 2021. Open enrollment in Virginia runs from Nov. 1 through Dec. 15.

The open enrollment period for all three jurisdictions will begin just as the Supreme Court will hear oral arguments on a case to overturn the Affordable Care Act, which could leave more than 23 million people without health care, according to a report from the liberal think tank Center for American Progress.

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LOTTERIES		
Results from Oct. 5		
<b>DISTRICT</b>		
Day/DC-3:	6-1-8	
DC-4:	5-0-6-1	
DC-5:	9-4-2-6-5	
Night/DC-3 (Sun.):	4-8-2	
DC-3 (Mon.):	0-1-2	
DC-4 (Sun.):	7-7-4-8	
DC-4 (Mon.):	5-2-6-3	
DC-5 (Sun.):	7-6-4-8-6	
DC-5 (Mon.):	4-3-7-0-8	
<b>MARYLAND</b>		
Mid-Day Pick 3:	2-4-4	
Mid-Day Pick 4:	6-0-8-2	
Night/Pick 3 (Sun.):	0-0-3	
Pick 3 (Mon.):	9-7-1	
Pick 4 (Sun.):	3-5-4-9	
Pick 4 (Mon.):	4-8-6-2	
Multi-Match:	5-14-19-27-36-37	
Match 5 (Sun.):	1-8-10-16-22 *33	
Match 5 (Mon.):	5-8-16-30-39 *32	
5 Card Cash:	9C-JH-10C-QS-6S	
<b>VIRGINIA</b>		
Day/Pick-3:	6-1-1	
Pick-4:	1-5-0-4	
Cash-5:	12-13-16-27-32	
Night/Pick-3 (Sun.):	9-7-2	
Pick-3 (Mon.):	8-2-0	
Pick-4 (Sun.):	6-6-6-6	
Pick-4 (Mon.):	2-0-7-6	
Cash-5 (Sun.):	1-4-10-24-32	
Cash-5 (Mon.):	9-15-26-29-33	
<b>MULTI-STATE GAMES</b>		
Cash 4 Life:	1-3-35-37-42 14	
Lucky for Life:	7-17-29-35-45 17	
*Bonus Ball    ‡Lucky Ball    †Cash Ball		
For late drawings and other results, check <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/lottery">washingtonpost.com/local/lottery</a>		

## THE DISTRICT

### Police: 4 shot, with 1 critically wounded

Four people were shot Monday night on a street in Southeast Washington, and one of them suffered life-threatening wounds, according to D.C. police.

The four were shot about 8:30 p.m. in the 400 block of Orange Street SE, said Officer Hugh Carew, a police spokesman. The most seriously wounded victim was a man who was unconscious and not breathing, Carew said.

A second man and two women were all described as conscious after the gunfire, he said.

As of late Monday, a motive for the attack was not known. Police said they had not

## LOCAL DIGEST

identified any suspects.

— Martin Weil

### Man slain near K and N. Capitol, police say

A man was shot and killed Monday afternoon near North Capitol and K Streets NW in the District, police said.

Demetri Harvin, 33, of Northwest, was shot in the 1100 block of First Street NW. The shooting apparently occurred outdoors. Police went there after they heard shots.

Harvin was taken to a hospital where he died, police said.

No information was available late Monday about who shot him

or why.

— Martin Weil

## MARYLAND

### Bomb squad called to probe political signs

The political climate seems highly charged, so perhaps it was not surprising when the state's bomb squad was called in the past two days to investigate what were described as suspicious devices attached to political signs on the Eastern Shore. As it turned out, a report from the office of the state fire marshal said, the five devices found in Easton were harmless and did not contain explosives.

But if they were not intended to do harm, in a way they still seemed to symbolize political fears and tensions.

The devices, fire marshal officials said, were alarms apparently intended to prevent theft or removal of the signs.

They are small audible alarms, attached to the back of the signs with removable pull pins, the report said. Removing the pin, the report said, pulls on a string, sounding the alarm.

The first of the devices was spotted in Easton on Sunday morning. It seemed suspicious, the report said, and police were called. They, in turn, called in the bomb squad, the report said.

The public is asked to call local police if similar devices are found on campaign signs.

— Martin Weil

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VIRGINIA

# Fairfax schools superintendent revises admissions proposal for TJ High

Board set to vote on plan that would keep lottery for 400 of 500 seats

BY HANNAH NATANSON

The superintendent of Virginia's largest school system has revised his proposal to reform admissions at one of the top public high schools in the nation following parent and alumni outcry, and as the county School Board prepares to vote on the issue.

In mid-September, Fairfax County Schools Superintendent Scott Brabrand suggested switching the admissions system at Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology from a test-based process to a "merit-based lottery," a measure meant to boost historically low Black and Hispanic enrollment. Over the weekend, he re-

leased a revised plan that calls for 400 of 500 seats in every class to be assigned by random lottery.

The remaining 100 seats will go to the "highest-evaluated students" based on "a holistic review of their application," according to a presentation Fairfax officials posted online.

Thomas Jefferson (known as TJ), which focuses on STEM and is often ranked No. 1 in public high schools in the country, has for decades seen single-digit percentages of Black and Hispanic students. Over the summer, at the height of the George Floyd protests and after Fairfax released numbers showing less than 10 members of TJ's Class of 2024 are Black, a vocal group of parents, students and alumni began calling for change.

Brabrand's proposal came a few months later. The plan eliminates the traditional two-part test, the \$100 application fee and teacher recommendation



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

Thomas Jefferson High School is often ranked No. 1 in public high schools in the country.

letters. Instead, it allows eighth-graders from five geographical areas to enter a lottery so long as they have a 3.5 GPA, are enrolled in Algebra I and fill out a questionnaire.

While earning accolades from some, the plan also drew swift backlash from other parents, graduates and students who argue that the lottery will reduce the academic quality of the school and force unqualified students into a too-rigorous learning environment.

The revised lottery proposal "should provide some increase in admittance for underrepresented groups," Brabrand wrote in the presentation posted online, while "[allowing] top performers entry into" TJ.

Members of the Fairfax County School Board will discuss the proposal during a work session Tuesday evening. They are slated to take a formal vote on the plan during a regular School Board meeting Thursday.

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VIRGINIA

# Senate panel kills bill to ease the removal of Confederate monuments

The measure aimed to reduce hurdles for local governments

BY LAURA VOZZELLA

RICHMOND — A bill that would have made it easier for local governments to remove Confederate monuments died Monday, as members of a state Senate committee seemed reluctant to revisit an issue thrust to the fore by this summer's racial-justice protests.

Virginia's cities and counties lacked authority to remove war monuments on their own property until this year, when newly empowered Democrats in the House and Senate passed legislation in the regular General Assembly session that gave them the power to do so.

The issue gained greater urgency even before the law took effect

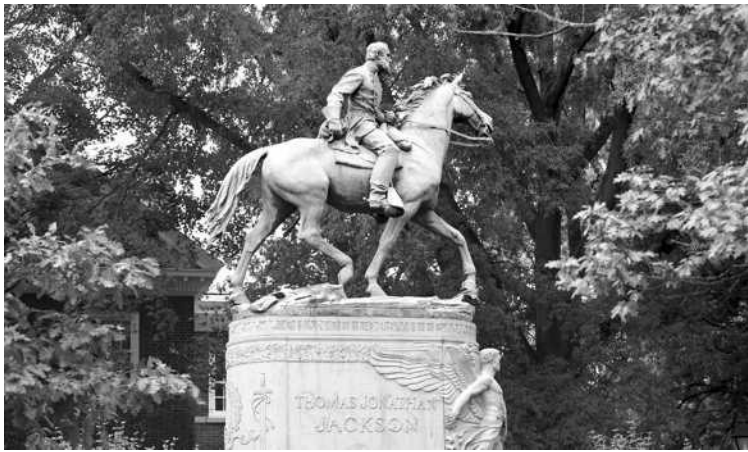
on July 1, as Confederate monuments became focal points for demonstrations in Richmond, Portsmouth and across the country after the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis police custody in May.

When the legislature gathered in August for a special session, Del. Delores L. McQuinn (D-Richmond) proposed a bill to remove some hurdles that the new law requires local governments to clear before they can remove or alter monuments to any war. For instance, localities must provide public notice and observe two 30-day waiting periods.

McQuinn contended that in an emergency, local leaders may have to move more quickly than the law allows.

Amid unrest in the streets in July, Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney (D) asserted that he had emergency powers to remove city-owned Confederate monuments without waiting 60 days, but his actions have been challenged in court.

McQuinn's bill would have re-



JOHN McDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

A statue of Confederate Gen. Stonewall Jackson stands in Charlottesville. Its removal has been tied up in court.

moved the waiting periods and notice requirement. Her measure passed the House last month on a vote of 54 to 43, with every Republican and one Democrat opposed.

But its prospects were more uncertain in the narrowly divided

Senate. Both chambers are controlled by Democrats, but the upper chamber — which tends to take a more cautious approach to many issues — was the one that had insisted on the waiting periods in the original bill.

With the new law just three months old, it seemed too soon to remove the guardrails that made passage palatable to some conservative Democrats, Sen. Lynwood W. Lewis Jr. (D-Accomack), chairman of the Senate local government committee, said in an interview after the panel's vote.

"This was pretty freshly plowed ground," Lewis said.

McQuinn did not take part when the committee met virtually Monday to take up her bill.

She was not available for an interview Monday, according to a staff member.

Lewis said McQuinn had worked over the weekend on a substitute, which would have lifted the restrictions on monument removal only in situations of civil unrest or emergencies. But, he said, she ultimately decided she needed more time and asked the committee to strike the bill, which she will bring back in revised form in January — something Mc-

Quinn's staffer confirmed.

The committee voted unanimously to kill the bill — officially, to pass it by indefinitely — and to seek opinions on the measure from Attorney General Mark R. Herring (D) and the Department of Historic Resources.

"I want a good analysis of what authority local governments already have if there's imminent danger," said Sen. Barbara A. Favola (D-Arlington).

Del. Lamont Bagby (D-Henrico), chairman of the Legislative Black Caucus, called the vote "disappointing."

"I can only imagine how frustrated Delegate McQuinn is right now, but I also appreciate her having the patience and persistence and willingness to approach it again in January," he said. "I just hope the individuals that opposed it in the Senate have the courage when it's time to address it in January."

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## OBITUARIES

AL KASHA, 83

# Oscar-winning songwriter for 'Poseidon Adventure,' 'Towering Inferno'

BY HARRISON SMITH

Al Kasha, who partnered with Joel Hirschhorn to write Oscar-winning songs such as "The Morning After," a ballad for the disaster epic "The Poseidon Adventure" that became an unexpected pop hit, died Sept. 14 at a hospice center in Los Angeles. He was 83.

He had Parkinson's disease, said his son-in-law, Randy Cohen.

For a brief period in the 1970s, Mr. Kasha's poignant love songs seemed to herald nothing less than impending doom. Working with Hirschhorn, his longtime creative partner, he wrote the music and lyrics to songs for "The Poseidon Adventure" (1972) and "The Towering Inferno" (1974), movies that established producer Irwin Allen as the "master of disaster" and earned the songwriting duo two Academy Awards for best song.

Mr. Kasha was already a seasoned songwriter and music producer before making his way to Hollywood in the late 1960s. A veteran of Manhattan's Brill Building pop factory, he churned out songs that were recorded by artists including Elvis Presley ("Your Time Hasn't Come Yet, Baby"), Charles Aznavour ("The Old Fashioned Way"), Aretha Franklin ("Operation Heartbreak") and later Donna Summer ("I'm a Fire").

Sensing more opportunity writing directly for the big screen, he and Hirschhorn wrote songs for Westerns, spy comedies and Presley musicals. They were given one night to write a song for "The Poseidon Adventure," about an aged luxury liner capsized by a 90-foot wave.

Over a pot of strong coffee they wrote what became the movie's theme, "The Morning After," about "looking for the light" and waiting out "the storm." (The original version titled, "Why Must There Be a Morning After?" was far more pessimistic.)

Performed on-screen by Carol Lynley, who played a singer forced to wade through the ship's wreckage in hot pants and go-go boots, the film version was dubbed by singer Renée Armand. It was later released as a single by Maureen



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Al Kasha, right, and Joel Hirschhorn, with presenter Gene Kelly at the 1975 Oscars, won for a song in "The Towering Inferno."

McGovern, then an unknown singer who had never been to a recording studio, and slowly climbed to the top of the Billboard charts after winning the Oscar in 1973.

A year later, McGovern played a lounge singer in "The Towering Inferno," performing the Kasha-Hirschhorn song "We May Never Love Like This Again" shortly before a five-alarm fire was shown engulfing parts of the world's tallest building. The movie grossed more than \$100 million in the United States.

While Mr. Kasha's music occasionally served as a counterpoint to catastrophe, he typically preferred lighter, family-friendly subjects. He and Hirschhorn wrote the "Freaky Friday" (1976) theme "I'd Like to Be You for a Day" and received two Oscar nominations for writing the score to "Pete's Dragon" (1977), a Disney musical

featuring a performance of their song "Candle on the Water" by Helen Reddy.

Trying to channel the success of "Oliver!" they also adapted Charles Dickens's novel "David Copperfield" for Broadway, writing the book as well as the score. "Copperfield" ran for two weeks in 1981, with New York Times theater critic Frank Rich writing, "This is the kind of musical that sends you out of the theater humming every score other than the one you've just heard."

Nonetheless, it earned Mr. Kasha and Hirschhorn the first of two Tony nominations for best score, including a nod for "Seven Brides for Seven Brothers," adapted from the 1954 movie musical. The 1982 production was helmed by Mr. Kasha's older brother, Lawrence Kasha, a director and Tony-winning producer, but closed after

five performances. (It was later revived twice on the West End.)

In turning to musicals, Mr. Kasha said he was responding to "tremendous complaints" from parents in search of family-friendly productions.

"I believe there's a great need for that kind of entertainment," he told the Deseret News in 1993.

By his own account, his childhood was sorely lacking in the kind of warmth and generosity that he wanted to bring to the stage. Born in Brooklyn on Jan. 22, 1937, he was raised by a barber father, "a violent alcoholic" who would lock him in a closet and once went after him with a knife, and a beautician mother whom he dubbed "the East Coast distributor of guilt."

In "Reaching the Morning After" (1986), one of several books he co-wrote with Hirschhorn, Mr.

Kasha said that his relationship with his parents contributed to years of crippling agoraphobia, a fear of open spaces. He found a refuge from his parents in entertainment, working as an extra at the old Vitagraph movie studio across the street from his home.

He also began singing and writing songs, including "Irresistible You," which marked his first major success when it was recorded by Bobby Darin in 1961. Soon after, he met Hirschhorn while working as a producer at Columbia Records.

"We were really one," Mr. Kasha told the Ventura County Star after Hirschhorn's death in 2005. "I could finish his line, he could finish mine. He was more than a gifted composer, he was my best friend. We had a style, a kind of respect and politeness working together."

Their later work included "Love

Survives," from the animated movie "All Dogs Go to Heaven" (1989), and songs for the long-running soap opera "Knots Landing."

Mr. Kasha, who was born Jewish, also focused on spiritual music, writing musicals inspired by the life and poetry of Ching Hai, a Vietnamese spiritual leader known as Supreme Master. Some of his songs reflected his turn toward Christianity, which began during a period of intense agoraphobia in the late 1970s.

He became an ordained minister and, together with his wife, Ceil, founded a church known as Oasis Christian Fellowship. Their ministry grew out of a weekly Bible study the Kashas hosted at home, meeting with actors, dancers and, in Mr. Kasha's telling, Bob Dylan, who was then on the verge of a gospel music phase.

"He wrote his whole entire 'Slow Train Coming' album in front of our fireplace," Mr. Kasha told journalist Dan Wooding. "We gave him a key to the house because we were songwriters and songwriters feel a sense of spirit in a room. ... I heard the guitar playing some nights, but I wouldn't bother him."

In addition to his wife of 52 years, Mr. Kasha is survived by a daughter, Dana Kasha-Cohen, and a grandson, all of Los Angeles.

Mr. Kasha worked at times as a producer and screenwriter, including as a co-writer of "Old Faithful" (1973), a TV movie starring Zero Mostel as a park ranger. But he rarely strayed from songwriting for too long, contributing music to the animated movie "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" (1998) and the musical "In a Booth at Chasen's" (2018), which chronicled the Hollywood romance of Nancy Davis and Ronald Reagan.

"Being a songwriter is a great, great blessing in life," he once told Life. After 50, a California magazine. "So when I get down on myself, like all human beings do, I say, 'I'm bringing someone joy in some town, some city, some high school.' ... I take all my music very seriously because I know how it can change a person's life. I really believe that."

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OBITUARIES

FLORENCE HOWE, 91

Feminist Press founder championed women’s studies

BY HARRISON SMITH

Florence Howe, an author, editor, publisher and literary scholar who nurtured the newly created field of women's studies as a founder of the Feminist Press, a nonprofit publishing house that has amplified the work of feminist writers for half a century, died Sept. 12 at a hospice center in Manhattan. She was 91.

The cause was complications from Parkinson's disease, said Alice Jackson-Wright, a former student whom Ms. Howe had long considered a daughter.

As publisher of the Feminist Press, Ms. Howe was a leader of the second-wave feminist movement that began in the 1960s, when women built on the suffrage movement to seek equality in the workplace, at home and under the law. In printing books by and about women, her publishing house spurred the development of women's studies at a time when such programs scarcely existed on college campuses.

“She was creating an opening for hundreds of women writers and thousands of readers, both women and men, by the revolutionary idea that women's words should not be confined to letters and diaries, but should be out there changing the world,” feminist activist Gloria Steinem later wrote.

Colleagues called Ms. Howe “the Elizabeth Cady Stanton of women's studies,” likening her to the 19th-century women's rights leader. But Ms. Howe said that she was initially more interested in the civil rights and antiwar movements, and recalled viewing early feminists as “selfish” while teaching English at Goucher College in Towson, Md.

“We needed to stop the war in Vietnam and end discrimination against black people,” she told the Baltimore Sun in 1993. “I didn’t understand the big picture for a long time. I didn’t understand that all these things need to be worked on at once.”

Her views began to shift after she taught at a Mississippi Freedom School in the summer of 1964 and started to consider the possibility that America's schools were failing many of their students. A few years later, she was appointed to lead a Modern Language Association commission that surveyed more than 5,000 university departments about the status of women, ultimately finding salary differences and other gender inequalities.

“Men were very suspicious of me, men who were in charge,” she later said of the survey. “They



FEMINIST PRESS

**Florence Howe lectured worldwide in the 1980s on the field of women's studies. In printing books by and about women, the Feminist Press, founded in 1970, spurred the development of the discipline at a time when such programs scarcely existed on college campuses.**

treated me rather shabbily and that made me ask questions. I think I became a feminist long before I was ready to be one.”

Determined to teach feminist books at Goucher, she realized there weren’t many to put on the syllabus. So she traveled to New York in 1970, pitching publishers on the idea of printing more. “Wonderful idea,” she was told. “But there’s no money in it.”

Returning home, she launched the Feminist Press later that year at the suggestion of her husband at the time, English and American studies scholar Paul Lauter. “He thought of the name the Feminist Press — and it sounded magical,” she later told the New York Times.

The press’s first title was a picture book, “The Dragon and the Doctor,” by Barbara Danish, about a female physician. In time came works by Zora Neale Hurston, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Barbara Ehrenreich, Grace Paley, Ama Ata Aidoo, Paule Marshall, Shahr-nush Parsipur and many others.

From the beginning, Ms. Howe focused on “the amplification of marginalized voices,” said Jamia

Wilson, the current publisher and executive director of the Feminist Press. She added by phone that Ms. Howe, the daughter of working-class Orthodox Jews, “had a global vision around feminist publishing, and one that was inclusive along racial and class lines.”

“You can see that in the books that I came up on,” Wilson said, recalling early years spent reading Feminist Press books such as “I Love Myself When I Am Laughing” (1979), a Hurston reader edited by novelist Alice Walker, and “But Some of Us Are Brave” (1982), a scholarly anthology that helped galvanize Black feminist studies.

Ms. Howe also partnered with poet Ellen Bass to edit “No More Masks!” (1973), considered one of the first major anthologies of American women's poetry. “There was a wealth of poetry written by women, but unless you knew what to look for and how to look for it, you wouldn’t easily find it,” Bass said by email.

Schoolteachers, parents and tutors wrote in with requests for new Feminist Press titles, including for books about female doctors or

lawyers. Suggestions also came from authors such as Tillie Olsen, who proposed that Ms. Howe reprint “Life in the Iron Mills,” a realist short story by Rebecca Harding Davis that was first published in 1861.

The book was the first of several classics reissued by the press, including “The Yellow Wallpaper,” an 1892 feminist story by Gilman that sold several hundred thousand copies.

By 1985, educator Joseph Duffey wrote in the Times, the Feminist Press had, “perhaps more than any other institution, helped to recover and make available a legacy of writing by and about women in American history and scholarship.”

In Ms. Howe’s view, the press had also — fortunately — spawned a legion of imitators. “I would say we started what has become an avalanche of the rediscovery of women writers,” she told the Sun. “We’re not the only one who does this now.”

Ms. Howe was born Florence Rosenfeld in Brooklyn on March 17, 1929. Her father was a

taxi driver, and her mother was a bookkeeper who encouraged her to become a teacher. After taking a citywide exam, she enrolled at exclusive Hunter College High on Manhattan’s Upper East Side.

At 16, she entered the college itself, graduating in 1950 with a bachelor’s degree in English. A professor there told her that women writers were “not important enough to study,” Ms. Howe later recalled, but also urged her on to graduate school. She received a master’s degree from Smith College the next year and studied for a PhD at the University of Wisconsin before dropping out at the insistence of her second husband.

Ms. Howe had married for the first time at 19, to a man she identified only as M. in her memoir, “A Life in Motion” (2011). Over the next decade she was married several more times, including to Edmund Stanley Howe, a colleague at Hofstra College (now a university) on Long Island.

She taught there and at Queens College in New York before moving with Edmund Howe to Baltimore, where he had a teaching job, but

she struggled to find academic work. After a year, she joined Hutzler’s department store as a trainee.

“I was promoted rapidly and probably would be there still because I liked it,” she later said. When her husband objected to her becoming a buyer at the store, a position that involved travel, she went back to academia, accepting a “fill-in job” at Goucher College.

Her time at the school was accompanied by a period of personal upheaval. She and her husband divorced, and in 1966 she began a roughly two-decade marriage to Lauter. While teaching in Mississippi, she also became close with one of her students, Jackson-Wright, who was then a 16-year-old known as Alice Jackson.

Ms. Howe became her “second mother,” Jackson-Wright said, but never legally adopted her. She survives Ms. Howe, as do Jackson-Wright’s two children and four grandchildren.

By the early 1980s, Ms. Howe had become something of an international spokesperson for women's studies, lecturing on the field at conferences around the world. She championed the discipline while serving as president of the Modern Language Association, published the academic journal Women’s Studies Quarterly and argued that the field raised awareness about sexism and compensated for the relative lack of women in the curriculum.

“Florence was both an innovator and an institution-builder, giving stability and permanence to her innovative ideas,” women's studies scholar Catharine R. Stimpson said in an email.

Ms. Howe participated in editorial meetings at the Feminist Press well into her 80s, and took the publishing house with her after joining the faculty of the State University of New York at Old Westbury and later the City University of New York, where she taught until retiring in the early 2000s. The press remains based at the school.

“What matters is finding someone who thinks about publishing in a somewhat different way from traditional publishers, and I think I do that,” she once told the Chronicle of Higher Education. “I don’t think of publishing either as money making for the moment, or as noise making for the moment. I really think about publishing in relation to learning and consciousness over the long haul, and what is needed to make something that represents more accurately the world we live in.”

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JOEL SAGET/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

**Kenzo Takada at his home in Paris last year. Though Mr. Takada retired from his namesake fashion house in 1999 to pursue a career in art, Kenzo has remained a respected fixture of Paris fashion.**

KENZO TAKADA, 81

Founder of free-spirited fashion house Kenzo dies of coronavirus

BY THOMAS ADAMSON

Kenzo Takada, the French Japanese fashion designer famed for his jungle-infused designs and free-spirited aesthetic that channeled global travel, died Oct. 4 at a hospital in Neuilly-sur-Seine, near Paris. He was 81.

His family said in a statement to French media that Mr. Takada died of complications from covid-19, the disease the novel coronavirus causes.

Though Mr. Takada retired from his namesake fashion house in 1999 to pursue a career in art, Kenzo has remained one of the most respected fixtures of Paris fashion. Since 1993, the brand has been owned by the French luxury goods company LVMH. Its creative director, Felipe Oliveira Baptista, unveiled Kenzo’s spring-

summer line on Wednesday.

“His amazing energy, kindness, talent and smile were contagious,” Oliveira Baptista said. “His kindred spirit will live forever.”

The son of hoteliers, Mr. Takada was born in Himeji, Japan, on Feb. 27, 1939, and developed a love of fashion by reading his sisters’ fashion magazines. After studying at the Bunka Fashion College in Tokyo, he worked briefly in Japan and relocated to Paris in 1965 to work as a freelance designer.

Mr. Takada took over a boutique in 1970 and crystallized his future ready-to-wear aesthetic, inspired by Asian styles and the jungle scenes of painter Henri Rousseau. His styles used bold color and clashing prints and were inspired by travels all over the world.

His first collection at the store was made entirely out of cotton

because he had little money. But the clothes spoke for themselves, and a model of his was put on the cover of Elle magazine. A short time after, his pioneering shoulder forms, large armholes, dungarees, smock tent dresses and innovative shoulder shapes were featured in Vogue.

His contributions to style were significant. He championed a youthful aesthetic and unstructured form and did away with zippers to liberate silhouettes. His signatures were wider sleeves and arm holes, which harked back to traditional garments in his home continent of Asia.

Mr. Takada also cited Yves Saint Laurent as a key inspiration and shared his penchant for theatrics. In 1978 and ’79, he presented Kenzo’s line in a circus tent and rode on the back of an elephant.

—Associated Press

TIMOTHY RAY BROWN, 54

‘Berlin patient’ was first known person cured of HIV infection

BY MARILYNN MARCHIONE

Timothy Ray Brown, who made history as “the Berlin patient,” the first person known to be cured of HIV infection, died Sept. 29 at his home in Palm Springs, Calif. He was 54.

His partner, Tim Hoeffgen, announced the death in a Facebook post. The cause was a return of the cancer that originally prompted the unusual bone marrow and stem cell transplants Mr. Brown received in 2007 and 2008, which for years seemed to have eliminated both his leukemia and HIV, the virus that causes AIDS.

“Timothy symbolized that it is possible, under special circumstances,” to rid a patient of HIV — something that many scientists had doubted could be done, said Gero Hütter, the Berlin physician who led Mr. Brown’s historic treatment.

“It’s a very sad situation” that cancer returned and took his life, because he still seemed free of HIV, said Hütter, who is now medical director of a stem cell company in Dresden, Germany.

The International AIDS Society, which had Mr. Brown speak at an AIDS conference after his successful treatment, issued a statement mourning his death and said he and Hütter are owed “a great deal of gratitude” for promoting research on a cure.

Mr. Brown, born on March 11, 1966, was studying at a university in Berlin when he was diagnosed with HIV and later leukemia. Transplants are known to be an effective treatment for the blood cancer, but Hütter wanted to try to cure the HIV infection as well by using a donor with a rare gene mutation that gives natural resistance to the AIDS virus.

Mr. Brown’s first transplant in 2007 was only partly successful:



MANUEL VALDES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Timothy Ray Brown received unusual bone marrow and stem cell transplants that seemed to rid him of the virus that causes AIDS.**

His HIV seemed to be gone but his leukemia was not. He had a second transplant from the same donor in 2008 and that one seemed to work.

But his cancer returned last year, Mr. Brown said in a recent interview with the Associated Press.

“I’m still glad that I had it,” he said of his transplant.

“It opened up doors that weren’t there before” and inspired scientists to work harder to find a cure, Mr. Brown said.

A second man, Adam Castillejo — called “the London patient” until he revealed his identity earlier this year — also is believed to have been cured by a transplant similar to Mr. Brown’s in 2016.

Because such donors are rare and transplants are medically

risky, researchers have been testing gene therapy and other ways to try to get a similar effect. At an AIDS conference in July, researchers said they may have achieved a long-term remission in a Brazil man by using a powerful combination of drugs meant to flush dormant HIV from his body.

Mark S. King, a Baltimore blogger and HIV/AIDS activist, said Mr. Brown “was just this magnet for people living with HIV, like me,” and embodied the hope for a cure.

“He has said from the beginning, ‘I don’t want to be the only one. They have to keep working on this,’” King said.

Complete information on survivors was not immediately available.

—Associated Press



## OBITUARIES

## OF NOTE

Obituaries of residents from the District, Maryland and Northern Virginia.

### Monica Miracky, educator

Monica Miracky, 64, who was a teacher and administrator at the private Edmund Burke School in Washington for 40 years, died July 23 at her home in the District. The cause was cancer, said a friend, Philip Bender.

Ms. Miracky was born in Milwaukee. She joined the faculty at Burke in 1980 as a teacher of English, values and ethics. At her death, she was assistant head of school for programs and head of the middle school.

### Cyril Gatewood, car sales manager

Cyril Gatewood, 68, a cars sales manager who for most of his working life managed sales at Criswell Chevrolet in Gaithersburg, Md., died Aug. 6 at a hospital in Silver Spring, Md. The cause was chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, said a daughter, Barbara McLain.

Mr. Gatewood, a Gaithersburg resident, was born in Washington. He had been retired since 2008, when he suffered serious injuries in an auto accident.

### Mario Dolfi, Air Force master sergeant

Mario Dolfi, 100, an Air Force master sergeant who retired in 1965 after 26 years of military service, died July 28 at a veterans hospital in Martinsburg, W.Va. The cause was cancer, said a sister-in-law, June Park.

Mr. Dolfi, a resident of Centreville, Va., was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. He joined what was the Army Air Corps in 1939 and participated in combat operations during World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War.

### Charles Boehne, federal employee

Charles Boehne, 94, a 40-year federal employee who retired 20 years ago as the superintendent of the National Fire Academy in Emmitsburg, Md., died July 26 at a hospital in Bethesda, Md. The cause was pneumonia, said a daughter, Nancy Mills.

Mr. Boehne, a resident of Rockville, Md., was born in Evansville, Ind. He grew up in Washington, the son of Rep. John W. Boehne Jr. (D-Ind.). His federal career included service with the Census Bureau, the Consumer Product Safety Commission and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

### Phyllis Umansky, synagogue member

Phyllis Umansky, 70, a former Washington Hebrew Congregation member who supported social service and cancer research organizations, died June 19 at a memory care center in Dallas. The cause was dementia, said her husband, Kenneth Umansky.

Mrs. Umansky was born Phyllis Jaschik in Washington. She was a member of Hadassah Greater Washington and a volunteer at Hebrew Home of Greater Washington and Meals on Wheels. She chaired committees at Lakewood Country Club in Rockville, Md., and raised money for the Multiple Myeloma Association. She lived in the D.C. area on and off until 2016, when she moved from Potomac, Md., to Dallas.

### Hazen Gale Sr., economist

Hazen Gale Sr., 86, an agricultural economist who worked about 25 years for the Treasury Department analyzing raw materials and marine resources before retiring in the early 1990s, died July 29 at a hospital in Falls Church, Va. The cause was complications from covid-19, said his daughter, Susan Gale.

Mr. Gale, who lived in McLean, Va., was born in Ossipee, N.H. He moved to the D.C. area in the 1960s and began his civil service career with the USDA. He was a tax consultant in his retirement years and a member of St. John the Beloved Catholic Church in McLean.

### Erika Thiringer, teacher

Erika Thiringer, 85, a fluent Hungarian, German and French speaker who worked as a foreign language substitute teacher and interpreter for Fairfax County Public Schools in the 1980s and '90s, died July 16 at her home in Sarasota, Fla. The cause was melanoma, said her daughter-in-law Kathleen Thiringer.

Mrs. Thiringer, a former resident of Alexandria, Va., moved to Florida in 2001. She was born Erika Forfota in Szeged, Hungary, and came to the D.C. area in 1964. She volunteered with the Girl Scouts and sang in choirs at Queen of Apostles Catholic Church and Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church, both in Alexandria.

—From staff reports

## IN MEMORIAM

## WASHINGTON

**RAYMOND WASHINGTON, III**  
**October 6, 1976 – March 9, 1993**  
 Happy 44th birthday, Ray. You will forever live in our hearts. We love and miss you deeply.  
 Love, Mom, Dad and Kim

## DEATH NOTICE

## ADDISON

**ZIPPER L. ADDISON**  
**August 31, 1939 - September 27, 2020**  
 Peacefully entered eternal rest on September 27, 2020. She is survived by her devoted children, Roger (Cassandra), Tony (Crystal), Frankie (Denise), Zena, Roland and Habibah (Bonnie); 14 grandchildren, 22 great grandchildren and a host of nieces and nephews. Funeral Services will be held on Thursday, October 8, 2020 at Berean Baptist Church, 924 Madison Street S.W., Washington, DC, 20011 with viewing at 10 a.m. and service at 11 a.m. Funeral arrangements entrusted to Dunn & Sons Funeral Services.

## ANDREWS



**VICKY A. ANDREWS**  
 Vicky A. Andrews, longtime Alexandria resident, died Thursday, October 1, 2020, following a 2009 Parkinson's Disease diagnosis. She was 76 and residing in Blue Bell, PA at the time of her death. Born in Berwyn, IL, she graduated cum laude from Knox College and earned an M.A.T. from Harvard University. She taught math at both West Springfield H.S. and Thomas Jefferson H.S., and was an avid amateur ballroom dancer. She is survived by son Eric (Annika), daughter Lisa, six grandchildren, and sister Judith Anderson of Woodbridge, IL. Services will be held online. For info: vickiandrewsinfo@gmail.com

## BATTS

## MATTHEW LEE BATTS

Matthew Lee Batts, age 86, of Washington, DC. We are heartbroken to announce the passing of our beloved. He passed away peacefully at home on September 26, 2020 surrounded by his family. Matthew retired from the Prince George's County School Board in 1992. In his spare time, he enjoyed gardening, fishing, playing the piano, and driving DC cabs for over 25 years. He was affectionately known by his cab number "148," and also for his kindness, infectious laugh, and trademark swag. He was a devoted member of Isle of Patmos Baptist Church for over 30 years, and enjoyed singing bass with the male choir. Matthew is survived by his loving wife, Doreatha. They were blessed with 65 years of marriage, four children, nine grandchildren and six great grandchildren. Funeral services will be held at 11 a.m., October 8, at Isle of Patmos Baptist Church. Visitation will be from 4 - 8 p.m., October 7, 2020. [www.Fort-Lincoln.com](http://www.Fort-Lincoln.com)

## BEHAN

## JOSEPH MICHAEL BEHAN SR. "Joe"

**January 12, 1931 – September 29, 2020 (Age 89)**  
 Joseph Michael Behan Sr. "Joe" of Alexandria, Virginia, died on Tuesday, September 29, 2020, at the age 89. Joe was preceded in death by Eva Marie his beloved wife of 58 years; loving father of Vivian (Behan) Ripley, Robert (Behan), Joseph Behan Jr. (Jennifer), William Behan (Dara); cherished grandfather of Justin (Bethany), Amanda, Liam, Samuel, Jessica, Ella and Abigail; and the best great-grandfather of Skylar and Keelynn. He is survived by his brothers John and William (Dave).

Joe graduated from Washington-Lee High School in 1952. He and his wife raised their family in Alexandria, Virginia. Joe worked at the United States Postal Service in Arlington for 36 years from 1961-1997. He was a life-time member and Battalion Chief of the Alexandria Volunteer Fire Department.

A viewing will take place on Thursday, October 8, 2020 from 3 to 6 p.m. at Everly-Wheatley Funeral Home (Alexandria). Services will be held on Friday, October 9, 2020 at 11 a.m. at Everly-Wheatley Funeral Home (Alexandria) immediately following with burial at National Memorial Park.

