

## Many GOP officials see virus relief as a lifeline

Mayors, governors say Biden's proposal is vital to blunt economic pain

BY GRIFF WITTE

The pandemic has not been kind to Fresno, the poorest major city in California. The unemployment rate spiked above 10 percent and has stubbornly remained there. Violent crime has surged, as has homelessness. Tax revenue has plummeted as businesses have shuttered. Lines at food banks are filled with first-timers.

But as bad as it's been, things could soon get worse: Having frozen hundreds of jobs last year, the city is now being forced to consider laying off 250 people, including police and firefighters, to close a \$31 million budget shortfall.

"That," said Jerry Dyer, mayor of the half-million-strong city in the Central Valley, "is going to be devastating."

The looming cuts explain why Dyer's eyes are fixed on Washington, where President Biden's \$1.9 trillion coronavirus relief plan dangles the tantalizing prospect of a reprieve. Though Dyer is a Republican, he's rooting for the president to successfully push through federal aid that, after a nightmarish year for Fresno, will "help get us to the end."

The first-term mayor's stance reflects a broader split, one that

SEE CITIES ON A7

## Biden moves to hard part of reversing Trump legacy

BY ANNIE LINSKEY

President Biden launched his administration with nearly 50 executive actions, variously described in the media as "a barrage," "a blitz" and "a burst."

If the public was struck by the sheer number of orders, however, the team that spent more than six months planning them struggled with the opposite problem: resisting the temptation to craft even more orders and reverse larger chunks of former president Donald Trump's agenda.

Biden's staff even had a motto: Don't try to boil the ocean. "You can't try to do all of the things," explained Cecilia Muñoz, a senior transition official who oversaw the domestic executive actions. "A transition's job isn't to do everything. That's the administration's job."

But now that Biden has undone the most easily reversible Trump policies, the hard part begins — especially after the impeachment trial hampered early Senate action. While liberals are pushing Biden to do more, goals such as expanding health care

SEE BIDEN ON A6

Inside the rise and swift downfall of Philadelphia's mass vaccination start-up



RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

## As clinics collapse, a rift in trust

BY FRANCES STEAD SELLERS

PHILADELPHIA — This city's first mass vaccination site looked like a model of 21st-century efficiency. Run by a neuroscience graduate student who spoke of creating a blueprint for high-volume clinics across the country, the innovative operation delivered coronavirus shots to almost 7,000 people in just five days, usher-

ing them swiftly through private immunization pods.

"It was like the checkout at the supermarket," said Tonya Warden, 51, who went to get her shot with a co-worker. "Really fast."

But after Philadelphia's health department learned that Philly Fighting Covid, established in April as a nonprofit, had launched a for-profit company in December, the city abruptly

shuttered the vaccination clinics. Officials said they had lost trust in the group, citing concerns that changes in its data policy might allow personal information to be sold.

Residents were beset with confusion about where to get their shots as an automated system sent out reminders for appointments that have since been canceled. One senior health offi-

SEE VACCINES ON A8

Philly Fighting Covid ran a mass vaccination site at the Pennsylvania Convention Center that was abruptly shuttered after the group made changes, including to its nonprofit status, without informing the city.

## The loneliness of an interrupted adolescence

Traditional rough patches of teenage-dom are made rougher by an unprecedented public health crisis

BY ELLEN MCCARTHY

The caller was 17, female and speaking barely above a whisper. "Lately I've been mad all day," she said on a Friday night in late November. "Mad for no reason. Little things make me mad. I'm angry for no reason. I don't know if it's covid..."

In a bedroom on the other side of the country, a long-haired 16-year-old volunteer for a teen crisis hotline listened through headphones and nodded. "That must be such a strange feeling," she said.

"I cut myself once," the caller continued. "Four days ago, maybe. Just to feel something different."

"Is that something you think you might do again?" the volunteer asked.

"I definitely don't want people to see me as crazy," the caller said. "But if I could do it in a place that no one would see it — yeah, I would."

SEE TEENS ON A12



ALYSON ALIANO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Abi Raderman, an 18-year-old from Los Angeles, works as a volunteer for teen crisis hotline Teen Line.

## Acquittal widens divide in GOP

FACTIONS SPLIT ON PATH FORWARD

Graham sees Trump as the 'most potent force'

BY AMY B WANG

One day after the Senate acquitted former president Donald Trump in his second impeachment trial, Republicans continued to diverge in what the future of their party should be, with a chasm widening between those who want nothing to do with the former president and those who openly embrace him. The division is playing out as Trump promises a return to politics and as both factions within the GOP vow they will prevail in the 2022 midterm elections.

Meanwhile, the backlash began against the seven Republican senators who crossed the aisle Saturday to vote with Democrats to convict Trump on a charge of incitement of insurrection. Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) planted his flag firmly in Trump's camp Sunday, with harsh words for his Republican colleagues — as well as his party leader.

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) voted to acquit the former president — then followed his "not guilty" vote with a lengthy floor speech about

SEE TRUMP ON A4

## DHS shifting focus to threats from within U.S.

BY NICK MIROFF

On a Saturday morning in August 2019, a 21-year-old White man with ear protectors, safety glasses and an AK-47-style rifle walked into a crowded Walmart in El Paso, his pockets bulging with ammunition. He had driven hundreds of miles across Texas, prosecutors say, because he wanted to kill Latinos.

Kevin McAleenan, the acting homeland security secretary, was at a Coast Guard picnic in Virginia that day, and soon the urgent messages began arriving. A sinking feeling of horror set in as the magnitude of the attack became clear. "It was devastating," he said.

Twenty-three people were killed in the worst attack on Hispanic Americans in modern U.S. history.

About 5,000 U.S. Customs and Border Protection employees live in El Paso, and six lost family members that day. "To have an individual attack us, at one of the home bases of our agency and specifically going after Hispanic Americans who make up a

SEE EXTREMISM ON A15

## IN THE NEWS



KATHERINE FREY/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Milestone victory** Coach Brenda Frese notched her 500th career win with the Maryland women's basketball team. D1

**Outbreak in Africa** Public health officials in Guinea declared an epidemic of Ebola after recording seven cases and three deaths. A11

**THE NATION** Federal prosecutors and regulators are probing potential misconduct in the GameStop trading frenzy, as the SEC moves to restore harsher penalties on wrongdoers. A2

**THE WORLD** Turkey said 13 people, including soldiers and police officers, held by a Kurdish militant group had been found executed in a cave in northern Iraq. A9

**A small biotech firm** in Italy aims to soon crank out millions of coronavirus vaccine doses but

faces ethical questions and the bedeviling logistics of turning science into medicine. A11

**THE REGION** The acting chief of the D.C. police said he wants to have background checks conducted on officers and employees to identify any who might align with extremist groups. B1

**Virginia Democrats** are set to unveil legislation to get students back into public school classrooms by summer, addressing a topic that has become increasingly politically urgent. B1

## THE WEEK AHEAD

**MONDAY** A virtual wreath-laying ceremony is scheduled at Mount Vernon in observance of George Washington's Birthday.

**TUESDAY** President Biden participates in a live CNN town hall in Milwaukee. **NBA Hall of Famer** Earvin "Magic" Johnson speaks on supporting ethnic communities at an American Bankers Association conference.

**WEDNESDAY** The Fed's Federal Open Market Committee releases the minutes of its Jan. 27 meeting. **Retail sales** for Janu-

ary are expected to rise by 1 percent. **MLB pitchers** and catchers report to spring training sites in Arizona and Florida.

**THURSDAY** Jobless claims for the week ended Feb. 13 are estimated at 757,000. **NASA prepares** for the landing of its rover, Perseverance, on the surface of Mars.

**FRIDAY** Biden delivers remarks in an online event organized by the Munich Security Conference. **Existing-home sales** for January are estimated at 6.6 million on an annual basis.

## INSIDE



## STYLE

### Country at a crossroads

Morgan Wallen's racist slur confirmed the worst stereotypes about the music genre, while T.J. Osborne's coming out as gay defied them. C1

**'A dark cloud'** The fall of John Weaver, a Lincoln Project founder whose political life was shrouded in mystery. C1

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- All day | The Eurogroup** holds a meeting in Brussels. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/world](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world).
- All day | The Parinirvana Day** Buddhist festival is celebrated in East Asia. Visit [washingtonpost.com/world](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world) for details.
- All day | West African nations** in the G5 Sahel alliance hold a summit on security in Chad. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/world](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world).
- 10 a.m. | George Washington's Mount Vernon** holds a virtual wreath-laying ceremony to celebrate Presidents' Day. Visit [washingtonpost.com/local](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local) for details.
- 7 p.m. | The Washington Wizards** host the Houston Rockets at Capital One Arena. Follow the game at [postsports.com](https://www.postsports.com).

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**CORRECTION**

• A graphic accompanying the Feb. 14 Fact Checker column on President Biden's statement that "the whole economy rises" with a \$15 minimum wage incorrectly contained Four Pinocchio's. The statement earned Two Pinocchio's.

The Washington Post is committed to correcting errors that appear in the newspaper. Those interested in contacting the paper for that purpose can:

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**Tuesday, Feb. 16 | Noon**

First Look

**Ruth Marcus**, deputy editorial page editor, The Washington Post

**Hugh Hewitt**, contributing columnist, The Washington Post

Moderated by Jonathan Capehart

**Tuesday, Feb. 16 | 2 p.m.**

Transfer of Power: Fracture or Faction? The Future of the Republican Party

**Evan McMullin**, former presidential candidate

Moderated by Jacqueline Alemany

**Wednesday, Feb. 17 | 10 a.m.**

Coronavirus: Leadership During Crisis

Chicago Mayor **Lori Lightfoot**

Moderated by Eugene Scott

**Wednesday, Feb. 17 | 1:30 p.m.**

Race in America: "The United States vs. Billie Holiday"

**Lee Daniels**, writer, director and producer

**Andra Day**, singer, songwriter and actress

Moderated by Jonathan Capehart

# Wall Street regulators probe potential misconduct

After GameStop frenzy, Biden administration signals stricter approach

BY TORY NEWMYER AND MATT ZAPOTOSKY

The Biden administration is sending a clear signal to Wall Street that the industry's Washington cops are back on the beat. Regulators and federal prosecutors are probing potential misconduct in the GameStop trading frenzy, as the Securities and Exchange Commission moves to restore harsher penalties on wrongdoers.

Attorneys in the Justice Department's criminal division are conducting a wide-ranging investigation into possible market manipulation from the trading surrounding GameStop and recently issued a subpoena to Robinhood as part of that, a person familiar with the matter said. The probe, though, appears to be in its early stages.

SEC acting chair Allison Herren Lee in a radio interview earlier this month said the agency already is investigating the matter "from a number of different angles, and they're very significant."

Specifically, she indicated the agency is looking into whether brokers such as Robinhood complied with regulations when they limited trading in certain "meme stocks." And she said the agency is looking for signs of market manipulation amid the trading mania. A Robinhood spokesman declined to comment.

Beyond the GameStop probe, Lee said Thursday that the agency is reversing a policy that shielded financial firms settling charges from further punishment. Under the Trump-era approach, the SEC bundled settlement agreements with waivers that allowed the targeted companies to continue raising money in



CARLO ALLEGRI/REUTERS

Beyond the GameStop probe, the Securities and Exchange Commission is reversing a policy that shielded financial firms settling charges from further punishment.

public markets.

Lee in a statement said the new policy marks a "return to the division's long-standing practice" and ensures "that the consideration of waivers is forward looking and focused on protecting investors, the market, and market participants from those who fail to comply with the law."

The same day, the SEC announced that it suspended trading in SpectraScience, a defunct company that had seen its stock zoom amid social media chatter. The agency said in a statement that "certain social media accounts may be engaged in a coordinated attempt" to boost the share price of the company, a Minnesota-based business that had not filed any reports since 2017.

The suspension itself was unremarkable. The SEC acted similarly more than 100 times last

year. But the agency used the move as an opportunity to remind investors they should "exercise tremendous caution when investing based on social media or a sudden surge of enthusiasm for a particular security, especially where that interest does not appear tied to any news about the company or industry," Melissa Hodgman, the acting head of the agency's enforcement division, said in a statement.

Taken together, the SEC's moves "certainly signal a changing of the guard," said Philip Moustakis, a former senior counsel in the SEC's enforcement division now with Seward & Kissel.

But Moustakis also noted that despite invoking the GameStop frenzy in its announcement of its latest trading suspension, the SEC did not halt trading in GameStop itself. He said that

signals the agency "made an initial determination that the facts and circumstances here don't give rise to sufficient concerns about manipulation to warrant a suspension" of that stock or others that saw dramatic run-ups thanks to attention they attracted from amateur investors.

The matter is poised to get further scrutiny in the coming week, when the House Financial Services Committee convenes a Thursday hearing on it. The panel's witness list so far includes Robinhood CEO Vlad Tenev, Citadel CEO Ken Griffin, Melvin Capital CEO Gabriel Plotkin, Reddit co-founder Steve Huffman, and Keith Gill, the trader with a huge online following who helped set off the GameStop surge.

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**DIGEST**

**OREGON**  
200,000 still without power after storm

At least 200,000 people remained without power in the Portland, Ore., area Sunday after a winter storm blanketed the Pacific Northwest with ice and snow and made travel treacherous.