## CULP

## ELIZABETH WEBSTER CULP

Elizabeth Webster Culp, 97, homemaker, tennis instructor, and volunteer died in Bethesda, MD on September 25, 2020. The daughter of Earle A., and Elizabeth R. Webster, she was born in 1923 in Knoxville, TN and grew up in Washington, DC where she attended public schools. She attended George Washington University where she was a member of the Alpha Delta Pi social sorority and where she met her beloved husband, Theodore F. Culp.

After her marriage, the couple lived briefly in Washington, DC before moving to Bethesda, MD. Like her friends and family, taught tennis at the Bethesda YMCA. She was active in many clubs and organizations, including the Women's Board of the National Symphony Orchestra, Board of the Episcopal Home for Children, Board of the Davis Memorial Goodwill Industries, as well as President of the Junior Goodwill Guild and President of the All Thumbs Garden Club of Bethesda. Mrs. Culp was an active volunteer in the Communications Office at the White House during the Reagan Administration and a member of the Chevy Chase Women's Republican Club.

Additional memberships included the Washington Club and Kenwood Golf and Country Club where she played on the ladies tennis team.

After her husband retired as Vice President of GEICO, they travelled over much of the world as members of the People to People Tennis team and later with the People to People Golf teams.

She and her husband were founding members of St. Dunstan's Episcopal Church in Bethesda, MD.

Since her husband's death in 1994, Mrs. Culp has continued to actively support Strathmore Hall where he was President of the Board and active in the planning of the Music Center at Strathmore. Strathmore honored the many years of Culp family support with a sculpture entitled "Granddaughters", on display at the entrance to the Strathmore mansion grounds.

Mrs. Culp's survivors include two sons, Theodore F. Culp, Jr. (Lisa) of Washington, DC and Richard W. Culp (Holland), of Bethesda, MD, three grandchildren and six great-grandchildren.

There will be a private interment at Arlington National Cemetery in lieu of flowers. Contributions may be made to the Elizabeth W. and Theodore F. Culp Family Sculpture Garden, Strathmore, 5301 Tuckerman Lane, North Bethesda, MD 20852.



## GOLDSTEIN

## EDWIN F. GOLDSTEIN

**On Sunday, October 4, 2020,**  
 EDWIN F. GOLDSTEIN of Ridewater Village, Silver Spring, MD. Beloved husband of Grace Feldman Goldstein, loving father of Bart and David (Linda) Goldstein and Nancy (Rob) Reilmann, dear grandfather of Jessica, Mark, Mason, Brittany, Lauren, Nicole and Alex. Graveside services were private. Memorial contributions may be made to the charity of your choice. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

## DEATH NOTICE

## GROOMS



**LILLIE SCOTT GROOMS (Age 90)**  
 Peacefully entered into eternal rest on Friday, September 25, 2020. Survived by her two children, Sheryl Brissett Chapman (Mamoudou Abdoulaye Seck) and Kenneth Bernard Grooms (Karen Morton Grooms); seven grandchildren, Chana Brissett and Colby Chapman Tyson (Bruce Tyson, Jr.), Scott Chapman and Qadiyyah Harris, Ain Grooms, Kya Grooms, and Keenen Grooms; three great-grandchildren, Jada Sydney, and Zaire and Aria Wortham; brother, Robert L. Scott (Cathine); sisters, Clara M. Scott and Geneva Williams (Joe); niece, Debra Scott and many close relatives and family friends. Predeceased by her husband of 64 years, Marion Grooms. A viewing will be held on Thursday, October 8, 2020 from 10 a.m. to 11 a.m. at Takoma Park Baptist Church, 635 Aspen St., NW, Washington, DC 20012, followed by a private, virtual homegoing celebration at 11 a.m. Interment at Gate of Heaven Cemetery. In lieu of flowers, contributions in her memory may be made to The National Center for Children and Families (NCCF), 6301 Greenview Rd., Bethesda, MD 20817. [www.mcguire-services.com](http://www.mcguire-services.com)

## HARRISON



**VIRGINIA WATTS HARRISON**  
 Virginia Watts Harrison died on October 1, 2020, at her home after suffering from ALS for seven months. Known as "VV", she was a long time resident of Georgetown, having moved here in 1964 to work in the office of the newly elected senator from New York, Robert F. Kennedy.

Born in Baltimore, MD in 1941, VV was the daughter of Virginia Watt of Baltimore and Cyril Harrison of New York City, NY. Her father, an eight goal polo star of the 20s and 30s, was recently inducted into the Polo Hall of Fame. Because of polo, the family moved to Camden, SC where VV grew up, attending the Calvert School in Camden, Garrison Forest, Ashley Hall, and Convent of the Sacred Heart Eden Hall in Philadelphia followed by Duchesne Finishing School in NYC. Escaped as a "hall" conformist with a hell-fellow-well-met personality" by the head nun at Duchesne, VV was expelled from the school for entering the nuns' cloistered refectory and putting Tootsie Roll Pops in their perfectly folded napkins.

15 years later, VV wrote a memoir of the Society of the Sacred Heart, Changing Habits. In the process of interviewing nuns for the book, VV described the Tootsie Roll caper to a nun who responded she knew all about it as she had been the recipient of one of those pops and had enjoyed it very much. With a smile and a wink, the nun added, "I never knew who to thank!"

Changing Habits was published in 1988. VV also co-authored Confusion to the Enemy, a biography of Edward Ball, and wrote numerous articles for the Washington Post, the Washingtonian, Best of the Post and American Home. She delighted her friends with her rhyming poems written with sentiment and satire for every occasion.

VV is survived by her sister, Lee Harrison Child, her beloved nieces Eleanor Downing Child, Katherine Courtney Begert, and Harrison Child, her six grand nieces and nephews, and her many friends who will remember her laughter, light and love. Service private.

## LYNCH



## THOMAS JOSEPH LYNCH, JR.

On September 27, 2020, Thomas Joseph Lynch, Jr., passed away. Born on September 8, 1932, Mr. Lynch was the child of Bridget O'Shaughnessy and Thomas Lynch from Ireland. He was raised in Brooklyn and attended City College of New York where he received his Bachelor of Science Degree. He attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, receiving his Masters in Electrical Engineering and then matriculated from the University of Maryland having earned a PhD in electrical engineering. Mr. Lynch was a veteran, having served as a Lieutenant in the U.S. Army Signal Corps from 1955-1957. Upon leaving the army, Mr. Lynch worked for 22 years at NASA and six years at the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1980, he married Corinne Herk in 1958. He is survived by his two children, Brian and Maurea Lynch and three grandchildren. Services will be held at Our Lady of Mercy, Potomac Maryland at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, October 7, 2020. In lieu of flowers, donations to the Wounded Warrior Project would be greatly appreciated.

## REUTER

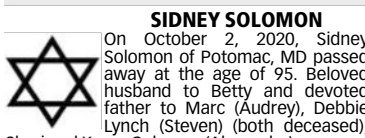
## LEROY REUTER "Roy"

## LTC, U.S. Army (Ret.)

LeRoy "Roy" Reuter, 85, of Manassas, Virginia, passed away on September 13, 2020, surrounded by family. Roy was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 8, 1934, the only son of parents Adam and Evelyn (Hasselback) Reuter. Raised in Cincinnati, he earned an undergraduate degree in civil engineering from the University of Cincinnati and his PhD from the University of Oklahoma. He proudly served over 20 years in the U.S. Army, retiring in 1979 as a Lieutenant Colonel, after which he continued his career as an environmental engineer in northeast Ohio. He was for many years in leadership positions at the First Congregational Church of Hudson, Ohio, and the Twin Lakes Country Club. An avid and accomplished golfer, he was an enthusiastic fan of college and professional sports, and a bit of a "foodie," but loved most spending time with family. He was predeceased by his loving wife, Ellen Klein Reuter, who passed in August, 2014, and son-in-law Daniel Houle. He is survived by son Brad Reuter (Nancy Brandgard), of Bedford, Ohio, and their children Aileen and Theresa; son Dean Reuter (Lou Anne Train), of Bristol, Virginia, and their children Taylor and Hannah; and daughter Rachel Reuter of Prosper, Texas, and her daughter Sydney, as well as eight great-grandchildren and one great-grandniece. Roy will be laid to rest at Arlington National Cemetery with full military funeral honors. In lieu of flowers, please send donations in the name of Roy Reuter to the Association of the United States Army (classy.org), Arlington, Virginia.

## DEATH NOTICE

## SOLOMON



**SIDNEY SOLOMON**  
 On October 2, 2020, Sidney Solomon of Potomac, MD passed away at the age of 95. Beloved husband to Betty and devoted father to Marc (Audrey), Debbie Lynch (Steven) (both deceased), Shari and Karen Coleman (Alexander).

Cherished grandfather to Jaclyn (Ben), Ryan, Morgan, Lauren (Michael), Michael, Simcha (Chaya), Moshe (Rivka), Chana (Joseph), Hadasah, Nechama and Gershon. Great grandfather to Stella, Logan and Benjamin. Son of the late Israel and Yetta Solomon, brother to the late Jack, Ruth, Danny, Ben, Marvin and survived by sisters Selma and Bernice and dozens of loved nieces and nephews. Sidney served in the Navy during WWII and was awarded several medals and ribbons for his service in the Pacific Theater including two Jimas. Upon leaving the Navy Sidney embarked on a successful career of owning and operating multiple small business in Washington, DC, the last of which was Capitol Restaurant Equipment Co., one of Washington's largest equipment companies. Due to COVID and the family's wishes, a private graveside service will be held. Donations in his honor can be made to the Institute for Jewish Ethics, [www.jethics.org](http://www.jethics.org). Arrangements by Hines-Rinaldi Funeral Home, LLC under the Jewish Funeral Practices Committee of Greater Washington Contract.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

## DEATH NOTICE

## TURNER

**WILLIAM E. TURNER "Pat" (Age 92)**  
 On September 23, 2020 of Lanham MD. Memorial Service to be held on Thursday, October 8 from 10 a.m. until service at 11 a.m. at Royal Oak Pentecostal Church, 7401 Willow Hill Drive, Landover MD. Services entrusted to John T. Rhines Funeral Home.

## ZELLER

**ELIZABETH ANN ZELLER**  
 On Saturday, October 3, 2020, ELIZABETH ANN ZELLER, nee Schimmler, daughter of Ridewater Village, Silver Spring, MD. Beloved mother of Susan (Robert) Silver, Jennifer (Christopher) Kaufman, Laura (Stuart) Simms, Peter (Michele) and John Zeller, Boyer, as well as Zoe Jane Spielman, also survived by 12 grandchildren and six great grandchildren. Private graveside services at Columbia Memorial Park, Clarksville, MD. Memorial contributions may be made to The National Breast Cancer Foundation, Inc. Arrangements entrusted to TORCHINSKY HEBREW FUNERAL HOME, 202-541-1001.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

## REMEMBER YOUR LOVED ONES

December 13, 2020

The Washington Post Magazine will publish an Annual Commemorative Section.

Plan to be a part of this annual tradition!

**RATES**  
**\$11.10 per Line**  
**\$150 B&W Photo**  
**\$200 Color Photo**

## DEADLINE

5 p.m.  
 Friday, November 13, 2020

For more information, please call:  
 202-334-4122 or 1-800-627-1150, ext. 4-4122

E-mail:  
[deathnotices@washpost.com](mailto:deathnotices@washpost.com)

## DEATH NOTICE

## DEATH NOTICE

## KLAASSEN



## WILHELMINA BULTEN KLAASSEN "Willy"

Wilhelmina Bulten Klaassen "Willy" was born June 3, 1928, in the Netherlands, in Aalten, a small town near the German border and passed away on October 3, 2020. Willy was an avid reader and that helped her get through five trying years of Nazi occupation during the war when she was 11-16 years old. The kitchen of her family home was bombed during the war forcing the Bulten family to move. She helped her mom in the family flower shop while her father ran a successful landscape nursery. After the war, Willy went to University and studied education in Rotterdam. During this time she started a long courtship with the handsome Peter Klaassen. Peter was drafted into the Dutch army after WWII and served in Indonesia for two years. Finally marrying in 1954 they honeymooned in Europe by motorcycle. On one occasion Peter stopped suddenly and Willy knew he had been hurt. She got up and back on the bike like nothing happened because "that's just what you do." It happened again a few days later.

Housing and the job market in the Netherlands during the post war years was challenging for the ambitious couple who wanted to make their mark on the world. So, like many before them, they looked abroad for lands of opportunity and considered emigrating to Australia, Canada or the United States. An opportunity to move to the USA arose in 1955 and the adventurous couple boarded a boat in Rotterdam bound for New York followed by train across America. They settled just north of Seattle, Washington, in the small town of Mt. Vernon. In the years that followed they became US Citizens and four children were born to this new American family, Paul, Annely, Janine and John.

In 1971 their Dutch spirit for adventure and exploration motivated the Klaassen family of six as they drove across America in a U-Haul truck to Fairfax, Virginia. Willy became the director of Commonwealth Christian school. A few years later, and now in her 50's, she founded The Appletree Private School which provided care and education for toddlers and up through the Third Grade. Parents flocked to this new school with the knowledgeable, energetic, peppy director with a charming Dutch accent. It was so successful, she opened a second location in Northern Virginia just a few years later. After two decades she retired from the Appletree Schools to travel more time reading, traveling with Peter, taking in the beauty of the Chesapeake Bay and visiting family.

Willy always looked at the bright side of things. She didn't judge, she loved. She was a woman of strong Christian faith that motivated her to find beauty and truth and things worthy of praise in her surroundings. Her grace and warm welcome to all were her hallmarks. Willy created cozy (or as the Dutch would say "gezellig") environments and experiences wherever she went. This wonderful, strong woman will be sorely missed but her legacy lives on in her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren and in the thousands of children she taught.

A private burial will be held Tuesday, October 6, 2020, at Hill Hill Cemetery at 2 p.m. Arrangements have been provided by Money & King in Vienna and friends & family are invited to share a memory or add to the tribute wall in the electronic guestbook at [www.moneyandking.com](http://www.moneyandking.com)

A celebration of Wilhelmina's amazing life will be held in the Spring/Summer of 2021.

## ROBEY



## CHARLES WALTER ROBEY

From the village of Brookmont, Maryland in the suburbs of Washington, DC came a remarkable man who was Charles Walter Robey "Charlie." Charlie passed away on September 29, 2020 due to complications of a stroke at the age of 88.

He graduated from Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School and attended North Carolina State University. As a young boy, he fished along the shores of the Potomac river and explored the Palisades on both sides of the river. During one of these offshore moments, at the age of 17 years old, Charlie encountered a man who had become trapped on a rock due to the strong currents of the Great Falls. In an act of selfless courage, Charlie plunged into the dangerous undertow of the water. He jumped from rock to rock to get to the hysterical man and led him to the safety of the shores. Charlie Robey became a legend in his own time and was a celebrated town hero. An accomplished athlete in all sports amongst his peers, Charlie hit a game-winning home run at Griffith Stadium, bringing in two runs which won the national championship. These boyhood shortcomings were treated with true humility, a virtue that continued until his death. Charlie was a gifted man with his hands and became a self-made expert mechanic with cars and boats. His love of the water led him to become an avid fisherman. His greatest joy was sailing his boat in the Chesapeake Bay with his beloved sons, having crab feasts and fish fries with his family and friends. Charlie served in the United States Army, stationed in "Occupied Germany." It was here that he met Frank Mudd, who introduced him to his

sister and future wife, Mary Catherine Mudd. Charlie and Mary were married for 59 years and were inseparable. When their children arrived, Charlie would spend hours sterilizing bottles for his twin baby boy and girl, folding diapers, and rocking all of his children on his lap. For this reason, he became revered by his children. Charlie would surprise his children at Christmas and birthdays with astonishing gifts that delighted them to no end. He was a sterling treasured father, coaching his three sons in baseball, football, fishing, and boating. He was a strict father figure and gained great respect from his children, which continued until his death. Charlie was involved in Pinewood Derbies, making snowmen, baking cookies, and attending many violin and piano recitals for his daughter. As a son-in-law, he greatly admired his in-laws, accepting them as if they were his own parents and siblings. Charlie was a quiet, shy person. He decided to convert to Catholicism as a young man and was baptized without any instruction of the Catholic faith. He worked hard to understand all of its teachings, a tribute to the man he strived to become. Charlie worked for RCA for 20 years. He then became a Defense Contractor, eventually becoming the CEO for TPI. Charlie received his Last Rites and also was given the spiritual gift of Penance indulgence, with his family surrounding him.

He is survived by four children, Charles Walter Robey Jr., Mary Frances Robey-Little, Thomas Paul Robey, and Christian Samuel Robey; predeceased by Clifton Stanley Robey who passed at birth. He was a loving grandfather to Christopher Robey, Maria Robey, Cecilia Robey, Augustus Little, Alexandra Little, Caroline Little, Samuel Robey, Fletcher Robey, George Robey, Beckett Robey, and Blaise Robey. He also has three great-grandchildren, Austin-Kate Bryda, Eleanor Robey, and one on the way, Charlie died tenderly in the arms of his family. His family will greatly miss the man "Charlie Robey" who was the greatest force of nature and strength, in a legacy that will continue forever.

A Mass of Christian Burial will take place on Wednesday, October 7, 2020 at 10 a.m. at Saint Timothy Catholic Church, in Chantilly, Virginia. There will be a viewing on October 6, 2020 at Money, King and Christian Home from 5 to 7 p.m., in Vienna, Virginia. In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to Capital Care Hospice in Manassas, Virginia. I love you, your children love you, and you will be missed by all who loved a noble Charlie. May He Rest in Peace O Lord.

## IN MEMORIAM

## DENBO



## BEV DENBO

Happy birthday, Bebe!  
 We love you and miss you everyday

## GARVEY



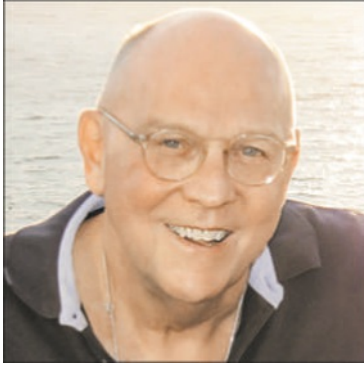
## CATHERINE GARVEY "Pat"

May 7, 1939 - October 6, 2007

A kind and gentle woman. She taught us love, brought us joy, and will forever be in our hearts.

## DEATH NOTICE

## BAKER



## DONALD PHILIP BAKER

Born February 2, 1937. Died September 30, 2020. He was the son of Donald Baker and Mildred Higgin Baker. He is survived by David R. Bender, Life Partner and niece, Julie Baker Boyer, as well as David's three children, Robert, Scott and Lori, plus many friends and extended family members. In lieu of flowers, a donation to Alfred University, Alfred, NY or the Spanish Steps Foundation, Washington, There will be a private service for the family with interment in the Garth of the Washington National Cathedral. At a later date a Celebration of Phil's Life will be held.

## SNOWDEN



## JAMES JOHN SNOWDEN, JR.

James John Snowden, Jr., former Washington Redskins Offensive Tackle (1965-1973), passed away on Saturday, October 3, 2020 at his home in Gainesville, VA. He was born on January 12, 1941 in Youngstown, OH to the late James John Snowden, Sr. and Estelle (Gandy) Snowden. James is survived by his loving wife Joelle Mahe Snowden. Services will be held at a later date. Condolences may be sent to [www.pierceff.com](http://www.pierceff.com)

## DEATH NOTICES

MONDAY-FRIDAY 8:30 a.m. - 5 p.m.  
 SATURDAY-SUNDAY 11 a.m. - 4 p.m.

To place a notice, call:

202-334-4122

800-627-1150 ext 4-4122

FAX: 202-334-7188

EMAIL: [deathnotices@washpost.com](mailto:deathnotices@washpost.com)

Email and faxes MUST include name, home address & home phone # of the responsible billing party. Fax & email deadline - 3 p.m. daily Phone-in deadline 4 p.m. M-F 3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2020 RATES: (PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY



# THE WEATHER

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/WEATHER • TWITTER: @CAPITALWEATHER • FACEBOOK.COM/CAPITALWEATHER

## Mostly sunny

It will be another superb day. Perhaps the best of the bunch of late? Skies will be mostly sunny as temperatures rise to highs in the mid-70s. It's not impossible that a touch of high-level smoke from Western wildfires will work in, but it won't amount to much of anything if so. Winds will be from the southwest, about 5 to 10 mph.

Today

Mostly sunny

**73°** 57°

FEELS\*: **73°**

CHNCE PRECIP: **0%**

WIND: **SSW 6-12 mph**

HUMIDITY: **Moderate**

Wednesday

Mostly sunny

**82°** 57°

FEELS: **81°**

P: **0%**

W: **SW 8-16 mph**

H: **Moderate**

Thursday

Sunny, breezy

**71°** 50°

FEELS: **69°**

P: **0%**

W: **NW 10-20 mph**

H: **Moderate**

Friday

Partly sunny

**70°** 58°

FEELS: **72°**

P: **0%**

W: **SE 4-8 mph**

H: **Moderate**

Saturday

Mostly cloudy

**75°** 63°

FEELS: **73°**

P: **20%**

W: **SSW 7-14 mph**

H: **Moderate**

Sunday

Rain possible

**72°** 61°

FEELS: **71°**

P: **45%**

W: **NNE 6-12 mph**

H: **High**

OFFICIAL RECORD

Temperatures

Statistics through 5 p.m. Monday

	Reagan	Dulles	BWI
High	<b>70°</b> 3:29 p.m.	<b>68°</b> 2:00 p.m.	<b>71°</b> 2:16 p.m.
Low	<b>55°</b> 7:00 a.m.	<b>48°</b> 7:00 a.m.	<b>50°</b> 1:59 p.m.
Normal	72°/55°	72°/48°	70°/49°
Record high	96° 1941	90° 2013	97° 1941
Record low	37° 1935	32° 1970	35° 1996

Difference from 30-yr. avg. (Reagan): this month: **-2.5°** yr. to date: **+2.2°**

Precipitation

	Reagan	Dulles	BWI
Past 24 hours	0.02"	0.06"	0.03"
Total this month	0.13"	0.15"	0.19"
Normal	0.54"	0.52"	0.57"
Total this year	41.51"	36.65"	42.28"
Normal	30.75"	32.53"	32.55"

Moon Phases

	Oct 9	Oct 16	Oct 23	Oct 31
Sun				
Moon	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter	Full

Solar system

	Rise	Set
Sun	7:09 a.m.	6:42 p.m.
Moon	9:28 p.m.	11:28 a.m.
Venus	3:54 a.m.	5:08 p.m.
Mars	7:17 p.m.	8:01 a.m.
Jupiter	2:38 a.m.	12:08 a.m.
Saturn	3:04 p.m.	12:43 a.m.

REGION

Pollen: **Moderate**

Grass Low

Trees Low

Weeds Low

Mold Moderate

Air Quality: **Good**

Dominant cause: Particulates

UV: **Moderate**

4 out of 11+

**Blue Ridge:** Today, mostly sunny. High 59-64. Wind west 7-14 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 48-53. Wind west 4-8 mph. Wednesday, sunny, windy. High 64-68. Wind west 12-25 mph. Thursday, sunny. High 58-62. Wind north 7-14 mph. Friday, partly sunny. High 56-60.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, mostly sunny. High 70-75. Wind southwest 6-12 mph. Tonight, clear. Low 59-63. Wind southwest 7-14 mph. Wednesday, sunny, breezy. High 76-82. Wind southwest 8-16 mph. Thursday, sunny, breezy. High 67-72. Wind northwest 10-20 mph.

**Waterways:** *Upper Potomac River:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind southwest 3-6 knots. Waves around a foot. Visibility clear to the horizon. • *Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay:* Today, mostly sunny. Wind south 5-10 knots. Waves a foot or less on the lower Potomac and 1-2 feet on the Chesapeake. Visibility clear. • *River Stages:* The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.20 feet today, falling to 3.10 Wednesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

Today's tides (High tides in Bold)

	Washington	Annapolis	Ocean City	Norfolk	Point Lookout
6:21 a.m.					
<b>11:34 a.m.</b>					
5:57 p.m.					
<b>11:35 p.m.</b>					
3:01 a.m.					
<b>8:11 a.m.</b>					
2:39 p.m.					
<b>9:25 p.m.</b>					
4:38 a.m.					
<b>11:00 a.m.</b>					
5:23 p.m.					
<b>11:19 p.m.</b>					
12:34 a.m.					
6:32 a.m.					
<b>12:50 p.m.</b>					
7:18 p.m.					
<b>5:13 p.m.</b>					
none					

NATION

Weather map features for noon today.

Tstorms

Rain

Showers

Snow

Flurries

Ice

Cold Front

Warm Front

Stationary Front

Yesterday's National

High: Palm Springs, CA **106°**

Low: Angel Fire, NM **18°**

for the 48 contiguous states

World

High: In Guezzam, Algeria **109°**

Low: Summit Station, Greenland **-17°**

excludes Antarctica

	Today	Tomorrow
Des Moines	78/54/s	80/51/s
Detroit	68/55/pc	71/43/pc
El Paso	93/58/s	92/58/s
Fairbanks, AK	48/37/pc	50/36/c
Fargo, ND	74/47/pc	68/40/s
Hartford, CT	69/53/pc	73/46/pc
Honolulu	89/75/s	90/75/pc
Houston	87/59/s	88/67/pc
Indianapolis	73/54/pc	79/48/s
Jackson, MS	83/59/s	86/65/s
Jacksonville, FL	83/71/sh	84/72/sh
Kansas City, MO	80/55/s	85/67/pc
Las Vegas	97/65/s	96/67/pc
Little Rock	77/53/s	84/57/s
Los Angeles	89/63/pc	84/62/pc
Louisville	74/55/s	82/54/s
Memphis	77/54/s	83/59/s
Miami	89/81/t	90/79/c
Minneapolis	70/57/pc	69/47/c
Minneapolis	75/53/pc	68/46/pc
Nashville	78/50/s	83/55/s
New Orleans	78/71/sh	85/73/pc
New York City	70/58/s	74/54/pc
Norfolk	75/62/s	82/64/s
Oklahoma City	83/55/s	88/58/s
Omaha	82/53/s	83/55/s
Orlando	90/76/t	90/74/sh
Philadelphia	71/56/s	77/54/s
Phoenix	104/71/s	103/71/s
Pittsburgh	66/52/s	72/46/s
Portland, ME	64/53/pc	67/48/sh
Portland, OR	76/56/s	73/54/pc
Providence, RI	68/56/pc	73/49/pc
Raleigh, NC	77/58/s	82/59/s
Reno, NV	87/46/s	84/47/s
Richmond	76/57/s	81/56/s
Sacramento	93/54/s	87/55/s
St. Louis	78/59/s	84/56/s
St. Thomas, VI	88/78/sh	86/79/sh
Salt Lake City	82/52/s	84/56/s
San Diego	83/64/pc	80/64/pc
San Francisco	74/55/pc	69/58/pc
San Juan, PR	88/76/sh	88/77/sh
Seattle	68/53/s	64/54/s
Spokane, WA	76/49/s	77/49/s
Syracuse	69/55/pc	64/46/r
Tampa	91/79/t	91/76/sh
Wichita	84/53/s	90/56/s

Hong Kong

86/73/pc

86/73/pc

Islamabad

95/65/pc

95/66/pc

Istanbul

85/68/pc

84/70/pc

Jerusalem

86/65/s

86/67/s

Johannesburg

69/55/t

68/52/c

Kabul

82/46/pc

81/50/pc

Kinshasa, Jam.

85/80/t

87/78/t

Kolkata

91/80/t

90/80/t

Lagos

83/74/t

83/75/t

Lima

68/60/s

67/60/pc

Lisbon

78/59/pc

80/61/pc

London

60/49/sh

60/51/sh

Madrid

76/51/pc

77/54/pc

Manila

91/80/t

89/79/t

Mexico City

72/44/pc

74/46/c

Montreal

64/53/pc

59/42/r

Moscow

66/51/pc

61/52/c

Mumbai

91/79/c

91/80/pc

Nairobi

84/55/s

84/56/s

New Delhi

95/70/pc

96/69/pc

Oslo

54/48/r

55/48/r

Ottawa

60/50/sh

58/39/r

Paris

61/51/sh

62/53/sh

Prague

60/47/c

57/45/sh

Rio de Janeiro

88/76/s

82/76/pc

Riyadh

103/77/pc

100/74/pc

Rome

71/60/pc

73/53/sh

San Salvador

84/68/t

82/68/r

Santiago

70/42/pc

75/40/s

Sarajevo

70/46/s

61/46/sh

Seoul

67/47/c

70/47/pc

Shanghai

74/64/c

73/64/c

Singapore

86/78/sh

86/78/pc

Stockholm

57/49/s

57/47/c

Sydney

73/65/c

72/67/c

Taipei City

79/71/c

82/67/c

Tehran

72/56/t

69/57/sh

Tokyo

73/61/pc

71/59/r

Toronto

65/54/sh

64/43/r

Vienna

66/52/pc

60/47/sh

Warsaw

65/49/s

62/47/pc

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NEVER CLEAN YOUR GUTTERS AGAIN!®

ROSHAN PATEL/SMITHSONIAN'S NATIONAL ZOO

Genetic testing has revealed that the giant panda cub born at the National Zoo is a boy. Veterinarians said the cub, pictured here at 1 month old, appears to be healthy and strong.

## THE DISTRICT

# Giant panda cub is male, zoo says

BY MICHAEL E. RUANE

The National Zoo said Monday that, based on the results of genetic testing, its 6-week-old giant panda cub is male.

“Outwardly, male and female cubs appear similar at birth, so a genetic test was the most accurate way to determine the cub’s sex,” the zoo said in a statement. “During the cub’s first veterinary exam Sept. 19 ... veterinarians obtained a swab from his cheek for DNA analysis.”

Veterinarians said the cub appears to be healthy and strong.

The cub weighs 3.6 pounds, measures 14 inches “from nose to tail tip,” and is 12.5 inches around. The cub was born Aug. 21, giving Washington its first giant panda cub in five years.

Officials say they expect to name the animal in a few weeks

Zoo officials said they expect to name in the panda in a few weeks.

The cub’s mother, Mei Xiang, 22, is the oldest giant panda in the United States and the second-oldest known in the world to give birth. At that age, Mei had less than a 1 percent chance of having a cub, the zoo said.

She was also the first giant panda in the United States to give birth after the use of frozen semen, the zoo said. The cub’s father, Tian Tian, is 23.

The zoo is open, but with virus

safety restrictions. The panda house at the David M. Rubenstein Family Giant Panda Habitat is closed to provide quiet for Mei Xiang and her cub.

The Asia Trail area, which includes the panda viewing area, is temporarily closed for sidewalk repaving.

Mei Xiang has given birth to three other surviving offspring: Tai Shan and Bao Bao, both males, and Bei Bei, a female.

Tai Shan was born July 9, 2005, and was moved to China in February 2010. Bao Bao was born Aug. 23, 2013, and was moved to China in February 2017. Bei Bei was born Aug. 22, 2015, and was moved to China last November.

By agreement, all cubs born at the National Zoo are moved to China when they are 4 years old.

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## Concerns rise over safety of White House residence staff

BY JADA YUAN

Charles Allen's late father, Eugene Allen, who was the subject of the 2013 film "The Butler" and served eight White House families from the Trumans to the Reagans, never missed a day of work in 34 years of government service. But if his father were still working in the White House residence today, Charles says he would have very simple advice: "I would implore him to retire."

His uncle, John Johnson, was also a butler, and the flouting of safety protocols that has made the White House a coronavirus hot spot has also put the staff members who work where President Trump and first lady Melania Trump live at risk of exposure. It has Allen puzzled and incensed.

"I would be begging my dad and uncle, 'You need to get the hell up out of there,'" he said. "It's like: 'Get out! Get out!'"

The White House residence staff members are largely Black and Latino, and often elderly, according to Kate Anderson Brower, who compiled a trove of interviews with former staffers for her book "The Residence." Numbering 90-some full-time ushers, butlers, housekeepers, valets, florists, engineers and cooks charged with maintaining the historical house and creating a comfortable home free from prying eyes, they work more closely with the first family than perhaps anyone else in that building. These employees often keep their positions for decades and work for administration after administration, viewing their job as holding up the integrity of the White House regardless of who is in office.

"They're supporting an institution, not a singular presidency," said Anita McBride, who was Laura Bush's chief of staff and is a White House historian for American University.

Discretion, too, is a key component of a residence staffer's job. Speaking out about anything, including working conditions, can be a cause for dismissal. Two members of the housekeeping department who tested positive several weeks ago were told to use "discretion" when discussing their diagnosis, according to a New York Times report Monday that The Washington Post confirmed.

As the residence staff has been caring for the first family, a chorus of concern has started to rise among former White House and residence staff members about whether the first family and the administration are taking care of those employees in return. For months, this administration has treated the White House as a bubble immune to the coronavirus, ignoring guidance from its own

SEE STAFF ON C3

### POP CULTURE

'Song Exploder' takes a close listen to popular songs. **c3**

### KIDSPOT

Watching the debates doesn't have to be for parents only. **c8**

### CAROLYN HAX

Sometimes, a support network isn't enough to help. **c8**



YIFAN WU FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## BETTER SUITED FOR THE OFFICE

While many revel in working from home dressed like schlubs, some crave the formality of normalcy.

BY ROBIN GIVHAN

Tami Wells Thomas is an attorney who also serves as a part-time magistrate judge in Newton County, which is about 40 miles outside of Atlanta. While her legal practice remains entirely virtual, she has been going into the courthouse to hear cases by video conference. ¶ She dresses up for these occasions because she sees business attire as one of the guard rails of decorum. It encourages professionalism. It reflects a seriousness of purpose. It aligns everyone on the same page. ¶ But at the moment, workwear is a kind of split-screen aesthetic in which people such as Thomas have eagerly returned to form . . . and others most definitely have not. Which is how Thomas came to face the video screen with the young man reclining in bed. ¶ "I'm sitting in my chair in a [judicial] robe," Thomas says. "He was in his bed. Like, chillin'." ¶ "He was a defendant," Thomas recalls. "But it wasn't a criminal matter, so I guess he didn't care. But it's still court." ¶ What did judge Thomas say to the aggressively comfortable gentleman who appeared to be in his late 20s? Nothing. But Thomas's silence should not be mistaken for approval. SEE FASHION ON C2

## An artistic examination of Black grief

Exhibition, which opens at NYC's New Museum in January, will feature the works of nearly 40 acclaimed artists

BY SEBASTIAN SMEE

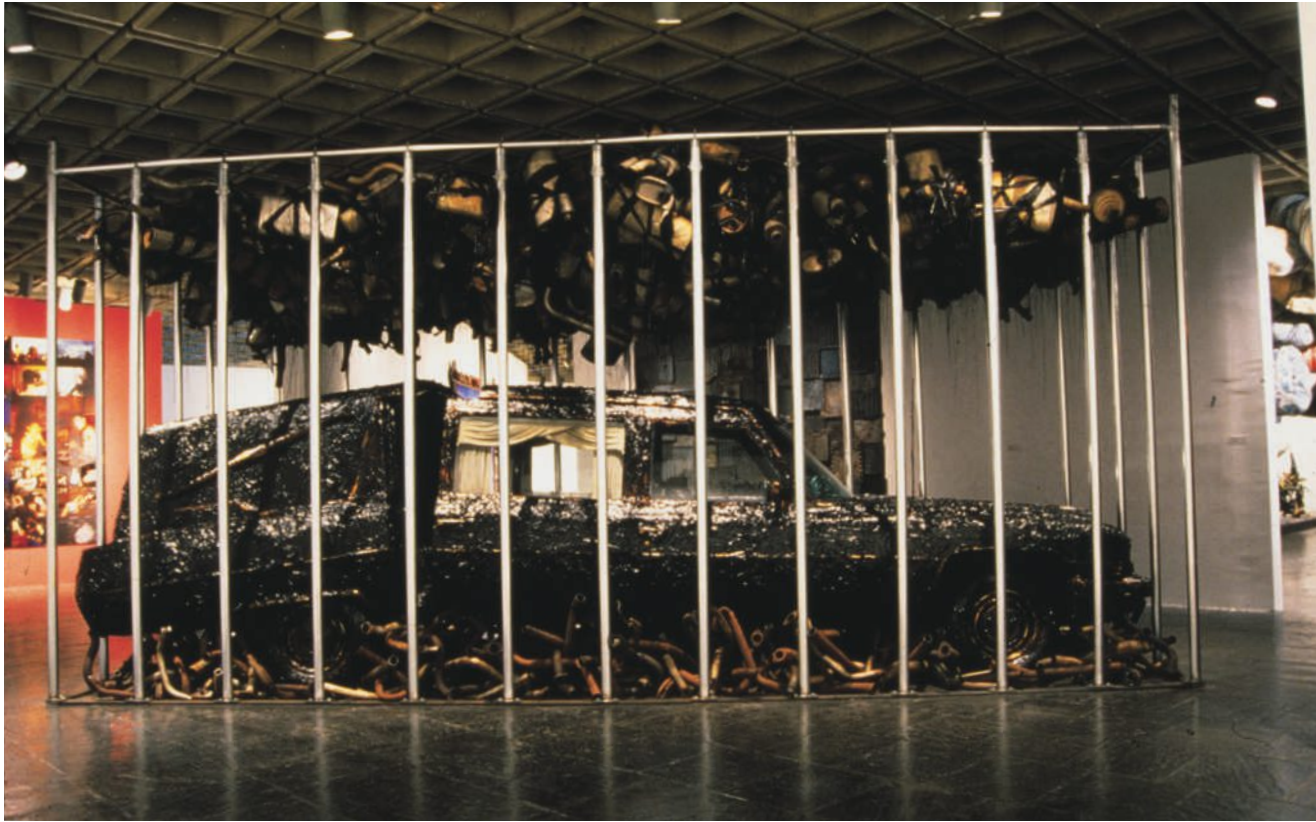
An exhibition featuring an all-star cast of almost 40 of the country's most acclaimed Black artists will open in January at the New Museum in New York. "Grief and Grievance: Art and Mourning in America" brings to fruition the vision of the late Okwui Enwezor, one of the most influential curators of the past 30 years, who died of cancer in March 2019 at age 55.

The show, announced by the museum on Tuesday, is being described by organizers as "incredibly prescient and timely," a "direct response to the national emergency of Black grief" and a "form of collective therapy."

Some of the artists involved credit Enwezor with turning points in their careers. "Quite literally, if you take Okwui out of the equation, I don't even have an art career," said Arthur Jafa, whose era-defining video montage "Love Is the Message, the Message Is Death," set to the Kanye West song "Ultra Lightbeam," will be a key work in the New Museum show.

Other artists in "Grief and Grievance" (which includes a catalogue essay by Ta-Nehisi Coates and music by Tyshawn Sorey) include Mark Bradford, LaToya

SEE EXHIBITION ON C4



COURTESY THE ARTIST, LEHMANN MAUPIN AND GALLERIA CONTINUA

"Peace Keeper" by Nari Ward, one of the artists presented in "Grief and Grievance: Art and Mourning in America."

### BOOK WORLD

## The rest is history. So is the relaxation.

BY PORTER SHREVE



**LEAVE THE WORLD BEHIND**  
By Rumaan Alam  
Ecco. 256 pp.  
\$27.99

If you missed out on traveling this summer to that Airbnb with the swimming pool and the wide-plank floors, the gray marble kitchen island and the invitation to "step into our beautiful house and leave the world behind," Rumaan Alam's third novel makes for a wonderful escape — at first. The family at the heart of "Leave the World Behind" has left its cramped Brooklyn apartment for a week of relaxation in a remote corner of Long Island to celebrate a promotion for the mother, Amanda, at her advertising firm. The father, Clay, a professor of media studies at City Col-

SEE BOOK WORLD ON C5





Tom Ford, whose name is synonymous with finely tailored menswear, has a line with a more carefree look for spring.

TOM FORD PHOTOS

# Returning to the office? No sweats for some people.

FASHION FROM C1

“The computer gives people, I think, a sense of comfort: We’re coming into your home, so I guess we should accept you as you are,” Thomas says. “But it negates the process.”

The future of workwear is not pajamas — of this Thomas is certain. Nor is it loungewear or sweats. It may be, in part, defined by leggings, but even then, the leggings are likely to mimic actual pants.

That’s what Lululemon says, and Lululemon knows everything there is to know about this country’s collective obsession with personal comfort.

“We feel that consumers will require comfort going forward, but will be looking for something that’s a little more dressed up,” says Sun Choe, chief product officer at Lululemon.

To wit: “We launched a pant called the City Sleek.”

They are not typical leggings, says Choe (pronounced SHAY).

*“When I put my suit on, I really feel like I’m a different Bill. I honestly feel like I perform differently; I think differently.”*

Bill Kocis, who works in luxury residential real estate in Manhattan

They are looser. They are cut in the style of a “five pocket-like jean, but constructed more comfortably.”

These five-pocket leggings will not leave the wearer with the illusion that she is naked, which is the aim of many of the brand’s classic offerings. One does not want to go back into the office and sit in a meeting with the boss feeling naked. Instead, the City Sleek pants will offer the sensation of being gently supported in one’s return to normalcy.

“I think it’s a really cool time right now, actually, for apparel and fashion to see how this mash-up of performance and

what used to be known as ‘work-wear’ is going to blend so that the consumer doesn’t have to give up on function and comfort,” Choe says.

As much as people have revealed in their at-home informality, they also speak of a desire for normalcy, a condition marked by a return to the office — with all its bells and whistles. They want to wear the clothes that have gathered dust in their closet. They want to wear all those clothes that still have price tags on them because the restaurants closed, the theaters went dark and the parties were all canceled before they could be debuted. They want leggings, but a dressier version.

A stubbornly optimistic fashion industry believes professionals will emerge from their work-at-home cocoons longing for a happy medium: somewhere between dour, constricting suits and cartoon-printed PJs. They will look for ease in their trousers and a looseness in their tops. They will seek color in their fabrics and a bit of joy in their prints.

And so it was that Tom Ford, known for his strictly tailored menswear, unveiled a collection full of light and poetry during New York’s mostly digital Fashion Week. In a statement, Ford explained his thinking. “I can only hope that by the time these clothes reach the stores in spring ’21 that it will be a more optimistic time. A time when we can all perhaps breathe a sigh of relief and begin to return to our lives as we knew them,” he noted. “The global zeitgeist always [affects] fashion and for me this longing for a hopeful spring translates into somewhat classic, relaxed clothes but clothes that make me smile.”

Thomas, who grew up in Decatur, Ga., and whose aesthetics are shaped by a bit of old-fashioned Southern formality, has been dressing for the courthouse with gusto because it brings her pleasure.

“It was an opportunity to put on real clothes completely, not just from the waist up where you can see me, but, like, completely. The heels that I didn’t get to wear, I want to put those on. I want to put them on for a little bit,” says Thomas, 48. “When I’ve gone into the courthouse, most of the staff continually dressed in their business attire because they wanted to feel like life was normal.”

She was also among the lucky who had been able to continue doing jobs from home, settling into a routine built on a foundation of comfort, of rolling out of bed for a five-minute commute. Even those who were once rigorous in their workday attire let down their guard. And for a while, that felt good.

In ordinary times, Bill Kocis, who works in luxury residential real estate in Manhattan, was a man who wore formal business dress every day. His socks would

complement his tie. His teenage daughter was convinced that he slept in a suit.

When he was working from home, everything became virtual, including apartment tours. He didn’t have to be on camera. He took to spending his day in jeans and a baseball cap.

But then, he returned to his office. He still doesn’t see that many people in person. But the pleasures of extreme informality, the ones he’d embraced in the spring, had given way to a desire to get on with life, a life that was predicated on full suit-and-tie regalia.

And so on a weekday afternoon, he was in his office — well, technically he was in a plexiglass cube — wearing a blue Paul Smith suit and a yellow geometric patterned tie.

“When I put my suit on, I really feel like I’m a different Bill. I honestly feel like I perform differently; I think differently,” says Kocis, (pronounced KO-sis). “When I’m relaxed, sometimes I let my guard down a little bit or I’m a little more lax.”

“So much of real estate is, well, it’s being psychologically helpful to people. I often feel that I’m holding hands, not literally, but you know, emotionally. I also think that it’s a bit of a show, literally and figuratively,” says Kocis, 56. “If I’m going to show somebody my bank statements and my tax returns, they’re going to know everything about me. They have to trust you.” And Kocis believes that they are more comfortable trusting a guy in a business suit than one in a sweatsuit.

Travis DeRamcy is also in the habit of separating people from their money, as he works in fundraising and marketing for a nonprofit based in Chicago. Before the crisis, his office’s dress protocol was business casual. Now that he’s back in the office after three months out, the protocol has shifted to what might best be described as *casual* business casual. Employees can wear shorts. And jeans. And sandals. And they do — especially the men.

But there are also limits, says DeRamcy, 53. Psychological ones. “Maybe last week my manager came in the office and she was dressed in a business suit. And I’m like, ‘Oh, you have a donor meeting today, do you? Are you having a lunch?’ And she was like, no, I just kind of felt like, you know, feeling normal again.”

Business attire — at least some element of it — is a marker of life-as-it-once-was that people seem to crave. There’s also the matter of a closet filled with new clothing that was purchased out of civic duty as alarms were sounded for saving small businesses. Those who responded to the call will not be denied their own personal runway show.

“I like to support minority-owned businesses and women-owned businesses,” says Thomas, 48. “If I bought it, it’s not to hang up in my closet.”

She will wear her suits and her sheaths to the courthouse, where her colleagues join her in their own business attire. Their workplace is once again a professional community. And a place where, hopefully, no defendants will arrive dressed for bed.

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Ford tried to satisfy his “longing for a hopeful spring” with “somewhat classic, relaxed clothes but clothes that make me smile.”



# Behind-the-scenes ‘Song Exploder’ hits the right notes in podcast, on Netflix

BY SONIA RAO

For podcaster Hrishikesh Hirway, it all changed with Bjork. Hirway had been hosting “Song Exploder” for two years, inviting musical artists across genres to each break down the making of a song. As his 60th guest, Bjork wasn’t necessarily the biggest of them all, but she held the top spot on a list of dream guests Hirway mentally drafted when he started working on the podcast in 2013. The episode, on which she dissects both the original and strings versions of “Stonemilker,” marked a turning point for him.

“When she actually did it, it opened the door to some feeling of what was possible with the show,” Hirway reflects. “This daydream, this thing of impossibility, had actually happened.”

“Song Exploder” took off. Currently in its seventh year, it has amassed nearly 200 episodes and consistently ranks among the top podcasts on Apple and Spotify. Loyal listeners have been privy to the inner workings of chart-topping pop singers and indie crooners alike, ranging from Selena Gomez to Big Thief. Then-Fleetwood Mac vocalist Lindsey Buckingham and Yo-Yo Ma showed up in back-to-back episodes two years ago, the latter for a special

installment on his love of the prelude to Bach’s “Cello Suite No. 1 in G Major.”

Hirway’s “unwritten agenda,” as he phrases it, is to demonstrate how fascinating the creative process behind music can be, regardless of whether the song is one listeners would normally go for. Now, he aims to captivate the visually inclined masses with a Netflix series adaptation of “Song Exploder,” which premiered Friday.

The series arrives with four diverse episodes starring Alicia Keys, Lin-Manuel Miranda, Ty Dolla \$ign and R.E.M. While Hirway is physically present in each one — he normally edits himself out of conversations on his podcast so only the artists’ voices remain — he and fellow executive producer Morgan Neville (“20 Feet From Stardom”) channel the podcast’s in-your-ear intimacy with tight framing and narration. Keys leads a discussion of her song “3 Hour Drive,” juxtaposing her exploration of motherhood with featured artist Sampha’s recent loss of his mother. R.E.M. revisits “Losing My Religion,” the unlikely 1991 hit built off a mandolin riff.

Some of the best music out there came together relatively quickly and with ease, Hirway



MATT SAYLES/NETFLIX

Alicia Keys is one of the artists whose songs are dissected by Hrishikesh Hirway, at back, in Netflix’s “Song Exploder.”

says, noting that the success of a song doesn’t always depend on it having a compelling backstory. But the success of “Song Exploder” does. Hirway works with artists to determine which of their tracks holds the most personal significance and which stories have the ability to act as a “key-hole into how an artist’s mind works.”

“There are only 12 notes and a certain number of ways chords get put together and sounds get

put together in Western music, and yet all of these songs end up being these unique creations,” Hirway continues. “It’s the result of all of the atomic decisions and experiences that have happened to an artist, that lead them to express one idea one way versus another person expressing it in a completely different way.”

Miranda approached Hirway ages ago about doing a “Song Exploder” episode on “Wait for It,” a song Leslie Odom Jr.’s Aaron

Burr performs in the first act of Broadway’s “Hamilton.” Hirway later read an interview in which Miranda referred to it as one of the best songs he’s ever written, which, especially given the artist’s prolific nature, piqued Hirway’s curiosity. Setting aside Miranda’s other work, the “Hamilton” soundtrack alone contains dozens of original compositions. What made “Wait for It” stand out to him from the rest?

Scheduling conflicts delayed their plans, which Hirway returned to once he secured the Netflix deal. Miranda, joined in the episode by “Hamilton” music director Alex Lacamoire and stage director Thomas Kail, recalls recording the refrain via voice memo on his way to a party, singing into his phone about how “death doesn’t discriminate” so he wouldn’t forget it later on. He and Lacamoire, also the orchestrator, touch on how an anomaly in the opening piano melody was inspired by Jonathan Larson’s “Tick, Tick . . . Boom!”

A musician himself, Hirway knows what it’s like to be asked about compositions on a superficial level. “Song Exploder” instead dives into the artists’ motivations, their failures, the technical problems they overcame. His challenge as a podcaster, and now

as a television producer, is striking a balance between illuminating and approachable. He doesn’t want to dumb anything down but, given Netflix’s wide reach, needs the series to present information in a way that would engage a casual viewer.

“I’ve always had this idea in my head, knowing that my parents listen to the podcast,” he says. “I think of it as the mom test. I want to make sure that an artist’s ideas are being conveyed in a way that’s honest to how they’re thinking about it, while . . . losing the jargon around it, if there is any.”

Netflix lends itself to bingeing more than a podcast does, and Hirway hopes his accessible approach creates a low barrier of entry to each “Song Exploder” episode — and, afterward, to expanding what they listen to. Once they finish the show, maybe Keys fans will find themselves seeking out R.E.M.’s other work, or vice versa. They might play a few of the 193 podcast episodes waiting for them online.

“You can look at a cross-section of episodes and feel like there’s a really wide range of music,” Hirway says. “The real hope is that people will stay for every episode and learn about new music that way.”

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## Deepening concern for White House staff

STAFF FROM C1

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention by refusing to wear masks, neglecting to maintain social distance and relying on rapid coronavirus tests that have been shown to miss infections. With the president, the first lady, press secretary Kayleigh McEnany, top aide Hope Hicks, former counselor Kellyanne Conway and an ever-growing number of administration officials testing positive for the coronavirus, that bubble has burst. Now others are trying to give voice to those working behind the scenes in that building who cannot speak on their own behalf.

“I know that people in there are scared,” said Sam Kass, head chef for the Obamas for six years. “I know that they are concerned about their own lives and their families and feel very torn about balancing their responsibilities to their country, as they see it, and putting themselves in harm’s way.”

On Sunday, the chorus rose on behalf of Secret Service personnel, who have been voicing, in unprecedented fashion, outrage over the president’s seeming indifference to the health risks faced by those protecting him. Most recently, at least two of them were locked inside an SUV with the president — an active covid-19 patient — as he took a short motorcade ride to wave at his supporters outside Walter Reed National Military Medical Center.

The Secret Service, though, does much of its work in public. Residence staffers are meant to be invisible; nobody can see them in the same photograph as the president as he waves to supporters from behind his tinted windows.

As reports of White House officials testing positive continued to roll in, Rep. Gregory W. Meeks (D-N.Y.) said he has been thinking about “the other people that work there, the ones that clean the floors and cook the food and serve the food and cut the grass. All these average, everyday, hard-working Americans who go home to their families when there’s been no protocol in the White House in regard to covid.”

Underscoring the indifference paid to pandemic protocols, it wasn’t until Sunday night, nearly three days after the president informed the public of his covid-19 diagnosis, that White House management sent out the first email to staffers telling them not to come to work if they have symptoms, and to ask their supervisors about “practicing telework.”

“Unlike other offices at the White House, it is probably more difficult for anybody on the residence staff to telework,” McBride said. “I mean, the nature of their work is to be maintaining the house, cooking for the family.”

White House spokesman Judd Deere said in a statement that the administration “does take any positive case seriously and has extensive plans and procedures in place to prevent further spread.” That includes contact tracing that



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

follows CDC guidelines.

Melania Trump’s spokeswoman, Stephanie Grisham, said that “every precaution is being taken to keep residence staff safe and healthy,” with consultation from the White House Medical Unit.

Christopher B. Emery, a former chief usher who wrote a book about his experiences under Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton, said he found himself scouring photos of the Amy Coney Barrett nomination event in the Rose Garden on Sept. 26, wondering about the well-being of his former co-workers. “You can see in the background folks wearing masks,” he said. “That’s the residence staff. They were actually the only people wearing masks.”

Deesha Dyer, Michelle Obama’s last social secretary, said that “it makes me angry because I do care about these people, and they’re amazing, and so many of them did not have a choice.” She said she has been calling residence staffers to check whether they’re okay. “They love their jobs, and they’re excellent at their jobs, and they’re part of the institution. And it’s just trifling and unnecessary to put them at risk because you can’t be bothered to wear a mask.”

Historically, the White House’s butler corps has been almost exclusively African American. “This is going back 200 years, but some in early stages of our history were enslaved,” McBride said.

That tradition continued after emancipation. “Back in the Jim Crow era, those are some of the jobs we got. And it was an honorable profession,” Charles Allen said. These jobs have also been regularly held by members of the same family for successive generations.

Much of today’s staff is composed of African American, Lati-



MARK KAUFFMAN/LIFE IMAGES COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

**TOP: White House custodial staff members clean the James S. Brady Press Briefing Room ahead of a briefing in April.**

**ABOVE: Eugene Allen, left, helps head butler John Viklin prepare the White House for a party in 1965.**

no or Filipino employees, and many are older, making them among the most vulnerable populations in the pandemic.

They’ve already lost one of their legendary members. In May, Wilson Jerman, who had been a protégé of Eugene Allen’s, died at 91 after contracting covid-19. He’d retired in 2012 and served 11 presidents, ending with Barack Obama.

Meeks said he sees the residence staff in the same light as other Black and Brown essential workers who can’t follow stay-at-home orders. “They need their jobs. They can’t afford to get fired,” he said. “It’s the same kind of concerns I would have for any business in America that is not trying to take care of their essential workers. I hope there’s been

an immediate change in protocols at the White House in protecting these workers.”

Right now, the residence staff is tending to one active coronavirus patient in Melania Trump, who tweeted Monday that she was “feeling good” and resting at home. And with the president’s expected return Monday night from Walter Reed, they’ll have a second patient, one who has experienced more severe symptoms and who has historically shunned the advice of experts.

Even if the president and first lady stay confined upstairs, there is risk of exposure throughout the building, because White House political staffers, who have routinely not been wearing masks, often pass through the Rose Garden and the historical rooms on

the first floor — all of which are manned by residence staffers.

Dyer, among other former White House staffers, expressed concern for how narrow the hallways are in the residence. “There’s obviously the chance that the residence team is just walking, doing their job and catching the droplets or whatever,” she said.

Charles Allen said: “It’s a little place. It’s tight, little rabbit warrens up in there.”

At the start of pandemic, absent directives from their bosses, residence staffers “took it upon themselves” to adhere to CDC guidance and wore masks out of concern for their own health and the health of the first family, according to a former staffer.

By April, Melania Trump had required the use of masks for the residence staff as well as the political staff in her East Wing offices, Grisham confirmed. Then, as now, the president actively encouraged administration officials and his supporters to eschew them.

At home, behind closed doors, the first family was trying to limit its viral exposure, while going to rallies and other events without masking or social distancing, and then returning back to their residence staff at the White House. Former staffers doubt the first family ever wear masks around the staff.

“On one hand, it’s what he should have done,” Kass, the Obama chef, said of the mask mandate at the residence. “But it’s also pretty unforgivable that you would take those steps for the family but not for the rest of the people that work there — or for the country.”

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Josh Dawsey and Jura Koncius contributed to this report.



# TELEVISION

## TV HIGHLIGHTS



NICHOLAS PFOSI/REUTERS

**America's Medical Supply Crisis** (PBS at 10) This “Frontline” documentary probes the roots of the scramble for personal protective equipment when the covid-19 pandemic swept the United States.

**Chopped** (Food at 9) Four chefs enter the kitchen for a diner-themed battle with three courses of elevated comfort food.

**Windy City Rehab** (HGTV at 9) Alison hopes to turn a quick profit off a high-rise condo in need of a modern makeover.

**Transplant** (NBC at 10) Theo treats a teenage patient who wants to avoid telling his parents why he's in the hospital.

**MOVIES**  
**Black Box** (Amazon Prime) After losing his wife and his memory in a car accident, a single father undergoes an experimental treatment that causes him to question his identity.

**The Lie** (Amazon Prime) When their teenage daughter confesses to impulsively killing her best friend, two desperate parents cover up the horrific crime with a web of lies.

**Siempre, Luis** (HBO at 9) A portrait of activist Luis Miranda, who is a decades-long fighter for Latino communities and the father of Lin-Manuel Miranda.

**PREMIERES**  
**Homestead Rescue: Raney Ranch** (Discovery at 8) Marty Raney, a builder who's helped

many estate over his career, attempts his greatest rescue of all — his very own 40-acre homestead.

**Next** (Fox at 9) Paul LeBlanc joins forces with Special Agent Shea Salazar after a series of tech mishaps that threaten society.

**The FBI Declassified** (CBS at 10) FBI agents go behind the scenes of some of their biggest cases.

**LATE NIGHT**  
**Daily Show/Noah** (Comedy Central at 11) The Daily Social Distancing Show.

**Tonight Show/Fallon** (NBC at 11:34) Lin-Manuel Miranda, Luis Miranda, Ruby Rose, the Highwomen.

**Late Show/Colbert** (CBS at 11:35) Jerry Seinfeld, Ella Mai.

**Jimmy Kimmel Live** (ABC at 12:05) Armie Hammer, Marlon Wayans, Jaden Smith.

**Late Late Show/Corden** (CBS at 12:37) Whoopi Goldberg, Bishop Briggs.

**Late Night/Meyers** (NBC at 12:37) Timothy Olyphant, Bob Woodward, Benee.

— Nina Zafar

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

BROADCAST CHANNELS											
10/6/20	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30	
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• <b>News</b>	• <b>Hollywood</b>	• <b>Weakest Link</b>		• <b>Ellen's Game of Games</b>		• <b>Transplant</b>		<b>News</b>	• <b>J. Fallon</b>	
4.2 WRC (IND)	The Munsters	The Munsters	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	The Nanny	The Nanny	
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	<b>Fox 5</b>	• <b>TMZ</b>	• Cosmos: Possible Worlds		• <b>NEXT</b>		<b>Fox 5 News at 10</b>		<b>News</b>	<b>The Final</b>	
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• <b>Wheel</b>	• <b>J'pardy!</b>	• <b>Kimmel</b>	• <b>NBA</b>	• <b>2020 NBA Finals:</b> Los Angeles Lakers vs Miami Heat (Live)				<b>News</b>		
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	Q&A	• <b>ET</b>	• NCIS		• FBI		• <b>The FBI Declassified</b>		<b>9 News</b>	• <b>Colbert</b>	
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	<b>La Rosa de Guadalupe</b>	• <b>Médicos, línea de vida</b>	• <b>Imperio de mentiras</b>		• <b>Dulce ambición</b>				Noticias	<b>Noticiero</b>	
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• Family Feud	• <b>FamFeud</b>	<b>Fox 5 News</b>	• <b>FamFeud</b>	<b>Fox 5 News</b>	Creek	Big Bang	Big Bang	• Chicago P.D.		
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	Farm-Harvest	Outdoors	• <b>Hispanic Heritage</b>		• <b>Latino Vote: Dispatches</b>		• <b>Frontline</b>		• <b>Amanpour-Co</b>		
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• <b>PBS NewsHour</b>	<b>Hispanic Heritage</b>	• <b>Latino Vote: Dispatches</b>		• <b>Frontline</b>				<b>Amanpour-Co</b>		
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	DW News	Chavis	America ReFramed		Fannie Lou		<b>Democracy Now!</b>		World News	L. Flanders	
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• black-ish	• black-ish	• <b>Swamp Thing</b>		• Whose Line		• Seinfeld	• Seinfeld	Two Men	Two Men	
66.1 WPXW (ION)	Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		Criminal Minds		
CABLE CHANNELS											
<b>A&amp;E</b>	Jack Ryan: Shadow Recruit	Movie: Jack Reacher: Never Go Back ★★ (2016)					Court Cam	Court Cam	Court Cam		
<b>AMC</b>	(6:00) Movie: Ghost Ship ★	Movie: Carrie ★★ (2013)					(10:15) Movie: The Last House on the Left ★★ (2009)				
<b>Animal Planet</b>	Ice Cold Gold	Bering Sea Gold			Bering Sea Gold		Bering Sea Gold		Outback Opal Hunters		
<b>BET</b>	(6:05) Movie: When the Bough Breaks ★ (2016)				Movie: Tyler Perry's Why Did I Get Married? ★★ (2007)						
<b>Bravo</b>	Don't-Tardy	Don't-Tardy	Don't-Tardy	Don't-Tardy	Don't-Tardy	Don't-Tardy	<b>Tardy</b>	<b>Tardy</b>	<b>Watch</b>	Don't-Tardy	
<b>Cartoon Network</b>	<b>Teen</b>	<b>Victor</b>	Gumball	Gumball	Burgers		Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Family Guy	Family Guy	
<b>CNN</b>	<b>Erin Burnett OutFront</b>	<b>Anderson Cooper 360</b>	<b>Cuomo Prime Time</b>		<b>CNN Tonight</b>		<b>CNN Tonight</b>		<b>CNN Tonight</b>		
<b>Comedy Central</b>	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	Tosh.0	Tosh.0	<b>Tosh.0</b>	Tosh.0	<b>Daily</b>	Tosh.0	
<b>Discovery</b>	<b>Homestead Rescue: Count</b>	<b>Homestead Rescue</b>	<b>Building Off the Grid</b>		(10:01) Building Off the Grid		(10:01) Building Off the Grid		(11:01) Building Off the Grid		
<b>Disney</b>	Jessie	Jessie	Bunk'd	Bunk'd	Bunk'd	Raven	Raven	Raven	Sydney-Max	Sydney-Max	
<b>E!</b>	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	The Bradshaw Bunch	Bradshaw	Bradshaw	<b>Nightly</b>		
<b>ESPN</b>	<b>2020 WNBA Finals:</b> Las Vegas Aces vs Seattle Storm	NFL Greatest	30 for 30						<b>SportsCenter</b> (Live)		
<b>ESPN2</b>	<b>SportsCenter</b> (Live)	<b>NBA</b>	Boxing		Boxing		Boxing		NFL Live		
<b>Fox Network</b>	Chopped	Chopped	<b>Chopped</b>		<b>Chopped</b>		Chopped		Chopped		
<b>Fox News</b>	<b>The Story With Martha</b>	<b>Tucker Carlson Tonight</b>	<b>Hannity</b> (Live)		<b>The Ingraham Angle</b>		<b>Fox News at Night</b>		<b>The 700 Club</b>		
<b>Freeform</b>	(6:30) Movie: Beetlejuice ★★ (1988)	Movie: Hotel Transylvania ★★ (2012)					<b>Kal Penn</b>		<b>The 700 Club</b>		
<b>FX</b>	(6:00) Movie: Bad Moms	Movie: Pitch Perfect 3 ★★ (2017)					Movie: Pitch Perfect 3 ★★ (2017)				
<b>Hallmark</b>	Over the Moon in Love	Movie: Country at Heart (2020)					Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Golden Girls	
<b>Hallmark M&amp;M</b>	Movie: Mystery Woman: Redemption ★★ (2005)	Movie: Mystery Woman: In the Shadows ★★ (2007)					Murder, She Wrote				
<b>HBO</b>	(6:50) Movie: Sherlock Holmes: A Game of Shadows ★★	Movie: Siempre, Luis (2020)					(10:35) The Vow		Lovecraft		
<b>HGTV</b>	(6:30) Windy City Rehab	<b>Windy City Rehab</b>	<b>Windy City Rehab</b>		<b>Kitchen</b>		Hunters	Hunters Int'l			
<b>History</b>	America's Book of Secrets: Special Edition		<b>America's Book of Secrets: Special Edition</b>				America's Book of Secrets				
<b>Lifetime</b>	Rizzoli & Isles	Rizzoli & Isles	Rizzoli & Isles		(10:03) Rizzoli & Isles		(11:03) Rizzoli & Isles				
<b>MASN</b>	Women's College Soccer	Women's College Soccer: Pittsburgh at Virginia Tech			<b>Touchdown Baltimore</b>		<b>Football</b>	Orioles Cla.			
<b>MSNBC</b>	<b>The ReidOut</b> (Live)	<b>All In With Chris Hayes</b>	<b>Rachel Maddow Show</b>		<b>The Last Word</b>		<b>The 11th Hour</b>				
<b>MTV</b>	(6:00) Movie: 50 First Dates	<b>Teen Mom 2</b>	<b>16 and Pregnant</b>		Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	<b>Ridic.</b>	Ridiculous.			
<b>Nat'l Geographic</b>	Life Below Zero	<b>Life Below Zero</b>			<b>Life Below Zero</b>		Life Below Zero				
<b>NBC SportsNet WA</b>	Football	106.7 The Fan's Sports Junkies			Football	American Ninja Warrior	Ninja Warrior				
<b>Nickelodeon</b>	Loud House	Loud House	SpongeBob	SpongeBob	Movie: Zookeeper ★ (2011)		Friends	Friends			
<b>PARMT</b>	Movie: Gone in 60 Seconds ★ (2000)		(9:15) Movie: Con Air ★★ (1997)				Gone in				
<b>Syfy</b>	Boo! A Madea Halloween	Movie: Wrong Turn 2: Dead End ★★ (2007)			Movie: Wrong Turn 4: Bloody Beginnings ★★ (2011)						
<b>TBS</b>	<b>MLB Baseball:</b> Division Series: Teams TBA (Live)		<b>MLB</b>		Conan	Inside MLB					
<b>TCM</b>	The Golden Age of Comedy	<b>Women Make Film</b>	(9:15) Movie: The Ascent (1977)		(11:15) Women Make Film						
<b>TLC</b>	Sweet Home Sextuplets	<b>Little People, Big World</b>	<b>Little People, Big World</b>		<b>Sweet Home Sextuplets</b>		The Little Couple				
<b>TNT</b>	(5:45) Movie: Grown Ups ★	Movie: Horrible Bosses 2 ★★ (2014)			Movie: Identity Thief ★ (2013)						
<b>Travel</b>	The Dead Files	<b>The Dead Files</b>			<b>The Dead Files</b>		The Dead Files				
<b>TruTV</b>	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Imp. Jokers	Misery Index	Misery Index			
<b>TV Land</b>	Andy Griffith	Andy Griffith	Raymond	Everybody Loves Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King	King			
<b>TV One</b>	Fam. Matters	Fam. Matters	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Sanford	Good Times	Good Times			
<b>USA Network</b>	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU	Law & Order: SVU		Law & Order: SVU		Mod Fam	Mod Fam			
<b>VH1</b>	Movie: Love & Basketball ★★ (2000)				Chappelle's	Chappelle's	Chappelle's				
<b>WNCB</b>	<b>MLS Soccer:</b> D.C. United at New York City FC (Live)		<b>Sports</b>	<b>ABC News</b>	<b>WJLA 24/7 News at 10</b>		<b>Gov.Mat.</b>	Paid Program			
<b>WGN</b>	Last-Standing	Last-Standing	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)	<b>NewsNation</b> (Live)		NewsNation				

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs • High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

## Creators to explore loss in ‘Grief and Grievance’

EXHIBITION FROM C1

Ruby Frazier, Nari Ward, Deana Lawson, Rashid Johnson, Julie Mehretu, Kerry James Marshall and Carrie Mae Weems.

In this period of racial reckoning and political polarization, “Okwui’s vision and the voices of the artists selected for this exhibition could not be more relevant,” said Lisa Phillips, the director of the New Museum, where the show will fill its exhibition spaces across three levels.

When Enwezor died, “Grief and Grievance” was about 85 percent complete, said Massimiliano Gioni, the museum’s artistic director. “We tried not to stray from the blueprint Okwui gave us. Where that was not possible, we tried to be like a restorer or conservator where you fill in the gaps.”

Enwezor, who was born in Nigeria, organized ambitious, multigenerational and transnational exhibitions that told big stories, giving prominence to contemporary art from Africa and other underrecognized places. “Grief and Grievance” was his first show focused on America as a geographical location.

At the time of Enwezor’s death, the police killing of George Floyd and the subsequent protests were still more than a year off. But Enwezor (who was living in Germany at the time) had already perceived that American culture was witnessing a moment of cri-

sis — what he called “the crystallization of Black grief.”

“He picked up the frequencies of many artists who were dealing with that crisis and trying to find ways to repair the pain and mobilize it into political action or participation,” Gioni said.

Right up until his death, Enwezor was speaking with some of the artists he wanted in the exhibition and arranged for one of them, Glenn Ligon, to act as his surrogate. Ligon worked with curatorial advisers Gioni, Naomi Beckwith, a senior curator at Chicago’s Museum of Contemporary Art, and Mark Nash, a curator based in California, to complete Enwezor’s vision.

Enwezor was ill and living in Munich when he and Ligon began discussing the show by phone in late 2018. “He wanted an interlocutor, to bounce around ideas,” said Ligon, whom Enwezor brought on as “a kind of eyes and ears on the ground here in the U.S.”

“I went to visit him not so long before he died,” Ligon said, “and we had this extraordinary visit where he was literally in his hospital bed being wheeled out as I walked in. He said, ‘I just have this radiation treatment, I’ll be right back.’ And then we spent the next seven hours talking about the show from his hospital bed. I’m not exaggerating.”

Enwezor’s death, lamented by so many of the artists he championed, echoes the exhibition’s



ELISABETTA VILLA/GETTY IMAGES

**Okwui Enwezor, curator of the upcoming “Grief and Grievance,” which will feature “Antoine’s Organ” (2016), right, by Rashid Johnson. The artist calls Enwezor “both an insider and an outsider to the Black American experience. He shared a color of skin. . . . But because he was not a Black American, he . . . was able to reflect as an outsider on how Black American narratives have such . . . joy and grief.”**

broader theme of Black grief. The show, Beckwith said, asks what it means “to be in a perpetual state of mourning.”

“How do we recognize that, when it’s so easy to gloss over? It’s so easy to walk through your day and be productive as a worker, as a citizen, as a family member but not realize that you’re often dealing with a profound and unacknowledged sense of loss,” she said.

“The temptation is to imagine this show as a response show to George Floyd, Breonna Taylor or Trayvon Martin,” said Ligon, “and it is in some sense. That is the grief part. But it’s also important to realize that artists have been responding to what Okwui would call ‘the emergency of Black grief’



RASHID JOHNSON/COURTESY OF THE ARTIST AND HAUSER & WIRTH

for a very long time.”

According to Gioni, the show asks: “How can we see and stand and witness certain acts of violence, and how can art help us process those images? And by processing those images also processing those feelings of loss.”