With a number of transmission lines and substations knocked out of service and additional tree limbs at risk of falling on power lines amid more expected freezing rain and wind, some people could experience multiple outages or prolonged outages, said Steve Corson, a spokesperson for PGE, one of the area's major electricity providers. "Our hope would be that most would be restored sooner than that, but some customers will be affected for several days," Corson said.

The utility, which had about 250,000 customers without power on Saturday, is bringing in crews from Nevada and Montana to help restore power, he said. Other utilities, which reported about another 25,000 outages Saturday, were also working to bring electricity to homes and businesses.

Forecasters warned of more hazardous weather through Monday. Parts of Kentucky and West Virginia still recovering from an



MARIO TAMA/GETTY IMAGES

**Lorena and Steven James** are married Sunday in Huntington Beach, Calif. The bride said the small, outdoor Valentine's Day affair reflected the couple's desire to adhere to pandemic safety guidelines.

Wintry weather was forecast for much of the United States on Sunday, with freezing temperatures expected to dip as snow falls as far south as Texas's Gulf Coast.

Texas Gov. Greg Abbott (R), Oklahoma Gov. Kevin Stitt (R) and Arkansas Gov. Asa Hutchinson (R) have each activated National Guard units to assist state agencies, such as rescuing stranded drivers.

Parts of Kentucky and West Virginia still recovering from an

ice storm last week are expected to get up to a quarter-inch of ice or up to eight inches of snow by Tuesday.

About 19,000 customers remained without electricity in southern West Virginia and about 9,000 in eastern Kentucky on Sunday from the storm that moved through on Wednesday and Thursday.

— Associated Press

**ALASKA**  
Order blocks work on ConocoPhillips project

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit extended an emergency order blocking ConocoPhillips Alaska from

opening a gravel mine site and building roads to support its Willow oil development project in the National Petroleum Reserve in Alaska.

The decision means continued delays during the oil company's already brief seasonal construction window in the harsh climate of northern Alaska.

An Alaska-based U.S. district judge issued an order on Feb. 6 barring construction activities, and the new ruling leaving that injunction in place allows time for further proceedings in a case challenging the government's approval of the project.

Arguments are not expected until late April at the earliest.

— Bloomberg News

**Man arrested in fatal New York subway stabbings:**

A 21-year-old Brooklyn man was arrested in the fatal stabbings of two people on New York City subway trains, police said Sunday. Rigoberto Lopez was taken into custody Saturday night and was formally arrested Sunday on charges of murder and attempted murder, police said. One of the victims was discovered dead on a train in Queens late Friday with several stab wounds to his neck and torso, police said. Two hours later, a 44-year-old woman was found stabbed to death in a subway car in upper Manhattan. Two nonfatal attacks — one involving a 67-year-old man and the other involving a 43-year-old man — also occurred in upper Manhattan. Authorities think all four victims were homeless. It wasn't clear whether Lopez had an attorney.

— Associated Press

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# POLITICS & THE NATION

## Ga. town is majority Latino, but many don't have a voice

BY MARIA SACCHETTI

DORAVILLE, GA. — Pickup trucks splattered with mud, cargo vans topped with aluminum ladders and trailers carrying lawn mowers are everywhere in this Atlanta suburb.

For Latino residents, who make up more than 55 percent of the population of 10,000, the trucks are a symbol of their hard work, rolling out before dawn and returning home after dark. But other residents of this industrial city that was once predominantly White want these trucks barred from parking on neighborhood streets because they say they are “unsightly,” road-clogging and a turnover to home buyers.

The dispute landed in the hands of a city council that looks much more like the Doraville of a generation ago than the Doraville of today, as the mayor and five council members are White, one is Black and none is Latino.

“It simply comes down to one simple fact: What do you want the residential neighborhoods in the city of Doraville to look like?” Thom Abbott, a planning commission member at the time, said at a recent meeting.

“This is what Doraville looks like,” Geovani Serrano, 25, an immigrant from Mexico, said in exasperation after the meeting, referring to the city’s parade of trucks.

Like Serrano, nearly 8 in 10 Latino adults living in Doraville are not U.S. citizens — and cannot vote, receive federal stimulus payments, apply for driver’s licenses or run for elective office. Many are also hesitant to speak up or get involved with anything political, even the policing of where they park.

President Biden has proposed a broad citizenship bill that, if passed by Congress, could flip that dynamic in communities such as Doraville by allowing about 11 million undocumented immigrants to apply for citizenship and making it easier for 9 million legal residents to take the test to become citizens. The effort would mark the first major push to integrate immigrants in more than three decades, opening a door to a greater role in running the communities where they have lived for years.

The legislation, which aides said could be introduced in Congress soon, faces steep odds. Democrats in the Senate would need to gain the support of at least 10 Republicans — a daunting task, given that similar attempts over the past two decades have failed and that GOP leaders already have deemed it too soft on immigration enforcement. Some Democratic lawmakers hope instead to use budget rules called “reconciliation,” which require only a majority vote, to pass legislation that would legalize at least 5 million immigrants in the coming months.

Many of Doraville’s undocumented residents have long lived in fear of being deported and are wary of civic engagement. Even some legal residents are hesitant to draw too much attention to themselves.

Barely half of Doraville’s households filled out U.S. Census forms last year, a gap that the mayor said could cost the city “hundreds of thousands” of dollars in government money that is divided up by population. Because undocumented immi-



PHOTOS BY ANDREA MORALES FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

grants are ineligible for driver’s licenses, many pay for taxis or walk most places — and Doraville has had one of the state’s highest rates of crashes, injuries and deaths involving pedestrians.

Sweeping changes to the immigration system could build trust between immigrant communities and the government, said Mayor Joseph Geierman (D).

“I’ve been very concerned for the last four years about how people in our immigrant communities are faring,” Geierman said. “I think there’s been a lot of distrust of government generally, whether it’s local, federal or state, because there’s been such a push to deport people.”

Since the 1990s, a steady flow of immigrants from Latin America and Asia have moved to Doraville, which is 15 miles north-east of Atlanta. The shift from a mostly White, blue-collar city to an international destination was rocky at first — a city councilor called Latino immigrants “freeloaders” in 2004 — but Doraville morphed into what some call a progressive oasis. The mayor is gay, and one council member is transgender. The city tilts Democratic in a state led by Gov. Brian Kemp (R), who ran a campaign ad in 2018 promising to round up undocumented immigrants arrested for crimes in his “big truck.”

Biden’s victory in Georgia in November gave immigrants in Doraville comfort and hope — which was then shaken by the city council’s debate about the work trucks.

Sandy Chavarria, 29, said Trump’s presidency traumatized many Latinos, even U.S. citizens like her. The year he was elected, she took a work trip to a mostly White rural county filled with Confederate flags. When her phone died and she needed to ask for directions, she had a panic attack.

“And I was born here. I have a license,” she said. “I’m a U.S. citizen, speak English. So I can’t even put into words what that means to people who are not born here.”

Her parents are Mexican immigrants and became naturalized citizens after Republican President Ronald Reagan signed legislation in 1986 that legalized nearly 3 million undocumented immigrants. They now own two houses and sent three children to college, with another on the way. All six voted in the 2020 presidential election and celebrated Biden’s win.

But the next month, Chavarria was fighting a city council measure that would send police officers to the homes of immigrants, possibly traumatizing them once again. She read testimony from residents who were too anxious to address the city council themselves, yet worried about where they would park their trucks.

They asked her to speak for them.

“How will I provide for my kids who are in school and planning to go to college?” she said, reading one father’s thoughts to the council in December.

“I beg you not to place these ordinances, because they will affect my livelihood,” said another, who said his jobs had been reduced by half amid the coronavirus pandemic.

“By placing these laws,” he told her, “you are cutting my other leg off.”

As Chavarria told the council that the ordinance would cause “a lot of harm and a lot of discrimination,” the city clerk said she was out of time.

Supporters of the proposed rules said the trucks created safety concerns about narrow roads that often lack sidewalks, forcing walkers, children on bicycles and parents pushing strollers to move into the street. They said it is difficult for firetrucks and ambulances to squeeze by. And then there were aesthetic concerns, and some suggested requiring residents to remove tools and ladders from their trucks before parking in their own driveways.

Linda Rawlins, 73, said the beloved neighborhood where she has lived since 1969 was turning into a commercial zone.



**TOP: Doraville, Ga., passed an ordinance barring work vehicles, which many Latinos use to make a living in the diversifying suburb, from parking on neighborhood streets. ABOVE: Sandy Chavarria and son Sergio play at a Doraville park. She fought on behalf of undocumented immigrants too anxious to publicly oppose the rule.**

“We are not trying to get rid of anybody,” said Rawlins, who is White. “It is a safety factor to do with these trucks and trailers on the street and unsightly equipment that needs to be put somewhere out of sight.”

In an interview after the meeting, Rawlins said she supported Trump but not all of his immigration positions, as she thinks immigrants should be allowed to apply for legal residency and citizenship so they can fully participate in civic life.

Abbott, the former planning commission member, said the measure wasn’t discriminatory.

“We had numerous comments made this evening that this is simply a racial-motivated piece of legislation,” he said at the December meeting. “And I am for this

ordinance with the parking. I’m a White male. I’m not Hispanic, I’m not Asian, I’m not in any of these categories. And I voted to not allow my own personal vehicles to be parked in front of my own home.”

He recently resigned from the commission. No Latino residents spoke in favor of the measure that night in December.

Gerald Evans, the lone Black city councilor, wondered whether they should ban all street parking so that Latino truck owners would not feel targeted. But others said the trucks were the problem. Councilor Stephe Koontz said the big trucks parked on her street made it difficult to get to her house. Others voiced similar concerns.

Councilor Rebekah Cohen

Morris knew that many immigrants in Doraville would not challenge the city council. A former teacher now studying law, she told the council that there was no proof that parking trucks on the street lowered home values or presented a significant public safety risk.

The council approved the measure on a 5-to-1 vote in January, barring vehicles over 6,000 pounds from street parking. Cohen Morris cast the dissenting vote.

Sitting at home a few weeks later, she worried that the crack-down by a mostly White city council will create resentment and fear.

Cohen Morris lives next door to Ofelia Haro, 56, a formerly undocumented immigrant from Mexico who became a U.S. citizen and whose husband owns a truck. Haro is one of her children’s godparents.

“Most of the children here are citizens,” Cohen Morris said. “And they’re going to grow up, and they’re going to remember all of this stuff that happened.”

The mayor, who did not vote on the ordinance, stressed that the council listened to Latino community members. He noted that the panel scrapped plans to bar tools and ladders from trucks parked in driveways.

“The truth is that people did have a voice, and they were heard,” he said.

The new rules are now in effect and will be enforced by the city’s 54 police officers, seven of whom are Latino. After a six-month probationary period, the police will begin writing tickets. For now, written warnings will be issued in English and Spanish. And the police department has stressed that the issue is unrelated to Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

In Doraville’s winding, hilly neighborhoods on a recent day, work trucks were parked mostly in driveways, but a few remained on the streets. Many residents worried about the new ordinance, along with the message it sends.

“They tell you to go back to your country,” said a Guatemalan father of four who is undocumented and owns a truck that was parked outside his tidy ranch house. “Most of us come [to the United States] to work.”

Francisco, a 35-year-old tile layer from Guanajuato, Mexico, said sometimes his brother-in-law stays with his family, and they do not have enough room in the steep driveway for both men’s trucks. One has to park on the street.

Because Francisco is undocumented, he did not feel safe revealing his last name, and he said it had not occurred to him that he could challenge the city council about the truck ordinance.

Although he and his family have lived in Doraville for many years, he is now thinking: “Maybe it would be better to move away from here.”

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# Impeachment trial highlights split in Republican Party

TRUMP FROM A1

how Trump had been, in his estimation, “practically and morally responsible” for provoking the mob that overran the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6.

The violent siege left five people dead, including a police officer. Two other officers who helped fight the Capitol mob died by suicide in the days after, and their families want their deaths recognized as “line of duty” deaths.

McConnell may have “got a load off his chest” with his floor speech, Graham said, but he had also made himself a target for pro-Trump Republicans in 2022.

“Donald Trump is the most vibrant member of the Republican Party. The Trump movement is alive and well,” Graham declared to “Fox News Sunday” host Chris Wallace. “All I can say is that the most potent force in the Republican Party is President Trump. We need Trump.”

Graham’s full-throated defense of Trump laid bare the divisions the former president has caused within the GOP over the past four years. There are those Republicans who say they must distance themselves from Trump to survive and those who believe doubling down on Trumpism is the only way forward. Up to this point, Graham has waffled — alternately trying to appeal to both sides — but on Sunday he made clear he would belong to the latter faction and seemed to enjoy his role as Trump champion.

“I’ve been asked by a lot of people . . . ‘Calm President Trump down, talk to him, get him to calm down.’ Sometimes he does and sometimes he doesn’t. But to my Republican colleagues, this is a two-way street,” Graham said. “I’m into winning. And if you want to get something off your chest, fine. But I’m into winning.”

At times in his interview with Wallace, Graham sounded as if he were reading from a script meant for Trump. He blasted the impeachment trial as “a complete joke” and President Biden for attempting to push his “most radical agenda.”

When asked about former United Nations ambassador Nikki Haley’s recent decision to distance herself from Trump, after supporting him unequivocally and not speaking out against his baseless claims of election fraud, Graham said the fellow South Carolinian was “wrong.”