For many of the “Grief and Grievance” artists, the answer lies not in further depictions of trauma but in processing trauma into varieties of abstraction (or nonrepresentational art).

Ligon compared some Black artists’ urge to make abstract art to “the fury blowing” in the music of John Coltrane. “The sense of outrage and grief in his playing has a parallel in what some Black abstract artists are trying to do,” he said. “To get past the topical

and into the spiritual.

“In a country that’s built on white supremacy, there’s always going to be a Breonna Taylor, a Trayvon Martin, a Michael Brown. It’s important to say their names; it’s important to depict them. But abstraction for me is about getting a little deeper into the soul of the country and expressing the inexpressible.”

The artists who knew Enwezor seem just as keen to talk about him as the show’s themes. All recall with astonishment the vigor he showed during hours-long conversations over the phone or in person, right up until a few weeks before his death.

The curator, Jafa said, provided “a template for how one could be.”

“He knew what he was doing and went about it in a very straightforward, suave and professional way.” Like author Toni Morrison, Jafa added, Enwezor was “acutely sensitive to the complexity of being a Black person in a white supremacist universe, but almost paradoxically operating as if it had no effect of him whatsoever.”

Ligon recalled both Enwezor’s intellectual rigor and his generosity: “He made assumptions about one’s ambitions that were often in excess of one’s ambitions for oneself. That’s the kind of person he was.”

Enwezor functioned as “both an insider and an outsider to the Black American experience,” said Rashid Johnson. “He shared a color of skin, and when he was in this country, he was impacted by that. But because he was not a Black American, he . . . was able to reflect as an outsider on how Black American narratives have such a fascinating dichotomy between joy and grief.”


The last conversation Johnson had with Enwezor was also the best. After seeing Johnson’s work “Antoine’s Organ” (which is in the show), the curator was excited. “He made it clear to me that he saw this tremendous growth in my work. I was really humbled and I remember thinking, ‘Oh, this is going to be my first real opportunity to work with Okwui.’”

Enwezor died about a year later.

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**Grief and Grievance: Art and Mourning in America** Jan. 27-June 13 at the New Museum, 235 Bowery, New York. [newmuseum.org](https://www.newmuseum.org)

the **GUIDE** to the Lively Arts

SHOW NAME	DATES & TIMES	DESCRIPTION	DETAILS	PRICE	ADDITIONAL
<b>MUSIC - CONCERTS</b>					
 <b>Chamber Music Series</b>	Wednesday, Oct. 7 at 1 p.m.	The Marine Band kicks off its fall season with a woodwind quintet presenting works by Astor Piazzolla & Jeff Scott. Scott's "Startin' Sumthin'" is a modern take on Ragtime, & Piazzolla's <i>Oblivion</i> will be familiar to those who know the soundtrack of the film <i>Henry IV</i> . Adrian Spilletts <i>Chieba</i> , features trumpet & over 15 different percussion instruments, as well as Charles Koechlin's Septet for Wind Instruments.	<b>Stream the concert live at:</b> <a href="https://www.youtube.com/usmarineband">www.youtube.com/usmarineband</a>  <b>Full Schedule:</b> <a href="https://www.marineband.marines.mil">www.marineband.marines.mil</a>	Free concerts streamed online weekly!	Facebook & Twitter: @marineband  Instagram: @usmarineband

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16-2898



# Two families in a smart house and one brilliant novel about race and class

BOOK WORLD FROM CI

lege, is wrapping up a book review but otherwise ready to make the most of the last days before fall semester. And their kids, Archie and Rose, have the usual concerns of 15- and 13-year-olds: video games, social media, their changing bodies. They're thrilled about the swimming pool, not so much about the lack of cell service.

The initial days unfold at a vacation's leisurely pace, without much happening but with plenty of wit and trenchant observation. Alam's work is Cheever-like in the examination of New York privilege, the assured vitality of the prose and, we'll come to find, the dark, surreal vision: "The house had that hush expensive houses do. Silence meant the house was plumb, solid, its organs working in happy harmony. The respiration of the central air-conditioning, the vigilance of the expensive fridge, the reliable intelligence of all those digital displays marking the time in almost-synchronicity. At a pre-

programmed hour, the exterior lights would turn on. A house that barely needed people."

Suddenly into that orderly silence a loud noise erupts, the first of several that will puncture this holiday and throw everyone's lives off-kilter. It's a knock on the door late at night. On the other side: a Black couple. Older. Well-heeled. They say they're the owners of this house. They were at the symphony in the Bronx, they say, but a blackout has swept across much of the East Coast. Afraid of the chaos they might find in the city, not wanting to climb 14 floors in darkness to their apartment on the Upper East Side, they've come, unannounced, apologetically, to their second home, where at least for the time being the power is still on. They want to stay here, in the in-law suite in the basement, until the trouble has passed.

This premise alone could make an entire book, as it does films and plays like "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner" and "Six Degrees of Separation," which take



DAVID A. LAND

**Rumaan Alam, whose third novel is "Leave the World Behind."**

on race and the appearance of Black strangers at the doors of White families. And for many chapters Alam explores every facet of this situation, exposing the fear and distrust and outright racism of Clay and Amanda, who feel that this is their house, their site of leisure. And the more they assert themselves, the more the house becomes a metaphor for the country, a battleground over right of ownership. When Amanda thinks, "those people didn't look like the sort to own such a beautiful house," she reveals a glimpse of white supremacy beneath the neoliberal mask of racial tolerance.

The owner's wife, Ruth, worked for years at the most exclusive private school in the city. The owner has made his money in private equity. He goes by the initials G.H.I., but his name by birth is George Washington. Father of the country. Landowner. Enslaver. The clever ironies and turns on the property metaphor are matched only by the twists in the plot to come. A book that begins as a novel of class and then comes to encompass race

by the middle transforms again into a waking nightmare. People wander off. Strange animals appear in the yard. Terrifying noises resound. The streets empty of visible life. An eerie silence falls over the land. And the narrator, who has moved deftly from character to character, investing us fully in the lives of all six occupants of the Airbnb, expands our viewpoint outward, to the woods, to the city, to the planet. And the news is not good.

"Leave the World Behind" is the perfect title for a book that opens with the promise of utopia and travels as far from that dream as our worst fears might take us. It is the rarest of books: a genuine thriller, a brilliant distillation of our anxious age, and a work of high literary merit that deserves a place among the classics of dystopian literature.

*bookworld@washpost.com*

**Porter Shreve** is the author of four novels. He directs the creative writing program at the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

## MOVIE DIRECTORY

Tuesday, October 6, 2020 www.washingtonpost.com/movies											
(I) No Pass/No Discount Ticket											
<b>MARYLAND</b>											
<b>AMC Columbia 14</b> 10300 Little Patuxent Parkway											
<b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:00 <b>How to Train Your Dragon (PG)</b> 5:45 <b>Annabelle: Creation (R)</b> 7:05 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:05-7:15 <b>The Nun (R)</b> 4:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 6:00 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:20-7:10 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> 4:10-7:10 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 4:15-7:15 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 6:30 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 6:45 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> 7:00 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 6:45 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 5:00											
<b>AMC Loews St. Charles Town Ctr. 9</b> 11115 Mall Circle											
<b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> CC: 5:30-7:15 <b>How to Train Your Dragon (PG)</b> CC: 5:00-7:45 <b>Annabelle: Creation (R)</b> CC: 4:15-8:25 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:15-7:15 <b>The Nun (R)</b> CC: 5:45-8:45 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:00-4:30-7:45 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> CC: 4:45-7:30 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:00-7:00											
<b>Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD</b> 7000 Arundel Mills Circle											
<b>Beetlejuice (PG)</b> 1:20-4:10-7:00 <b>Akira (1988) (R)</b> 1:40-5:35 <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 1:00-4:00-7:05 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 1:05-3:55 <b>Cut Throat City (R)</b> 3:10-7:45 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 1:55-4:50-7:40 <b>Jiang Ziya (The Legend of Deification)</b> 2:35-6:15 <b>Train to Busan Presents: Peninsula</b> 3:00-6:30 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 2:15-6:20											
<b>Infidel (R)</b> 1:30-4:45-7:55 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 2:20-5:30 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 2:10-6:10 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 1:35-4:40-7:30 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Private Watch Party</b> 1:00-1:45-2:30-3:30-4:30-5:15-6:00-7:00-8:00 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 1:25-3:05-4:35-6:25-7:50 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 2:00-2:15-4:15-5:45-6:20 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 1:15-4:20-7:20 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> XD: 1:10-5:05; 1:10-3:25-5:05-7:15 <b>Hoyt's West Nursery Cinema 14</b> 1591 West Nursery Road <b>Bad Boys For Life (R)</b> CC: 4:10-7:40 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:20-7:00 <b>Jumanji: The Next Level (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:40 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:00-5:00-6:10-7:10 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> CC: 5:10-8:00 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> CC: 4:50-7:30 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:50 <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:00-6:40-8:00 <b>Regal UA Snowden Square</b> 9161 Commerce Center Drive <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 5:30-8:00 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:05-6:35 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:35-7:50 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 7:30 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:25-7:05 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:40 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:05-6:25 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 4:30-6:50 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:10 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 4:15 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:10-6:55 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:45-7:25 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:20-7:20 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:00-6:40											
<b>Regal Waugh Chapel &amp; IMAX</b> 1419 South Main Chapel Way <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 5:00-6:30 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 4:25 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:45-7:20 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:10 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:20-7:50 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 5:00-7:30 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:00 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 7:40 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 4:40-7:10 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 5:20-8:10 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:05-6:55 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:00-7:05 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> 4:30-8:00 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 5:10-7:55 <b>Regal Westview &amp; IMAX</b> 5243 Buckystown Pike <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 5:00-7:45 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 5:40-8:20 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:00-7:30 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 6:40 <b>The Personal History of David Copperfield (PG)</b> 7:20 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:50 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:35-7:10 <b>Trainwreck (R)</b> 4:05 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:10-7:00 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 4:45 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:40 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 7:15 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 5:20-8:10 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 4:15-6:50 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> 4:30-8:00 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:20-7:30 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:55-7:25 <b>Shortcut (R)</b> 4:40-7:50											
<b>VIRGINIA</b>											
<b>AMC Courthouse Plaza 8</b> 2190 Clarendon Blvd. <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> CC: 6:15-7:15 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:00-7:00-8:00											
<b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: 7:45 <b>Infidel (R)</b> CC: 7:30 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:45 <b>AMC Hoffman Center 22</b> 209 Swamp Fox Rd. <b>Madagascar (PG)</b> CC: 4:05-7:10 <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> CC: 3:45-5:45-6:45 <b>How to Train Your Dragon (PG)</b> CC: 3:20-6:15 <b>Annabelle: Creation (R)</b> CC: 5:10-8:00 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 3:10-4:45-7:45 <b>The Nun (R)</b> CC: 4:25-7:15 <b>Cut Throat City (R)</b> 4:20-7:40 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:00-8:00 <b>The Personal History of David Copperfield (PG)</b> CC: 4:10-7:25 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> CC: 3:40-6:20 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: 3:15-4:15-7:20 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> CC: 3:50-6:30 <b>Infidel (R)</b> CC: 3:50-6:50 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:35-7:45 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> CC: 3:25-6:40 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> CC: 3:00-7:00 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 3:30-4:30-7:30 <b>Shortcut (R)</b> 3:10-5:30-7:50 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 5:00-6:00 <b>AMC Potomac Mills 18</b> 2700 Potomac Mills Circle <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 6:00-7:20-8:45 <b>How to Train Your Dragon (PG)</b> 7:00 <b>Annabelle: Creation (R)</b> CC: 8:00 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:10 <b>The Nun (R)</b> CC: 6:10-9:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:25 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> CC: 6:05-8:20 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: 6:20-7:50 <b>Infidel (R)</b> CC: 6:40 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:50 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 7:30											
<b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> CC: 8:35 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 7:10-8:30 <b>Shortcut (R)</b> 6:00-8:40 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:15 <b>AMC Shirlington 7</b> 2772 South Randolph St. <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> CC: 6:00 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:30 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: 7:15 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> CC: 6:30 <b>Infidel (R)</b> CC: 8:00 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:45 <b>AMC Tysons Corner 16</b> 7850 Tysons Corner Center <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:30-7:20 <b>How to Train Your Dragon (PG)</b> 4:15-7:05 <b>Annabelle: Creation (R)</b> CC: 5:15-8:15 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:20-7:15 <b>The Nun (R)</b> CC: 5:50-8:45 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 5:20-8:55 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> CC: 4:05-8:25 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: 5:05-8:05 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> CC: 4:55-7:35 <b>Jiang Ziya (The Legend of Deification)</b> 4:50-7:55 <b>Infidel (R)</b> CC: 4:25-7:25 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 5:10-8:10 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:00-7:45 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:10-5:45-8:35 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 4:40-6:40 <b>AMC Worldgate 9</b> 13023 Worldgate Drive <b>Annabelle: Creation (R)</b> CC: 7:40 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:50 <b>The Nun (R)</b> CC: 8:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:15 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> CC: 6:15 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: 6:30 <b>Infidel (R)</b> CC: 6:45 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 7:00											
<b>Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - One Loudoun</b> 20575 East Hampton Plaza <b>The Lost Boys (1987) (R)</b> 7:30 <b>Akira (1988) (R)</b> 4:05-7:15 <b>The Last Dragon (PG-13)</b> 7:20 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 6:00-7:05 <b>The Trial of the Chicago 7 (R)</b> 4:15-7:15 <b>Save Yourself! (R)</b> 4:40-7:20 <b>Possessor Uncut (NR)</b> 4:25-7:30 <b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> 4:35 <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:15-7:00 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:10-7:30 <b>Hotel Transylvania 3: Summer Vacation (PG)</b> 4:20 <b>Angelika Film Center Mosaic</b> 2911 District Ave <b>Jiang Ziya (The Legend of Deification)</b> 7:20 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> CC: 7:30 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: 6:30 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: 7:10 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> CC: 7:45 <b>Rear Window (1954) (PG)</b> CC: 7:00 <b>A Hard Day's Night (1964) (G)</b> 6:45 <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 7:40 <b>CMX Cinemas Village 14</b> 1000 Village Market Boulevard <b>Fatima (PG-13)</b> 4:20-7:10 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:50-7:20 <b>The Lego Movie (PG)</b> 4:10-6:50 <b>Smallfoot (PG)</b> 3:50 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:30-5:30-6:30-7:30 <b>Save Yourself! (R)</b> 4:25-7:00 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:40-8:10 <b>The Secrets We Keep (R)</b> 5:00-7:40 <b>Ava (R)</b> 4:00-5:20-6:40-8:00 <b>Shortcut (R)</b> 6:45 <b>The Call (NR)</b> 5:10-7:50 <b>Cinema Arts Theatre</b> 3650 Main St <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> CC: DVS: 9:50-1:00-4:10-7:20 <b>A Call to Spy (PG-13)</b> CC: 10:20-1:20-4:20-7:30 <b>The Trial of the Chicago 7 (R)</b> CC: DVS: 10:00-12:50-3:40-7:00 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: DVS: 1:10-4:10											
<b>Kajillionaire (R)</b> CC: DVS: 9:55-12:15-2:35-4:55-7:40 <b>The Way I See It (PG-13)</b> CC: DVS: 10:10-7:10 <b>Cinemark Fairfax Corner and XD</b> 11800 Patoka Way <b>Beetlejuice (PG)</b> 4:40-7:15 <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:30-7:20 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:05-6:30 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:55-7:35 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:20-7:20 <b>Shortcut (R)</b> 4:10 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Private Watch Party</b> 4:00-6:00-6:30-7:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 6:10 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:15-7:25 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> XD: 4:45-7:10 <b>Regal Ballston Quarter</b> 671 North Glebe Road <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:40-7:30 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:35-7:20 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:00 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:00-6:55 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:45 <b>The Personal History of David Copperfield (PG)</b> 4:10-7:50 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:05-7:40 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 4:25 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:50 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 7:10 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:30-7:35 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 4:55-7:25 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:20-7:15 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:15-7:30 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Regal Dulles Town Center</b> 21100 Dulles Town Circle <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:50-7:40 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 5:00-7:50 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:40-6:40 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:15 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 7:30 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 5:10-8:00 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 4:00 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:20-7:20											
<b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 5:20-8:10 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:30 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:10 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 7:00 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:10-8:15 <b>Regal Fairfax Towne Center</b> 4110 West Ox Road <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 7:15 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 7:30 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 7:10 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:30 <b>Train to Busan Presents: Peninsula</b> 7:05 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 7:35 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 7:05 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 7:15 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 7:00 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Regal Fox &amp; IMAX</b> 22875 Brambleton Plaza <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:15-7:05 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 3:45 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 3:50-6:50 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 6:30 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 3:20-7:10 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 3:25 <b>Trainwreck (R)</b> 7:00 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:10-7:10 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 3:05 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 3:00-6:45 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 3:35-6:40 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 3:20-6:35 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 3:10-6:15 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> 3:45-7:30 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 6:15 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 3:30-6:20 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 3:30-6:45 <b>Akira: The IMAX 2D Experience (4K Remastered) (R)</b> 3:55-7:15 <b>Regal Kingstowne &amp; RPX</b> 9310 Kingstowne Towne Center <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:25-7:15 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 1:20-4:10-6:55											
<b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 5:00-7:55 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:15-8:00 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:20-7:20 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 4:00 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:10-6:55 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:55 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:55-7:55 <b>Words On Bathroom Walls (PG-13)</b> 4:15-7:20 <b>Trainwreck (R)</b> 8:00 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:35-7:35 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 7:00 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 5:10-8:00 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 5:05-7:50 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 4:30-7:45 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:05-7:25 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 7:25 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:00-6:50 <b>Regal Manassas &amp; IMAX</b> 11380 Bulloch Drive <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:30-7:10 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:35-7:05 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 7:35 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:00-6:40 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:40 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 5:40 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 4:05-6:25 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:15-6:50 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:15 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 4:00 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 4:25-7:30 <b>Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)</b> 6:30 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:20-7:00 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:45-7:40 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:10-7:20 <b>Regal Springfield Town Center</b> 6500 Springfield Town Center <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 3:05-6:00 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 3:30 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:20-7:20 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 6:30 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 3:00-7:00 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 1:00-4:00 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 1:20-4:10-6:55											
<b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 1:05-3:50-6:40 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 1:00-4:15-7:40 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 1:25-4:30-7:30 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 2:50-6:20 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 1:10-4:00-7:10 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Akira: The IMAX 2D Experience (4K Remastered) (R)</b> 3:40-7:15 <b>Regal Virginia Gateway &amp; RPX</b> 8001 Gateway Promenade Place <b>Hocus Pocus (PG)</b> 4:20-7:10 <b>Despicable Me (PG)</b> 4:35 <b>The New Mutants (PG-13)</b> 4:10-7:45 <b>Bridesmaids (R)</b> 7:05 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 4:00-7:30 <b>Magic Mike (R)</b> 4:40 <b>The Secret Life of Pets 2 (PG)</b> 4:25 <b>Unhinged (R)</b> 4:30-7:15 <b>Crazy Rich Asians (PG-13)</b> 7:40 <b>Girls Trip (R)</b> 7:25 <b>Tenet (PG-13)</b> 6:00 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> 4:55-7:55 <b>The Last Shift (R)</b> 5:00 <b>Infidel (R)</b> 4:50-7:50 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:15-7:35 <b>Break the Silence: The Movie</b> 4:05-6:55 <b>Friday the 13th - 40th Anniversary</b> 7:00 <b>Akira: The IMAX 2D Experience (4K Remastered) (R)</b> 4:45-8:00 <b>University Mall Theatre</b> 10659 Braddock Road <b>Trolls World Tour (PG)</b> CC: DVS: 4:15 <b>The Personal History of David Copperfield (PG)</b> CC: DVS: 4:20-7:15 <b>The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)</b> CC: DVS: 7:30 <b>Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)</b> 4:00-7:00											



# sweater or tank top?

Stay one step ahead of the weather with the

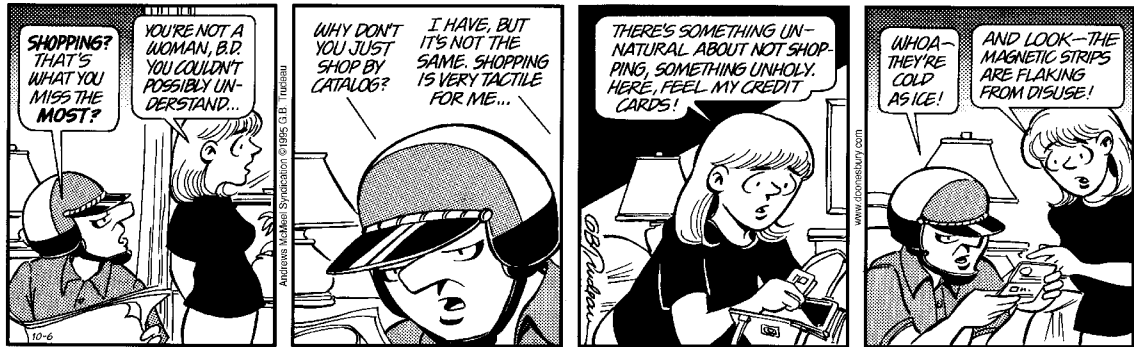
## Capital Weather Gang

washingtonpost.com/news/capital-weather-gang

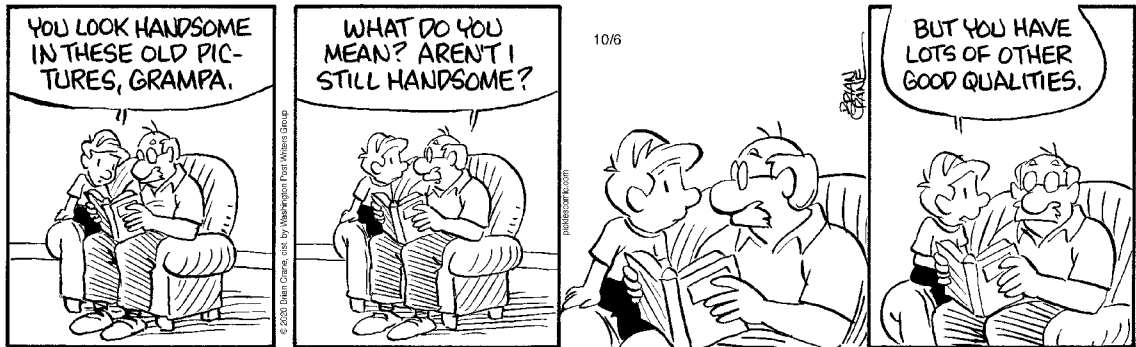
@capitalweather



CLASSIC DOONESBURY



PICKLES



BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE

**NORTH**  
♠ A 4  
♥ K Q 8 3  
♦ A 10 4 3  
♣ K 10 7

**WEST**  
♠ K Q J 7 3  
♥ J 6  
♦ Q 9 8 7  
♣ Q 6

**EAST**  
♠ 10 9 6 2  
♥ 5 4  
♦ 5  
♣ J 9 8 5 3 2

**SOUTH (D)**  
♠ 8 5  
♥ A 10 9 7 2  
♦ K J 6 2  
♣ A 4

**The bidding:**

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1 ♥	1 ♠	2 ♠	3 ♠
Pass	Pass	4 ♦	Pass
5 ♣	Pass	6 ♥	All Pass

**Opening lead** — ♠ K

Executing an end play (my topic this week) may require preparation. For instance, you may need to make it impossible for an opponent to lead safely by “stripping” him of his safe exit cards. In today’s deal, declarer must prepare by taking a finesse.

Against six hearts, West leads the king of spades. South takes dummy’s ace and draws trumps. He next cashes the A-K of clubs and ruffs a club so if a defender gets the lead, he can’t lead a club without conceding a ruff-suff.

If at this point declarer exits with a spade, a ruff-suff won’t guarantee success. He must still locate the queen of diamonds to make the slam. But South has learned that East had six clubs, two trumps and some spades. Since only West can have length in diamonds, South cashes the king and finesses with the ten.

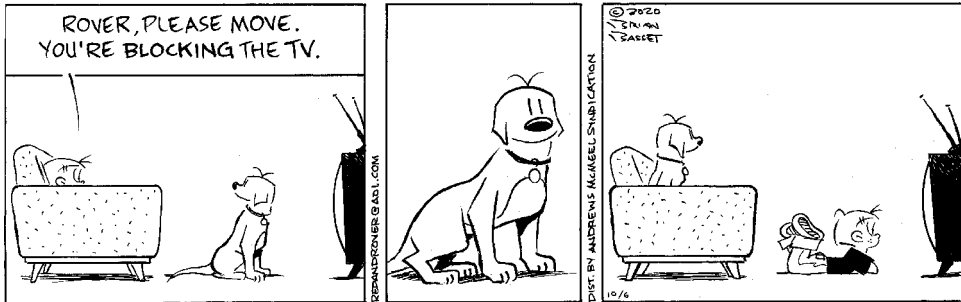
When East discards, South exits with a spade for an end play. If East wins, he must concede a ruff-suff. If West wins, he must lead a diamond from his queen or concede a ruff-suff.

**DAILY QUESTION**  
You hold:  
♠ 8 5 ♥ A 10 9 7 2  
♦ K J 6 2 ♣ A 4  
Your partner opens one diamond, you respond one heart and he bids one spade. What do you say?

**ANSWER:** If a jump to three diamonds would be forcing in your partnership’s style, that bid is perfect. But many pairs treat such a jump-preference as invitational. (You might hold 8 5, A 10 9 7, Q 7 6 2, A 4 2.) Then you must bid two clubs, a “fourth-suit” call that merely asks partner to continue describing his hand.

— Frank Stewart  
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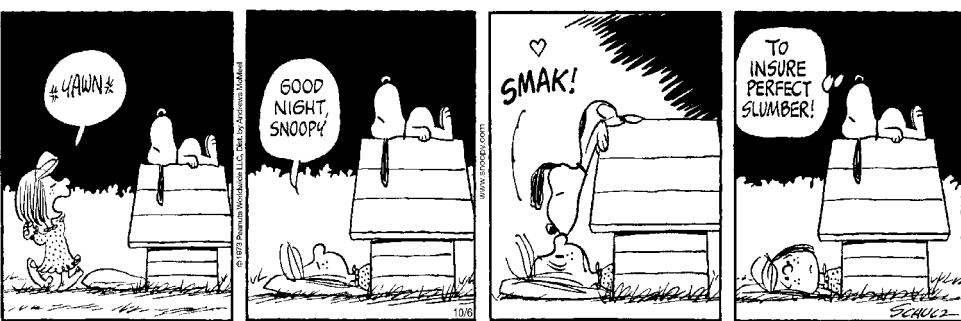
RED AND ROVER



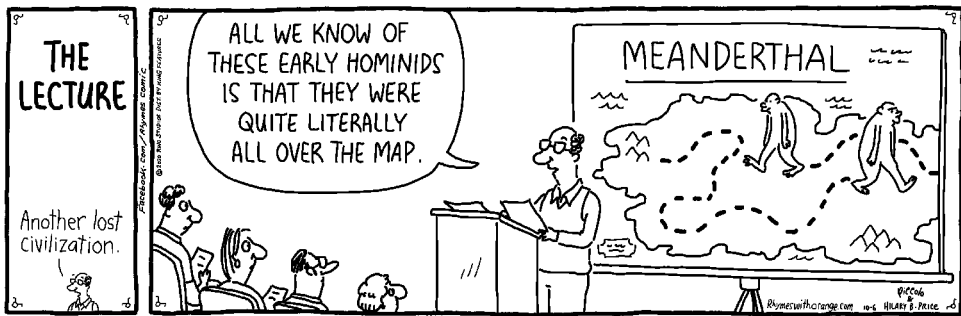
FRANK AND ERNEST



CLASSIC PEANUTS



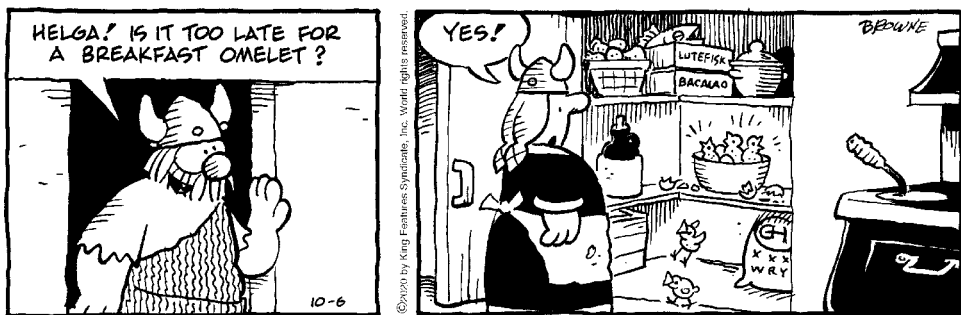
RHYMES WITH ORANGE



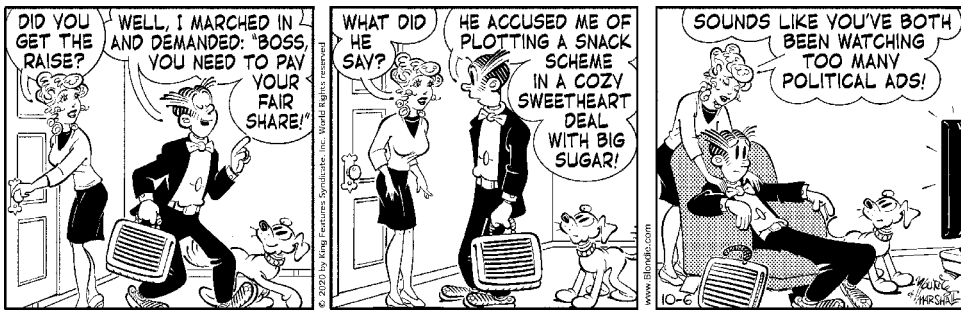
LIO



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE

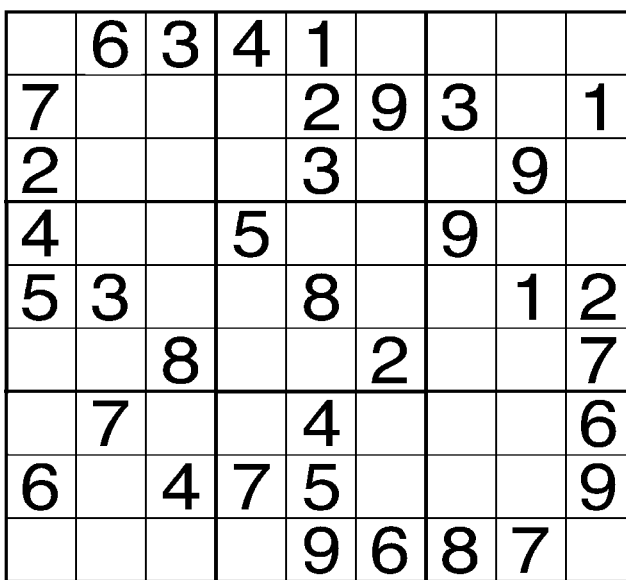


BLONDIE



SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.



DIFFICULTY RATING: ★ ★ ★ ☆ ☆ ☆

**SCRABBLE G R A M S**

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PAR SCORE 150-160  
BEST SCORE 238

FOUR RACK TOTAL  
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

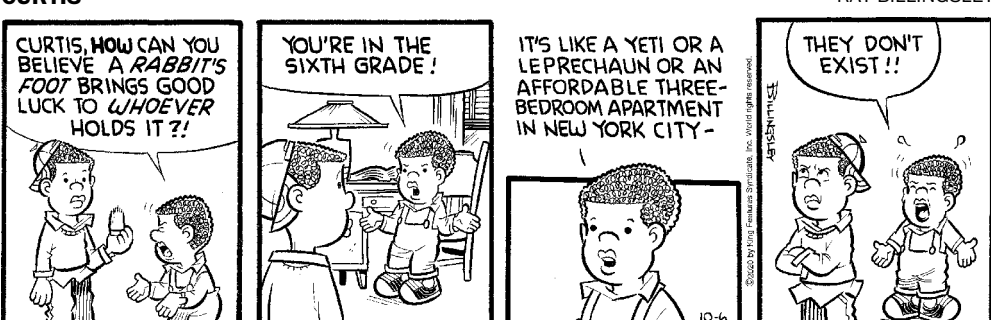
**DIRECTIONS:** Make a 2- to 7-letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. Finally, 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. “Blanks” used as any letter have no point value. All the words are in the Official SCRABBLE® Players Dictionary, 5th Edition. **SOLUTION TOMORROW**

For more information on tournaments and clubs, email NASPA - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scragsms@gmail.com

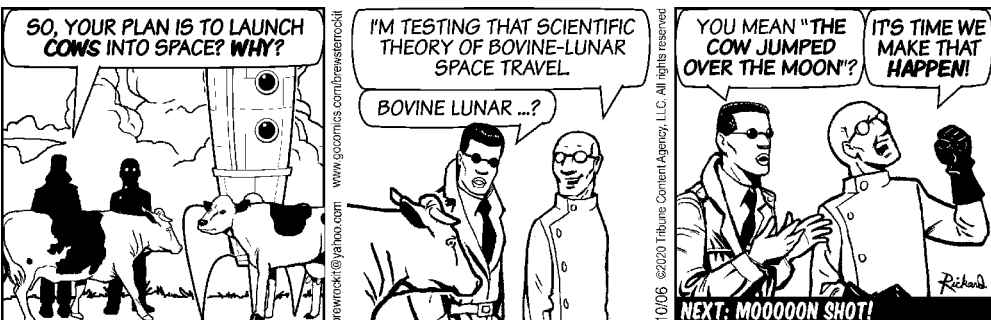
SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



**JUMBLE CROSSWORDS** by David L. Hoyt

How to play  
Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

**CLUE**  
1. Jacket or dance  
2. Sluggish marsupial  
3. Thelt  
4. Channel

**ANSWER**  
ROBBO  
AALLO  
HTSEI  
ERARTY

**CLUE**  
1. Atoll  
2. Jacket  
3. Grasp  
4. Metrical composition

**ANSWER**  
IKIBIN  
EATLHRE  
ZALIRE  
YORPET

**BONUS**  
Including islands, \_\_\_\_\_ has about 700 miles of shoreline.

ANSWERS: 1-A. Boller, 2-B. Kangaroo, 3-C. Grasp, 4-D. Metrical composition. 10-6-20

Send comments to TCA - 100 N. State St., Chicago, Illinois 60601 or DLHoyt@HoytInteractiveMedia.com







# KIDSPOST

CHIP SAYS

The most-watched presidential debate in history is the first debate between Donald Trump and former secretary of state Hillary Clinton in 2016. About 84 million TV viewers tuned in.