He also said that Trump’s daughter-in-law, Lara Trump, should run to replace retiring Sen. Richard Burr (R-N.C.), who cast a surprise vote to convict Trump on Saturday.

“The biggest winner I think of this whole impeachment trial is Lara Trump,” Graham said. “If she runs, I will certainly be behind her because I think she represents the future of the Republican Party.”

Graham’s unapologetic embrace of Trump — in defiance of the GOP’s longtime leaders — comes as a string of high-profile Republicans who have dared to criticize the former president



JABIN BOTSFORD/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), seen arriving for the impeachment trial on Capitol Hill on Wednesday, blasted the impeachment trial as “a complete joke” and made clear Sunday that he would be on the side of the party that believes doubling down on Trumpism is the only way forward.**

have faced punishments from their state and local parties. On Saturday, Sen. Bill Cassidy (La.) became the latest Republican to be censured by his state party for his vote to convict Trump. Cassidy had previously voted against the constitutionality of the trial but said he changed his mind after listening to House impeachment managers make their case. Over the course of the trial, he appeared to devour news articles in the off-hours and raised specific questions to fill in the gaps.

Ultimately, Cassidy cast a “guilty” vote and released a simple, 10-second video to explain his decision. “Our Constitution and our country is more important than any one person. I voted to convict President Trump because he is guilty,” Cassidy said in the video.

On ABC’s “This Week” on Sunday, Cassidy waved off concerns about what Trump would mean to the GOP moving forward.

“I think his force wanes,” Cassidy said. “The Republican Party is more than just one person. The Republican Party is about ideas.”

Maryland Gov. Larry Hogan (R), who has been outspoken in his criticism of Trump, predicted Sunday that there would be “a real battle for the soul of the Republican Party over the next

couple of years.”

“I was very proud of some of the folks who stood up and did the right thing. It’s not always easy. In fact, it’s sometimes really hard to go against your base and your colleagues to do what you think is right for the country,” Hogan said on NBC’s “Meet the Press.”

Hogan, who has not ruled out a presidential run in 2024, said there would have been more GOP votes against Trump had members not feared backlash from Trump and his supporters.

“A lot of Republicans are outraged, but they don’t have the courage to stand up and vote that way because they’re afraid of being primaried, or they’re going to lose their careers,” he added.

Trump himself has shown no intention of fading away, issuing a statement shortly after the Senate vote that slammed the entire impeachment trial as “a witch hunt” and lamented that no other president had been subjected to such indignities.

“Our historic, patriotic and beautiful movement to Make America Great Again has only just begun,” Trump stated.

Trump, who has previously hinted at running for president again in 2024, added that “in the months ahead I have much to share with you.”

Various Republicans have

tried to wrest the party from Trump’s influence. Last month, Rep. Adam Kinzinger (Ill.), one of 10 Republicans in the House to vote to impeach Trump, started the Country First PAC to challenge the party’s embrace of the former president. (He, too, has

*“The Republican Party is more than just one person. The Republican Party is about ideas.”*

**Sen. Bill Cassidy (La.),**

who became the latest Republican to be censured by his state party for his vote to convict former president Donald Trump

been censured by his local GOP apparatus.)

Over the weekend, Evan McMullin, executive director of the nonprofit political organization Stand Up Republic, spoke of his recent call with more than 120 Republican officials about starting a new party or faction within the GOP.

“Well I think what’s clear . . . is that something new is required,” McMullin said on MSNBC on Saturday. “Forty percent feel

there is no hope for the GOP to reform and to rejoin the healthy political process in America.”

McMullin said the hypothetical party could put up primary challengers against “Republicans who have most abandoned our Democracy,” citing Arizona Reps. Andy Biggs and Paul A. Gosar as examples. McMullin, who ran as an independent in the 2016 presidential election in large part to counter what he saw as the alarming pull Trump had on the GOP, said Trump’s impeachment and subsequent acquittal have only “intensified” the discussions about a third party.

“We are committed to either taking a new route to fight for the direction of the GOP or to compete with it directly,” McMullin said.

Democrats defended their decision not to call witnesses Saturday in part because they recognized the degree to which GOP senators still support Trump. Republicans largely voted in lockstep with Trump during his presidency. In his speech Saturday, McConnell justified his acquittal vote by saying he did not believe the trial was constitutional because Trump was no longer president when the chamber received the article of impeachment — without mentioning he had himself refused to reconvene the

Senate any earlier than the day before Trump left office.

Sen. Chris Murphy (D-Conn.) said he was fairly certain there would have been enough votes to convict Trump had there been a secret ballot. Murphy also rejected Republicans’ assertions that if a Democratic president had been on trial, the votes would have been reversed.

“I do think that this cult of personality that’s been built up around President Trump is fundamentally different,” Murphy said Sunday on CNN’s “State of the Union.” “I really don’t believe that Democrats would rush to the defense of a president of our party that was essentially trying to overturn an election.”

On Sunday, multiple House impeachment managers said it would not have mattered whether the Democrats had called additional witnesses. The resulting vote would not have changed.

“Once Mitch McConnell made it clear he intended to acquit . . . what the House managers needed wasn’t more witnesses or more evidence,” Sen. Christopher A. Coons (D-Del.) said on ABC’s “This Week.” “What we all needed was more Republican courage.”

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Karoun Demirjian and Greg Jaffe contributed to this report.

## CDC’s guidance on school reopenings is more measured than many hoped

Almost no place in U.S. would meet standards for in-person learning

BY LAURA MECKLER

For months, President Biden has been urging schools to reopen, and promised that guidelines from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention would help them do so safely.

At the same time, public health experts including some at the CDC said available evidence suggested schools could safely open as long as precautions were in place. That raised expectations that the nation’s K-12 education system might accelerate its return to in-person learning.

But the much-anticipated guidelines released Friday were, in fact, more measured than some expected, with full in-person schooling recommended only when levels of community transmission are quite low, a standard that almost no place in the U.S. meets today.

Under the rubric laid out, the CDC recommends either fully remote or hybrid plans, where students spend some time in school and some at home, for areas with substantial community spread. Even though case counts are falling, the definition of substantial spread today includes the vast majority of the

country.

When communities are in the “red” zone, the CDC suggests school districts offer hybrid classes for elementary school to reduce the number of students in each room. Middle and high schools could offer this sort of hybrid learning, too, but only if they implemented other stringent rules, as well.

If all schools adhered to the CDC guidelines, many that are fully open now would close for in-person learning or need to ratchet back to a hybrid system.

Advocates for reopening schools were dismayed.

The guidelines add “new and unnecessary demands that will ultimately keep millions of kids out of school,” public health experts Joseph G. Allen and Helen Jenkins said in The Washington Post. They said they had once favored tying school reopening to metrics for community spread. “We changed our position on this in light of overwhelming scientific evidence that transmission within schools can be kept low regardless of community spread, so long as good mitigation measures are in place.”

Some parents were also disappointed.

“Parents had grown progressively nervous that this was going to be a politically influenced outcome and that’s what it feels like we landed at,” said Karen Vaitea, a mother who lives in New York City and is part of a group



BRYNN ANDERSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Paul Adams, 7, waits at a school bus stop in Dallas, Ga., in August. The CDC’s guidance on school reopenings recommends in-person school only when levels of community transmission are very low.**

advocating for open schools.

She said mitigation strategies such as mandatory masks, which the CDC said were essential, make sense, but she views the requirement for six feet between students when rates are high to be too strict, and argued the CDC’s metrics for reopening are too conservative.

CDC Director Rochelle Walen-

sky defended the agency’s approach on Sunday.

“We know that the amount of disease in the community is completely reflected as to what’s happening in school. If there’s more disease in the community, there will be more in school,” she said on CNN. “So, I would say this is everybody’s responsibility to do their part in the community to

get disease rates down, so we can get our schools opened.”

Greta Massetti, lead author on the CDC guidance document, noted in an interview that even at high levels of community transmission, there are in-person — albeit hybrid — options for all K-12 schools. To use a hybrid model, middle and high schools are either required to implement

all mitigation strategies and keep case counts low, or required to do in-school screening tests for students and staff without symptoms.

Speaking on Fox News Sunday, Walensky described the guidance as a road map for reopening schools, some of which have been shuttered completely for nearly a year.

“We are really anticipating that with this guidance emerging, that schools will be able to start opening,” she said.

Some elements of the guidance will certainly help speed reopening. It says vaccination of teachers is a strategy for reopening, but not a requirement. It also put almost no emphasis on improving ventilation systems, an expensive proposition that has led to contentious negotiations between some school systems and their teachers.

But overall, the CDC plan was welcomed by teachers’ unions as well as some public health experts as far superior to the guidelines put forward under the Trump administration.

“The CDC met fear of the pandemic with facts and evidence,” said a statement Friday from Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers. “For the first time since the start of this pandemic, we have a rigorous road map, based on science, that our members can use to fight for a safe reopening.”

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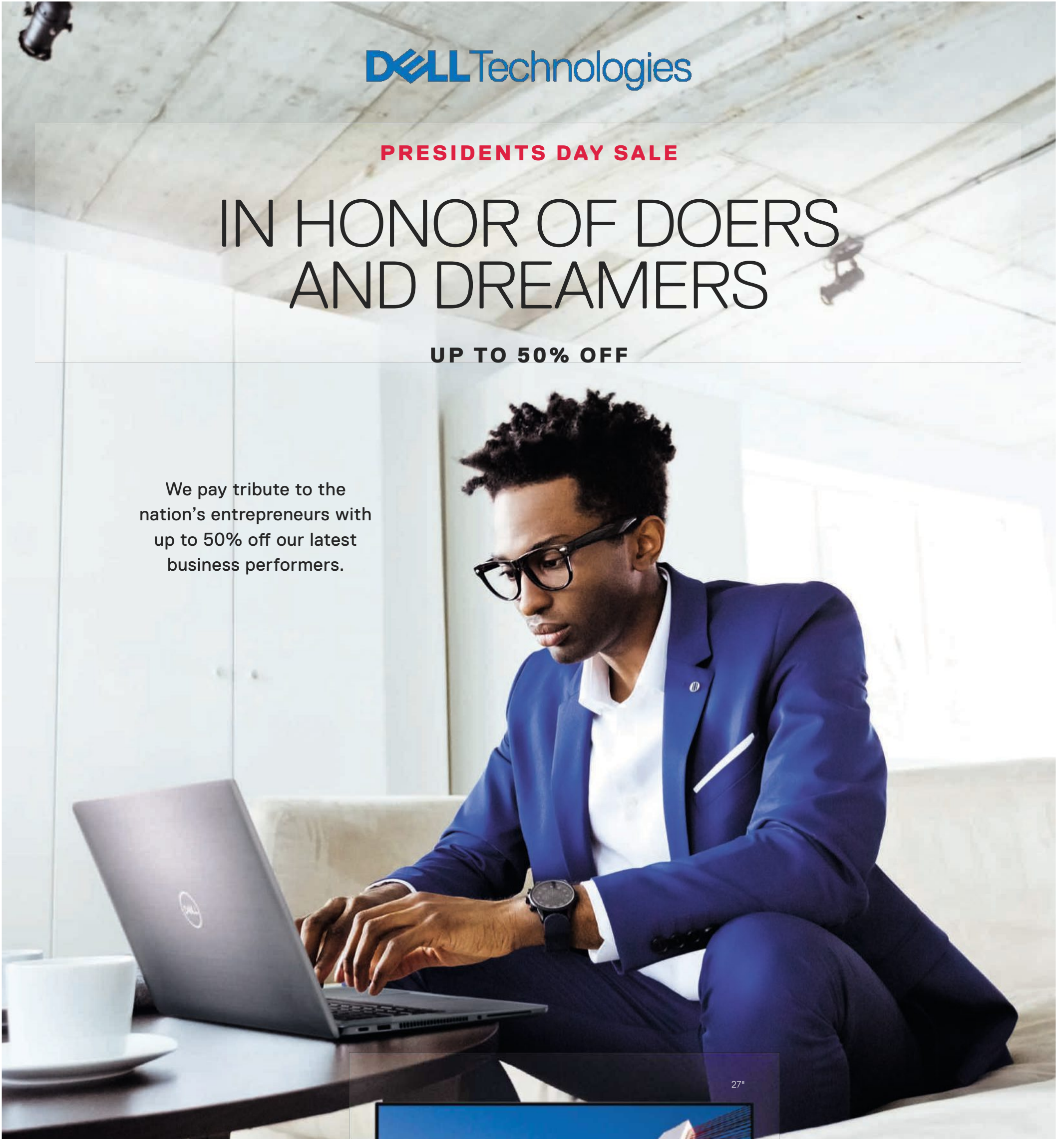
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JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

# Undoing Trump's legacy takes 'bureaucratic archaeology'

**BIDEN FROM A1**

and strengthening gun control would probably require new laws, which are much harder to enact.

The coming months will tell how much of his predecessor's legacy Biden can erase and how much of Trump's imprint, despite his chaotic style, will endure.

Some Biden supporters say the public will grow impatient if they do not see broader results fast. "We have a very short period of time to have people believe that government is the great equalizer of opportunity," said Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D-Wash.), who co-chairs the House Progressive Caucus and worked with the Biden transition, noting that its leaders internalized this urgency.

Biden signaled early that he was sensitive to accusations he would try to do too much unilaterally. When signing a batch of executive orders shortly after taking office, he took a defensive tone, saying that day's actions merely aimed to "undo the damage Trump has done" and that "there's nothing new that we're doing here."

But that modesty belies a massive effort, occupying hundreds of volunteers and several months, to plot Biden's early actions and keep them to a manageable scope. The team included many Obama administration veterans who had seen their work reversed and were eager to help put it back together.

"A lot of us viewed this as among the most gratifying professional experiences of our lives," Muñoz said.

Biden's team even set up a shadow administration of sorts, recruiting Democrats with expertise in specific agencies to ensure that the orders would stand up to legal challenges.

The effort was driven by a view that Trump's policies have been codified via an army of operatives who found endless ways, public and hidden, to turn federal policies in nefarious directions.

Even now, Democrats are digging layer by layer through federal orders and manuals — "bureaucratic archaeology," in the phrase of Lucas Guttentag, a law professor who helped on immigration efforts — in hopes of unearthing buried Trump initiatives.

Trump also opened his tenure with a flurry of executive orders, signing them with great ceremonial flourish. But his approach was less disciplined, and Biden's onslaught frustrates conservatives who say he is contradicting his own high-flown rhetoric on bipartisanship.

"This isn't the unity he promised," Heritage Foundation President Kay James said. "He's signaled that he'll take unilateral steps that usurp Congress's power and leave no room for debate



BILL O'LEARY/THE WASHINGTON POST

**TOP: President Biden departs the White House on Friday. ABOVE: Biden with Vice President Harris in Washington on Wednesday. The administration undid the most easily reversible of former president Donald Trump's actions and now must grapple with removing his more entrenched policies. However, some Biden supporters say the public will grow impatient if they do not see broader results fast.**

or dissent."

Other Republicans complain that Biden's moves are highly damaging.

"It's obviously true that Joe Biden can terminate a wide swath of policies [in ways] that we would argue would have very harmful effects," said Stephen Miller, a senior adviser to Trump who helped set up some of the policies that Biden is now trying to unwind.

On immigration, where Miller was particularly influential, he acknowledged the Trump policies were fragile. "It doesn't take much at all to topple the border security infrastructure that was painstakingly put in place," he said.

Miller contended that powerful forces oppose Trump's policies, and that big business, foreign governments and even organized crime support porous borders. "It actually requires a great deal of vigilance to keep the border secure," Miller said. "Even just suspending that vigilance will cause it to fall apart pretty quickly, let alone trying to work in the other direction."

Biden signed executive orders ordering a review of Trump's

deterrent policies along the border and created a task force to reunite families, calling their separation under the Trump administration a "moral and national shame."

Despite the methodical early moves, the Biden team is now facing the limits of what he can accomplish on his own. He has promised, among other things, to create a new public health-care

actions on health care in particular are not enough to meet the need. "I am still very afraid that there are a lot of people who are uninsured across this country [and] even with the subsidies are going to be falling through the cracks," she said.

In December, Biden cited the danger of overusing executive power, privately telling Black civil rights leaders that he intended to

immigrants, she started her career as an advocate for immigrant rights before spending eight years in the Obama White House.

Muñoz disappointed some former allies at the time by defending President Barack Obama's deportation policies, which he had deployed in the absence of a comprehensive immigration restructuring bill. When Biden invited her into his transition, immigration groups complained, and one even launched a petition to keep her out of the administration.

Unfazed, Muñoz last year drew up plans for quick executive orders on a range of subjects, organizing them into "buckets" for easy prioritization. One, termed "imminent harm," was for edicts that had to be issued quickly to avoid people getting hurt — such as extending a ban on evictions and prolonging a freeze on student loan repayment.

A second bucket included things Biden had explicitly promised to do on his first day, such as rejoining the Paris climate accord and lifting the ban on travel from some majority-Muslim countries.

Others reflected Biden's proactive agenda, including a "Buy

American" edict and an order on racial equity that repealed Trump's 1776 Commission and aimed to root out racism throughout the federal government.

Many of the actions fell under the scope of what presidents typically do, including laying out ethics policies and proclaiming a national day of unity. Biden also lifted a restriction on taxpayer money for nonprofits that perform abortions overseas — a sensitive policy that gets reversed each time a new party takes the White House.

The process is ongoing, Guttentag said, adding that it "requires delving into innumerable details" and sorting "through these almost hidden and easily overlooked administrative actions that have incredibly long tentacles that have to be undone, root and branch, to even begin the process of reform."

Guttentag, a former director of the American Civil Liberties Union Immigrants' Rights Project, tracked more than 1,000 Trump-era changes to the immigration system alone. Even some of Biden's executive actions that sound relatively modest — for example, directing agencies to review certain policies — amount to promissory notes that changes will be made, he said.

Valerie Jarrett, a senior adviser to Obama, cited an experience that reflects the challenges now facing Biden. On one particular day, she recounted, a major Obama immigration measure failed in Congress, while a gay rights provision advanced.

Jarrett recalled that people in the domestic policy team had worked in both areas for years, so half the staff was jubilant and the other half in despair. Jarrett told Obama about the high emotions engulfing his policy staff, and the president made an unscheduled visit to Muñoz's office.

"He said to everybody, 'For those of you who are so upset about the Dream Act, just remember that the people who've been trying to repeal 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' have been at it for 20 years. This change takes time,'" Jarrett recalled.

Because Muñoz fought for policies that Trump reversed, Jarrett said "there is a certain poetic justice to her having the opportunity to help the Biden administration shape the policies going forward."

But Miller, the former Trump aide, said that even if Biden is able to rewrite federal regulations, his predecessor's broader legacy — a larger realignment in politics and a growing distrust in the establishment — will be much more difficult to take on.

"Nothing that Biden can do can possibly touch that," Miller predicted.

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*"There is an inevitable limit to how much a president can do with his or her own pen alone."*

Lucas Guttentag, a law professor who helped President Biden in his immigration efforts

option, fix the nation's roads and bridges, tackle the immigration system and enact tougher climate rules. All would require pushing complex bills through a bitterly polarized Congress or enacting time-consuming regulations.

Biden's allies are bracing for this next phase. "There is an inevitable limit to how much a president can do with his or her own pen alone," Guttentag said.

Jayapal said Biden's unilateral

limit his unilateral actions. "I am not going to violate the Constitution," Biden said, according to a tape obtained by the Intercept. "Executive authority that my progressive friends talk about is way beyond the bounds."

Muñoz, too, is aware of the limits of relying on executive actions, despite her role at the center of Biden's planning. A MacArthur "genius grant" recipient and the daughter of Bolivian



JONATHAN NEWTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Republican Mayor Francis Suarez of Miami, right, with White House press secretary Jen Psaki and Detroit Mayor Mike Duggan, speaks at a news briefing last week after meeting with President Biden.

## State GOP leaders stand by relief plan

CITIES FROM A1

gives Biden and his fellow Democrats a key tactical advantage as negotiations near an expected climax early next month.

Republicans in Congress overwhelmingly oppose the relief bill, casting it as bloated and budget-busting, with some heaping particular scorn on a measure to send \$350 billion in assistance to states and cities. Should Biden go ahead without their approval, GOP leaders say, it will prove that his mantra of bipartisanship rings hollow.

But to many Republicans at city halls and statehouses across the country, the relief package looks very different. Instead of the “blue-state bailout” derided by GOP lawmakers, Republican mayors and governors say they see badly needed federal aid to keep police on the beat, to prevent battered Main Street businesses from going under, and to help care for the growing ranks of the homeless and the hungry.

“It’s not a Republican issue or a Democrat issue,” said Dyer, who became mayor last month following a long career as the city’s police chief. “It’s a public health issue. It’s an economic issue. And it’s a public safety issue.”

Surveys show that a broad majority of Americans support the assistance, including large numbers of Republicans. Only a minority among Republican voters agree with GOP lawmakers that the aid package is too large, polls have found.

Biden on Friday highlighted the rift, inviting a bipartisan group of mayors and governors to the White House to discuss the specifics of the bill.

“You folks are all on the front lines and dealing with the crisis since day one,” he told the group, which included the Republican governors of Maryland and Arkansas, as well as Republican mayors.

Miami Mayor Francis Suarez (R) later told reporters from the podium in the White House briefing room that he had spoken with Biden and Vice President Harris more in the first several weeks of their administration “than I had spoken to the prior administration in the entirety.”

Biden said he brought the group to the White House to ask “what do they think they need most?”

To many mayors and governors, it’s a long list.

“I don’t know of any city that hasn’t been affected negatively,” Oklahoma City Mayor David Holt (R) said. “Some may be worse off than others. But we have all had to make cuts.”

The impact has not been as severe as some economists initially projected, however. When the pandemic first struck American shores and much of the U.S. economy shut down last spring, the prognosis for states and cities looked dire. Analysts warned that cities — some of which had still not fully recovered from the Great Recession more than a decade ago — could be forced into bankruptcy.

But some of the worst consequences have already been blunted by previous rounds of federal aid, as well as by the nature of the economic recovery, with high-income individuals — who contribute much of the state and local tax base — bouncing back relatively quickly, even as poorer families languish.

When 10 Republican senators visited the White House this month to lay out their slimmed-down \$618 billion counterproposal to the president’s plan, Mitt Romney (Utah) came brandishing details from a J.P. Morgan analysis showing that most states had seen only modest revenue declines.

Romney later told reporters

that Biden’s insistence on \$350 billion in state and local aid was the biggest stumbling block in negotiations.

“That kind of number just makes no sense at all,” he said. The Republican plan proposed to cut it entirely.

Yet as the J.P. Morgan analysis shows, the impact of the pandemic has been unevenly felt, with some states — especially those whose economies are heavily dependent on tourism or oil and gas extraction — suffering dramatic declines.

A Brookings Institution analysis in September found that although income tax revenue had proved resilient during the pandemic, sales tax and transportation-related revenue had been hit especially hard. As a result, states and cities were projected to lose out on more than \$450 billion over three years.

And the pain hasn’t only been on the revenue side. New needs arising from the pandemic have created new costs.

“Cities were confronting some really big challenges even before this crisis — income inequality, homelessness, housing affordability,” said Tracy Gordon, acting director of the Urban-Brookings Tax Policy Center.

All have been exacerbated by the coronavirus pandemic, she said. But many cities now have fewer resources with which to address them.

In Oklahoma City, Holt said, revenue has been down by about 5 percent, a sharp departure from the robust growth the city had become accustomed to before the pandemic. To compensate, he said, the city has had to leave jobs unfilled and cut funding for parks and recreation, even as the overall needs of citizens and businesses have grown.

“We don’t do much fluff here,” he said. “So whatever we’ve had to cut, residents have experienced it.”

Republican lawmakers in Washington have dismissed aid to cities as a bailout for governments that have long spent beyond their means.

But Holt called that “a red herring.” Most state and city governments — unlike the federal government — have to balance their budgets, just as a business would.

But unlike businesses large and small that have received grants or loans to make up for the damage done by the coronavirus, cities have been left out.

“In a sense, we’re the only employer that hasn’t been able to make an application to anyone to save our jobs and save our services,” said Holt, who noted that the city government is one of his metro area’s biggest employers. “Support for cities and states is way overdue.”

There has been some relief. The Cares Act, signed into law by President Donald Trump last March, included \$150 billion for states and for the nation’s 38 largest cities. But money had to

be spent directly on coronavirus expenses, creating logistical hurdles in getting it out the door. Nearly a year later, some of it remains unspent, a point Republicans make in arguing for why additional taxpayer dollars should not be allocated.

The aid proposed by Biden would not have the same restrictions. Mayors say that will make it easier to quickly get it into the hands of those who need it and to stimulate economic growth.

Betsy Price proudly calls Fort Worth, the metropolis of nearly 900,000 she has led for the past decade, “a fiscally conservative city.” But the Republican said the pandemic has forced the city government to spend more just to keep people afloat, doling out small-business support, rental assistance and help with utility bills.

Price joined more than 400 fellow mayors late last month — including many Republicans — in signing a U.S. Conference of Mayors letter that called on Congress to quickly pass Biden’s coronavirus relief plan. She said she had spoken with both of Texas’s senators — Republicans Ted Cruz and John Cornyn — and made the same case.

“We’re not asking the Democrats or the Republicans to put money into city coffers,” she said. “We’re asking them to put it into the community to help people get back on their feet.”

The National Governors Association has not released a letter similar to the one endorsed by the mayors. But the group did call for \$500 billion in relief for states last spring. And individual Republican governors have spoken up to back Biden’s relief plan, which can be enacted without GOP support. That includes moderates such as Maryland’s Larry Hogan, as well as Trump-aligned conservatives such as West Virginia’s Jim Justice, who has urged Congress to “go big.”

Suarez, the Miami mayor, has pushed the same message and has put pressure on Florida’s two Republican senators, Marco Rubio and Rick Scott, to follow through.

The Republican recently co-wrote an op-ed with St. Petersburg Mayor Rick Kriseman, a Democrat, in which they addressed the senators directly and enumerated the problems facing their cities, including unemployment, bankrupt business and lines at food pantries that look like “gridlocked freeways.”

“Florida’s cities are in agony and are crying out for help,” they wrote. “This is not sustainable.”

In an interview, Suarez said both senators have been receptive to his message in private, though they also expressed concerns about the price tag — concerns that Suarez said he could understand, to a point.