TODAY

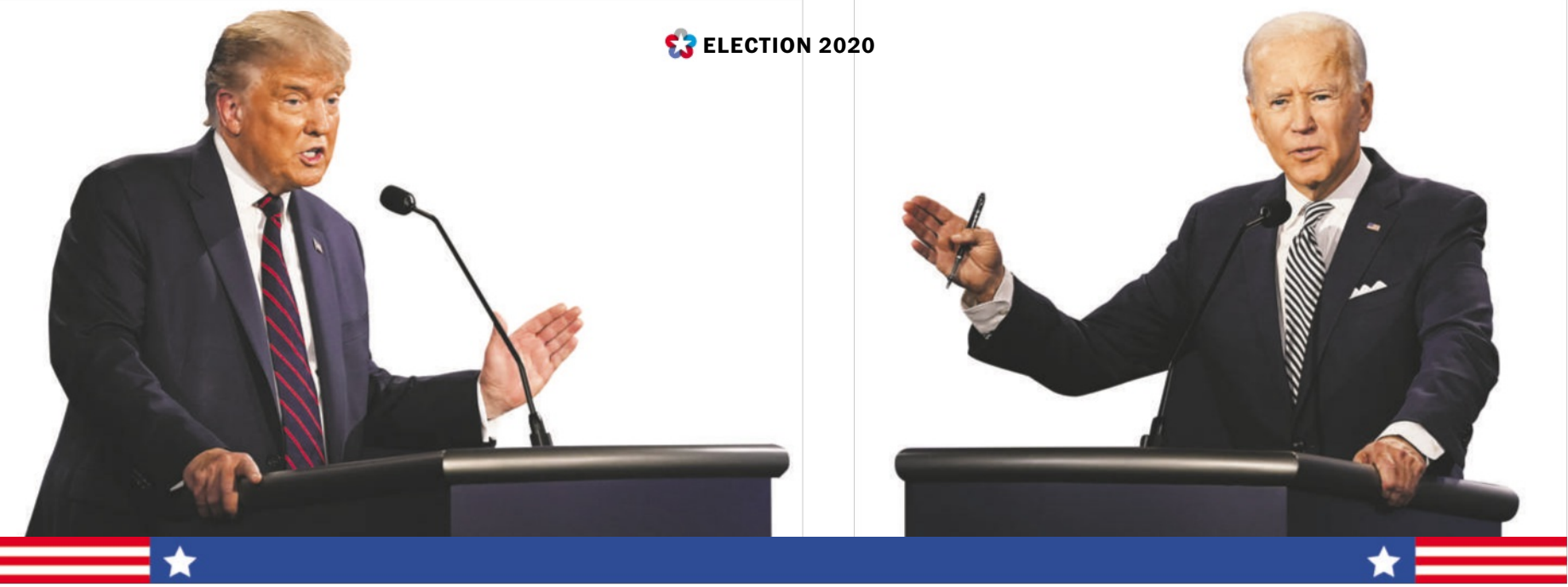
With the help of sunny skies, temperatures could climb to 75 degrees, and winds will be calm.

ILLUSTRATION BY SADIA HUSSAIN, 8, ALEXANDRIA



KIDSPOST.COM

The National Zoo's giant panda cub is male, zoo officials announced Monday.



PHOTOS BY PATRICK SEMANSKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS; ISTOCK GRAPHIC  
If you care about political issues, debates can be interesting to watch. President Donald Trump, left, and Joe Biden participated in a debate last week.

BE A PART OF THE ELECTION

You may be too young to vote, but there's a role you can play: encouraging those 18 and older to do so. Why? Because only 60.1 percent of eligible U.S. citizens voted in the 2016 general election, according to the U.S. Elections Project. That's a lot of people not showing up.

Readers ages 7 to 14 can help solve the problem by recording a short video or drawing a picture about why it's important to vote. Find instructions at [wapo.st/kidspostgovote](http://wapo.st/kidspostgovote). Be creative, but don't mention a candidate or a political party.

We will select three kids' entries to be part of a KidsPost public service announcement. Washington Post TikTok host Dave Jorgenson will interview the selected kids on Zoom, and the videos/drawings will appear on KidsPost, The Washington Post's YouTube channel and other social platforms. A parent must fill out the online form and give permission. Submission deadline is October 17. Email questions to [kidspost@washpost.com](mailto:kidspost@washpost.com).

## Debates can be messy, but they also offer a chance to learn

BY LELA NARGI

Did you miss the first presidential debate on September 29, because you thought, “Debates are for grown-ups?” You may be right, especially this year. Last Tuesday’s debate was filled with interruptions and personal attacks, many more from President Donald Trump, the Republican Party candidate, than from former vice president Joe Biden, the Democratic Party candidate.

It wasn’t a good opportunity for kids to learn about the candidates’ proposals or their record as lawmakers.

But that event wasn’t typical in the 60-year history of the United States’ presidential debates. Usually candidates are respectful. The Commission on Presidential Debates is considering changing the rules so the candidates and viewers can focus on the issues at the next two scheduled debates before the general

election on November 3.

Because Trump tested positive last week for the coronavirus, it’s uncertain whether the next presidential debate will take place as scheduled on October 15 in Florida. Whenever that debate occurs, we encourage kids to watch at least part of it. But in the meantime, there will be a vice-presidential debate Wednesday between United States Senator Kamala Harris (Democrat) and Vice President Mike Pence (Republican).

KidsPost asked for debate-watching tips from John Koch, who teaches debate at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. He explains not only how to watch if you’re a kid, but also how to make it an interesting experience.

Koch first saw a presidential debate with his parents in 1988 when he was 10 years old.

“I have a vivid memory of that,” he says. “My family was rooting for Michael Dukakis,” who was running for president against

then-Vice President George H.W. Bush. He says 10 is a good age to get interested in debating.

**Watch past debates**

Before you watch, Koch says it helps to know how traditional debates work. He explains that there’s a moderator who asks the candidates questions. One candidate will answer first; the other will then offer what’s called a “rebuttal.” “Then it will go back and forth from there,” Koch says.

Koch suggests seeing recordings of one or two debates from the past. For example, you could watch the first televised presidential debate, which was between Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice President Richard Nixon in 1960. The first town hall-style debate, where audience members asked questions of three presidential candidates, was in 1992, involving President George H.W. Bush, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton and businessman Ross

Perot. And during the 2012 debate between President Barack Obama and Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, the candidates’ claims were fact-checked live.

Koch says that by watching old debates, you can learn about debates without caring about the outcome — because we already know what it is.

Koch says the historical events show that the purpose of debating is “to act as a discussion between the candidates, to help voters decide whom to support.”

**Make up your mind**

Americans younger than 18 years old are not allowed to vote. But you can still have an opinion about what issues matter to you and what the candidates say about those issues.

So make a list. Maybe you’re worried about wildfires on the West Coast. Perhaps you think teachers deserve to make more money. Maybe you want people to be treated fairly no matter what color

their skin is.

Koch suggests making a list of three to five issues that you care about. If your family is talking a lot about the issues they care about, ask them not to when you’re around. That way, you can form your own opinions without their influence.

Have your list handy while you watch a debate. Did one candidate have a good plan for stopping the wildfires? Check his name next to that item on your list. Which candidate seemed like he cared about education? Make another check mark on your list. At the end of the debate, add up the checks. Which candidate was your winner?

Finally, says Koch, it’s important to know that there’s not going to be a candidate whom you agree with 100 percent. But you’ll agree with one of them enough, hopefully, to make a decision about who you think should be the next president.

Happy debate watching!  
[kidspost@washpost.com](mailto:kidspost@washpost.com)

**LA TIMES CROSSWORD**

By Bruce Haight

**ACROSS**

1 Meat on a skewer

6 Better mtge. deal

10 Subtle “Look this way”

14 Gulf of \_\_: Red Sea inlet

15 Horror movie helper

16 Healthy

17 Albacore and yellowfin

18 “Darn it!”

20 Ingredient in some Tibetan cheese

22 Genealogy aid

23 Pie-mode link

24 Cut out early

25 “Heavenly!”

26 Mont Blanc, e.g.

29 Beatles’ meter maid

31 Hunk of dirt

33 Lea plea

34 Fast-food chain named for its founders, the Raffel Brothers

36 Pro Football Hall of Fame receiver Michael

39 Splendor

41 Maple extract

42 Born yesterday, so to speak

43 Female folklore deity

44 Part of a plug

46 Word with pool or park

47 First name in country

49 List-ending abbr.

50 Finish

51 Crayon shade

53 Legendary Greek mount

55 Drink with scones

57 Ideal way to work, teamwise

59 “No idea”

63 Living labyrinth

65 Time off, informally

66 “The Clan of the Cave Bear” author Jean

67 Kitchen cooker

68 Clear the board

69 Nimble

**DOWN**

1 Pop singer Perry

2 Water color

3 River border

4 Hawaiian-born president

5 Sherlock Holmes portrayer in 15 movies

6 Gamble

7 \_\_ trip

8 “On Golden Pond” actor or actress

9 Dramatically twisty

10 Awesome, in ‘90s slang

11 Wise counsel

12 Blizzard remains

13 Grade for a soph

19 Autumn occurrence, and a hint to the start of the other four longest

21 Bandit’s hideout

24 Silicon Valley region

26 “You got that right!”

27 Like many doilies

28 Interpreter of lines

30 Recipe amt.

32 “... boy \_\_ girl?”

35 Predicament

37 Lendl of tennis

38 Uncool one

40 Copy

45 Kid-lit’s \_\_ the Great

48 “I, Robot” author

51 Comedy club sounds

52 Exhaust

54 Ward (off)

56 Gaming giant

58 Hideous

59 Like knees during a squat

60 MRI image

61 Face concealer

62 Focus group?

64 Buddhist sect

**MONDAY’S LA TIMES SOLUTION**

B	A	G			P	A	T	I	O	N		A	P	P	L	E
I	S	O	L										P	I	L	E
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NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

### A friend in need – of professional help

**Carolyn Hax**

*Adapted from an online discussion.*

**Dear Carolyn:** I’ve recently realized my mental health is not very good, and I should probably try to lean on “my support network” if I want to get better. Problem is, a big part of my poor health is that I don’t trust people to be there for me. This has been proved (recently!) and it’s hard to believe I even have a “support network,” let alone one I can actually rely on. Help?

— *Distrustful*

really misleading.

What you’re actually counting on is your own resourcefulness. It’s your own ability to find ways to get through tough times.

That can mean leaning on friends, yes, and trusting them sometimes. But that’s just one piece of the larger mechanism of trusting yourself, which includes your own ability to:

- Recognize when you’re in trouble.
- Distinguish between being just-the-usual down and needing help.
- Identify what is helpful.
- Locate that help.

I’ll use my own moody self as an example. If I’m down, I might want to talk to someone. So, I’ll contact the person whose “medicine” seems right for what I’m feeling.

And when that person isn’t available or effective, I go to alternatives more under my control: the dogs, a walk, a cry, yoga, escapist TV, a book, a charitable act, an annoying chore (accomplishment as analgesic).

You can scrape together your own version of this, yes? The person or four to call, the list of simple, feel-better steps? Because *that’s* your network, and the person you’re trusting, always, is you.

Reader suggestions:

- Also make sure you’re asking for the help you need.

If, during a busy week, a friend asks if I can get coffee, I may say no because I have too much going on and it seems like a casual invite. That friend may think I am not there for her. BUT, if that friend said she was having a hard time, I would know to rework my priorities to support her. Some people may still drop the ball, but many more will step up.

- I go to a kind of a support group that meets on a regular basis, and that stability helps me deal with having other people in my life there for me sometimes and not at others. Plus, there’s the added benefit of being both the helper and help-ee.
- Leaning solely on friends to solve problems that require professional care will cost you some friendships unnecessarily. Remember, friends may be dealing with their own problems. If you’re tempted to romanticize the test, that a crisis will show you who’s true-blue and will read your tone of voice exactly, max out their credit card and ride to rescue you on the opposite coast at 3 a.m., please don’t.

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)



## Breakthrough by Butler gives these Finals dash of drama



**Jerry Brewer**

These NBA Finals remain mostly an internal competition for the Los Angeles Lakers. If they play well, as we saw in the first two games, the Miami Heat cannot beat them. If they leave an opening, however, Jimmy Butler will burst through it with the ferocity he showed in Game 3. No matter how great the mismatch, it's still hard to Butler-proof this series.

So there is drama now, if not full-on uncertainty. Because Heat starters Bam Adebayo and Goran Dragic are out with injuries, the Lakers aren't facing a fully stocked challenger, which severely hinders the likelihood that these Finals can reach peak competitiveness. Nevertheless, L.A. must deal with the relentless Butler. On Sunday, he knocked the arrogance out of the Lakers with his 40-point triple-double. In leading the Heat to a 115-104 victory, Butler left the Lakers frustrated, turnover prone and without swagger, at least for one night.

"Look, how do you . . . how else do you say it other than Jimmy Effing Butler?" Heat Coach Erik Spoelstra said. "But this is what he wanted. This is what we

SEE BREWER ON D4

**Game 4: Lakers vs. Heat**

Today, 9 p.m., ABC

## As colleges cut back on sports, lives get upended

BY EMILY GIAMBALVO

Throughout the past six months, college athletes across the country have logged on to video calls and watched their athletic directors appear on the screen. Then they hear that the administration decided to cut their team. The explanation hardly matters, because their minds spin into a whirlwind wondering what comes next.

A freshman track and field athlete cried on the bed in his dorm room. He felt angry and screamed. A baseball coach tried to explain the situation to his two young children before focusing his efforts on finding his players a home. Months later, he scrolls through Instagram and struggles with mixed emotions as he sees his players in their new uniforms.

The novel coronavirus pandemic has financially strained athletic departments. Schools didn't receive their usual distribution from the NCAA after the men's

SEE COLLEGES ON D4



ASHLEY LANDIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Carlos Correa hit two homers and George Springer had four hits as the Astros opened the American League Division Series with a win over the Athletics on Monday.

# MLB's villains rise again

The Astros are the team everyone loves to hate, and that might be just what baseball needs

BY JESSE DOUGHERTY

In April 2018, long before the world linked the Houston Astros with illicit sign-stealing, two of their pitchers discussed "Fortnite," fashion and how Major League Baseball lacked heroes and villains. Collin McHugh and Lance McCullers Jr. were just recording a podcast. But more than two years later, after they were swept into one of the sport's biggest scandals, that last topic feels more prescient than intended. The Astros are baseball's trusty heel.

"I feel like baseball has lagged behind in terms of creating a gripping narrative," said McHugh, a right-hander who hosts "The Twelve Six Podcast."

"And what you need for those things are heroes and villains. We see it in basketball, we see it in football, we even see it in soccer, in hockey," McHugh continued. "All

### MLB PLAYOFFS

#### MONDAY'S RESULTS

Astros 10, Athletics 5 (*Astros lead series, 1-0*)

Yankees 9, Rays 3 (*Yankees lead series, 1-0*)

#### TUESDAY'S GAMES

Game 1: Marlins vs. Braves, 2:08 p.m. (FS1)

Game 2: Astros vs. Athletics, 4:37 p.m. (TBS)

Game 2: Yankees vs. Rays, 8:10 p.m. (TBS)

Game 1: Padres vs. Dodgers, 9:38 p.m. (FS1)

these sports, I don't know whether it comes more natural or what it is. But in baseball, I feel like we have a unique opportunity right now to really create a gripping narrative."

Well, here it is.

Your villains? The Astros.

Your heroes? Anyone who beats them. (Or anyone who throws a baseball very

hard in their direction before mocking them while walking off the field, as Los Angeles Dodgers reliever Joe Kelly did early in this pandemic-shortened season.)

So much has changed since McHugh finally uploaded that episode Dec. 29, 2018. He is no longer with the Astros. McCullers started their 10-5 win over the Oakland Athletics on Monday, giving them a 1-0 lead in the best-of-five American League Division Series in Los Angeles.

The Athletics, a division opponent, have taken extreme exception to the Astros using video and trash cans to illegally steal signs in 2017 and 2018. And Athletics pitcher Mike Fiers — a former Astros pitcher — was the whistleblower who exposed Houston in a story published by the Athletic that kick-started a still-raging storm.

SEE ASTROS ON D2

## Rivera plans to keep coaching as cancer treatment continues

BY NICKI JHABVALA

After enduring his toughest week of treatment, Ron Rivera said he intends to continue coaching the Washington Football Team and remain on the sideline on game days while battling cancer.

"That's pretty much what I've learned from talking with the doctors is that now, each day and each week is going to be its own," Rivera said Monday during a video conference call with local reporters. "I really just have to learn to listen to my body, listen to how I feel and listen to the doctors."

Rivera missed parts of two days last week after undergoing a chemotherapy session and daily proton therapy treatment. He coached the entirety of his team's loss to the Baltimore Ravens on

### L.A. Rams at Washington

Sunday, 1 p.m., WTTG-5

Sunday but was visibly weakened by the treatment. He received two bags of intravenous fluids before the game to help him stay hydrated; during the game, director of football operations Paul Kelly regularly brought him cups of Gatorade.

Rivera sat on the bench to rest during TV timeouts, and at half-time he walked off the field while leaning on the shoulder of a PR staffer.

Rivera said after the game that he had both good moments and times when he struggled. That evening he went to bed around 8 p.m., and, following an interview with "Good Morning America" on Monday, he fit a couple of

SEE WASHINGTON ON D4

## On one bold drive, Gibson showcased his potential

During Sunday's forgettable defeat, Washington's rookie running back put his versatility on display

BY SAM FORTIER



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

On Sunday, Antonio Gibson had 46 rushing yards and a touchdown to go with 82 receiving yards.

In a humdrum loss, one that might be forgotten in the big picture, a drive midway through the second quarter offered a glimpse of a brighter future. It illustrated a key to the Washington Football Team's rebuild, rookie running back Antonio Gibson, both crystallizing who he is now and showing a preview of the player he could become.

On third and 11 near midfield, Washington sent in Gibson. This was unusual. Gibson has played almost exclusively on first and second downs; entering the game, only two of his 83 snaps had come on third down. But there he was lining up outside, another unusual position, against Baltimore Ravens safety Chuck Clark.

After the snap, Gibson displayed a wide receiver's footwork, jabbing forward to fake a route and then stepping back. He caught a screen pass, avoided Clark and jetted down an alley created by well-positioned

SEE GIBSON ON D3

### PRO FOOTBALL

The Texans fire Bill O'Brien, who was undone by some odd roster decisions. **D3**

### FRENCH OPEN

As Paris deals with a spike in coronavirus cases, the Grand Slam plays on. **D5**



BASEBALL ROUNDUP

# New York blasts past Tampa Bay in Game 1

YANKEES 9,  
RAYS 3

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Giancarlo Stanton hit a grand slam in the ninth inning for New York's fourth home run of the game, and the Yankees beat the Tampa Bay Rays, 9-3, on Monday night in the opener of their American League Division Series at Petco Park in San Diego.

Stanton homered to straight-away center field on a 2-2 pitch from John Curtiss with one out. The slugger took several steps with his bat still in his hands before beginning his trot.

Kyle Higashioka and Aaron Judge hit tying and go-ahead home runs off Blake Snell in the fifth inning. Clint Frazier hit an impressive shot into the second deck in left field in the third.

The Yankees became the first team in AL history to hit a grand slam in back-to-back playoff games. Gio Urshela did it in Game 2 of New York's first-round sweep of the Cleveland Indians.

The Yankees set a franchise record by hitting at least three home runs in three straight postseason games. They are the second team in history to do so after the Rays did it in four straight in 2008.

New York has hit 11 homers in those three games. They are the most for any team in the first three games of a postseason.

The ball was flying for the Rays as well off Yankees ace Gerrit Cole. Randy Arozarena homered with two outs in the first, and Ji-Man Choi muscled an opposite-field, two-run shot with no outs in the fourth to give Tampa Bay a 3-2 lead.

Teams that have outthomered the opposition are 13-0 this postseason.

Cole got the win by going six innings, allowing three runs and six hits while striking out eight and walking two. He was pitching about 100 miles south of where he grew up in Newport Beach before playing at UCLA. Cole beat Tampa Bay twice in last year's ALDS while with the Houston Astros.

Snell, the 2018 AL Cy Young Award winner, was the loser. He went five innings and allowed four runs on six hits while striking out four and walking two.

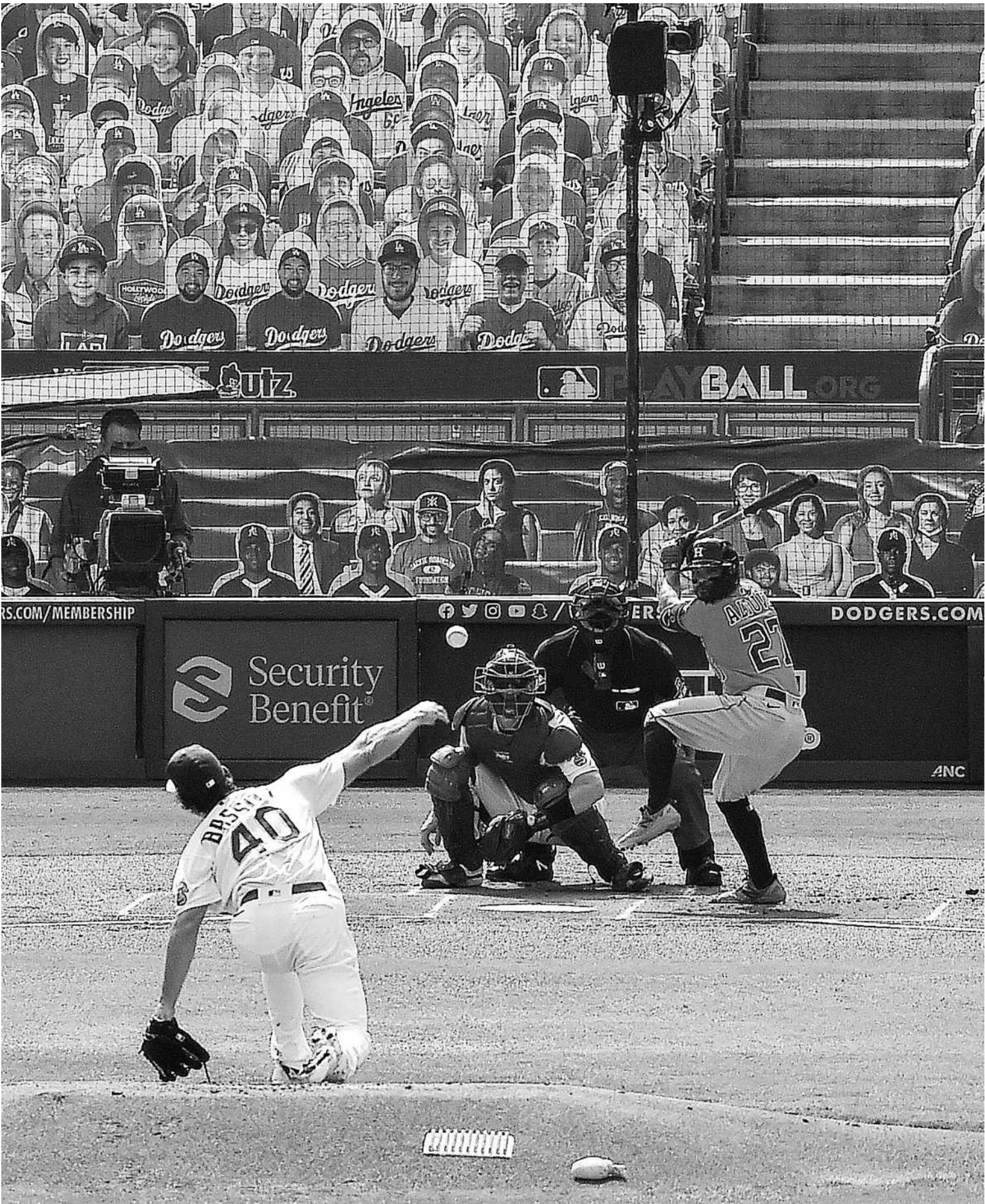
Tampa Bay reliever Shane Bieber became the first pitcher in baseball history to make his big league debut in a postseason game.

Game 2 is Tuesday night.

## Phillies' Hoskins has surgery

Philadelphia Phillies first baseman Rhys Hoskins had surgery to repair a ligament tear in his left elbow last week, and the team said he is expected to return to play in four to six months.

Hoskins injured his ulnar collateral ligament when his non-throwing arm collided with a base runner Sept. 12. The procedure performed Friday was not a full reconstruction, so Hoskins's recovery time is expected to be shorter than it would be for Tommy John elbow surgery.



The Astros and Athletics opened a best-of-five series Monday at Dodger Stadium, where Houston clinched its World Series title in 2017.

# Astros could be villains baseball needs

ASTROS FROM D1

The Astros have dominated baseball headlines since the year began, relieved only by the novel coronavirus pandemic and an ensuing labor battle. But now they're back, 3-0 in the postseason and leading the type of narrative McHugh and McCullers described. Few fans wanted the Astros to make the 16-team playoff field, but they did so with a 29-31 record. Then they swept the Minnesota Twins out of the postseason's first round.

Then the show rolled on, with Houston bashing three homers in Monday's Game 1 victory. After McCullers allowed five runs (four earned) in four-plus innings, four Astros relievers combined for five scoreless innings and Houston scored the game's final seven runs.

"I know a lot of people were mad. I know a lot of people didn't want to see us here. But what are

they going to say now?" Astros shortstop Carlos Correa asked after Houston advanced to the ALDS. Correa lifted two of those homers Monday, and after the second he put a hand by his ear while jogging past the Athletics' dugout.

"It was very rarely talked about. The role of the villain was given to us," first-year Astros manager Dusty Baker added before Monday's win. "It's not something we took on, even though some of it was probably merited. Or most of it was merited. I've been a villain for most of my life, so I might as well join the group."

Fiers vs. the Astros is far from the only subplot. The series is happening at Dodger Stadium, where, in 2017, the Astros faced the Dodgers in the World Series. Houston's win was the subject of much debate in the spring, when many suggested the addition of an asterisk to the Astros' championship or even stripping them of

their title. That outcry only grew when MLB Commissioner Rob Manfred called the World Series trophy a "piece of metal," defending his decision to not specifically punish Astros players.

In February, Houston was roundly criticized for apologies that seemed, well, less than genuine. There was a promise of constant booing, of fans mobilizing, which began with the spring training opener against the Washington Nationals in West Palm Beach, Fla. Then the pandemic arrived, the season was delayed, and the Astros' summer was devoid of jeering crowds. That left Kelly and others to remind the Astros of how the sport feels.

Kelly wasn't pitching for the Dodgers in 2017. But he still threw at the Astros in late July and was suspended for eight games, becoming a momentary hero. Shortly after that, Athletics outfielder Ram3n Laureano and Houston

hitting coach Alex Cintr3n incited a benches-clearing brawl in Oakland. Laureano told ESPN that Cintr3n insulted his mother. Cintr3n denied the claim. The incident, not ripe for social distancing, kept the narrative floating, baseball's villains intact.

A's starter Sean Manaea took aim at the Astros in July. In an interview with 95.7 the Game, a Bay Area sports radio station, the left-hander told the hosts, "I really don't have much respect for any of those guys." He added that everything the Astros had accomplished — the World Series, their statistical achievements — "doesn't mean anything." But he avoided further jabs Monday, even when asked whether his views of the Astros would add juice to his Game 2 start Tuesday.

"Nah, I'm over it," Manaea said on a Zoom call with reporters. "I'm over them."

jesse.dougherty@washpost.com

NFL NOTES

# Forfeits are on the table if protocols are violated

FROM NEWS SERVICES  
AND STAFF REPORTS

Amid the first sign that the novel coronavirus outbreak on the Tennessee Titans might be abating, the NFL told the league's head coaches and general managers during a call Monday that teams must comply with its protocols and warned them in a memo that further violations could result in the loss of draft picks or even forfeits of games.

The NFL said it also is implementing a video surveillance program to monitor teams' adherence to the in-season coronavirus protocols developed by the league and the NFL Players Association.

"Simply put, compliance is mandatory," NFL Commissioner Roger Goodell wrote in the memo to teams. "Now is the time to recommit ourselves to our protocols and best practices for the duration of the season."

Monday's call and subsequent memo came with the league and the NFLPA reviewing the origins of the Titans' outbreak. The Titans could face disciplinary measures if they are found to have been in violation of the protocols, according to multiple people familiar with the league's planning. Titans Coach Mike Vrabel said repeatedly last week that his team had been in compliance with protocols.

The Titans received no positive results Monday morning in their most recent set of coronavirus tests, ending a string of six straight days with positive results and marking a first step toward the NFL reopening the team's facility and proceeding with its Week 5 game Sunday.

The test results were confirmed by a person with knowledge of the matter. The Titans had 18 positive tests, nine by players and nine by other members of the organization, returned between Tuesday and Sunday.

The NFL has fined coaches, teams and players for violations of the coronavirus protocols. The league fined Las Vegas Raiders tight end Darren Waller \$30,000 on Monday for violating mask-wearing requirements at a fundraiser he held. Nine other Raiders players who attended the event, including quarterback Derek Carr and tight end Jason Witten, were fined \$15,000 apiece.

—Mark Maske

• **RAMS-GIANTS:** Los Angeles cornerback Jalen Ramsey and New York wide receiver Golden Tate are unlikely to be disciplined by their teams for their postgame fight at SoFi Stadium, judging by comments from their coaches.

The NFL still might weigh in with fines after it investigates the clash rooted in a family feud between Ramsey and Tate, the uncle of Ramsey's two children.

• **BROWNS:** Cleveland running back Nick Chubb is expected to miss "several weeks" with a sprained ligament in his right knee, a major blow to a team off to its best start since 2001.

• **CHARGERS:** Running back Austin Ekeler will be out for at least the next three games with a hamstring injury.

—Associated Press

DIGEST

SOCCER

## National teams will be without four from D.C.

Four D.C. United players who were requested by their national teams will remain with the MLS club instead of traveling abroad and facing a 14-day self-quarantine upon their return, United announced Monday.

Had they gone, Peru's **Yordy Reyna** and **Edison Flores**, Venezuela's **J3nior Moreno** and Estonia's **Erik S3rga** probably would have missed six of the last eight regular season matches. With several regulars injured, United (2-8-5) could ill-afford to lose four for an extended period.

Clubs worldwide are required to release players during FIFA match windows. However, the novel coronavirus pandemic prompted the governing body to modify the requirements.

MLS teams in jurisdictions where local governments set mandatory self-quarantines of more than five days were exempt from releasing players. A person close to the situation said MLS and the U.S. Soccer Federation consulted with FIFA to ensure clubs would not face sanctions.

—Steven Goff

Manchester United's search for a striker ended with the signing of 33-year-old free agent **Edinson Cavani** before the summer transfer window closed, and Arsenal secured midfielder **Thomas Partey** from Atl3tico Madrid. . . .

Bayern Munich ended the summer transfer period with a flurry of activity after failing to land its main targets. The German Bundesliga club announced the surprise signing of 31-year-old forward **Eric Maxim Choupo-Moting** from Paris Saint-Germain, brought back Brazilian winger **Douglas Costa** in a loan deal from Juventus and signed defender **Bouna Sarr** from Marseille as a backup option for compatriot **Benjamin Pavard**. . . .

Paris Saint-Germain secured a last-minute deal with Barcelona on the transfer window's deadline day to lure Brazilian midfielder **Raffinha** just a few hours after **Danilo Pereira** joined the French league champion. . . .

After years of speculation, Italy winger **Federico Chiesa** finally moved from Fiorentina to rival Juventus on deadline day in Italy. The deal is a two-year loan that then obliges Juventus to purchase Chiesa's full contract. . . .

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

Legendary Florida State coach **Bobby Bowden** tested positive for the coronavirus, according to the Tallahassee Democrat's **Jim Henry**, who said the 90-year-old "feels good and sounds good."

Henry reported that Bowden tested positive after being treated for a leg infection at a hospital. "I don't feel bad, yet," Bowden said. "I guess I can loaf around the rest of the week. I just have to keep an eye out" for symptoms.

—Matt Bonesteel

Arizona Coach **Kevin Sumlin** tested positive for the coronavirus less than a week before the team begins its preseason practices.

The university said the 56-year-old received back-to-back positive tests and entered self-isolation. . . .

Kansas State Coach **Chris Klieman** agreed to a contract extension through the 2026 season that includes incentives and retention bonuses.

Klieman's base salary will be \$3.1 million next season, \$3.5 million in 2022, \$4 million in 2023 and \$4.3 million each year from 2024 to 2026.

The university announced plans this year to furlough up to 1,500 faculty and staff members because of the pandemic. . . .

LSU dropped a requirement for fans to undergo Centers for Disease Control and Prevention medical wellness checks before entering Tiger Stadium for Saturday's home game against Missouri. The checks include a questionnaire regarding coronavirus symptoms. . . . Kentucky Coach **Mark Stoops** said reserve running back **Kavosiey Smoke** is out for "a couple of weeks" after breaking a rib during Saturday's overtime loss to visiting Mississippi.

HOCKEY

The Minnesota Wild traded goaltender **Devan Dubnyk** and forward **Ryan Donato** to the San Jose Sharks in separate deals, continuing its makeover under General Manager **Bill Guerin**.

For Donato, the Wild received a third-round pick in the 2021 draft. The Sharks sent their fifth-round pick in the 2022 draft for Dubnyk and also received Minnesota's 2022 seventh-rounder in return. . . .

The **Jack Johnson** experiment is over in Pittsburgh. The Penguins placed the 33-year-old defenseman on waivers so they can buy out the remaining three years of the deal he signed with the club in 2018. . . .

TELEVISION AND RADIO

NBA FINALS

9 p.m. **Game 4: Los Angeles Lakers vs. Miami** » WJLA (Ch. 7), WMAR (Ch. 2)

MLB PLAYOFFS

2 p.m. **NLDS, Game 1: Miami vs. Atlanta** » Fox Sports 1  
4:30 p.m. **ALDS, Game 2: Houston vs. Oakland** » TBS  
8 p.m. **ALDS, Game 2: New York Yankees vs. Tampa Bay** » TBS  
9:30 p.m. **NLDS, Game 1: San Diego vs. Los Angeles Dodgers** » Fox Sports 1

WNBA FINALS

7 p.m. **Game 3: Las Vegas vs. Seattle** » ESPN

NHL

7 p.m. **NHL draft** » NBC Sports Network

TENNIS

5 a.m. **French Open, quarterfinals** » Tennis Channel  
3 a.m. (Wed.) **French Open, quarterfinals** » Tennis Channel

COLLEGE GOLF

3:30 p.m. **Blessings Collegiate Invitational, second round** » Golf Channel

MEN'S COLLEGE SOCCER

7 p.m. **Pittsburgh at Syracuse** » ACC Network

KOREA BASEBALL ORGANIZATION

5:30 a.m. **Samsung at LG** » ESPN2

The Philadelphia Flyers signed defenseman **Justin Braun** to a two-year contract. Fellow Flyers defenseman **Matt Niskanen**, 33 and a Stanley Cup champion with the Washington Capitals in 2018, told the team he is retiring. . . .

The Toronto Maple Leafs signed center **Jason Spezza**, 37, to a one-year, \$700,000 contract. . . . Edmonton Oilers captain **Connor McDavid** tested positive for the coronavirus, the team said.

MISC.

**Geraint Thomas** and **Simon Yates** were the big losers and Sicilian cyclist **Vincenzo Nibali** was among those who gained precious time on his home roads in the wild, rainy and windy third stage of the Giro d'Italia. . . .

USA Luge announced it won't compete in World Cup events until at least January.

—From news services and staff reports



PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

ANALYSIS

Texans’ O’Brien had all the power, and it cost him his job

BY ADAM KILGORE

As Bill O’Brien accumulated power in Houston, he hastened his own demise. He became the Texans’ coach in 2014, and over the next six-plus years he never learned an obvious lesson: Running an NFL team is hard enough for someone doing just one job. O’Brien was a good coach who won a lot and undermined himself by deciding that was not enough for him. On Monday, with the Texans at their lowest point since O’Brien took over, it cost him his job. The Texans named O’Brien their general manager after last season, filling what had been a vacant position with the person already in charge. After one off-season and an 0-4 start to the season,

the Texans fired O’Brien on Monday. He’ll be replaced as coach on an interim basis by defensive coordinator Romeo Crennel. In a statement, Texans owner Cal McNair thanked O’Brien and listed his accomplishments before saying, “Bill proved himself as a coach and leader in this league.” Intentional or not, it is telling McNair left out O’Brien’s work as general manager. O’Brien’s tenure should have been celebrated in Houston, and he should have had a longer leash than a lousy quarter-season against a tough schedule. Under O’Brien, the Texans won the AFC South four times in six years, had only one losing season and drafted quarterback Deshaun Watson, a franchise cornerstone and one of the NFL’s brightest stars. They

never became a true power, but they were frequently on the cusp. But O’Brien earned an ignominious departure because his reach exceeded his grasp. Once Rick Smith stepped away after the 2017 season for family reasons, O’Brien attempted to fill the organizational power vacuum. Having worked for Bill Belichick in New England, O’Brien may have deluded himself into thinking he could run an organization like Belichick, making every decision from the practice field to the front office. The folly of O’Brien trying to coach a team and run a front office became apparent this off-season. Believing he needed to find salary cap room for Watson’s contract extension, O’Brien traded wide receiver DeAndre Hopkins to the Arizona Cardinals for a question-

able haul. A second-round pick — 37th overall in April’s draft — was the best pick the Texans received, and they also took on the sizable contract of running back David Johnson in an era when sizable running back contracts are a widely undesired commodity. O’Brien filled the hole Hopkins left at wide receiver by signing 30-year-old free agent Randall Cobb to a three-year, \$27 million contract and trading a second-round pick to the Los Angeles Rams for Brandin Cooks and a 2022 fourth-rounder. Those moves underscored one of O’Brien’s defining features as a general manager: He often solved problems by creating other problems. Early last season, the Texans traded two first-round draft picks and a 2021 second-round pick for

left tackle Laremy Tunsil, who was entering the final year of his rookie contract and would require a contract extension. Given the cost the Texans paid to acquire him, Tunsil had enormous leverage as he negotiated a three-year, \$66 million contract — a deal that made keeping Hopkins more difficult. But then again, big contracts filling up the salary cap is a weak excuse in the NFL. With a plan and creativity, as teams such as New Orleans and Kansas City have proved, teams can retain their star players. O’Brien lacked both. When an inability to protect Watson threatened the Texans’ season in 2019 — even after O’Brien used a first-round pick on tackle Tytus Howard — O’Brien the coach did what he had to do to fix the problem O’Brien the GM had created.

Those missteps continued to unravel until O’Brien felt he had to trade a Hall of Fame-caliber wide-out in his prime, and they have caused Watson to fall behind AFC peers such as Patrick Mahomes, Lamar Jackson and Josh Allen, young quarterbacks whose teams have been expertly built around them to accentuate their strengths. O’Brien may well receive another chance to be a head coach — his .520 winning percentage is better than plenty of head coaches who receive second chances. If he learned anything from his six-plus years in Houston, it should be an understanding of his limitations. As a coach, he won. As a general manager, he failed his franchise and, ultimately, foiled himself. adam.kilgore@washpost.com

During Week 4, Cowboys stumble and Herbert arrives

**On the NFL**  
ADAM KILGORE  
The NFL expressed pride in how it held the novel coronavirus at arm’s length during training camp but never confidence it would last. In August, as teams limited positive tests to remarkably low rates, Allen Sills, the NFL’s chief medical officer, said the league had effectively scored a touchdown on its first drive and had an entire game left to play. One NFL team medical official said the fall kept him up at night: travel, fans in stadiums, employees’ kids going to school again, the natural loosening of life’s routines once training camp ends, the looming potential for a second wave in society at large. So many factors working in the NFL’s favor during training camp would shift once the season began.

The NFL’s expectations did not make the reality of this week any less disconcerting, and an existential cloud hovered over Week 4 of the season. The Tennessee Titans’ outbreak continued to ripple, and the NFL decided the New England Patriots would play on even after quarterback Cam Newton tested positive Saturday, moving their game against the Kansas City Chiefs to Monday night after all other New England tests came back negative. As the league confronted those decisions, the vast majority of teams played Sunday, and here is what to know.

**The Dallas Cowboys aren’t any better under Mike McCarthy.** The Cowboys could take comfort in the NFC East’s wretchedness if they didn’t know firsthand how poorly counting on divisional failure can work out. Dallas winning the NFC East appeared to be a safe bet last year even as it piled up losses, right up until the moment the Philadelphia Eagles upset them late in the season, they stumbled to 8-8 and Jason Garrett got fired. The Cowboys’ 1-3 start leaves almost nothing to feel good about. The Cleveland Browns thrashed them, 49-38, even though Dallas scored 24 straight points in the fourth quarter. Dak Prescott threw for 502 yards as the Cowboys tried for a second miracle comeback in three weeks, but he could not overcome the franchise-record 307 rushing yards Dallas allowed.

Only a recovered outside kick has prevented an 0-4 start to McCarthy’s tenure, and the Cowboys’ defense is as embarrassing as anything that happened under Garrett’s watch. The Cowboys have yielded 36.5 points per game under coordinator Mike Nolan, whom McCarthy hired despite Nolan



JASON BEHNKEN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Chargers rookie Justin Herbert completed 20 of 25 passes for 290 yards and three touchdowns Sunday.

having last coordinated a defense in 2014. The Cowboys are embarrassing in other ways, too. They have been down by 15 points in the second half in three games. They’ve committed nine turnovers in the past three games. They are evidently a great comeback team, but they’re also great at falling behind. If McCarthy can’t fix it, he may not get a second season. **Justin Herbert is here to stay.** Tom Brady, 43, had his best day with the Tampa Bay Buccaneers, bouncing back from an early pick-six to throw five touchdown passes in a 38-31 victory over the Los Angeles Chargers. But Herbert, 22, may have been the most impressive quarterback on the field. Herbert completed 20 of 25 passes for 290 yards and three touchdowns, throwing his only interception on a desperation play on the Chargers’ final drive. The comfort he showed was more impressive than his stats. He showed his arm strength on a bullet to the back of the end zone to Donald Parham Jr., and he showed great touch on a 72-yard score to Jalen Guyton, floating a pass over the middle with two blitzers in his face. Herbert was knocked as a raw, inaccurate thrower at Oregon, but in three NFL starts he has shown a surprising ability to make all kinds of brilliant throws. Herbert became the Chargers’ starter only after a team doctor mistakenly punctured Tyrod Taylor’s lung while giving a painkilling injection. It would be unfair for Taylor to lose his job that way, but that seems to be what’s going to happen. Herbert,

the sixth overall pick, has been too impressive to put back on the bench. **Odell Beckham Jr. reminded Cleveland what the big deal is.** Beckham is one of the most famous and most electric players in the NFL, but it had been a while since his performance matched the noise he creates. On Sunday, he had his best game as a member of the Browns. Beckham caught five passes for 81 yards and two touchdowns, one of them a 37-yard laser from wideout Jarvis Landry, Beckham’s close friend since their days at LSU, on a trick play. Beckham also carried two end-arounds for 73 yards, including a 50-yard burst for a touchdown that sealed the game. It marked Beckham’s first game with multiple touchdowns in Cleveland. Beckham had also gone 13 consecutive games without breaking 100 total yards. It would be too soon to say first-year coach Kevin Stefanski has reinvested Beckham — he was a complete no-show in Week 1 against the Baltimore Ravens and had not had more than four catches in a game before Sunday. But Stefanski’s ability to find creative, explosive ways to get Beckham the ball was a good sign. **Stefon Diggs was a perfect acquisition for the Buffalo Bills.** In April, the Bills traded the 22nd pick to the Minnesota Vikings for Diggs, and through a quarter of the season it looks like a stroke of genius by General Manager Brandon Beane. Diggs leads the NFL in receiving yards after catching another six passes for 115 yards in the Bills’ 30-23 victory at the Las Vegas Raiders. The Bills had two wide

receivers who were very good at what they’re best at — Cole Beasley creates more separation than any slot receiver in football, and John Brown is one of the most consistent deep threats. But they lacked a complete No. 1 option, and Diggs gives them an ideal one. His versatility allows him to line up anywhere and run any route, which has multiplied what coordinator Brian Daboll can do. Quarterback Josh Allen has made huge leaps in his third season, and Diggs is a big reason. **Matt Rhule is making fast work of rebuilding the Carolina Panthers.** This off-season, Carolina made perhaps the most aggressive hire of the coaching cycle, luring Rhule from Baylor with a seven-year, \$62 million contract. Rhule specialized in fast turnarounds — he went 1-11 in his first year at Baylor and 11-3 two years later. Rhule inherited a 5-11 team, albeit one that played almost the whole season without its quarterback. It has taken him four games to prove he knows what he is doing. The Panthers knocked off the Chargers last week for their first win, and Sunday they dominated the Arizona Cardinals in a 31-21 victory, controlling the game throughout. Both wins came without superstar running back Christian McCaffrey. The Panthers may be a year or two away from contention, especially in a division that includes the Bucs and New Orleans Saints. But only four games have shown Carolina has a solid foundation in the coach-quarterback combination of Rhule and Teddy Bridgewater. adam.kilgore@washpost.com

Gibson’s versatility gives his team a building block

GIBSON FROM D1

offensive linemen. He began pulling away, flashing the home run speed Coach Ron Rivera sounded so excited about when Washington selected him in the third round of April’s draft. Ravens cornerback Jimmy Smith caught Gibson at the 11-yard line to end a 40-yard gain. Gibson was heated. He hadn’t seen Smith in pursuit. “I had no clue the guy to the right was coming,” Gibson said after Washington’s 31-17 loss, still lamenting his missed chance to take the screen all the way. “I was definitely sad about that.” But Washington gave Gibson a chance to finish the job. He rushed between the tackles on three of the next four plays, finally stuffing in a two-yard touchdown. The drive epitomized Gibson — powerful, flexible — and spurred his best day yet with 46 rushing yards, 82 receiving yards and that touchdown. It symbolized a step toward what the coaching staff hopes he can become: a rushing and receiving weapon, a bigger version of Carolina Panthers star running back Christian McCaffrey. This fits the modern NFL offense, which prizes versatility and chunk plays. And if Gibson becomes a second steady weapon alongside wide receiver Terry McLaurin, it would provide a huge boost to quarterback Dwayne Haskins and a sputtering offense.

Washington knows Gibson has a lot of growing to do, but Sunday continued the early-season blueprint for how Gibson might get there. The coaches are starting small. They want Gibson, a natural wide receiver, to embrace running back and essentially have one skill set catch up to the other. They’ve limited Gibson’s routes and lined him up in the backfield on 85 percent of his snaps. This has been the plan since right after the draft, when Washington put Gibson in the running backs room. The lack of off-season and preseason has slowed this process, though the team has eased Gibson’s transition by managing responsibilities and leaning on its two veteran backs, who complement him. Peyton Barber is a short-yardage hammer. J.D. McKissic is a smaller Gibson, a player who has run more third-down routes in the NFL (150) than Gibson has career snaps (117).

In the rookie’s breakout performance Sunday, Rivera said he saw a combination of Gibson’s natural athleticism and offensive coordinator Scott Turner’s evolving understanding of how best to use the three backs.

“We were using [Gibson today] part of the way we’re going to need to use him [in the future] to be successful,” Rivera said Sunday. “I think part of it is [also] just his tremendous athletic ability as a football player.” But Gibson still sees mistakes. He still sees moments when he’s a wide receiver playing running back rather than a weapon who can do both. After the screen play, he took a handoff from the 2-yard line and looked up to see center Chase Roullier plugging the lane. Gibson hesitated, preparing to cut left, but just then, Roullier pushed his man out of the way. The hole was sizable, and Gibson missed it. He was already lateral. “There are times where I try to make a play and I shouldn’t,” Gibson said. “That’s me not playing running back a lot. That’s me playing receiver, and I’m trying to make a play because, when I catch a ball, I am already downfield. At running back, you’re always in the backfield, so you have to get north quick. . . . I just need to learn when to pick and choose when I should just stick my foot in the ground and get north and get those two yards [versus when to try to make something happen].” If the second half was the present, Gibson learning how and when to hit holes, the first half was the future. On that third down near midfield, when Washington trailed 14-0, Turner played his best card. It was splitting Gibson out right for the screen. It was a peek at what the offense could look like as Gibson grows more comfortable. It was what prompted Haskins, hours before, to tell Gibson he now had “his preseason schedule out of the way, and it’s time to go ball.” “He’s getting ready to take off,” Haskins said. “Watching him in college, the dude was lining up in the slot running fades, so he’s definitely somebody who’s versatile.” Haskins listed ways the team can use Gibson in presnap motion to probe and expose the defense. “He’s a very versatile guy who can make some stuff happen for us, and I will try to get him to own up his role and take advantage of it.” Gibson said he knows he has a long way to go, but his progress inches forward with games such as Sunday’s. And just as he must balance hitting a hole and trying to extend a play, Turner must balance his play-calling to accentuate Gibson’s strengths and develop his weaknesses. This is the challenge of a season during a rebuild, but Gibson feels, little by little, he’s getting there. “I just felt comfortable today,” he said. “I feel like, each week, I’m learning.” sam.fortier@washpost.com

NFL ROUNDUP

Kansas City subdues shorthanded New England for a virus-delayed victory

CHIEFS 26, PATRIOTS 10

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tyreek Hill and Mecole Hardman had short touchdown catches, Kansas City shut down a New England offense missing quarterback Cam Newton and running back Sony Michel, and the Chiefs beat the Patriots, 26-10, on Monday night in Kansas City, Mo., in a game postponed by positive novel coronavirus tests on each team.

Tyrann Mathieu returned a late interception for the clinching touchdown, and Patrick Mahomes added 236 passing yards as the Chiefs overcame a slow start to win their 13th straight game dating from last season. The matchup was supposed to be Sunday afternoon, but New England confirmed a player later revealed to be Newton tested positive. Chiefs practice squad quarterback Jordan Ta’amu also tested positive, leading the NFL to postpone the game. Tests taken Monday morning returned no additional positives

from either team. Journeyman Brian Hoyer, who has lost 11 straight starts for three different teams, was 15 for 24 for 130 yards and an interception for the Patriots (2-2) before getting benched. Jarrett Stidham led the Patriots to a touchdown to close within 13-10 but threw two interceptions, including the one to Mathieu that sealed the Chiefs’ fourth straight 4-0 start. With quarterback woes and the loss of Michel, who was put on injured reserve with a quad issue earlier in the day, the Patriots used a simplified and run-heavy

approach, but it wasn’t enough. The Chiefs marched downfield for a field goal on their first drive and added another later in the half, but Sammy Watkins wasted a scoring chance by fumbling in the red zone. The Patriots could have been leading had Hoyer not made two big mistakes. The first came in the closing seconds of the first half, when the Patriots drove into field goal range. Hoyer was sacked by Frank Clark on third down but did not realize he couldn’t stop the clock. It hit zero and the Chiefs took a 6-3

lead into the locker room. Late in the third quarter, Hoyer was stripped of the ball and the Chiefs recovered it, keeping New England from a field goal attempt. **•PACKERS 30, FALCONS 16:** Aaron Rodgers connected with tight end Robert Tonyan on three of his four touchdown passes, and Green Bay remained unbeaten with a victory over winless Atlanta in Green Bay, Wis. The Packers (4-0) have opened the season by scoring at least 30 points in four straight games for the first time. Todd Gurley II’s two touchdown runs couldn’t stop the

Falcons from notching their first 0-4 start since 1999. Tonyan had touchdown receptions of 19 and eight yards to cap the Packers’ final two first-half possessions. He added a 21-yard TD catch in the third quarter. Rodgers finished 27 for 33 for 327 yards. He has thrown 13 touchdown passes without an interception this season. Atlanta’s Julio Jones had four catches to break the franchise record for career receptions. He passed Roddy White, who caught 808 passes from 2005 to 2013. Jones now has 812.



JERRY BREWER

# Butler beat the arrogance out of the Lakers and might have rescued these Finals

BREWER FROM D1

wanted. It's really hard to analyze or describe Jimmy until you actually feel him between the four lines. He's a supreme, elite competitor, and we needed it."

It may have been Butler's and the Heat's best punch. Or it may have bought time for those reinforcements Miami desperately needs. For certain, it's not a sustainable game plan for the Heat to expect more historic Butler performances to even this 2-1 series and pose a legitimate threat to win the championship. The Heat will have to find more ways to win, if other options still exist for it. But, finally, there's a smidgen of doubt about the ultimate outcome. The Lakers have been pushed (okay, maybe nudged). Their superiority doesn't matter as much as the Heat developing an understanding of how it can compete.

"We're just settling down," Butler said. "I think it's a lot of bright lights. It's a big stage for almost everybody. . . . Nobody's been here before. But we're coming to realize we belong here."

There are few players who can leverage hope as well as Butler. Look at him, down two games in the series and barking late in Game 3 after scoring on Markieff Morris, "They're in trouble!" That's Butler, falling to the floor again and again, rising and asking for more, always feeling as though he's inching toward a knockout blow.

For Butler, this game stands as a career masterpiece nine years in the making. He probably doesn't have another performance like that in him. But the stats — 40 points, 13 assists, 11 rebounds, two steals and two blocks in 45 minutes — are a dramatic representation of the impact Butler has on winning.



KEVIN C. COX/GETTY IMAGES

Heat Coach Erik Spoelstra said Jimmy Butler "put his imprint on every important part of the game" during a Game 3 triple-double Sunday.

He didn't just punctuate his phenomenal, all-around floor game with the kind of scoring explosion we're used to seeing from today's perimeter players. No, Butler did it without attempting a three-pointer, driving over and over into the teeth of the Lakers' athletic, oversize defense, hitting pull-up jumpers, attacking the rim and getting to the free throw line. Who

does that? Well, Shaquille O'Neal and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar — two of the greatest centers of all time — are the only contemporary players to dominate a Finals game attacking so exclusively inside the arc. Butler is 6-foot-7. He and Kawhi Leonard might be the only two perimeter players in that size range capable of such a punishing offensive effort.

Butler also guarded LeBron

James for much of the game and was a huge factor in forcing him into eight turnovers.

"Obviously this was a very desperate, urgent game and he was doing it on both ends of the court, just put his imprint on every important part of the game," Spoelstra said. "He's in the top percentile of this entire association in terms of conditioning, and you saw he just

got stronger as the game went on."

What a competitor. And what a lesson for people who follow the NBA, or any other team sport, and fixate too much on championship rings as the only way to measure greatness.

Miami has won three NBA titles, but Butler's Game 3 was one of the finest moments in franchise history. He continues to help the Heat redefine itself, which could

pave the way for future glory. Butler could play poorly in the next two games, and the Lakers could close these Finals with back-to-back blowout victories, yet Butler still would be remembered as a fearless competitor whose determination was an enlivening influence during a difficult NBA season.

"We know how Jimmy is in these moments," Heat guard Tyler Herro said. "And the world has seen what Jimmy Butler is capable of."

James, who has a 3-6 Finals record, has finished as the runner-up several times despite stellar performances. He knows what it's like to do everything one star can reasonably do and still exit in disappointment. James can appreciate how hard Butler is fighting.

"Love it," he said of playing against Butler. "Love it. One of the best competitors we have in our game. We love that opportunity. For me, personally, I don't know how many more opportunities I'm going to have, so to be able to go against a fierce competitor like that is something I'll look back on when I'm done playing. I'll miss those moments."

A few chippy in-game exchanges between the two actually qualify as mutual respect. As Butler witnessed James storm off the court at the end of Game 3, he must have known he accomplished something else: an acknowledgment that the Heat, though undermanned, is still a problem.

The problem is that Butler won't quit. He is challenging the Lakers to elevate — or watch him fulfill his "They're in trouble!" prophecy.

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For more by Jerry Brewer, visit [washingtonpost.com/brewer](https://www.washingtonpost.com/brewer).



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

Ron Rivera said being away from the players and his fellow coaches is the most difficult part of balancing his health with coaching.

## As treatment continues, Rivera says he must listen to his body

WASHINGTON FROM D1

naps in between periods of work.

"I'll be honest with you: Last week really kind of caught me off guard a little bit," he said. "I was kind of expecting it, but I didn't realize just how hard sometimes it can get you. It got me pretty good. It speaks to the courage of the folks that have gone through this. There's a lot of people that have dealt with it and have come out on the other end for the better. That's what we're working toward."

Rivera, who announced in August that he was diagnosed with squamous cell carcinoma in a lymph node in his neck, has three weeks of treatment left, including one more cycle of chemotherapy.

Although the cancer was said to be caught early and is considered treatable, the regimen can be grueling. According to Neil Gross, the director of clinical research in the department of head and neck surgery at MD Anderson Cancer Center, it's common for patients to lose weight during treatment, partly because the proton therapy, which is a more targeted form of radiation, zaps the taste buds so nothing tastes as it should. And for some patients, the most difficult time is the week after the treatment regimen ends.

"So it's not like they go seven weeks and they're suddenly feeling good," Gross said. "They're at their worst at the seven-week period, and then it usually takes two or three months for the symptoms to subside and patients start to feel normal. But their energy level, if they lose a lot of weight, can be really diminished. Everyone's different, and I imagine he has a lot of support around. So I imagine he can get through, but it'll take a lot of help."

Rivera said the most difficult aspect of balancing his treatment with coaching is simply being away from the players and coaches at times.

"That's what eats at me, personally, because my job is to work with our guys directly," he said.

Rivera remains closely in-

volved in the day-to-day as Washington continues to try to rebuild its roster and culture. But circumstances this year because of the novel coronavirus pandemic have made the challenge even tougher.

The team was scheduled to try out a number of free agents Monday but canceled the workouts for precautionary reasons in light of the outbreak among members of the Tennessee Titans and the NFL's decision to postpone the New England Patriots-Kansas City Chiefs game to Monday night after members of both teams tested positive for the coronavirus, including Patriots starting quarterback Cam Newton.

"We said: 'Let's take a break. Let's take a step backward and let's review the process and let's talk to the league, also.' We will have discussions with the league about this," Rivera said. "We just want to make sure and get it right, so we did that. . . . Unfortunately, we had to turn some guys away, and we truly do apologize to those young men."

When asked Monday about quarterback Dwayne Haskins' play in the loss to Baltimore, Rivera reiterated much of what he said after the game and in the weeks prior. Yes, Haskins had positive moments, but the team needs to see continued growth.

"There were some things that were positive. Obviously, he made some good throws. He threw the long one to Terry [McLaurin] at the end of the game. It was inconsequential at that point, but again, doing the things he needs to do and showing the growth — that's what we're looking for. It's a tough situation. We're looking at our circumstances right now as a football team. We're in a very interesting situation right now."

Haskins posted career highs in completions (32), pass attempts (45) and passing yards (314) in the loss. He was also sacked three times and failed Rivera's test on a key fourth-down attempt early in the fourth quarter, throwing to a receiver well shy of the end zone for a short gain.

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COLLEGES FROM D1

basketball tournament was canceled. They have lost revenue from student fees and donations. Most conferences are playing a shortened football season, with limited or no fan attendance, hurting yet another revenue stream. Many smaller schools are no longer receiving the payouts from nonconference matchups against Power Five programs. Schools have responded to these deficits by eliminating teams.

Around 80 Division I programs no longer exist, affecting roughly 1,500 athletes. Success and prominence don't guarantee immunity. Furman baseball had a 125-year history. East Carolina men's swimming won a conference title in February. Power Five schools — Iowa, Stanford and Minnesota — have discontinued programs.

"As an Olympic sport at a Division I college, you always have this understanding in the back of your head that if something is going to be cut, it's potentially going to be your sport," said Dan Shuman, a former East Carolina swimmer. "It's living in the shadow of the guillotine."

If that day comes, as it recently has for hundreds of athletes, they are forced to transfer to a new school or give up their sport to stay on campus. Coaches lose their jobs and must move their families for the next one. This process repeats around the country, each time beginning with an emotional team meeting that leaves athletes scrambling to adjust.

The transfers

In the spring, Trey Asensio and Ben Wendell gave themselves a tour of the University of Kentucky. Asensio and Wendell, now beginning their junior year there, earned starting roles last season at Cincinnati, but if they wanted to keep playing, they had to leave after the school dropped its soccer program in April. Transferring during a pandemic means no recruiting visits or in-person meetings. But they were pleased with what they saw — "specifically how green it was," Wendell said.

Asensio and Wendell, roommates since freshman year, leased an apartment on short notice and have found it helpful to go through this adjustment process together. Cincinnati practiced in the mornings before class, but Kentucky trains in the afternoons. Kentucky plays a more aggressive style, and practices are more intense.

They occasionally find themselves with nothing to add when listening to stories from past seasons, but they've continued growing closer to their new teammates. Practices began in August, and the Wildcats started their season last month. That has helped the most as they learn how their teammates play and develop relationships off the field. Every practice, Wendell

said, is "a reminder of why I made this decision."

Communication among the now-dispersed Cincinnati squad has dwindled as players adjust to their new lives. But Asensio and Wendell have stayed in touch with their two other roommates from last year — one who transferred to Albany and another who stayed at Cincinnati. Asensio's team-issued Cincinnati apparel is in a box at his parents' house. He said he doesn't want to be "the guy who hangs on to the past school," but in the future, he'll want to look back on his time in both places.

"Spending the first two months here really put into perspective how lucky we are," Asensio said. "Because it could have ended for us — our career."

A team in limbo

Winter Osborne couldn't compete last season. She tore ligaments on both sides of her ankle and needed surgery. But this summer, as she began training again, Osborne realized her gymnastics is still improving. Osborne's team at the University of Alaska Anchorage has been on a similar trajectory, recently breaking program records.

But the school's chancellor proposed several cost-saving cuts, which included discontinuing the gymnastics program after the 2020-21 season. The Board of Regents voted to cut the program — with the caveat it could reverse the decision if the team raises money to cover two years of operating expenses. Now, Osborne and her teammates have another mission for this season: They need \$888,000 by February.

Osborne, a junior, has thought about her options if the program disappears. She feels as though she has more to give to the sport but said, "I can't imagine right now doing gymnastics anywhere else other than Alaska." She's optimistic about the effort to save the program. So are her teammates and coach. They've launched a public campaign and brainstormed fundraisers, such as virtual clinics.

"It is a lot just being a student and then being a student-athlete on top of that," Osborne said. "And then being a student-athlete who's dealing with a pandemic — oh, and trying to save their entire program. That is a lot."

A coach's family

Brett Harker's daughter, Emma, learned how to ride a bike in the Furman batting cages. During a phase when she loved Band-Aids, the players surprised her with a princess-themed lunchbox filled with them. That's how Harker wanted to run the Furman baseball program: His two kids made team facilities their playground, and Harker welcomed the players into his home.

"I've seen way too many husbands and fathers lose their fami-

lies because of baseball," said Harker, who played professionally for seven years. "I said: 'That won't happen to me. And that won't happen to my assistants.'"

Harker, 36, was Furman's head coach for four seasons before the school cut his program. Harker began his coaching career at a high school in his hometown of Greenville and then worked at two smaller colleges in South Carolina.

Furman's players, who are now scattered across the country, would come to Harker's home for meals and games. During the fall, Harker's family hosted each class for a much-anticipated dinner. Freshmen ate tacos, and they worked up to the Harker family's famous lasagna as seniors. Recently, 2-year-old Hudson asked if the Furman players, whom he calls the "purple boys," could come by for dinner. He's too young to understand what happened.

Harker loves baseball and feels this is the avenue through which he can affect the lives of young men. But he also loves his town, where both he and his wife grew up, and the next stop in Harker's coaching career will almost certainly require leaving.

"This is where we were planning on spending the next 20 years," Harker said. "Do you get out of baseball to live in the city you love, to be at your church, be with your friends and be with your family? Or do you uproot everything, try to invest somewhere else and find the next place for your family to build a program?"

A freshman with a decision

After Chris Arias moved into his dorm at William & Mary in mid-August, he met the other freshmen who live on his hall — mostly fellow track athletes and some baseball players. Everything went well: Arias registered for classes, settled into the campus and began practices.

Arias, a javelin thrower, initially practiced with the sprinters because he is the only freshman thrower and upperclassmen hadn't arrived. After a warmup before a hard workout, their coach said practice had been cut short for an urgent virtual meeting. Arias joined the call from his phone while walking home and heard the program would be cut after this season. He hadn't even been through two weeks of practice.

Earning a degree from William & Mary is still an option, but so much of Arias's college track career lies ahead. A decision such as this, Arias said, feels particularly unfair to the freshmen. He entered the transfer portal, considering schools where he could compete during the 2021-22 season and beyond.

"I just love everything about the school," Arias said after living in Williamsburg, Va., for more than a month. "But at the same time, I do want to compete."

An Olympian reflecting

Stanford's Home of Champions celebrates decades of athletic success. Athletes with ties to the school have won 270 Olympic medals, so Stanford's decision to cut 11 programs alarmed those invested in Olympic sports.

Alexander Massialas's fencing equipment is on display in the Home of Champions. Massialas won two medals at the 2016 Olympics, and after taking a year off to train, he returned for his final collegiate season. He had a small athletic scholarship but primarily relied on financial aid, which he no longer received upon his return. When he asked whether the athletic department could help, it didn't.

"That's where I felt this disconnect," Massialas said, noting how much his school publicized his success but didn't offer more support.

When Stanford cut fencing this summer, the decision prompted a similar dissonance. Massialas always felt like Stanford appreciated all its teams. Before this decision, Massialas thought the athletic department operated well, particularly from a values standpoint, he said.

"We still love the school," Massialas said of the alumni advocating to reinstate the programs. "We want them to make the right decision for its undergraduate population, for the students that are going to come in the next generation."

The ones who push back

In the days after one of these decisions, petitions and fundraising campaigns emerge. Current athletes channel their emotion into these efforts. Alumni, who still feel tied to the program, organize efforts to push back. They plead for their programs to be reinstated, usually to no avail.

Former East Carolina swimmers connected on Facebook just after the announcement and rallied to build their campaign. They asked for donations and pledges for the future. They disseminated the email addresses of university leaders. Shuman, who works in communications, filed public records requests so they could analyze the athletic department's finances and conversations that may have led to the decision. Alumni poured evenings and weekends into this initiative.

"It's worth the fight because of the experience we had," said Lindsay Takkunen, another former swimmer.

They want an opportunity to find solutions, but these former swimmers said athletic department leaders haven't engaged in conversations. Now four months since the announcement, they are focusing on long-term efforts. The program might not return this year, but they hope it will one day.

"We're stuck," Takkunen said. "So we just keep plugging away until we decide that's it. But we're still there now."

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# Depleted roster lingers for Hokies before trip to North Carolina

BY GENE WANG

Virginia Tech football coach Justin Fuente again spent a significant portion of his weekly Monday news conference addressing the absence of players and coaches amid the novel coronavirus pandemic, this time after the Hokies' first road game of season.

The 38-31 win against Duke unfolded Saturday afternoon without first-year defensive coordinator Justin Hamilton for a second consecutive game and with Virginia Tech missing 21 players, two fewer than during its season-opening victory over North Carolina State.

The No. 19 Hokies' undefeated start, despite a compromised roster, landed them in the Associated Press top 25 ahead of a meeting Saturday against No. 8 North Carolina. It remains unclear, according to Fuente, whether Hamilton will be with the team in Chapel Hill, N.C.

"We'll see when we get everybody back" to practice, Fuente said when asked about Hamil-

ton's status during a Zoom call with reporters. "They're all going through those protocols. I have zero say in all of that. They just tell me as we get through it. Hopefully he and some players and coaches will be returning. I'm not exactly positive on the whole timetable right now."

Hamilton did not travel to Durham, N.C.; a team spokesman indicated he had not been cleared to rejoin in-person football-related activities. The former Hokies running back, wide receiver and safety was promoted to defensive coordinator from safeties coach when Bud Foster retired at the end of last season.

Hamilton was able to celebrate this past weekend's win, albeit virtually, when the team reached him via FaceTime at his home, where he was watching with his family, including the newest addition and third child, a baby boy named Ace Henry.

Without Hamilton overseeing the defense, Fuente turned to several assistants to call alignments, starting with Tracy Clayes. The linebackers coach is the most

experienced defensive assistant and was back on the sideline for his first game this season after missing the opener.

Cornerbacks coach Ryan Smith called plays in the opener, a 45-24 victory at Lane Stadium. He continued to contribute in setting the defensive assignments against the Blue Devils, who averaged just 3.8 yards per rush.

The victory came with starting cornerbacks Jermaine Waller and Armani Chatman and top reserves Brion Murray and Devin Taylor out because of positive tests or contact tracing.

Starting safety Divine Deablo, a team captain, also did not play, and neither did Alan Tisdale, a major contributor at linebacker.

"You're just getting new information as to who's available on almost a daily basis right now," Fuente said. "So it throws you into more meetings as a coaching staff on how you're going to handle it, who's going to be on the headsets, who's going to call it, how the organization goes."

"All those meetings you had in the middle of fall camp as a staff

to make sure you've ironed everything out before the first scrimmage, we're having [those types of meetings] every week to make sure everybody understands from a coaching perspective their assignments and their responsibilities."

Fuente not only has had to amend duties among his assistants, but he also continues to juggle the quarterback rotation — and not necessarily because of the outbreak.

Braxton Burmeister made his second straight start against Duke, with the difference compared with the opener being the Oregon transfer took every snap. The junior completed 9 of 25 passes for 163 yards and a touchdown. He threw one interception.

Going into the season, Fuente indicated he was planning to rotate Hendon Hooker, named the starter during training camp, and Burmeister. Instead, Burmeister and Quincy Patterson II each played in the opener as Hooker watched with an undisclosed ailment.

Hooker was scheduled to re-

sume practice last week, according to Fuente, but sat out again as Virginia Tech ran for more than 300 yards for a second consecutive game behind an offensive line that has punished opponents.

It's unclear whether Hooker is on track to play against undefeated North Carolina, which has the second-ranked defense in the ACC, allowing 277.5 yards per game.

"Things have changed so much and so quickly over the past whatever that is, four weeks," Fuente said. "Two weeks before the Virginia game [that had been scheduled for Sept. 19], we felt like it was Hendon who gave us the best chance to win."

"Hendon has missed time since then. The game was postponed. Heading into this last week, we felt like it was Braxton. I'll tell you this: We'll go out there and practice this week like we do with every single position and continue to evaluate and try to make the best decision we can for the football team on Saturday."

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## SCOREBOARD

### PRO FOOTBALL

NFL									
NFC									
EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Philadelphia	1	2	1	.250	84	107			
Dallas	1	3	0	.250	126	146			
Washington	1	3	0	.250	99	112			
N.Y. Giants	0	4	0	.000	47	96			

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA
Tampa Bay .....	3	1	0	.750	120	92
Carolina .....	2	2	0	.500	99	102
New Orleans .....	2	2	0	.500	123	123
Atlanta .....	0	4	0	.000	106	138

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Green Bay	4	0	0	1.000	152	101			
Chicago	3	1	0	.750	85	81			
Detroit	1	3	0	.250	99	127			
Minnesota	1	3	0	.250	106	125			

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Seattle	4	0	0	1.000	142	109			
L.A. Rams	3	1	0	.750	106	80			
Arizona	2	2	0	.500	98	92			
San Francisco	2	2	0	.500	107	71			

AFC									
EAST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Buffalo	4	0	0	1.000	123	100			
New England	3	1	0	.500	97	92			
Miami	1	3	0	.250	93	96			
N.Y. Jets	0	4	0	.000	65	131			

SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Tennessee	3	0	0	1.000	80	74			
Indianapolis	3	0	0	.750	103	56			
Jacksonville	1	3	0	.250	95	117			
Houston	0	4	0	.000	80	126			

NORTH	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Pittsburgh	3	0	0	1.000	80	58			
Baltimore	3	1	0	.750	122	73			
Cleveland	3	1	0	.750	124	126			
Cincinnati	1	2	1	.250	99	99			

WEST	W	L	T	PCT.	PF	PA			
Kansas City	4	0	0	1.000	107	70			
Las Vegas	2	2	0	.500	111	120			
Denver	1	3	0	.250	92	98			
L.A. Chargers	1	3	0	.250	83	95			

x-Late game

### WEEK 4

#### THURSDAY'S RESULT

Denver 37, at N.Y. Jets 28

#### SUNDAY'S RESULTS

Baltimore 31, at Washington 17  
at Tampa Bay 38, L.A. Chargers 31  
Cleveland 49, at Dallas 38  
at Carolina 31, Arizona 21  
New Orleans 35, at Detroit 29  
at Cincinnati 33, Jacksonville 25  
Minnesota 31, at Houston 23  
Seattle 31, at Miami 23  
at L.A. Rams 17, N.Y. Giants 9  
Buffalo 30, at Las Vegas 23  
Indianapolis 19, at Chicago 11  
Philadelphia 25, at San Francisco 20  
Pittsburgh at Tennessee, ppd. (virus)

#### MONDAY'S RESULTS

at Kansas City 26, New England 10  
at Green Bay 30, Atlanta 16

### WEEK 5

#### THURSDAY'S GAME

Tampa Bay (-5½) at Chicago, 8:20

#### SUNDAY'S GAMES

L.A. Rams (-9) at Washington, 1  
Cincinnati at Baltimore (-13½), 1  
Philadelphia at Pittsburgh (-7½), 1  
Carolina at Atlanta (-3½), 1  
Las Vegas at Kansas City (-12), 1  
Buffalo at Tennessee (OFF), 1  
Arizona (-6½) at N.Y. Jets, 1  
Jacksonville at Houston (-5½), 1  
Miami at San Francisco (OFF), 4:05  
N.Y. Giants at Dallas (-9), 4:25  
Denver at New England (OFF), 4:25  
Indianapolis (-2½) at Cleveland, 4:25  
Minnesota at Seattle (-7), 8:20  
BYE: Detroit, Green Bay

#### MONDAY'S GAME

L.A. Chargers at New Orleans (-7½), 8:15

## Chiefs 26, Patriots 10

PATRIOTS	0	3	0	7-10
CHIEFS	6	0	7	13-26

#### FIRST QUARTER

Kansas City: FG Butker 23, 10:08.  
Kansas City: FG Butker 39, -13.