“Under normal circumstances, this kind of government spending would be completely unacceptable,” he said. “But this is a crisis.”

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“I don’t know of any city that hasn’t been affected negatively,” said Republican Mayor David Holt of Oklahoma City.

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Philadelphia soured on a start-up it trusted with vaccines

VACCINES FROM A1

cial from the city resigned. Allegations of incompetence and angry calls for racial equity erupted, aimed not only at the start-up but at the health department and the mayor, who had implicitly endorsed the operation by showing up on the first day shots were administered in early January.

“It was botched, completely botched,” said City Council member Cindy Bass (D), who chaired a Feb. 5 hearing questioning the health department’s decision to entrust 6 percent of its vaccine supply to an organization run by recent college graduates who had little medical training.

The evolving crisis highlights the challenges facing cities and states, each charged with creating its own vaccine delivery system and facing criticism for confusing registration requirements, hours-long waits and failure to administer vaccine doses in high enough numbers to communities of color.

Philadelphia has stood out as one of a handful of cities receiving doses directly from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and for its willingness to create unconventional partnerships — in this case, pairing Silicon Valley-style strategies with its public health program.

Days before the relationship collapsed, James Garrow, the public health department’s communications director, described the leeway the health department had given Philly Fighting Covid: “It’s their clinic. They run it as they see fit. We are there to keep an eye on our vaccine to make sure it’s used properly.”

In an email to The Washington Post two days before the arrangement fractured, Philly Fighting Covid’s founder and CEO, Andrei Doroshin, 22, pledged that preregistration data collected on 100,000 Philadelphia residents would not be sold.

“Anyone who pre-commits on our platforms and had entered their personal information into our systems can feel confident that their data is private, safe and will not be sold to a third-party company,” Doroshin wrote.

Becoming a for-profit entity was necessary to expand, Doroshin told The Post, explaining that he took advice from health-care lawyers.

“Creating new sites is very expensive,” he said. “It cannot just be funded by donations.”

In a statement that has since been removed from the start-up’s website, Doroshin says that instead of defending against “Philly’s dirty power politics,” his organization should be busy “vaccinating thousands of people.”

But soon after ties were severed, another controversy erupted. While some providers nationally were winning praise for finding inventive ways to administer soon-to-expire doses, Doroshin took things a step further: After a participating nurse tweeted that Doroshin “took home a ziplock bag-full of vaccines,” the CEO acknowledged on air that he had administered leftover doses to four friends.

The fallout has been rapid. The acting deputy health commissioner, Caroline C. Johnson, an infectious-disease expert with extensive immunization experience, resigned over communications with Philly Fighting Covid and another testing partner, the Black Doctors Covid-19 Consortium. Those communications appeared to give the groups a head start in winning the city’s burgeoning vaccine business. The city’s inspector general launched an investigation, promising a public report. And some state legislators called for the city’s health commissioner, Thomas A. Farley, to step down.

Farley declined to comment, citing the inspector general’s ongoing investigation.

On Feb. 5, the city council grilled Farley for three hours, calling on him to explain the relationship with Philly Fighting Covid. Farley, who described the partnership as a “mistake,” faced broader questions about why Black residents have been underrepresented among the rolls of vaccine recipients — especially in a city in which people of color are the majority.

Farley acknowledged that “the people who force their way to the front of the line . . . often are people who are White.” While Farley did not have data to show that was the case at the Philly Fighting Covid clinics, sign-up links had been shared, allowing some people to jump ahead of their priority status.

Witnesses at the city council hearing evoked the Tuskegee Study, in which Black men with syphilis were deprived of treatment without their knowledge, and the response to Hurricane Katrina. The meeting vaulted into the charged territory of race, laying bare the historical and contemporary grievances that plague



PHOTOS BY RACHEL WISNIEWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Dominick Osipowicz, Philly Fighting Covid’s chief of medical operations, teaches volunteers how to draw the coronavirus vaccine at the start-up’s mass vaccination site in the Pennsylvania Convention Center. Pre-med student Ethan Loofbourrow pre-writes the date on vaccination record cards. Behavioral specialist Clarissa Cooper-Nowell, 62, prepares to receive the vaccine.

public health nationwide — and now the coronavirus vaccine rollout.

“When you look at those past government failures, when you’re African American, you see a pattern,” Bass said in an interview. “It’s a form of disenfranchisement, and it’s not just from guys that stormed the Capitol. It’s from the government itself.”

Early in the pandemic, the health department sought to ensure coronavirus testing reached underserved and hard-hit populations by forging relationships with organizations presenting innovative approaches and with roots in communities of color and neighborhoods where many residents do not speak English. Once the vaccine became available, the department built on those relationships to administer shots.

Philly Fighting Covid, which Doroshin launched as a nonprofit last spring to make face shields using 3-D printing, had already evolved once to provide free testing centers, which were used by more than 15,000 people. The group won a \$194,000 contract with the city for testing.

Well before vaccines were available, Doroshin said he and his team started figuring out how to get shots to recipients with as little human contact as possible.

“We had six months’ lead time,” said Doroshin, who said he and two friends plowed about \$300,000 of their own money into Philly Fighting Covid. He declined to describe how he acquired the funds, apart from saying on different occasions that he has worked since he was 14 and that he has profited from “cryptocurrency.”

“It wasn’t that [the health department was] partnering with us to build a solution,” said Karol Osipowicz, a cognitive neuroscientist and Doroshin’s mentor first at Drexel University and then at Philly Fighting Covid, where he served as chief science officer. “We gave it to them.”

“They trusted us,” said Victoria Milano, 23, site manager at the vaccination clinic. Just before Christmas, as coronavirus cases surged and hospitals were tied up vaccinating their front-line workers, Philly Fighting Covid and health department officials had a meeting.

In mid-January, as Philly Fighting Covid was winning accolades for its first clinics, Johnson, then acting deputy health commissioner, recalled her reaction to the group’s the-sky’s-the-limit proposals.

“We are always suspicious, but we didn’t have much to lose,” she said, describing how she was providing some medical oversight and committed a staff member to watch over the vaccine. “It wasn’t our good name that would go up in flames.”

By lowering barriers to access, Philly Fighting Covid would allow

the health department to focus resources on members of high-risk groups who may not have cars or proper documentation, said Johnson, who was also collaborating with the Black Doctors Consortium.

Johnson said she had seen the benefits of working with outside groups. Philly Fighting Covid and other grass-roots partnerships reminded her of the early days of the HIV/AIDS crisis, when citizens founded their own response organizations, many of which gained national prominence.

If Philly Fighting Covid expanded, Johnson said, the health department would probably “go along for the ride.”

Johnson said she believed the group would apply for city funding and start billing insurers.

“We are silent on that,” she said, referring to billing.

According to the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, the payment rate to administer single-dose vaccines is \$28.39. For multiple doses, the initial rate is \$16.94, with \$28.39 for the final shot.

Following her resignation, Johnson did not respond to requests for comment.

The health department did not sign a contract for vaccinations with Philly Fighting Covid as it had done for testing. Instead, as is the case with more than 100 nonprofit and for-profit vaccine providers in the city, the group had to meet requirements set out by the CDC.

On five days in January, Philly Fighting Covid transformed the yawning hall of the Pennsylvania Convention Center — better known as the backdrop for the city’s famous flower show — into an immunization assembly line, delivering about 140 shots an hour,

almost 1,500 a day.

“We’re treating it like a factory, with quality control and safety checks,” Doroshin said after the first two days of vaccinations, explaining that he had his eyes on a stadium where he believed they could vaccinate “20,000 a day without breaking a sweat.”

Buoyed by their early success, Doroshin said he was looking into taking the show on the road — perhaps to another major city, such as Los Angeles or D.C., or to a purpose-built site, possibly with the help of out-of-work concert roadies.

The opportunity to innovate — and far faster than government — had appealed to City Council member Mark F. Squilla (D) from the moment he met the team of young entrepreneurs with degrees in engineering and neuroscience and expertise in data management. Now, he was excited to see what was happening at the Convention Center, which sits in his district.

“You go in. Boom! Boom! Boom! And you’re done,” he said, even as he anticipated some criticism of the swashbuckling approach. “Are people going to push back? Say there’s something we didn’t do right?” he said before the controversy blew up. “I’m sure that’s going to be the case. But we can’t wait until it’s perfect.”

Things didn’t go perfectly. Internet connectivity wasn’t reliable at the start, resulting in the loss of data on the race and ethnicity of some vaccine recipients. The sign-up link intended largely for health-care workers who don’t work in hospitals — many of whom are people of color — was shared more widely so that real estate developers and financiers were among the people speeding

through, some apparently unaware they had skipped ahead.

Doroshin said at the time that Philly Fighting Covid was tightening access and remained “committed to making this process as equitable and accessible as possible.”

Garrow acknowledged that officials were concerned but said that the problem also exists in pharmacies and that sticking too rigidly to priority groups can slow the process or leave vaccine doses unused. “We know that if someone is hellbent on jumping the line and don’t care that they are, there’s not much we can do about it,” Garrow said.

What’s more, the “boom, boom, boom” approach wasn’t for everybody in this multiracial city, according to Ala Stanford, a surgeon who founded the Black Doctors Consortium, which is increasing the number of vaccinations it provides in partnership with the health department. The community-based campaign draws on principles Stanford developed driving door to door and church to church to deliver coronavirus tests to underserved neighborhoods.

“We don’t rush them,” Stanford said in a January interview.

Stanford, who has a private practice in the Philadelphia suburbs, said clinicians make themselves available to answer questions, especially in communities with a historic distrust of public health measures.

“Grandma needs you to take time,” she said. “Someone needs to look after kids while we take care of mom.”

Across the country, public health departments are struggling to overcome vaccine hesitancy and increase access to clinics in communities of color. Recently released CDC data shows that in the first month of vaccinations, just 5.4 percent of the 13 million people vaccinated were Black, although Black people account for about 16 percent of health-care workers. But the data is limited, with information on race and ethnicity missing in about half of the cases.

In Philadelphia, which is more than 40 percent Black, African Americans account for about 18 percent of the people vaccinated so far, according to health department data. Stanford said that to reach hesitant people, she relies heavily on word of mouth and trust born out of personal connections, rather than what she referred to as Philly Fighting Covid’s “tech aspect.”

For the men and women who came to the convention center, getting a vaccine required an electronic appointment and about half an hour of free time. After they passed through security and checked in, it took a matter of minutes to be waved through to one of eight private vaccination pods, where nurses, each with an assistant, asked brief screening

questions and used pre-filled syringes to give the injections.

People moved in a clockwise direction — by design, according to Osipowicz, the group’s chief science officer. The circular movement reflects what behavioral scientists have identified as the natural herding behavior of human beings, he said.

Each step had been mapped out to the second, said chief operating officer Jesse McGrath, who designed the system and believes it remains superior to almost any in the country.

Once vaccinated, for example, dozens of people waited on chairs several feet apart to be monitored for side effects, with emergency medical staff on hand in case anyone needed to go to a hospital. That allowed a far more efficient flow of people than in pharmacies and small clinics, where limited space for observation restricts the number of shots that can be given.

And if there was any doubt this was set up by young people, the newly vaccinated left by way of a selfie station. (“My first!” exclaimed one judge, as he snapped a celebratory shot.)

The clinics attracted immediate attention.

Milano, the site manager, received an email from a member of a professional organization for roadies, who erect and dismantle small cities every day to put on festivals around the world.

“We are logistics geniuses,” read the email, from a representative for the bands Mumford & Sons and the 1975. “The work you are doing mirrors what we do on the road, and the arenas and stadiums across the country are our offices. It just seems like the perfect match to get out-of-work roadies involved somehow.”

The nine-month-old start-up was also coming under scrutiny.

Asked about the business model in the days before the breakup, Doroshin described Philly Fighting Covid as a “company,” then as a “501” or nonprofit.

In a Jan. 23 email, Doroshin wrote that “Philly Fighting Covid switched to for-profit LLC status in early December.” The new company, Vax Populi, would eventually bill insurance companies for vaccine administration, Doroshin said, although recipients would not incur out-of-pocket costs.

At the time, the Philly Fighting Covid website described it as “a 501(c) 4 not-for-profit organization.”

A day later, Doroshin wrote again, this time offering “an explanation and an apology” and saying the company was “transitioning” to for-profit status and would update the public once the process was complete.

“The reality is that I, like many of us, am learning as I go,” he wrote. “The learning curve is maybe a bit steeper for a young guy like me.”

On Jan. 25, after the Philadelphia Inquirer raised concerns with Farley, the health department sent out a statement, terminating the partnership with Philly Fighting Covid “effective immediately.” While the department works with many for-profits — including pharmacies and hospitals — to provide doses of the vaccine, Garrow wrote that Philly Fighting Covid had altered its status without telling city authorities.

“As part of this change, PFC updated its data policy in a way that could allow the organization to sell data collected through PFC’s preregistration site,” the statement said, also criticizing the group for abruptly stopping its testing program.

Doroshin said in a statement that the data policy contained “problematic” language, and “as soon as we became aware of it, we removed it.”

The bigger problem was that the partnership with Philly Fighting Covid had been based on trust, Garrow said, faulting the group for its lack of transparency.

Doroshin remained bullish on the methodology, even on the day the health department cut ties.

“This is what other efforts look like if you need a comparison to our operation,” he wrote in a text to The Post, attaching an article about a state-run vaccine rollout in neighboring Delaware where residents complained of “nightmarish” waits.

On that point, the health department agrees.

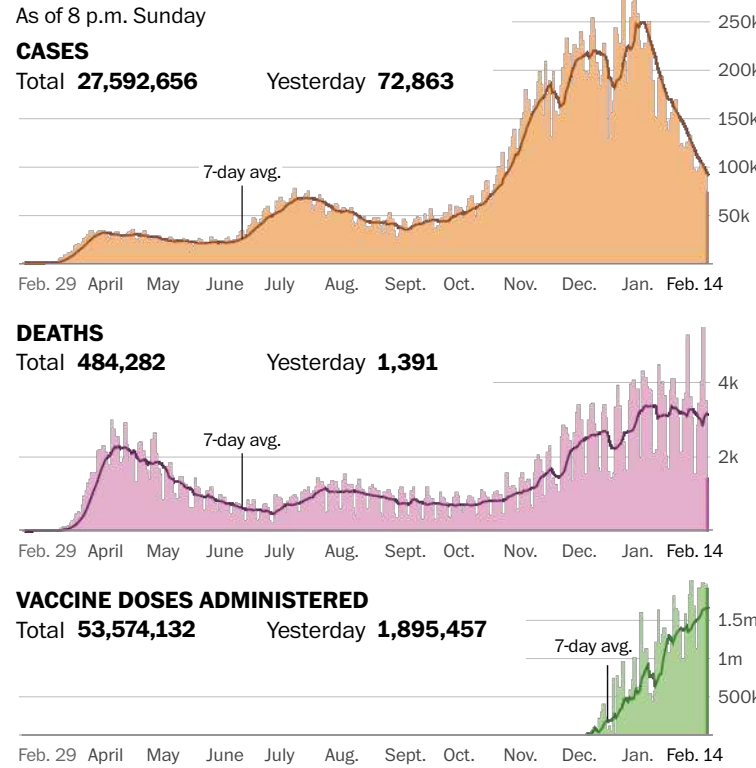
“Philly Fighting Covid demonstrated they can get people through a site and get them vaccine,” Garrow said. “Most people who came through came away super impressed.”

Now, Philadelphia Mayor Jim Kenney (D) is seeking to regain residents’ trust by overseeing the opening of a new mass vaccination clinic at the same site. This time, it’s run by the health department.

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Julie Tate contributed to this report.

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





# Kurdish militants accused of killing 13 Turkish citizens

Bodies are reportedly discovered during a military operation in Iraq

BY KAREEM FAHIM

ISTANBUL — Turkey said Sunday that 13 Turkish hostages, including soldiers and police officers, held by a Kurdish militant group had been found executed in a cave in northern Iraq.

The bodies were found during a Turkish military operation against the Kurdistan Workers' Party, or PKK, that began last week, according to a Defense Ministry statement. The ministry did not say exactly when the bodies were discovered or whether the executions had occurred during a rescue attempt. All but one of the victims was killed with a bullet to the head, the ministry said.

Many of the hostages had been kidnapped in Turkey in the summer or spring of 2015, after the breakdown of a cease-fire between the government and the PKK, which has fought a decades-long insurgency against Turkey, according to a statement by the governor of Turkey's Malatya province that was carried by the state-run Anadolu news agency. It was the worst loss suffered by Turkey's security services since last Feb-



A Turkish military vehicle patrols in Syria, where Turkey has carried out operations against the group it says executed 13 of its citizens.

ruary, when 36 Turkish troops were killed in a suspected airstrike in Syria's Idlib province.

A statement Sunday by the

PKK did not deny that the group was holding Turkish prisoners but blamed the deaths on Turkey, saying its attack on a pris-

oner camp resulted in clashes that killed captives who belonged to Turkey's intelligence service, along with soldiers and

police officers.

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's government has carried out large-scale military opera-

tions against the PKK in Iraq and Syria over the past few years that it says are aimed at protecting Turkey from cross-border attacks. They included a major incursion into northern Syria in 2019 that targeted Kurdish-Syrian fighters who were allied with the United States.

The latest Turkish operation, which began Wednesday, has focused on a region north of the Iraqi city of Dahuk. The Defense Ministry said three Turkish soldiers have died and dozens of Kurdish fighters were killed or captured during the campaign.

The military campaigns have coincided with a crackdown on pro-Kurdish voices inside Turkey, including on media outlets and politicians whom the government has accused of supporting the PKK, which Turkey and the United States have designated a terrorist group. Human rights groups have accused the Turkish government of using its fight against the PKK to silence dissenters, including members of a pro-Kurdish opposition party.

Fahrettin Altun, a spokesman for Erdogan, said in a statement on Twitter that Turkey would "continue its fight against terrorism with unwavering determination" and would "take necessary steps against individuals and groups glorifying and encouraging terrorism at home and abroad."

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# Spokeswoman: Prince Harry and Meghan are expecting their second baby

BY JENNIFER HASSAN AND KARLA ADAM

LONDON — Prince Harry and Meghan, the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, are expecting their second baby, a spokeswoman for the couple confirmed Sunday, saying they were "overjoyed at the news."

The couple, who married in a lavish ceremony at Windsor Castle in May 2018, have a son, Archie Harrison Mountbatten-Windsor, born May 2019.

"We can confirm that Archie is going to be a big brother," a

spokeswoman said as well-wishers flocked to social media to offer the family their congratulations.

A spokeswoman for Queen Elizabeth said that "Her Majesty, Duke of Edinburgh, Prince of Wales and entire family are delighted and wish them well."

Harry, 36, and Meghan, 39, caused a sensation in Britain last year when they stepped down as senior royals. Harry remains sixth in line to the throne — after Charles, the Prince of Wales; Prince William, Charles's first son; and George, Charlotte and

Louis, William's children. The baby will be eighth.

Harry and Meghan dropped their HRH titles in 2020 but are still the Duke and Duchess of Sussex. After stepping down as senior royals, they traveled to Vancouver Island in British Columbia before settling in Meghan's native Southern California.

Their second child will not be born a prince or princess, as he or she will be too far down the line of succession to assume the title automatically. Meghan and Harry opted not to seek a royal title for

Archie when he was born.

In an opinion piece for the New York Times in November, Meghan revealed that she had suffered a miscarriage in July and called for people on social media to be kinder to one another. The piece came after years of the couple being targeted by the relentless British tabloids.

"I knew, as I clutched my first-born child, that I was losing my second," she wrote. She described the "almost unbearable grief" that comes with losing a child. She urged people to try to find more

time to ask others if they are okay.

Harry and Meghan's Valentine's Day announcement came 37 years and a day after Charles and Princess Diana announced her pregnancy with Harry. "The Romantic princess chose St. Valentine's eve to break her marvelous news," the Daily Express reported at the time.

The Sussexes released a photo of themselves smiling at each other while Meghan has a hand on her bump.

Misan Harriman, the photographer, tweeted: "Meg, I was there

at your wedding to witness this love story begin, and my friend, I am honoured to capture it grow."

"Congratulations to The Duke and Duchess of Sussex on this joyous news!"

Last week, Meghan won a High Court privacy case against the Mail on Sunday tabloid — a major victory for the duchess. A judge ruled that the tabloid had invaded her privacy when it published parts of a letter she wrote to her estranged father.

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## THE WORLD

## In Mexico, a rift over freedom of information

As the president seeks to dismantle the country's national transparency watchdog, a generation of reformers sees democracy at stake

BY MARY BETH SHERIDAN

MEXICO CITY — One scandal featured the president's wife and a \$7 million mansion built by a top government contractor. Another involved the misuse of federal AIDS funds to buy Cartier pens and women's underwear. Then there was the "Master Fraud," in which \$400 million flowed between 11 government agencies, eight universities and dozens of phony companies — with half disappearing.

Each of the cases was exposed thanks to Mexico's freedom of information system, often ranked among the world's most effective. Created in 2002, it has allowed journalists and researchers to wrest documents from a government long known for opacity.

The system has been "one of the most important democratic advances in Mexico" since the end of one-party rule in 2000, said Roberto Rock, a journalist who lobbied for its creation.

Now, President Andrés Manuel López Obrador wants to rein in the National Institute for Access to Information, or INAI, the independent body that runs the system. He says it's expensive and has failed to end corruption.

The effort has revealed a deepening split in Mexico over the very nature of its democracy. To a generation of reformers, the freedom of information system represented a milestone in Mexico's transformation from an authoritarian state. The institute was one of multiple independent agencies formed to organize elections, investigate human rights abuses and otherwise serve as checks on the powerful presidency. They became "the protective layers of our democracy," wrote Enrique Campos Suárez, a columnist for *El Economista* newspaper.

López Obrador, a populist with leftist roots, maintains that the transition to democracy has largely been a sham — benefiting a self-serving elite while neglecting the poor.

"All these administrative structures were created to simulate a fight against corruption, to simulate transparency, to simulate that there wouldn't be impunity," he told reporters. "It was all a farce."

The transparency law resembles the U.S. Freedom of Information Act. But Mexico's system typically moves faster, with authorities generally required to respond to requests within 30 days. And it is administered by an institute that can overrule the government when it denies information.

It's been a game-changer in a country where authorities long withheld basic information such as homicide figures, earthquake casualties and the central bank's reserves. Suddenly citizens could find out the number of government employees, their salaries — even the guest list for a Mexican



LUIS ANTONIO ROJAS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

president's birthday party.

The institute "advanced the idea that information didn't belong to bureaucrats but to the public," said Rossana Fuentes-Berain, another figure in the civil society campaign to create the system. Since it got off the ground, the number of information requests has exploded, from about 50,000 to more than 230,000 a year.

Reporters have used the transparency system to uncover some of Mexico's biggest scandals of the past two decades. In 2014, journalist Carmen Aristegui and her colleagues dug up documents showing that President Enrique Peña Nieto and his wife were using a marble-floored, \$7 million mansion built by a contractor close to the government. The president's approval ratings tumbled. (He said his wife, a telenovela star, was buying the property in installments. But he apologized for the appearance of a conflict of interest.)

Three years later, journalists exposed the "Master Fraud" swindle, in which government money sloshed through universities and into fake companies, only to disappear. A former cabinet minister, Rosario Robles, is now in jail on corruption charges. (She says she's innocent.)

In addition to helping expose corruption, the freedom of information system has allowed researchers to plumb the depths of Mexico's human rights crisis.

In 2014, reporter Alejandra Guillén became "obsessed" with



EMILIO NARANJO/POOL/GETTY IMAGES

**TOP: President Andrés Manuel López Obrador says the National Institute for Access to Information has failed to end corruption. ABOVE: Journalists using the system found in 2014 that President Enrique Peña Nieto, here with Princess Letizia of Spain, was using a \$7 million mansion built by a contractor close to the government.**

*The institute "advanced the idea that information didn't belong to bureaucrats but to the public."*

**Rossana Fuentes-Berain,** a central figure in Mexico's civil society campaign to create a freedom of information system

the mass graves being unearthed in her home state of Jalisco. Many of the unmarked sites were filled with the remains of people who had disappeared during the drug war.

Guillén peppered local and national government offices with nearly 200 requests for information on such pits. Working with the investigative site Quinto Elemento Lab, she documented nearly 2,000 clandestine graves — more than the federal government's total. Without Mexico's freedom of information system, she said, "we couldn't have done much of the investigation."

López Obrador, a folksy 67-

year-old, argues that Mexico no longer needs a transparency institute. He holds a 7 a.m. news conference nearly every weekday, a talk fest that often lasts two hours.

"If we have permanent communication, and guarantee the right to information, things work out," he told reporters last month. "Therefore, I'd say, we don't need this apparatus that costs so much." The hundreds of millions of dollars budgeted for the INAI and other independent agencies, he said, would be better spent on education, health or social programs.

López Obrador and his supporters have long argued that the institute provides the illusion of transparency to a political system dominated by unscrupulous officials and their wealthy allies in private business. "Notwithstanding its admirable institutional design of transparency, Mexico remains one of the most corrupt countries in the world," the academic Irma Eréndira Sandoval Ballesteros wrote in the 2018 book "Troubling Transparency."

She's now López Obrador's minister of public administration. The president has proposed moving the freedom of information system into her ministry.

Critics maintain that the attacks on the INAI and the other independent agencies show the authoritarian tendencies of a president who frequently berates the press and the opposition, and rules unquestioned over his own

political party, which controls the National Congress.

But columnist Jorge Zepeda Patterson said López Obrador's goal isn't so much accumulating power as it is fortifying a presidency weakened in recent years by decentralization.

"He's trying to give the Mexican government more capacity to intervene in reality, to modify the well-entrenched practices that favor the privileged," he said. "Right or wrong, that's his logic."

The freedom of information system might have been hurt by the very hopes it generated for profound change. While Mexico developed a democratic voting system and a freer press, it still hasn't reformed a justice system rooted in the authoritarian era. The police and courts remain corrupt and ineffective. Only a tiny percentage of crimes result in jail sentences.

"There is more transparency, but we don't have a functional mechanism to prompt investigation and criminal prosecution and punishment of the corrupt," said the political analyst Luis Carlos Ugalde. Journalists expose graft, he said, but in many cases "nothing happens" to the perpetrators. That can lead to a sense that the system isn't producing results.