#### SECOND QUARTER

New England: FG Folk 43, 9:31.

#### THIRD QUARTER

Kansas City: Hill 6 pass from Mahomes (Butker kick), -42.

#### FOURTH QUARTER

New England: Harry 4 pass from Stidham (Folk kick), 13:45.  
Kansas City: Hardman 6 pass from Mahomes (kick failed), 8:57.

Kansas City: Mathieu 25 interception return (Butker kick), 8:48.  
Attendance: 12,729.

	PATRIOTS	CHIEFS
First Downs	21	19
Total Net Yards	357	323
Rushes-Yards	35-185	25-94
Passing	172	229
Punt Returns	1-12	1-0
Kickoff Returns	0-0	0-0
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	3-76
Comp-Att-Int	20-37-3	19-29-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-18	-1-7
Punts	4-60-8	4-60-8
Fumbles-Lost	1-1	2-1
Penalties-Yards	4-43	4-38
Time Of Possession	31:34	28:26

**RUSHING**  
New England: Harris 17-100, Burkhead 11-45, White 3-21, Zuber 1-8, Hoyer 1-8, Stidham 2-3.  
Kansas City: Edwards-Helaire 16-64, Mahomes 8-28, Williams 1-2.

#### PASSING

New England: Hoyer 15-24-1-130, Stidham 5-13-2-60.  
Kansas City: Mahomes 19-29-0-236.

#### RECEIVING

New England: White 7-38, Byrd 5-80, Edelman 3-35, Hoyer 3-21, Olszewski 1-11, Burkhead 1-5.  
Kansas City: Hill 4-64, Watkins 4-43, Hardman 4-27, Kelce 3-70, Edwards-Helaire 2-27, Yelder 1-5.

### PRO BASKETBALL

#### NBA playoffs

All games in Kissimmee, Fla.

#### NBA FINALS

Best of seven; x-if necessary

#### LAKERS LEAD HEAT, 2-1

Game 1: L.A. Lakers 116, Miami 98  
Game 2: L.A. Lakers 124, Miami 114  
Game 3: Miami 115, L.A. Lakers 104  
Tuesday: L.A. Lakers vs. Miami, 9  
Friday: Miami vs. L.A. Lakers, 9  
x-Sunday: L.A. Lakers vs. Miami, 7:30  
x-Tuesday, Oct. 13: Miami vs. L.A. Lakers, 9

#### NBA POSTSEASON SCORING LEADERS

Through Sunday's game

	G	FG	FT	PTS	AVG
Mitchell, UTA	7	83	55	254	36.3
Donic, DAL	6	64	42	186	31.0
Embiid, PHI	4	34	48	120	30.0
Harden, HOU	12	109	98	355	29.6
Davis, LAL	18	181	132	513	28.5
Leonard, LAC	13	81	367	28.2	
Vucevic, ORL	5	56	10	140	28.0
James, LAL	18	178	93	484	26.9
Antetokounmpo, MIL	9	90	47	240	26.7
Murray, DEN	19	96	504	26.5	
Tatum, BOS	17	145	100	437	25.7
Jokic, DEN	19	178	66	464	24.4

#### WNBA playoffs

All games played in Bradenton, Fla.

#### WNBA FINALS

Best of five; x-if necessary

#### STORM LEADS ACES, 2-0

Game 1: Seattle 93, Las Vegas 80  
Game 2: Seattle 104, Las Vegas, 91  
Tuesday: Las Vegas vs. Seattle, 7  
x-Thursday: Las Vegas vs. Seattle, 7  
x-Sunday: Seattle vs. Las Vegas, 3

### TRANSACTIONS

#### MLB

**Houston Astros:** Reassigned INF Jack Mayfield to the minor leagues. Activated RHP Luis Garcia.  
**New York Yankees:** Activated RHP Michael King. Reassigned C Erik Kratz to the minor leagues.  
**Oakland Athletics:** Reassigned INF Vimalael Machin to the minor leagues. Activated RHP Jordan Weems.  
**Tampa Bay Rays:** Activated OF Austin Meadows. Reassigned INF Nate Lowe to the minor leagues.

#### NFL

**Atlanta Falcons:** Placed K Elliott Fry, S Jamal Carter and CB Delrick Abrams Jr. on the active roster.  
**Chicago Bears:** Signed RB Lamar Miller to the practice squad. Released CB Stephen Denmark.  
**Cleveland Browns:** Placed RB Nick Chubb on injured reserve.

**Green Bay Packers:** Signed WR Reggie Beeghton to the active roster. Placed LB De'Jon Harris and DL Billy Winn on the active roster.  
**Houston Texans:** Announced the termination of head coach Bill O'Brien.

**Jacksonville Jaguars:** Released S Doug Middleton.  
**Miami Dolphins:** Signed DB Jayvis Davis to the practice squad. Released QB Jake Rudock.  
**New England Patriots:** Activated RB Damien Harris and WR Gunner Olszewski. Placed WR Isaiah Zuber to the active roster. Placed WR Cody Davis and RB Sony Michel on injured reserve.

**New York Giants:** Signed DT David Moa and WR Alex Bachman to the practice squad. Released WR Johnny Holton.  
**New York Jets:** Waived RB Kalen Ballage. Signed QB Mike White to the practice squad.

**Philadelphia Eagles:** Waived RB Adrian Kilkins.  
**NHL**  
New York Islanders: Agreed to terms with D Sebastian Aho on a two-year contract.

#### MLS

Columbus Crew: Signed F Krisztian Nemeth.

#### COLLEGES

**Kansas State:** Agreed to terms with head football coach S Kileman on a contract extension through the 2026 season.  
**Washington State:** Agreed to terms with head football coach S Kileman on a contract extension through the 2026 season.

### BASEBALL

#### MLB playoffs

##### NATIONAL LEAGUE FIRST-ROUND SERIES

Best of three

##### DOGGERS ELIMINATED BREWERS, 2-0

Game 1: at Los Angeles 4, Milwaukee 2  
Game 2: at Los Angeles 3, Milwaukee 0

##### BRAVES ELIMINATED REDS, 2-0

Game 1: at Atlanta 1, Cincinnati 0 (13)  
Game 2: at Atlanta 5, Cincinnati 0

##### MARLINS ELIMINATED CUBS, 2-0

Game 1: Miami 5, at Chicago 1  
Game 2: Miami 2, at Chicago 0 (FS1)

##### PADRES ELIMINATED CARDINALS, 2-1

Game 1: at Louis 7, at San Diego 4  
Game 2: at San Diego 11, St. Louis 9  
Game 3: at San Diego 4, St. Louis 0

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE FIRST-ROUND SERIES

Best of three

##### RAVS ELIMINATED BLUE JAYS, 2-0

Game 1: at Tampa Bay 3, Toronto 1  
Game 2: at Tampa Bay 8, Toronto 2

##### ATHLETICS ELIMINATED WHITE SOX, 2-1

Game 1: Chicago 4, at Oakland 1  
Game 2: at Oakland 5, Chicago 3  
Game 3: at Oakland 6, Chicago 4

##### ASTROS ELIMINATED TWINS, 2-0

Game 1: Houston 4, at Minnesota 1  
Game 2: Houston 3, at Minnesota 1

##### YANKEES ELIMINATED INDIANS, 2-0

Game 1: New York 12, at Cleveland 3  
Game 2: New York 10, at Cleveland 9

##### NATIONAL LEAGUE DIVISION SERIES

Best of five; x-if necessary

##### PADRES VS. DOGGERS

In Arlington, Tex.  
Tuesday: San Diego vs. L.A. Dodgers, 9:30 (FS1)  
Wednesday: San Diego vs. L.A. Dodgers, 9 (FS1)  
Thursday: L.A. Dodgers vs. San Diego, 9 (MLB)  
x-Friday: L.A. Dodgers vs. San Diego, 9 (FS1)  
x-Saturday: San Diego vs. L.A. Dodgers, 8 (FS1)

##### MARLINS VS. BRAVES

In Houston  
Tuesday: Miami vs. Atlanta, 2 (FS1)  
Wednesday: Miami vs. Atlanta, 2 (MLB)  
Thursday: Miami vs. Atlanta, 2 (FS1)  
x-Friday: Atlanta vs. Miami, 2 (FS1)  
x-Saturday: Miami vs. Atlanta, 4 (FS1)

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE DIVISION SERIES

Best of five; x-if necessary

##### YANKEES LEAD RAYS, 1-0

In San Diego  
Game 1: New York 9, Tampa Bay 3  
Tuesday: New York vs. Tampa Bay, 8 (TBS)  
Wednesday: Tampa Bay vs. New York, 7 (TBS)  
x-Thursday: Tampa Bay vs. New York, 7









IN SIGHT

## Pretty pellets, vexing pollutants

These tiny plastic pieces are called nurdles. Billions of them contaminate oceans, beaches

PHOTOS BY GIANMARCO MARAVIGLIA  
TEXT BY ANNALIESE NURNBERG

For a while, Gianmarco Maraviglia thought the little plastic pellets he saw on beaches may have come from plastic bottles, worn down from years of tumbling in the ocean. But when he was in Greece this year, he started noticing the pellets all over the beaches he was visiting and decided to look into what they really were. He learned that these little plastic bits are called nurdles. ¶ Maraviglia also discovered that nurdles, which don't seem particularly harmful at first, are actually an extreme marine pollutant. About the size of a lentil, they are used to make a variety of plastic products such as bottles, grocery bags, cups, sunglasses and more. Often, they are produced by melting down recycled plastics.

SEE NURDLES ON E5

Nurdles are small plastic pieces about the size of a lentil. They make nearly all of our plastic products but billions of them accidentally end up in the ocean and can harm marine life. They also wash up on our shores. The nurdles in this feature were collected on several beaches in Greece.

## With pandemic, older doctors retiring early

BY MARLENE CIMONS

On April 3, anesthesiologist Michael Peck worked a 12-hour hospital shift intubating critically ill covid-19 patients about to go on ventilators. Despite being gowned, gloved and masked, he was terrified. “I’ve never been that scared,” he recalls. “When it was over, I said to myself, ‘This is crazy. I’m done.’”

Peck, who is 66 — an age that raises his chances of severe covid-19 disease — already was semiretired and working part time in the Maryland suburbs of Washington. But that unsettling April day was his last on the job.

“The environment was frightening,” he says. “It wasn’t so much when I was wearing the stuff, as when I was taking it off,” he says, referring to the possibility he could expose himself to viral particles clinging to his protec-

SEE RETIREMENT ON E5

## Covid-19 and death: Thinking the unthinkable

BY EMMA PATTEE

You probably remember where you were that day in March when you first realized that the novel coronavirus was something.

Maybe you were chatting with co-workers in the lunchroom. Maybe you were browsing the news on your phone, seeing pictures of health-care workers in full protective gear like astronauts, or of older people with their hands pressed against their bedroom windows as their grown children clustered outside. Maybe you went to the grocery store and saw all the bare shelves where toilet paper used to be.

I remember where I was: driving to the gym for a Mommy & Me boot camp.

I pulled up to a red light and locked eyes with my 6-month-old baby in the

SEE DEATH ON E6

INSIDE

How do carbon offsets help in the fight against climate change? E2

Avoiding the dodgy schemes and quack cures surrounding covid-19. E3

What to know about the “6 foot” rule for staying safe in the pandemic. E3

New calculations shed light on moon’s hazardous radiation levels. E2



RETROPOLIS

## Native Americans were already decimated. Then the 1918 flu hit.

BY DANA HEDGPETH

The letter delivered the worst news to Grace Nye.

Her daughter Cecilia, a Yakama tribal member from Toppenish, Wash., had died of the flu at the Chemawa Indian School, a government-run boarding facility for American Indians in Salem, Ore.

She was 16 and lived more than 200 miles away from her family.

The letter from the school was dated Oct. 29, 1918. It read:

“My dear Mrs. Nye:

“During the scourge of Spanish Influenza from which your daughter Cecilia died I was so extremely busy that it was impossible for me to tell you the particulars in connection with the death of Cecilia.

“This plague attacked this school on the 15th of October. It was brought here at first by new students coming in and it

spread rapidly until we had about 250 cases. The entire school stopped its regular activities and devoted itself absolutely to the care and nursing of the sick. Out of the 250 cases we lost a comparatively few. Among the number was your daughter.”

Cecilia was one of thousands of American Indians who died of the 1918 flu, which swept the world and killed upward of 50 million people. Like the coronavirus, which has devastated Native American reservations and people, the 1918 pandemic was deadly. But no one is sure how deadly.

One National Institutes of Health study said at least 3,200 American Indians died of the 1918 flu. Another count puts it at more than 6,600. And one Navajo scholar said just her tribe alone lost roughly 3,400 tribal members — about 12 percent of its population at that time.

SEE FLU ON E4





MICHAEL PARKIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

# Do carbon offsets actually help to reduce emissions?

Climate Curious  
SARAH KAPLAN

Climate Curious answers your questions about our changing environment.

*Can you give folks a guide to buying carbon offsets, and do they really work?*

— Cynthia Ryan, Reno, Nev.

*When a company or individual purchases a carbon offset, how do we know if it helps reduce net carbon emissions? Who verifies the claims of the offset providers? Are any tests published?*

— Patricia, New Orleans

Seven years ago, the University of California set an ambitious goal of becoming completely carbon neutral by 2025. The higher education network contracted with a massive solar farm to power its 10 campuses, replaced buses with electric vehicles and experimented with a new tool that turns food waste into methane. Greenhouse gas emissions are 15 percent lower than they were in 2013 — a substantial change for such a large institution, equal to taking tens of thousands of cars off the road for a year. But it's still a long way from zero.

The university system's biggest barriers, according to a 2017 report, were the natural-gas-powered plants that heat and cool its campuses and produce 65 percent of its emissions. Overhauling the plants could cost \$3 billion — money the university didn't have. And even if the plants were made completely electric, the fact remains that California's electric grid is powered mostly by fossil fuels.

That's when the university turned to offsets.

Without systemic changes in the way society functions — an electric grid powered completely by renewable energy, a food system that generates fewer greenhouse gases, etc. — it is pretty much impossible for a single person or even a large institution to go completely carbon-free.

“The whole purpose of offsets,” University of California at Berkeley climate policy researcher Barbara Haya said, “is to create a way for an individual or a company or a university to pay someone else to reduce emissions to cover emissions that they can't reduce themselves.”

There are two kinds of offset markets. Mandatory or “compliance” schemes exist in places where the government has limited the amount of greenhouse gases that companies and institutions can emit.

These markets allow members to meet some of their targets by paying for sustainability programs that have been independently evaluated to

*Voluntary offsets are the dietary supplements of the climate world — no federal agency regulates them.*

determine the amount of carbon dioxide emissions they save. In California's cap-and-trade program, for example, companies offset emissions beyond their cap by purchasing carbon credits from forest conservation initiatives or projects that capture emissions from farm animals.

Voluntary offset markets work much the same way, catering to individuals, companies and institutions such as the UC system that want to reduce their carbon footprint. People can buy offsets for emissions from a specific activity, such as an international flight, or buy packages with names like “the green wedding carbon offset” and “balanced living bundle.”

Since there's no globally recognized cost of carbon, the price of offsets usually depends on the project that produces them

— typically between \$5 and \$10 per metric ton of carbon dioxide. That's much cheaper than the actual cost of the climate damage caused by each ton of carbon emitted.

Voluntary offsets are the dietary supplements of the climate world — no federal agency regulates them to make sure they deliver the benefits they promise. You have to do your own research to make sure you get what you pay for.

Since sellers usually don't tell you exactly what your offset purchase is funding, it's important to examine the projects in their portfolio. If they don't list all projects and provide certifications, that's a big red flag. Good projects should be permanent and enforceable. They must also be “additional” — efforts that wouldn't happen if not funded by the offset, and that don't simply shift emissions someplace else.

Check to see whether the projects have been approved by a reputable standard — an independent organization that develops instructions, or “protocols,” for various types of projects and lists those that are up to snuff. California's Air Resources Board, which oversees the state's cap-and-trade system, recognizes three such standards: American Carbon Registry, Verra and Climate Action Reserve. Many standards also post lists of retailers where their approved offsets can be purchased.

Transparency is a good indicator of whether an offset is legitimate, said Craig Ebert, president of Climate Action Reserve. His organization posts on its website the protocols for every kind of offset it will consider listing, from urban tree planting to reducing emissions from landfills. Projects must also hire an independent auditor to ensure they meet the protocol's requirements before they can be listed.

Haya is helping University of California evaluate offsets to purchase as part of its carbon neutrality effort. Meanwhile, Haya advised the school system to seek opportunities to create its own offsets. Last year, the university solicited ideas and wound up investing in a dozen projects: research on carbon capture, programs to distribute solar lights and efficient cook stoves in developing countries, and experiments in sustainable agriculture.

With any offset, the aim is that the climate benefits of these projects will zero out the emissions from the purchaser. But a ton of carbon dioxide purchased does not necessarily lead to a ton of carbon dioxide saved, Haya said.

Programs that are poorly devised or badly enforced may not deliver the reductions they promise. Initiatives involving forests — which represent about half of offsets offered in the United States, Haya said — are especially tricky. A 2019 investigation by ProPublica found plots in the Brazilian rainforest that were sold for credits and then cut down anyway. Six years after the program began, half of the forest that was supposed to be protected was gone.

Even when offset projects are well monitored, nature itself can

interfere. Drought, storms and invasive insect infestations can weaken trees and reduce the amount of carbon stored. A wildfire can rip through a project area — as happened to a forest in Oregon last month — turning what should have been a tool for storing carbon into a major emissions source.

Critics argue that offsets simply allow the wealthy — who often burn the most fossil fuel — to pay their way out of the climate problem without altering their practices. Meanwhile, those who live at the site of the offset project — often farmers in developing countries — are left with the difficult task of enacting change. To prevent this, most compliance schemes put a limit on how much of a company's target can be met through offsets; in California, it's 8 percent.

Another concern is that if purchasing offsets is cheaper than reducing emissions, businesses and big institutions won't have an incentive to develop greener practices. If, instead of looking at offsets, the UC system went ahead with the heating and cooling plant overhaul, maybe it would discover a brilliant new way to heat and cool buildings without fossil fuels — something that might eventually become the standard for all construction.

After all, the world cannot offset its way to carbon neutrality. All emissions will need to be eliminated eventually. The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change has found that humanity must reach “net zero” by 2050 to avoid the disastrous effects of warming the planet beyond 1.5 degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels.

For these reasons, offsets are not a get-out-of-jail-free card. “You are always going to be responsible for your own emissions,” Haya said.

But offsets can play an important role in fighting warming, Ebert said, particularly when they fund initiatives that are important but not cost-effective. The market for blocks of captured carbon is probably never going to be large, but a company trying to offset its own emissions can help make sequestration viable.

Offsets also provide a way for those most at fault for climate change — such as the United States, which has produced more greenhouse gases in its history than any other nation — to take responsibility for emissions outside their borders.

“It's not sufficient for us to get to net zero and say we're done,” Ebert said. “It's both a moral and ethical obligation for all of us to invest in these other areas.”

Both he and Haya used the word “invest” a lot. And that's a good way to think about offsets: You're not canceling out emissions; you're buying a stake in a more livable world.

sarah.kaplan@washpost.com

Curious about climate change? Send your question to Climate Solutions, where we cover the people and organizations tackling our biggest environmental challenges. Email us at [climate@washpost.com](mailto:climate@washpost.com) to submit a question that we may consider for a future column, or visit [washingtontpost.com/climate-solutions](http://washingtontpost.com/climate-solutions).

## HEALTH & SCIENCE

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## SCIENCE NEWS

### New measurements from Chinese spacecraft confirm moon's hazardous radiation levels

CAPE CANAVERAL, FLA. — Future moon explorers will be bombarded with two to three times more radiation than astronauts aboard the International Space Station, a health hazard that will require thick-walled shelters for protection, scientists have reported.

China's lander on the far side of the moon is providing the first full measurements of radiation exposure from the lunar surface, vital information for NASA and others aiming to send astronauts to the moon, the study said.

A Chinese-German team reported on the radiation data collected by the lander — named Chang'e 4 for the Chinese moon goddess — in the U.S. journal Science Advances.

“This is an immense achievement in the sense that now we have a data set which we can use to benchmark our radiation” and better understand the potential risk to people on the moon, said Thomas Berger, a physicist with the German Space Agency's medicine institute.

Astronauts would get 200 to 1,000 times more radiation on the moon than what we experience on Earth — or five to 10 times more than passengers on a trans-Atlantic airline flight, said Robert Wimmer-Schweingruber of Christian-Albrechts University in Kiel, Germany.

“The difference is, however, that we're not on such a flight for as long as astronauts would be when they're exploring the

moon,” Wimmer-Schweingruber said in an email.

Cancer is the primary risk.

“Humans are not really made for these radiation levels and should protect themselves when on the moon,” he said.

Radiation levels should be pretty much the same all over the moon, except for near the walls of deep craters, Wimmer-Schweingruber said.

“Basically, the less you see of the sky, the better. That's the primary source of the radiation,” he said.

He said the radiation levels are close to what models had predicted.

The levels measured by Chang'e 4 “agree nearly exactly” with measurements by a detector on a NASA orbiter that has been circling the moon for more than a decade, said Kerry Lee, a space radiation expert at Johnson Space Center in Houston.

“It is nice to see confirmation of what we think and our understanding of how radiation interacts with the moon is as expected,” said Lee, who was not involved in the Chinese-led study.

In a detailed outline, NASA said the first pair of astronauts to land on the moon under the new Artemis program would spend about a week on the lunar surface, more than twice as long as the Apollo crews did a half-century ago. Expeditions would last one to two months once a base camp is established.

— Associated Press



MICHAEL PROBST/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Astronauts would get 200 to 1,000 times more radiation on the moon than what we experience on Earth, report says.

## SCIENCE SCAN

### VIROLOGY

#### Massive effects of 1918 flu may have been aided by odd influx of cold air into wartime Europe

In 1918, as World War I crawled to its finish, the world faced down another sinister enemy with the spread of H1N1 influenza. During the influenza pandemic, about one-third of the world was infected and at least 50 million died.

But why was the pandemic so deadly?

Research finds clues in climate. In a paper published last month in the journal GeoHealth, scientists analyzed the effects of an extreme weather anomaly they said set the stage for increased casualties during World War I and the spread and intensity of the flu afterward.

Using an ice core from the Alps and other climate records, they found evidence of an abnormal influx of cold air into Europe between 1914 and 1919. As a result, temperatures plunged and rain flooded battlefields.

The war contributed to the terrible weather, they said: The dust and explosives generated in battle probably cooled the local atmosphere and prompted precipitation.

The climate also changed bird migration.

Mallard ducks, the main carriers of H1N1, stayed put instead of migrating from Western Europe to Russia, the researchers said. The ducks probably infected water that humans then came into contact with.

**Impact of six-year climate anomaly on 1918 outbreak and WWI**  
GeoHealth

The pandemic was also aided by unsanitary conditions caused by the war and the use of chemical weapons, which have been implicated in the mutation of the virus to its most severe form.

Mortality data adds to the grim story.

The researchers found that spikes in deaths during the war usually followed cold temperatures and heavy rain. They said that the chilly temperatures could have contributed to co-infection with pneumonia, which made the death toll even higher.

“I'm not saying that [the climate abnormality] was 'the' cause of the pandemic, but it was certainly . . . an added exacerbating factor to an already explosive situation,” said Harvard University climate scientist Alexander More, who led the research, in a news release.

As human-caused climate change marches on, extreme weather is predicted to increase. The researchers said their work is a warning of how climate change could contribute to future pandemics.

— Erin Blakemore



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In 1918, a nurse checks a patient in the influenza ward of Walter Reed hospital in Washington, D.C.

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THE BIG NUMBER

14 percent

American adults have been drinking alcoholic beverages more often during the coronavirus pandemic — 14 percent more often, according to a report in the journal JAMA Network Open. The increase in drinking frequency has been higher for women (up 17 percent) and for those ages 30 to 59 (up 19 percent). The findings stem from a study by Rand Corp., a research organization, that involved a nationally representative sample of 1,540 adults ages 30 to 80 and compared their self-reported consumption of alcohol this past spring with drinking habits for the same time the previous year. Women also registered about a 40 percent increase both in incidents of binge drinking, defined as four or more drinks within about two hours, and in problems linked to their alcohol consumption, such as risky behavior. The research did not determine why drinking frequency has increased, but various health experts speculate that more people are turning to alcoholic beverages to cope with pandemic-related stress, anxiety, depression, isolation and boredom. To protect their health, adults generally are urged to keep alcohol consumption to no more than two drinks a day for men and one a day for women, considered moderate drinking. Excessive drinking can raise the risks for liver disease, depression, breast cancer, high blood pressure, stroke and heart attack, as well as accidental injuries and suicide.

— Linda Searing

HEALTH NEWS

Aerosols and coronavirus: Thinking about the ‘6 foot’ rule for staying safe in the pandemic

Can the coronavirus travel more than six feet in the air?

Research indicates it can, but it's unclear how much of the pandemic is caused by such cases.

People spray liquid droplets of various sizes when they cough, sneeze, talk, sing, shout and even just breathe. The coronavirus can hitchhike on these particles.

The advice about staying at least six feet apart is based on the idea that the larger particles drop to the ground before getting very far.

But some scientists have also focused on tinier particles called aerosols. These can linger in the air for minutes to hours, and

spread through a room and build up in concentration if ventilation is poor, posing a potential risk of infection if inhaled.

For aerosols, “6 feet is not a magic distance” and keeping even farther apart is better, says Linsey Marr, who researches airborne transmission of infectious diseases at Virginia Tech.

Some scientists say there is enough evidence about aerosols and the virus to take protective measures. Besides the usual advice, they stress the need for ventilation and air-purifying systems when indoors. Even better, they say, is to stay outdoors when interacting with others.

— Associated Press



KIRK IRWIN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A sign reminds NFL fans to stand six feet apart during a recent game between the Cincinnati Bengals and the Cleveland Browns.

HEALTH SCAN

THERAPY

Crib sheets give parents common-sense tips on children’s depression, anxiety, other issues

Is it a learning disability? Is bed-wetting normal? How can you support your child through an upcoming move?

These questions are enough to keep up at night parents and anyone who takes care of children — and as we spend more time with our kids during the pandemic, we’re more tuned in to their challenges.

That’s where Facts for Families comes in. It’s a collection of on-line crib sheets for all kinds of issues that affect children, teenagers and families, from attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder to weight gain.

The online fact sheets are the work of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (AACAP), a professional organization that represents more than 9,400 psychiatrists specializing in kids and teens.

Each sheet lays out common-sense information about a variety of challenges — such as bullying, delirium and grief — that can affect kids’ mental health.

Many of these challenges and conditions emerge during early childhood. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1 in 6 children ages 2 to 8

**Facts for Families**  
American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry  
[bit.ly/AACAP\\_facts](http://bit.ly/AACAP_facts)

in the United States has a diagnosed mental, behavioral or developmental disorder. The older kids get, the more likely they are to experience depression, anxiety and a host of other conditions.

These bumps can stress out caretakers, who may not know where to start when it comes to helping their children. The fact sheets are quick reads and give lists of symptoms and behavior changes. Most contain links to other, more in-depth resources, too.

So next time you’re up at night mulling over a troubling interaction or symptom, browse the website instead — and use the information there as a starting point for conversations with pediatricians, specialists and the children. Then turn over and get some sleep, secure in your new knowledge and your preliminary plan.

Facts for Families can be found at [bit.ly/AACAP\\_facts](http://bit.ly/AACAP_facts).

— Erin Blakemore



ISTOCK

FROM CONSUMER REPORTS

Covid-19 quack cures, dodgy schemes

The covid-19 pandemic has fostered fear and uncertainty, which has led to a proliferation of dodgy products marketed as helpful.

“This is a scary illness, and we’re trying to grasp any product or any idea that can protect us or lead us back to normal life,” says Luis Ostrosky, an infectious-disease specialist at McGovern Medical School at UTHealth in Houston.

But there’s no easy fix. The Food and Drug Administration has already sent more than 115 warning letters alerting companies that their products can’t legally be sold as treating or preventing covid-19.

Consumer Reports consulted with experts and researched some of the most common schemes. Here’s what we know.

Bogus treatments

One of the first coronavirus offerings to draw widespread attention was touted by the televangelist and convicted fraudster Jim Bakker, who promoted a silver solution with the claim that it could cure the virus in hours. But according to the National Institutes of Health, taking silver orally won’t help and could do serious damage.

“A lot of these are products in search of indications,” says Peter Lurie, who worked at the FDA and is now president of the Center for Science in the Public Interest. Before covid-19, Lurie says, silver was marketed as good for the flu.

The FDA and the Federal Trade Commission have also issued warnings to companies selling essential oils, homeopathic prod-



ISTOCK

ucts, ozone therapy and even certain vitamins. “You see countless ads online” for products like these, despite that none have been proved to be effective against covid-19, says Ravina Kullar, an infectious-disease expert and epidemiologist in Los Angeles.

Watch out for: Claims that a product treats or prevents covid-19, Ostrosky says. Be especially wary of those that are advertised or popularized online, he says. Don’t trust claims about “boosting immunity,” which is essentially meaningless, Kullar and Lurie say.

Financial and identity scams

As of Aug. 3, the FTC had received more than 79,000 reports of fraud related to covid-19, stimulus payments, N95 masks and related terms, resulting in at least \$97 million in fraud loss. Older adults may be especially

vulnerable to such scams, according to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau.

The tricks people are using to steal money and data aren’t new, says Eva Velasquez, president and chief executive of the nonprofit group Identity Theft Resource Center. But “the scope and the scale and the speed and efficiency have changed,” she says.

These include traditional phishing scams meant to steal identities or passwords, as well as impostor scams where people pretend to be from the government to steal Social Security numbers. There are also newer schemes, such as fraudulent offers of a free antibody test, that are designed to get your Medicare info or steal your identity, the FBI has warned.

Watch out for: Calls, texts or email about covid-19. Don’t provide personal info, such as your Social Security number, driver’s

PERSPECTIVE

Restoring old chairs, sanity in our pandemic world

BY DANIELLE WOZNIAK

Before the pandemic, I often left my office to catch my train from New York City to my home in Connecticut at 5:56 p.m. But now there was no train, and suddenly my days had no off switch, no end of human need. I was on Zoom, Teams, Canvas, emails and telephone for up to 15 hours a day.

Time itself was warping, and I had no control over it, unable to make it right. I kept dreaming about things being broken or out of place, and I could not fix them or put them where they belonged. I needed to find a shut-off valve, to find something I could do, a hobby or diversion, in the little time I had left for myself.

Then I remembered the old chairs falling apart in the garage, and eventually they became my salvation.

It’s no surprise that I had to find something new to do. I’m the dean of a large school of social work at a New York-based university with more than 800 students. It was my job to manage the covid-19 crisis. That meant moving the day-to-day operations of my entire school — students, staff and faculty — into cyberspace and running virtually with classes both taught and taken from home.

I pulled out the chairs to survey what they needed. The rush seats were frayed; the paint, scuffed, chipped and faded. First, I washed the chairs. Then I cut off all of the old seating. Then I painted them. I ordered Shaker-style materials and watched YouTube videos on how to weave new seats for my chairs. And so it was that I began to weave — over, under, over under, turn them over and repeat.

Years earlier, while visiting museums in the Berkshires, I had become enamored with Shaker life. They were a curious religious sect practically dying out at the turn of the century. But I liked how they addressed social justice through charity. For example, they would plant large gardens to accommodate the homeless people who pilfered food at harvest time. Shakers, rather than build fences to keep trespassers out, simply planted enough food for everyone. They designed and built long narrow cradles for the elderly so they could be soothed by rocking, the motion keeping bed sores at bay. As I sat on my back porch and wove my chairs — over, under, over under, repeating a predictable, orderly pattern I felt the tension begin to drain away — I thought about the Shakers’ world, their compassion and empathy.

Social workers know human behavior is anything but random. It is intentional, full of purpose and meaning. Therapy often involves helping someone see the repeating patterns and choices

that lead to painful life outcomes.

Our work also entails understanding the meaning — and value — of play. In play, we express in metaphors and symbols what the unconscious or preconscious knows and wants us to see at a conscious level. We enact the struggle before us to achieve a hoped-for outcome.

Therapists from Erik Erikson to Carl Jung wrote on the importance of metaphor and the importance of play.

In play, children create ideal worlds to inhabit and act out of perplexing and sometimes irresolvable problems. Adults may do the same, but without play. We therapists pay close attention to the metaphors and symbols that emerge in people’s lives.

I’ve experienced this myself. Years before, when my first marriage was crumbling and I was

edging reluctantly toward divorce, I spent my free time in my gardens. I built stone walls around them, metaphorical protection from the strife I knew was coming. Later, while I was in the process of switching careers, I took up fly-fishing. My “casting about” in the water served as an apt symbol for the search for new meaning, new direction, in my life.

And so it was with the weaving of my chairs.

In my off hours, I wove the world I needed. In the face of chaos, I restored order and predictable patterns. In the middle of a nightmare, trying to make sense of a world that no longer made sense, I came up with something beautiful.

Away from my job, where the administrative tasks of meeting human need was endless, I fin-

ished something. At the end, I had things that felt complete, even if those objects belonged to a world that was still fractured, still falling apart.

Earlier in my career, I ran a group for women trying to heal from the trauma of domestic violence. Our motto was, If you can dream it, you can see it. If you can see it, you can get there. Such was my motto with the chairs. Through my weaving, I enacted change, even transformation. I imposed order and created beauty. And ultimately, I arrived at a clearer vision of the peace and safety we all want for ourselves and now must work toward together.

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Danielle Wozniak is dean of the Wurzelweil School of Social Work at Yeshiva University.



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RETROPOLIS

# 1918 pandemic devastated Native American communities

FLU FROM E1

Alaska tribal villages were hit especially hard. At the Inupiat village of the Brevig Mission, 72 of 80 residents died, according to NIH. One schoolteacher went to 10 remote Alaskan Native villages and wrote of how he found “three wiped out entirely; others average 85 percent deaths. . . . Total number of deaths reported 750, probably 25 percent this number frozen to death before help arrived.” The teacher’s post went on, “Over 300 children to be cared for, majority of whom are orphans.” “Virtually all of the factors that made Native Americans extremely vulnerable to the Spanish flu are still in place today,” said Benjamin R. Brady, a public health professor at the University of Arizona who has studied the 1918 flu’s impact on American Indian communities. He cited poor housing, underlying health issues and lack of access to doctors and hospitals.