Ironically, the independent institutions López Obrador criticizes helped propel him to the presidency. One of them, the National Electoral Institute, established in 1990, cleaned up the system of rampant fraud that had kept opposition candidates from winning office. Meanwhile, journalists using freedom of information requests made citizens more aware of corruption. López Obrador rode a wave of disgust with graft to an overwhelming victory in 2018.

Critics note that López Obrador's government has not always distinguished itself in transparency. In 2019, his first full year in office, there were 46 percent more appeals to the INAI by citizens who had been denied information by bureaucrats than in the previous year.

López Obrador has proposed a leaner, faster freedom of information system in which he says the government would respond to requests within 72 hours. Whether he can succeed in dismantling the current structure is unclear.

The freedom of information system was enshrined in the constitution in 2013 as an autonomous body. To amend the constitution, López Obrador would have to battle the opposition — not only in the National Congress, but in every state legislature.

Rock said the president had the political conviction to push for the change. "But he also has the political savvy to realize it could wind up as a disaster for him and his party," he said.

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## DIGEST

## RUSSIA

## Navalny backers join in 'flashlight' protests

Supporters of imprisoned Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny came out to residential courtyards and shined their cellphone flashlights Sunday in a display of unity, despite efforts by Russian authorities to extinguish the illuminated protests.

Navalny's team sent photos of small groups with lit-up cellphones in cities from Siberia to the Moscow region. It was unclear how many people participated overall.

No arrests were immediately reported.

When Navalny's team first urged people to take part in the cellphone protests, many responded with jokes and skepticism. After two weekends of nationwide demonstrations, the new protest format looked to some like a retreat.

Yet Russian officials spent days trying to blacken the protests. Officials accused Navalny's allies of acting on NATO's instructions. Kremlin-backed television channels warned that flashlight rallies were part of major uprisings around the world. State news agencies cited unnamed sources as saying that a terrorist group was plotting attacks during unapproved mass protests.



HIRONORI ASAKAWA/KYODO NEWS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**A landslide caused by an earthquake** covers a road Sunday in Fukushima, Japan. The 7.3-magnitude quake is believed to be an aftershock of the 2011 disaster that triggered a tsunami, Kyodo News reported.

The suppression attempts represent a change of tactics for Russian authorities, who used to ignore Navalny.

"Navalny went from a person whose name is not allowed to be mentioned to the main subject of discussion" on state TV, said

Maria Pevchikh, head of investigations at Navalny's Anti-Corruption Foundation.

Pevchikh credited Navalny's latest exposé for the sudden surge in attention. His foundation's two-hour video alleging that a lavish palace on

the Black Sea was built for President Vladimir Putin through corruption has been watched more than 111 million times on YouTube since Jan. 19.

The video went up two days after Navalny was arrested upon returning to Russia from

Germany, where he spent five months recovering from a nerve-agent poisoning that he blames on the Kremlin. The Russian government denies involvement. — *Associated Press*

**Japan approves its first coronavirus vaccine for use:**

Japan has formally approved its first coronavirus vaccine and said it would start nationwide inoculations within days, but the campaign would still be months behind the United States and many other countries. Japan's Health Ministry said it had approved the vaccine co-developed and supplied by Pfizer and partner BioNTech. About 20,000 front-line medical workers at hospitals in Japan will get their first shots beginning Wednesday. About 3.7 million other medical workers will be next, followed by elderly people. By June, it is expected that all others in the country will be eligible.

**Lebanon begins coronavirus inoculations:**

Lebanon has administered its first jabs of coronavirus vaccine, with an intensive care unit physician and a 93-year-old comedian becoming the first to receive the Pfizer-BioNTech doses. The inoculation campaign was launched a day after Lebanon received its first batch of the vaccine. Lebanon is in the midst of a surge in coronavirus cases.

It has registered almost 340,000 cases and nearly 4,000 deaths since its first confirmed case last February. After record coronavirus deaths and infections, Lebanon imposed its strictest lockdown yet in early January, with 24-hour curfews and only basic services operating. The lockdown is slowly easing.

**Iran test-fires short-range**

**'smart' missile:** Iran's army has test-fired a sophisticated short-range missile, state media reported. The report by the Islamic Republic News Agency quoted the chief of the army's ground forces as saying that the missile's range was about 185 miles. Iran's army controls short-range missiles, although longer-range ones capable of traveling up to 1,250 miles are controlled by the paramilitary Revolutionary Guard Corps.

**11 killed in rebel raids in**

**Congo, authorities say:** Eleven people were killed in Congo when rebels attacked two military posts in the southeastern mining hub of Lubumbashi, authorities said. Security forces repelled the twin attacks by dozens of armed militants, provincial Interior Minister Moïse Mpanga said in a video statement. Three soldiers, seven rebels and a 10-year-old girl died, he said.

— *From news services*

# Italian vaccine venture raises hopes, ethical questions

BY CHICO HARLAN  
AND STEFANO PITRELLI

CASTEL ROMANO, ITALY — If all goes according to plan, a small biotech company outside Rome will soon be cranking out millions of coronavirus vaccine doses a month. The company has finished an initial, small-scale trial. It has financial backing from the Italian government. It has an underground production facility so new that it smells of fresh paint.

Nothing stands in ReiThera's way except the bedeviling logistics of turning science into medicine.

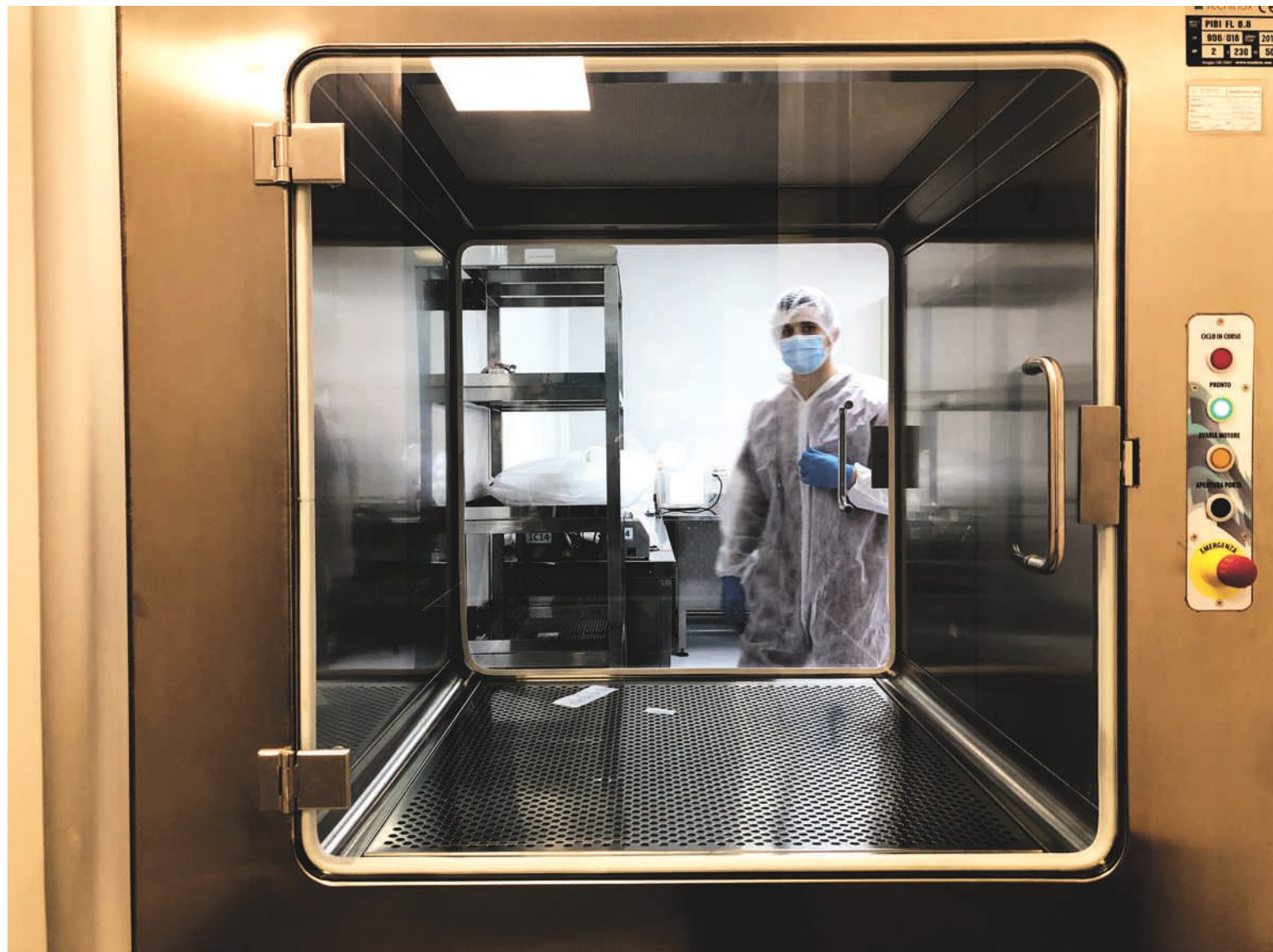
Some of the pitfalls of that process have already shown up in the uneven and slower than expected global vaccine rollout. Even in places like Europe that, on paper, had secured multiple doses for every person, production shortfalls — and questions about the AstraZeneca vaccine's efficacy for the elderly — have caused a panicked realization that the first wave of presumed solutions might not be enough.

But for vaccine manufacturers hoping to plug the gap, the path is at least as tricky as it was for the first-comers. Like its forerunners, ReiThera faces the challenge of quickly scaling up production. But it also faces a series of more novel obstacles, related to this particular point in the pandemic, when larger pharmaceutical companies have claimed dibs on crucial supplies and the existence of effective vaccines raises ethical questions about testing new ones.

For now, even as Italian politicians speak hopefully about having a domestically made vaccine by September, ReiThera acknowledges it is still trying to navigate long waiting lists for several basic components.

"There is a competition between the producers for the critical material," said Stefano Colloca, the company's chief technology officer.

The hurdles are big enough that some Italian scientists say it makes more sense to expand production of proven vaccines rather than investing resources to develop new ones. That idea got a high-profile boost last month when the French pharmaceutical company Sanofi, which had struggled in its own vaccine attempt, said it would instead produce 100 million doses of the vaccine made by its competitor, Pfizer.



CHICO HARLAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**A lab in Castel Romano, Italy, at ReiThera, a biotech company that aims to have a coronavirus vaccine ready by September. The hurdles for the firm are so big that some scientists say it makes more sense to expand production of proven vaccines rather than investing in new ones.**

Other scientists, though, argue that, in the long run, it makes more sense to have many vaccines rather than many doses of a few. The variety is crucial, they say, because it's still far from clear which vaccines will respond well to new variants and which might afford longer protection or block transmission. Some vaccines might outdo others in safeguarding particular demographic groups.

"It's a real palette. You have to think about it as an artist's palette to paint this picture, and this picture is stopping the virus," said Paul Duprex, director of the Center for Vaccine Research at the University of Pittsburgh. "That is why we need to have backups of backups of backups."

The Pfizer-BioNTech and Moderna vaccines, the first two approved in Europe, use a new mRNA-based technology and have proved dazzlingly effective. But that technology makes them more expensive — and more difficult to store — than vector vaccines, which include those from AstraZeneca, Johnson & Johnson and ReiThera.

ReiThera executives say that if their vaccine falls short of expectations, they would in theory be able to produce AstraZeneca's vaccine. But they call that a "Plan B."

"We are still thinking that ours could be better," Colloca said.

The company has a long list of issues to sort out first, however. It says it needs to hire and train 40 more people — a 35 percent expansion of its workforce. In November, it bought a 500-gallon vessel known as a bioreactor, which enables the chemical process for vaccine-making. But Colloca said there is now a months-long wait for even the single-use bags, which hold a starter kit of vaccine liquid, that are inserted into the vessel.

"We have some stockpiled," Colloca said. "But not enough."

ReiThera is even concerned about obtaining glass vials. Fearing a shortage, the company has searched for alternatives and is considering using a medical-grade pouch similar to an IV bag.

Then there's the matter of ramping up production — and the possibility that manufacturing hiccups could cause shortfalls and delivery delays, as happened with AstraZeneca. Colloca said companies like his could learn from others' struggles "only to an extent."

"It's not like AstraZeneca has said, 'Here were our problems,'" Colloca said.



CHICO HARLAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Stefano Colloca, technology chief at ReiThera in Castel Romano on Feb. 4. ReiThera is growing its production and filling area.**

## Health authorities in Guinea declare a new Ebola epidemic

BY DANIELLE PAQUETTE

DAKAR, SENEGAL — Public health officials in Guinea declared a new epidemic of Ebola on Sunday after recording seven cases and three deaths — the first resurgence since the hemorrhagic fever devastated the West African nation and two neighbors from 2014 to 2016.

More than 11,300 people died in the last outbreak, the deadliest on record, which started in a rural Guinea village before tearing through Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Health investigators are rushing to trace and isolate suspected contacts, said Sakoba Keita, head of the National Health Security Agency. The country is building a new Ebola treatment center.

But resources are thin in Guinea, one of the world's poorest countries, which was already battling the coronavirus pandemic on top of yellow fever and measles outbreaks.

"We are facing four epidemics at the same time," Keita said.

The nation of 13 million has recorded 14,895 coronavirus infections and 84 deaths.

An Ebola vaccine rollout is expected to begin as soon as this

week in the southeast region of Nzerekore, Keita said, where the latest outbreak was detected.