Even before the 1918 flu, American Indians had already suffered near decimation from the collapse of the buffalo in the West and widespread outbreaks of smallpox, yellow fever, tuberculosis and trachoma — a highly contagious eye infection that leads to blindness — plus horrific wars and being forcibly removed from their homelands.

The population of American Indians in the United States had already plunged from 10 million to about 320,000 in 1918, according to Micaela Adams, an associate professor of history at the University of Mississippi in Oxford who specializes in Native American research.

“They were in a period of crisis and then you’ve got a pandemic happening on top of it,” said Brenda Child, an Ojibwe from the Red Lake reservation in northern Minnesota who has studied the effects of the 1918 flu on her tribe.

The flu spared almost no tribe, spreading from the Pacific Northwest to the Southwest, Midwest and Southeast.

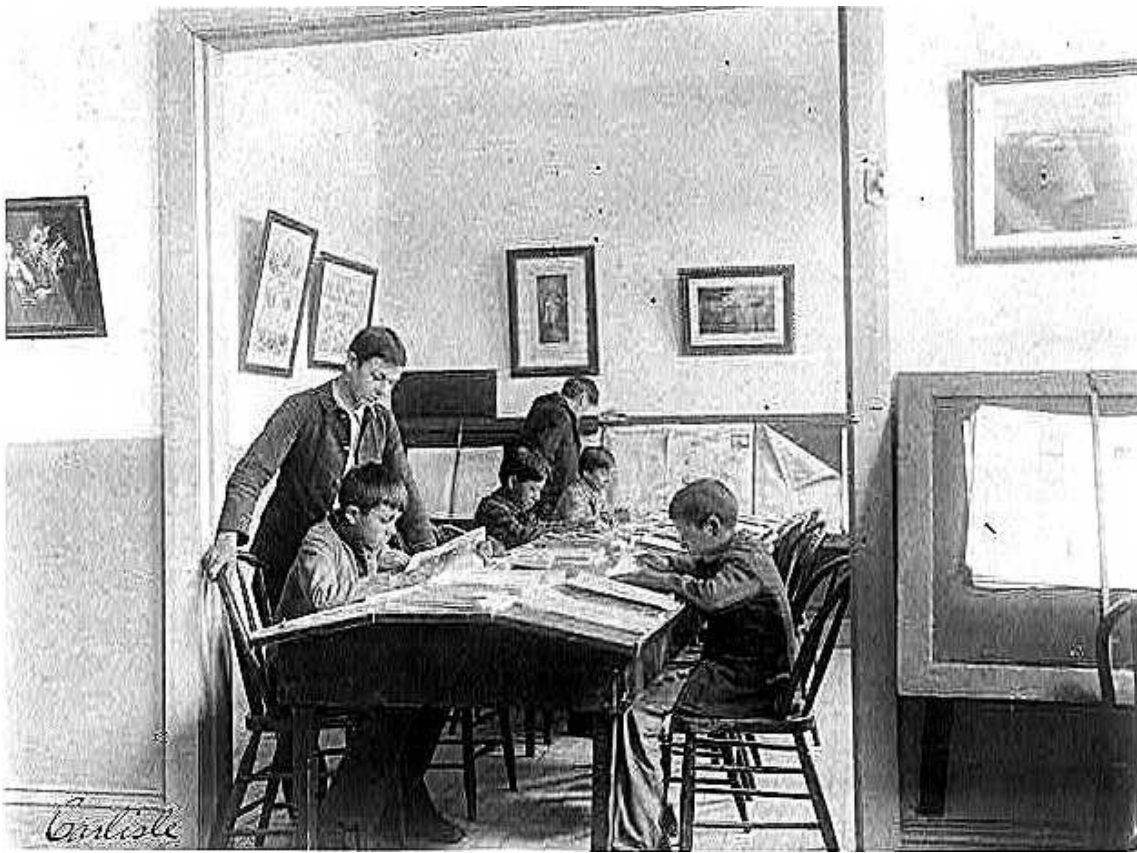
One report from a federal commission on Indian affairs estimated that roughly 39,200 Native Americans were infected with the flu in an eight-month period from fall 1918 to summer 1919.

Men joining the military sometimes brought it back to their reservations. American Indians working on building railroads in the Southwest got sick. Ships and mail carriers brought the flu to remote Alaskan villages.

Sometimes, a tribe’s “medicine man” tending to the sick on a reservation spread the disease. And kids attending underfunded and overcrowded boarding schools caught the flu.



FRANK AND FRANCES CARPENTER COLLECTION/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



FRANCES BENJAMIN JOHNSTON/LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

At the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kan., one of the largest federal Indian boarding schools in the country, more than a third of the student body was hospitalized at one point in 1918 and 17 students died.

The Potawatomi brothers ran away from Haskell during the outbreak. Their father, Jesse Wapp, wrote to Haskell’s school officials

and reported that one of the boys died of pneumonia. His father wrote, “I ain’t gone send Leo until he is well and the disease is over.

“I lost one boy and I hate to loose another.”

At the Chemawa Indian School, where Cecilia went, Daisy Coddling — a head nurse there — recorded 150 cases and 13 deaths.

The letter to Cecilia’s mother

**TOP: Native American children in Sitka, Alaska, in early 1900s. ABOVE: A school for Indian youths in Carlisle, Pa., in 1901. Native Americans “were in a period of crisis and then you’ve got a pandemic happening on top of it,” said Brenda Child, an Ojibwe who studied the effects of the 1918 flu on her tribe.**

told of the conditions at the Chemawa school:

“Absolutely everything possible was done in the way of medical care and nursing. The sick was never left alone for one minute, someone was administering to their needs and looking after them and I want you to feel that in this sickness that your daughter has had as good attention as she possibly could have had in any hospital or home.

“I have spared neither expense nor time nor trouble. Although I feel that we have done just as well as could be done. This disease which has taken thousands upon thousands throughout the country was no worse here than elsewhere. It was not due to Chemawa or its location. It was a general disease everywhere.”

There were grim tales of loss and illness on many reservations.

Charles Dog with Horns, who was a Lakota and went to Rapid City Indian School, recalled in a 1971 oral history how he skipped going to school in 1918 because so many in his family were “in bed,” sick with the flu.

At one point, two boys from his tribe were “so bad” with fever and headache and “just about to die” that he went 15 miles from their home to a post office to call a village doctor. The doctor, he recalled, came “over in the sled” across a river and gave them medicine. He wasn’t sure what it was, but they lived.

In the Southwest, the Navajo reservation was hit particularly

hard, much like it has been with the coronavirus pandemic.

“Small children and old people were the first victims,” one trader with the Navajo wrote, “but the flu played no favorites and soon the death rate was just as high among the strong men and women.”

In “White Man’s Medicine: Government Doctors and the Navajo, 1863-1955,” author Robert Trennert described the conditions at Pueblo Bonito on the Navajo reservation, where “corpses were left where they lay and the unopened Shiprock hospital became a morgue.”

Tall Woman, a Navajo who caught the flu but survived, recalled how her father helped care for others in the tribe, gathering plants and making medicines. He “butchered horses during the epidemic so the meat could be boiled and used as broth; the fat was mixed in a healing paste,” according to a paper written by Brady.

Tall Woman’s father told her how “this kind of sickness, this epidemic, had nothing to do with any of our ceremonies, not even the small ones.” The best thing people could do, her father said, was to pray.

Navajo leaders said that 100 years ago, the tribe didn’t have enough resources to deal with such a widespread pandemic. But it has worked hard to try to get a handle on the high number of coronavirus cases that hit in early spring at the reservation, which spans three states. In the past week, the tribe has reported some days with no deaths.

“This is a monster that has plagued our people,” Navajo Nation President Jonathan Nez said of the coronavirus. “There have been monsters that have come to the Navajo Nation. This is one of those modern-day monsters we’re fighting against. We do have the weapons to combat those and armor to help us get through this”

“That’s the mind-set we have here on Navajo,” Nez said. “We’re overcomers. We’re resilient.”

In 1918, at the Chemawa Indian School where Cecilia had contracted the flu and died, the letter ended this way, telling her grieving mother of how the school had recovered from the flu’s outbreak.

“Now that the plague is over we have resumed our regular school work. All the students we have now are well and strong and getting along all right.

“Trusting that Cecilia’s body reached you in good shape and sympathizing with you, I am.

“Sincerely your friend,  
“Harwood Hall — superintendent”

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## Hurricanes near U.S. coast to worsen and multiply because of climate change

BY TRISTRAM KORTEN

The 2020 hurricane season may be best remembered as the one that spawned so many storms that forecasters ran out of names and had to resort to Greek letters. But it is notable for another disquieting reason: the number of storms that developed in the mid-latitudes right off the U.S. coast. While this is not unheard of, it is unusual. And it may become more frequent as climate change alters hurricane behavior, according to a study.

*A climate scientist’s study says the probability has increased for future storm generation off the North American coast.*

The vast majority of hurricanes develop from disturbances that blow off the west coast of Africa on the prevailing winds. They form into low-pressure systems and storms as they cross the tropical Atlantic into the warmer waters around the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico.

But this season, six storms — Arthur, Bertha, Fay, Omar, Isaias and Sally — either formed or strengthened in the coastal region between Florida and the Carolinas. Four of them had non-tropical origins:

Tropical storms Arthur and Bertha both formed in May, before the official June start of the Atlantic hurricane season, off the Florida and South Carolina coasts.

Tropical storms Fay (July 9)

and the short-lived Omar (Sept. 1) both formed off the North Carolina coast.

Meanwhile, hurricanes Isaias (July 30) and Sally (Sept. 14) were the remnants of African waves that strengthened in the warm waters just south of Florida before taking their respective routes: Isaias north to New England, and Sally across Florida into the Gulf of Mexico, where it strengthened and caused disastrous flooding in several southern states.

“Frontal origins of tropical cyclones are not that unusual, but four times so far this season is unusually often,” Ryan Truchelut, chief meteorologist at Weather-Tiger, a private weather forecasting service, wrote in an email, referring to storms with nontropical origins. “The culprit is much warmer than average waters in the western Atlantic, coupled with generally lower than average wind shear in the same area driven by the tilt into La Niña” (a periodic weather system that creates favorable conditions for hurricanes).

The warming water Truchelut refers to is largely a result of climate change, the buildup of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere that has heated the oceans 0.41 degrees Celsius during the last 50 years. Warm water is the main fuel for tropical storms and hurricanes.

While it’s impossible to predict future trends from a single hurricane season, scientists can take historical and other data and run models to get a glimpse of what the future may bring. That’s what Kerry Emanuel, a climate scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, did in a new peer-reviewed study in the American Meteorological Society’s “Journal of Climate.”

The study found that the prob-

ability has increased for future storm generation off the North American coast. Emanuel, a leading authority on hurricanes, has been modeling climate change’s impact on tropical cyclones for three decades.

In the study, Emanuel used nine climate models from the latest generation of a global modeling project called CMIP6, coordinated by the World Climate Research Program. In a process called “downscaling,” he tightened the spatial resolution of hurricanes by embedding a specialized model used to forecast them. When he ran the resulting program, it showed how hurricane characteristics evolved as

carbon was added to the atmosphere at the rate of 1 percent annually.

The results “show an increase in both the frequency and severity of tropical cyclones, robust across the models downscaled, in response to increasing greenhouse gases,” the study says, noting a particularly strong increase off the coast of North America.

Although the majority of storms in the study did not make landfall, those that did were exceptionally powerful and potentially destructive.

The storms in the study also showed an increased potential to stall over a specific area, a scenario that can lead to flooding

rains and destructive winds, which occurred with hurricanes Harvey in 2017, Florence in 2018, Dorian in 2019 and Sally this year. This finding builds on previous studies that drew similar conclusions.

The paper also notes that rapid intensification, the sudden acceleration in a hurricane’s intensity, “increases rapidly with warming.” This does not bode well for coastal communities, because “adaptation to changes in infrequent events [like hurricanes] is notoriously flawed and unduly influenced by politics and special interests,” Emanuel wrote, citing Gilbert M. Gaul’s 2019 book “The Geography of Risk: Epic Storms,

Rising Seas, and the Costs of America’s Coasts.”

The study’s finding that storm frequency will increase is not in consensus with existing studies, noted Timothy Hall, a senior research scientist at NASA’s Goddard Institute for Space Studies. But the increase in hurricane intensity is.

“If you look across a swath of studies he’s a bit of an outlier” on storm frequency, Hall said. “However, there is pretty good consensus that there will be an increase in intensity.”

Like Emanuel, Hall believes society is not preparing itself for a more stormy future. “The awareness of the impact of climate change on hurricanes, human society and infrastructure is really lagging where the science is,” he said.

Hall should know; he specializes in the hazards tropical cyclones pose to coastal communities and consults with risk mitigation analysts and public policy groups.

For Emanuel, any debate about storm frequency is a distraction because the increase in frequency is dominated by weak storms that usually do not do much damage.

“What should be concerned about is the frequency of high-category hurricanes, categories threes, fours and fives,” he said. After all, it only takes one major storm to devastate a community forever.

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Tristram Korten is a journalist based in Miami and the author of “Into the Storm: Two Ships, a Deadly Hurricane, and an Epic Battle for Survival,” about Hurricane Joaquin and the sinking of El Faro in 2015. Follow him @TristramKorten.



GERRY BROOME/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Boats in a marina in Southport, N.C., following Hurricane Isaias. This season, Isaias was one of six storms that either formed or strengthened in the coastal region between Florida and the Carolinas.





## Nurdles: Tiny plastic waste mar oceans, endanger marine life

NURDLES FROM E1

Because of their small size, nurdles can be hard to contain and can be lost during manufacturing or while in transit. Being lightweight, most float. This makes it easy for nurdles to be washed away by rainwater and into storm drains and eventually the ocean. It is estimated that 230,000 tons of nurdles find their way into the ocean every year.

The round and often translucent nurdles can resemble fish eggs as they bob along in the ocean. This makes them attractive to birds, fish, turtles and other marine life that might mistake them for tasty snacks. Ingesting plastic can cause a variety of problems for these animals. Fish can even absorb the chemicals of the plastic, which allows the nurdles to find their way into our food chain. Nurdles that aren't eaten can wash up on beaches all over the world, including the beaches in Greece where Maraviglia started collecting them.

Maraviglia says that when it came to telling the story of the nurdles, he wanted to take a differ-

ent visual approach. He decided to photograph each of the tiny pellets with a macro lens, showing them larger than life. The result gives us an up-close look at the issue. The nurdles look as if they could be natural, like pebbles or even tiny planets. It's easy to understand why an animal might eat them.

While Maraviglia cannot photograph the estimated 53 billion pellets that find their way to the ocean every year, the quantity that he has found and photographed is striking. Maraviglia believes that this marine pollution is one of the biggest problems of the century.

He says that he is not an activist, but that his job is to inform and alert people to the problem. Maraviglia calls his project "Mermaid Tears," which is a common name for the nurdles.

"You think, 'What does it mean?'" Maraviglia says. "And you can figure out a mermaid somewhere in the ocean, crying for the pollution."

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PHOTOS BY GIANMARCO MARAVIGLIA

The round and often translucent nurdles can resemble fish eggs bobbing in the ocean. Birds, fish, turtles and other marine life might eat them. Ingesting this plastic can cause health problems for these animals. Fish can even absorb the chemicals of the plastic, which allows the synthetic material to get into our food chain.

## Facing serious covid-19 risks, some older doctors are taking early retirement

RETIREMENT FROM E1

tive gear. "I thought: 'Why am I doing this? Why run this risk?'"

The coronavirus, which causes the disease covid-19, has changed the landscape of medicine in profound ways, prompting some physicians to retire before they had planned and others to close their practices because so many of their patients stopped going to the doctor once the pandemic began.

A survey of more than 3,000 U.S. physicians released this summer by Physicians Foundation, a nonprofit group, reported 4 percent said they wouldn't return to work, fearing for their personal health, while more than a quarter (28 percent) admitted having "serious concerns" about catching covid-19. Nearly half (47 percent) described their anxiety as "moderate," while about a fifth (21 percent) said they weren't too worried about it.

Louis Korman, 73, a gastroenterologist based in Washington, D.C., and Chevy Chase, Md., has not performed a colonoscopy or endoscopy since March. Both are invasive procedures that involve threading a flexible scope into the body to examine the colon or digestive tract. Korman thought it was risky for him because anesthetized patients often cough, and the tubes can pick up potentially infectious materials.

He requires patients to take a coronavirus test 48 hours before their procedure, but he still was nervous. "You are putting yourself into a prolonged exposure to an aerosolized environment," he says.

He still sees patients via telemedicine, but refers them to his younger associates for hands-on diagnostics.

"It's scary stuff," he says, referring to the threat posed by his age. "The mortality increases exponentially with each decade."

He is considering retiring, as

did two of his colleagues in their mid-60s this past summer. Treating patients during a highly infectious pandemic "takes a real emotional toll," Korman says. "Not just to myself, but also to my family. I like what I do. But I'm not going to risk my life to do it."

The physician survey also found that 8 percent had permanently closed their offices — although they weren't specifically asked why — amounting to an estimated 16,000 practices, and 43 percent reduced their staff. Nearly three-quarters (72 percent) reported having suffered an income loss as a result of the pandemic.

*"I like what I do. But I'm not going to risk my life to do it."*

Louis Korman, a 73-year-old gastroenterologist who is considering retirement

"I absolutely would've kept going at least in some fashion or other if not for this," says Stephen Rockower, 70, a Rockville, Md., orthopedic surgeon who recently retired, albeit reluctantly. "We went from seeing 15 to 20 patients in a half-day to maybe one or two. There were weeks when we'd see maybe three patients. People were afraid to come in. I started doing some telemedicine, which was okay — you can do some things — but it's really tough to examine somebody. You can say: 'Bend over and touch your toes,' or 'Put your hand over your head,' but there are things that have to be done in person, for example, feeling if the skin is warm to see if there is an infection. It was not very satisfying."

Gary LeRoy, a Dayton, Ohio, family physician and president of

the American Academy of Family Physicians, says that when the pandemic began to worsen, his practice went from all in-person visits to nearly all telemedicine, a scenario that he believes can be harmful to patients.

"I begin my examination from the moment I lay eyes on you, the way you walk, the way you dress," he says. "If I look at you only from the neck up, it doesn't allow me to really see you. Why are you limping? Why do you look so pale? I had one patient who looked fatigued. It turned out she had a partial heart block, and needed a pacemaker. The fact that I was sitting there looking at her [in person] probably saved her life."

LeRoy, who has been practicing family medicine for 30 years, admits he worries about his personal risk, especially the danger of inadvertent exposure.

"I hear individual physicians who say, 'I'm older, I have a chronic health condition, I value my life too much to risk dying from this thing.' It does make you think about your own survival, that you aren't invincible," he says. "But we've been well trained in universal precautions. We know how this stuff spreads and how to take care of ourselves. I'm not going to stop doing my job."

Still, experts say that other pressures on doctors have been growing in recent years, and the pandemic probably was the final event that sent many to the exits.

"Physicians were challenged already, and any sort of major disruption in practice and income could send them right into retirement," says Susan D'Antoni, executive director of the Montgomery County Medical Society. "In Maryland, we have a fair number of independent and much smaller practices than many other states. This kind of disaster is certainly pushing these physicians out of practice."

Changes in medical practice in

recent years, including the transition to electronic medical records and the need for independent practices to compete with large health systems, "put great stress on them even before the pandemic," says Gary Price, president of the Physicians Foundation. The pandemic also forced physicians to invest in personal protection equipment and disinfection measures, and required them to switch to telemedicine, a new skill for some.

A second survey from the Physicians Foundation found that nearly one-third (30 percent) felt "hopeless" and without purpose as a result of the pandemic, nearly one-fifth (18 percent) had sought mental health care, and nearly one-fifth (18 percent) had increased their use of medications, alcohol or illicit drugs.

"Practicing medicine has always been a psychologically stressful thing," adds Price, a plastic surgeon and clinical assistant professor of surgery at the Yale School of Medicine. "I think the pandemic made an already bad

environment worse."

Rockower's decision to quit was driven more by economics and less by personal fear, despite his age and having had quadruple bypass surgery in 2006. He says his daughter, an emergency room nurse, and his physician son, concerned about his safety, convinced him it was time to retire.

"I wasn't too worried, but my kids were," he says. "They are on the front lines treating covid patients. I kept going into the office, and they didn't like that. They didn't even want me to leave the house."

Such departures are expected to exacerbate an already growing shortage of American physicians. A report released in June by the Association of American Medical Colleges predicted a shortage of between 54,100 and 139,000 physicians by 2033, up from last year's report, which predicted a shortage of up to 121,900 physicians by 2032. The newest study expects shortfalls in primary care of between 21,400 and 55,200 physicians, and in specialty care

of between 33,700 and 86,700 physicians.

"An exodus of physicians from practice could not come at a worse time," says Kelly Rakowski, group president and chief operating officer of Strategic Talent Solutions for AMN Healthcare, a national health-care staffing organization. "We're already facing a shortage which will now be on steroids thanks to the pandemic. For people to get the care they need and what they've put off, we need more physicians, not fewer. Assume a physician manages about 2,500 to 3,000 patient encounters a year. We could be talking about tens of millions of patient visits that will have to be absorbed by other physicians, or go without access."

Some of these patients have been showing up at urgent care centers, having nowhere else to go.

"The stories I hear from some of the patients who come in are that they lost their primary physician because their doctor has retired, or left the practice," says Irfana Ali, medical director of Fast Track Urgent Care in Silver Spring, Md., and Kensington, Md. "I think we are getting more of them. They used to have someone they could call, and now they don't. So when they get sick with an urgent problem, they come see us."

She tries to help by giving them a list of primary care physicians willing to take on new patients. "I wasn't shocked when they started coming in," she says. "I think the risk of catching something from a patient puts a real demand on older physicians."

D'Antoni agrees. "I can understand why older physicians with underlying health conditions are looking at this, and asking themselves, 'Why would I risk the rest of my life?'" she says. "You can't blame them at all."

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A female health-care professional stands by a hospital window.



# Covid-19 forces us to ponder death

DEATH FROM E1

rearview mirror. I felt unsettled and scared. I had an inexplicable urge to go home, and also to call everyone I knew and check on them. Yet nothing had happened. I was safe, healthy and employed. I was (and still am) more likely to die of a car accident than of contracting covid-19. It would be months before the state I live in, Oregon, would have a significant number of cases.

That eerie uncomfortable feeling has been described as grief. As fear. Or anxiety. But Sheldon Solomon, a social psychologist and professor at Skidmore College, has a more robust explanation: It is the existential anxiety caused by reminders of our own mortality.

Simply put, to function as a conscious being, it's imperative that you be in denial about your impending death. How else would you go about the mundane aspects of your daily life — cleaning the gutters, paying the bills, sitting in traffic — if you were constantly aware of the inevitability of your own death?

“You would be overwhelmed with potentially debilitating existential terror,” Solomon said.

The logical outcome is a kind of cognitive dissonance. You know all humans die, you know that you are human, and yet somehow you don't believe that you yourself are going to die.

Solomon and two other psychologists, Jeff Greenberg, a professor at the University of Arizona, and Thomas Pyszczynski, a professor at the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs, have spent the past two decades researching the ways in which humans avoid thinking about mortality and how we behave when we are reminded of death.

They found that death reminders cause a range of predictable behaviors, all designed to deny our certain end and cement our individual significance. They named this idea Terror Management Theory, and in the years since, dozens of psychological studies have supported it.

Death avoidance isn't simply a psychological theory either; a neurological study was published in 2019 about a mechanism in the brain that avoids awareness of a person's own mortality and that categorizes death as something unfortunate that happens to other people.

In other words, we are wired to accept that death happens — just not to us.

It's easier to keep this denial going when death is not a part of your life. The more that death and dying become part of your daily experience — getting rear-ended on the freeway, the death of a loved one, a scary test at the doctor's office, perhaps a global pandemic — the harder it is to maintain that denial. Greenberg, a co-creator of the Terror Management Theory, said that, in their research, they have found a few predictable but different responses to death reminders: an urge to make yourself feel safe (in the world of the coronavirus, that would look like wearing a mask or washing your hands), complete denial (deciding the virus is part of a conspiracy theory, or reminding yourself that nobody you know is sick or that you are young and healthy) or distraction.

Solomon said he is not surprised that during the lockdown rates of shopping, drinking and TV watching have gone up.

“What we are seeing is literally the predictable result of pervasive reminders of death,” he said. An Israeli study showed some



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participants a flier about death anxiety and others one about back pain. When subjects were then offered an alcoholic beverage, one-third of the death flier group bought alcohol vs. one-tenth of the back-pain group.

The coronavirus pandemic isn't the first time we've been reminded of death. In the past decade, hundreds of thousands of people have died of diseases, natural disasters and terrorist attacks, and many have experienced the loss of a loved one.

What makes this instance so unique is that many of us are stuck at home, our comfortable routines disrupted and our go-to denial tools such as the gym or the bar are out of reach. For those

of us who have temporarily or permanently lost employment, our ability to block out death reminders is further reduced.

“When you have to go into lockdown to protect yourself from the physical threat, it's interfering with those things that day-to-day allow us to feel psychologically secure in our sense of value in the world,” Greenberg said.

“When people are being laid off, and hours are being cut, they can't provide for themselves and their families, they can't do the things they normally do,” he said. “They can't go out and have their value socially validated by friends and colleagues, then there's a threat to that psychological security as well as a threat to physical

safety.”

Additionally, the solitude that comes from being stuck at home may cause more than just a nagging, uneasy feeling; it may actually cause the acute realization of our own deaths.

James Baillie, a professor of philosophy at the University of Portland, believes the mechanisms that prevent us from fully grasping that we are going to die can temporarily cease to function, causing us to suddenly confront our own mortality, a fact we know but rarely acknowledge. Baillie calls this phenomenon an existential shock.

“Unlike covid[19], the fact of our mortal nature persists throughout our lives, and we can

do nothing about it,” he said. “We virtually never think about it, and, when we do, we pay lip service to it.”

Existential shock is what happens when we truly realize that one day we will cease to exist and the world will go on without us. Baillie theorizes that this shock can be brought on by moments of contemplation or a change in our routine.

“For some people, being confronted firsthand with the reality of covid[19] deaths may cause existential shock, just as narrowly avoiding an auto collision might shock one into existential shock,” he said. “For others, the radical disruption of their daily lives can bring it on.”

Baillie describes this experience as similar to a panic attack.

Whether you are experiencing existential shock or just ongoing death reminders, it doesn't need to be a wholly negative thing. Greenberg said that death reminders don't necessarily cause us to change our behavior, they simply intensify our preexisting beliefs and behaviors.

“You get the worst and the best when death thoughts are close to conscious,” Greenberg said. “People want to feel that they're a lasting contributor to a meaningful world so they're going to assert that.”

Solomon pointed out that lab studies had shown that some people become more humble and grateful when reminded of their mortality.

Even if we don't want to think about it every day, the occasional reminder of our own mortality doesn't have to cause us paralyzing anxiety, or send us running to Amazon with a credit card in one hand and a martini in the other.

Solomon suggested an alternative way of thinking about mortality: “I am an infinitesimal speck of carbon-based dust born in a time and place not of my choosing here for an incredible brief amount of time before my atoms are scattered back into the cosmos. That need not be a terrifying thought.”

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MARCO BELLO/BLOOMBERG NEWS

**Helium balloons spell out “flu shot” at a pharmacy in Miami last week. A record number of flu vaccine doses are on the way, between 194 million and 198 million for the United States.**

## HEALTH NEWS

### A record number of flu vaccine doses are on the way, but temporary shortages may crop up

October is prime time for flu vaccinations. The United States and Europe are gearing up for what experts hope is high demand as countries seek to avoid a “twindemic” with covid-19.

A record number of flu vaccine doses are on the way, between 194 million and 198 million for the United States alone — seemingly plenty considering last year just under half of adults got vaccinated and there usually are leftovers. Still, there's no way to know how many will seek shots this year and some people occasionally are finding drugstores or clinics temporarily out of stock.

Be patient: Flu vaccines ship gradually, in batches, and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and manufacturers say more are in transit.

“This year, I think everyone is wanting to get their vaccine and maybe wanting it earlier than usual,” Daniel Jernigan of the CDC told the Associated Press. “If you're not able to get your vaccination now, don't get frustrated” but keep trying.

Pharmaceutical giant Sanofi Pasteur, which is supplying nearly 250 million doses worldwide, including 80 million for the United States, says it has shipments staggered into November.

Vaccine maker Seqirus is exploring whether it could squeeze out “a limited number of additional doses” to meet high demand, spokeswoman Polina Miklush said.

Brewing flu vaccine is time-consuming. Once production ends for the year, countries cannot simply order more.

The good news: The same precautions that help stop spread of the coronavirus — wearing masks, avoiding crowds, washing your hands and keeping your distance — can help block influ-

enza, too.

Winter just ended in the Southern Hemisphere and countries such as South Africa, Australia, Argentina and Chile diagnosed hardly any flu thanks to covid-19 restrictions combined with a big push for influenza vaccinations.

With the coronavirus still circulating and cold weather coming as more schools and businesses reopen, there's no guarantee that countries in the Northern Hemisphere will be as lucky with flu.

“How much flu, we don't know — but there will be flu,” predicted William Schaffner of Vanderbilt University and the National Foundation for Infectious Diseases.

A flu vaccine protects only against influenza, not the coronavirus. And while its effectiveness varies from year to year, people vaccinated against flu don't get as sick, avoiding pneumonia, hospitalization and death, Schaffner said.

The CDC estimated that last year the flu hospitalized 400,000 Americans and killed 22,000.

Who needs flu vaccine? The United States recommends it for everyone starting at 6 months old. But flu is most dangerous for those 65 and older, young children, pregnant women and people with certain health conditions such as heart disease, asthma, even diabetes.

Most Americans with insurance can get it without a co-pay, and there are different kinds to choose from: Regular shots, two types of shots that aim to give older adults a little extra protection and a nasal spray.

The CDC does not recommend one over another. If you can't find your preferred type, “we ask people not to shop around and wait forever,” Jernigan said. “The best vaccine to get is the vaccine that's available to you.”

— Associated Press

## PERSPECTIVE

### I got an inept diagnosis. I know because I'm a doctor.

BY STEVEN H. HOROWITZ

I love riding bicycles — I've been doing it for almost all of my 78 years. So, while visiting my daughter in California in April 2018, I couldn't refuse a friend's suggestion of a 15-mile bike ride through fields of flowers and cherry blossoms (a far cry from the barren spring of my home state of Maine). He cheated a bit, riding an e-bike, but I kept up on a borrowed pedal bike with handlebars two inches lower than my own. This required continued neck extension during the ride.

I felt fine afterward, but within hours I developed neck pain with numbness and tingling radiating down my arms. I went to the emergency department (ED) of an elite medical center two days later, telling the staff that I was a neurologist with suspected cervical (neck) spine disease and possible spinal cord and root compression, a condition in my own specialty. I asked to have a cervical MRI scan performed, plus blood studies to detect a possible spine infection, as I've had one before.

The spinal consultant tested my reflexes with the side of his hand. When I asked about his reflex hammer he replied that he didn't have one or need one — even though this is tantamount to evaluating the heart or lungs without a stethoscope.

He initially neglected to examine for the Babinski sign, a classic clinical test, which, if positive, would have strongly suggested spinal cord compression. When I remarked on this failure, he performed the procedure incorrectly. He checked my sensation with his index finger and did not examine other sensations, gait, coordination or hand dexterity.

The MRI showed clear-cut spinal cord compression due to arthritis, and a neck mass behind the spinal canal. It was an abscess — a pus collection — but the hospital's radiologist read it as a blood clot. The blood studies revealed active infection: marked elevations in inflammatory markers, plus increased white blood cells of the “should be concerned” variety. These obvious and dangerous abnormalities were not pursued and I was not informed of them. I spent six hours in the ED, then was discharged and told to follow up with a spine surgeon within two weeks.

Two days later, I traveled home to Maine and reviewed my medical records online. I recognized the severity and complexity of my problem and went to my hospital, was admitted and underwent urgent spine surgery and long-term intravenous antibiotics. Left un-

treated, these abnormalities might well have caused a catastrophe: I could have become quadriplegic, unable to move my arms and legs or even breathe on my own. My response to the ED visit cannot be expected of the average patient, who would have been in deep trouble.

While recovering, I sent multiple letters detailing the specifics of my deficient care to the hospital's chief executive. The hospital's representatives responded, refusing to admit culpability or apologize for these failures. The spine service supervisor even excused the consultant, stating he “conducted the examination to the best of his ability.”

*The aphorism, “A physician who treats himself has a fool for a patient,” only applies if competent care is available.*

The lack of recognition of the serious infection went unmentioned in the representatives' letters.

In view of the multiple serious medical errors committed during my ED visit, I offered to present and discuss my case to emergency and spine service staff. As a career academic neurologist, I thought a physician analyzing his own medical condition in his own specialty, intending to educate, would be an illuminating and teachable moment for medical staff and students and a healing opportunity for me.

My offer was ignored.

In 1999, the Institute of Medicine issued its landmark report, “To Err is Human: Building a Safer Health System,” which estimated that as many as 98,000

hospital deaths a year were caused by medical errors. The report made national headlines and generated much subsequent discussion on the causes and effects of medical errors, and the ethics of transparency and disclosure. In response, many hospitals changed their practices and procedures, but two decades later, as my experience suggests, even the best hospitals and doctors remain resistant to admitting error, in large part because they fear malpractice lawsuits.

Recent research bolsters this view. Several years ago, researchers posed two hypothetical scenarios involving medical error — a delayed breast cancer diagnosis, and a delayed response to a patient's symptoms because of uncoordinated care — to 300 primary care physicians. More than 70 percent of the doctors surveyed said they would provide “only a limited or no apology, limited or no explanation, and limited or no information about the cause.” Further, when hospital representatives, rather than physicians, respond to medical errors by denying, minimizing or covering them up, physicians often conclude that their hospitals have no interest in confronting these errors head-on. Sure sounds like my situation.

My experience also exemplifies the phenomenon known as “the normalization of deviance” discussed by Diane Vaughan in her 1996 book on the space shuttle Challenger disaster. Vaughan concludes that multiple problems preceding the shuttle launch were recognized, but then rationalized, and “normalized” when they didn't cause a disaster — until they ultimately did.

Since the spine consultant did not own a reflex hammer, nor think he needed this basic tool, nor know how to do a proper neurological examination, and he and the ED staff did not recognize that the elevated inflammatory markers were indisputable evi-

dence of serious infection, I could not have been the first patient so poorly evaluated — and, without doubt, not the last. Further, the consultant's supervisor excused his mistakes, thereby deeming his deviances acceptable.

The responses to my letters came from hospital patient service representatives, thus this denial and normalization was institutional, in support of Vaughan's premise “that individual behavior cannot be understood without taking into account the organizational and environmental context of that behavior.” Vaughan mentions that sometimes the normalization of deviance only becomes evident after whistleblower revelation.

I am that whistleblower, “the canary in the coal mine.”

The hospital's administrator tasked with patient communication and resolution, and a widely known advocate for these subjects, was unaware of my complaints until I found her by happenstance 18 months later (listening to the TED Radio Hour while in my car) and contacted her. She was initially supportive of my request to present my own case for discussion and analysis, but now, more than 10 months later, she has yet to follow through.

She wrote to me: “Hospitals don't seem to know what to do with the opportunity you present. I don't think the challenge is unique to [this institution]. A forum for these kinds of discussions — constructive, insightful patient feedback does not exist.”

Initially, she told me that since my SOL is up I might have a better chance of making my presentation. I asked: “What is a SOL?” She said: “statute of limitations.” I said: “I don't want to sue, I want to teach.”

Of course, if I had been quadriplegic on a respirator I would have sued. But since I saved my own skin, that was not necessary. The aphorism, “A physician who treats himself has a fool for a patient,” only applies if competent care is available.

For me, four years of medical school and five years of postgraduate training had a uniquely personal advantage. I'm just sorry that a teachable moment for the benefit of future patients, and a healing activity for me, was missed.

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