Authorities blamed the spread on the Feb. 1 funeral of a nurse.

It's unclear whether Ebola caused her death, Keita said, but seven people who attended the burial later showed the telltale symptoms: diarrhea, vomiting and bleeding.

Three died: one man and two women.

"Faced with this situation and in accordance with international health regulations, the Guinean government declares an Ebola epidemic," Guinea's health ministry said in a statement Sunday.

The government urged anyone with symptoms to contact a doctor. Officials set a goal: containment in six weeks. "Together, we will win!" Remy Lamah, the health minister, said in a statement.

Ebola is spread through contact with bodily fluids. Corpses of those who died of the illness are also infectious.

The World Health Organization called for a swift response to the threat in Guinea.

"It's a huge concern to see the resurgence of Ebola in Guinea, a

country which has already suffered so much from the disease," said Matshidiso Moeti, the WHO's regional director for Africa. "However, banking on the expertise and experience built during the previous outbreak, health teams in Guinea are on the move to quickly trace the path of the virus and curb further infections."

The last outbreak began in the same region. The first case, reported in December 2013, was an 18-month-old boy in a rural village. Doctors believe he was infected by a bat.

The contagion blazed through Conakry, the capital, and into neighboring countries. Officials recorded 28,616 cases in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone before the outbreak was contained.

Also Sunday, Congo confirmed a fourth new case of Ebola in North Kivu, where a flare-up of the virus was reported on Feb. 7. (The outbreaks are not thought to be linked.)

Authorities declared the end of Congo's nearly two-year outbreak in June after more than 2,200 deaths.

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Borso Tall contributed to this report.

Colloca said. "I can imagine. But I don't know. They were not prepared to scale up. Most of the challenge is in scaling up."

Italy's government recently threw its support behind ReiThera's venture, injecting 81 million euros into the company. Domenico Arcuri, who is both the commissioner leading Italy's coronavirus response and the CEO of the Italian government investment arm, called ReiThera an "integral part of the Italian vaccination strategy and campaign."

In a written statement to The Washington Post, Arcuri said he hoped doses could be available to the public "by the summer."

In addition to supplying Italy —

which is now getting doses from Pfizer, Moderna and AstraZeneca — ReiThera says it has also received inquiries from countries in South America and Eastern Europe. In those regions, a European-made vaccine would represent an alternative to options from Russia and China, which have targeted poorer countries, in part as a way to win influence and goodwill.

If there is enough interest from abroad, ReiThera says, it plans to collaborate with a Belgium-based commercial facility, Univercells, to expand production.

ReiThera's vaccine candidate is one of 63 around the world in the midst of clinical trials, according to the World Health Organization.

Before the pandemic, ReiThera was what Colloca called a "solid small company." It was just a few years old, but its top scientists had years of experience making vaccines against emerging diseases, typically using modified adenoviruses from great apes.

The company said the results of its Phase 1 trial, completed this month, were encouraging: The vaccine appeared safe for both young and old, and it stimulated antibodies in more than 90 percent of volunteers.

Still, scientists caution that there are many kinds of antibodies, some that might powerfully fight the coronavirus and others that might not, and a Phase 1 trial does not provide enough information.

In normal situations, a company would eventually subject its candidate to a large-scale trial in which some volunteers would receive the vaccine and others would be given a placebo. But many medical experts say it is becoming murky whether a company can ethically inject people, especially the elderly, with nothing more than saline when efficacious vaccines are already available.

Antonella Folgori, ReiThera's CEO, said there's no doubt that placebo trials are the best way to test a vaccine, but she's not sure ReiThera will be able to conduct one. She said she has obsessively been joining webinars, talking to others in the field, looking for signals on what governments are thinking. So far, Europe's medical body has offered no rules.

There are conceivable alternatives, including the possibility of giving ReiThera's vaccine to all volunteers, then comparing their antibody response to responses triggered by other, proven vaccines. But that comparison cannot be done based on the current level of scientific knowledge; more research must be done to determine which kind of immune response correlates with protection. That could be at least several months away, Folgori said, calling it a "fluid situation."

"There's still a chance that it doesn't work out as we hope," Colloca said. But, he said, "you cannot start this project if you're not an optimist."

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*"I'm all ears. I'll try to be the person you can trust."*

Selene Lam, an 18-year-old volunteer with Teen Line, to one of the hotline's callers



PHOTOS BY ALYSON ALIANO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

#### TEENS FROM A1

## At lifeline for struggling teens, peers keep those in crisis afloat

The pandemic has punished people of all ages, overwhelming parents, isolating grandparents, shortchanging kids. But the emotional fallout for teenagers has been uniquely brutal. At just the age when they are biologically predisposed to seek independence from their families, teens have been trapped at home. Friends — who take on paramount importance during adolescence — are largely out of reach, accessible mostly by social media, which brings its own mix of satisfying and toxic elements.

A June survey by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that a staggering 26 percent of 18- to 24-year-olds reported having serious suicidal thoughts in the past 30 days, compared with 16 percent of 25- to 44-year-olds and less than 4 percent of people ages 45 and older. And mental health visits to emergency rooms by 12- to 17-year-olds increased 31 percent in 2020 compared with the previous year. Other research shows teens have been getting more sleep and feeling less taxed by their formerly frenetic schedules. But the academic pressure cooker hasn't disappeared; it's moved online, where students are forced to manage much of their own time and learning, with less access to teacher assistance. Milestone moments such as graduation and homecoming have been erased. And time moves differently to teenagers; a year is not just a year to a 14-year-old, it's also one-fourteenth of their life, a quarter of their high school experience.

"So much of their social lives and social development revolves around being at school, interacting with people," says Michelle Carlson, executive director of Teen Line, a Los Angeles-based nonprofit. "There's so much social support at school that is not necessarily accessible. So they're having a hard time."

The young volunteers at Teen Line, founded in 1980 to allow teens in crisis to confide in other teens, have a unique view into how teenagers have been surviving the emotional fallout of the pandemic. During the day, those volunteers live out the highs, lows and in-betweens of their own lives in the shadow of the virus and the upheaval it's caused. At night, they field a deluge of calls, texts and emails from peers who are feeling the darkness creep in on them.

Like that 17-year-old who called in November and talked about cutting herself. Angry and confused, desperate for relief.

"I just want to crawl under a rock," she had said. "If I could cut off the whole world, I would."

At the start of the pandemic Teen Line paused operations while staff members figured out how to operate remotely. When they came back online last summer, calls flooded in. Relationship issues were still the most common complaint among teens, but the hotline has seen a marked increase in teenagers grappling with self-harm, suicidal thoughts and child abuse. They're fighting with their parents, sick of their siblings and missing once-reliable emotional outlets, such as venting to friends between classes.

America's teens were struggling before the pandemic. Suicides among young people rose 57 percent between 2007 and 2018. And the National Institutes of Health estimates that a third of all U.S. teens will experience an anxiety disorder during their youth. Many psychologists point to the rise in smartphones and social media use as a major factor contributing to teenage despair, amplifying social drama and compelling teens to constantly compare themselves to peers.

Now, as a result of the pandemic, adolescent psychologists are reporting a dramatic influx in therapy inquiries and wait lists for inpatient psychiatric wards across the country. "They're trying to navigate this huge change — a huge change in their social lives, a huge change in their home lives and a change in their academics. They're trying to understand what their futures will be like and that is throwing many teens in crisis," says Colby Tyson, associate medical director of inpatient psychiatric services at Children's National Hospital in Washington. "We are looking at a significant mental health burden. We're all trying to kind of figure out how to take care of our kids."

Meanwhile some of the kids have been trying to figure out how to take care of one another.

Before the pandemic, Teen Line's volunteers would gather in a room at Cedars-Sinai Hospital for each shift. Now, they log on to Zoom from their bedrooms, surrounded by unfinished homework assign-

ments and tattered stuffed animals, waiting to be assigned calls, texts and emails by the trained therapists who oversee the program.

Abi Raderman, 18, started volunteering in June 2019. She had struggled with her own mental health for as long as she can remember, coping with anxiety, depression and panic attacks. None of it was easy, but it taught her a lot about the human condition. An older cousin had once volunteered with Teen Line, and to Raderman that seemed like a good way to put her hard-won knowledge to use.

"If I'm running in this world, I might as well, like, do some good with it," Raderman says from her bedroom in the Sherman Oaks neighborhood of Los Angeles. She raced through the more than

100 hours of training required to field calls, role-playing scenarios with hotline staff members pretending to be teens in the midst of breakdowns and breakdowns.

When her training was complete, Raderman, who hopes to become a clinical psychologist some day, volunteered for as many Teen Line shifts as she could get.

"It's so empowering after every shift to know that for that night I was there for someone," she says. "I helped someone who didn't feel heard to be heard."

When the coronavirus first arrived, last March, quarantining at home had been a boon for Raderman, an introvert who craves alone time. "I always have, like, a little trouble with the physical aspect of school," she says. "Just, like, going every

day and being surrounded by so many people. I get very easily overwhelmed." But her relief ebbed as the weeks ticked on, and her dark thoughts multiplied.

"I spent most of that time in my room completely isolated from everyone and everything," she says. When she wasn't doing virtual school she spent endless hours scrolling through her phone, disconnected from her friends and extended family. "I was really struggling, and I wasn't able to get the type of treatment I needed because everything was locked down. So things kept getting worse."

In early April, Raderman was referred to an inpatient psychiatric facility for anxiety and depression, but she had to wait three weeks for a bed. Her five weeks of treatment were a godsend, she says. It gave her a break from social media and a supportive environment "where I felt safe to work through things."

The time at the facility helped put Raderman in a good enough place to enjoy her summer and enter her senior year feeling optimistic. But Raderman knows the shadows lurk — for her, and for the young people who make anonymous calls to Teen Line.

That Friday night in November, Raderman's first call was from a 17-year-old who had just caught his girlfriend cheating. He was calling from outside her house.

Raderman hadn't dealt with a situation quite like this before, but after talking for 10 minutes she was able to persuade the caller to drive home and calm down before confronting his girlfriend.

She heard his engine shut off, then the line went dead.

Most of the teens who called or texted were communicating the same message, in one way or another:

*I feel so alone.*

The pandemic had stolen so much, including the thing they wanted most: time with one another.

On the first Tuesday in December, the texts to Teen Line stacked up faster than the six volunteers on duty

could answer them.

*My school had recently switched online due to covid and now i'm having way more assignments and work to do and my mom signed me up for an online sat prep course that's super intense AND i'm on my schools speech and debate team and our tournament is this weekend and i'm really nervous and scared for it*

Teen Line volunteer Jonathan Gelfond, 16, has seen dozens of texts like that since March. He can imagine writing a text like that himself in a moment of panic.

Navigating school while schools navigate the pandemic has been stressful. To Gelfond, who goes to class online for the first half of each day and then does hours of homework in the afternoons and evenings, it's felt as if the workload has increased while support has bottomed out. "The whole routine that we were used to — going to in-person class, having the chance to talk to your teacher after class — that whole system has been completely changed," he says.

School systems are reporting alarming numbers of students falling behind. And between February and June of 2020 the share of U.S. youths who were neither in school nor employed more than doubled, according to the Pew Research Center. They are disconnected from fundamental structures of society, a fissure that can have long-term emotional and economic ramifications.

But even the teens who are still enrolled, logged on from home, are feeling disconnected.

"I have had kids begging and wishing to go back to school, which is not typical," says Tyson, of Children's National Hospital. Teenagers crave structure and socialization, she says; schools offer both. And they can be refugees for LGBTQ kids who don't have family support and for kids whose home lives are marked by abuse.

Gelfond, the Teen Line volunteer, knows how lucky he is. His parents both have jobs. He gets along with his older brother, who should be off at college but is studying at home. Still, pandemic life has been rough. Gelfond is a procrastinator, a tendency that virtual school has exacerbated.

"Being at a computer for four hours a day, then taking a break and then going to do homework on a computer for another three to four hours has been really difficult," he says. "I'm not as organized doing it from home."

Life's normal hardships, only made more difficult by the pan-



Selene Lam, top, and Jonathan Gelfond, above, are Teen Line volunteers. Lam is waiting on college acceptances, and Gelfond hopes to attend school in person next year.

demic. Gelfond's 90-year-old grandmother was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer in September. The family couldn't be with her when she entered hospice care after Thanksgiving. "It was hard not to be able to give my grandfather a hug when he needed it most," Gelfond said, a day after his grandmother's funeral.

"You can't be there in the same ways that you were in the past," he says. "It's difficult, having those restrictions that limit our ability to support one another."

**A**nother incoming text: *Well, before the whole quarantine happened I was doing really good and I was happy and thriving. After about 5 months I was friend dumped by my 2 best friends and I've felt more sad and idk maybe a little depressed. I just need to talk to someone because lately I've been feeling more alone than usual.*

Friend drama has always been the bane of teen and tween girl existence. Social media allowed the drama to play out publicly, with pictures. Then the pandemic exiled almost all of teenage social life to that online fishbowl.

Lily Kramon, 16, just sighs when she starts to think about it. Kramon, a high school sophomore, has been volunteering at Teen Line since last February. She's been on Instagram since seventh grade, Snapchat since eighth. Like many teens, she knows social media is a double-edged sword — one that seemed to become both more indispensable and more injurious during the pandemic.

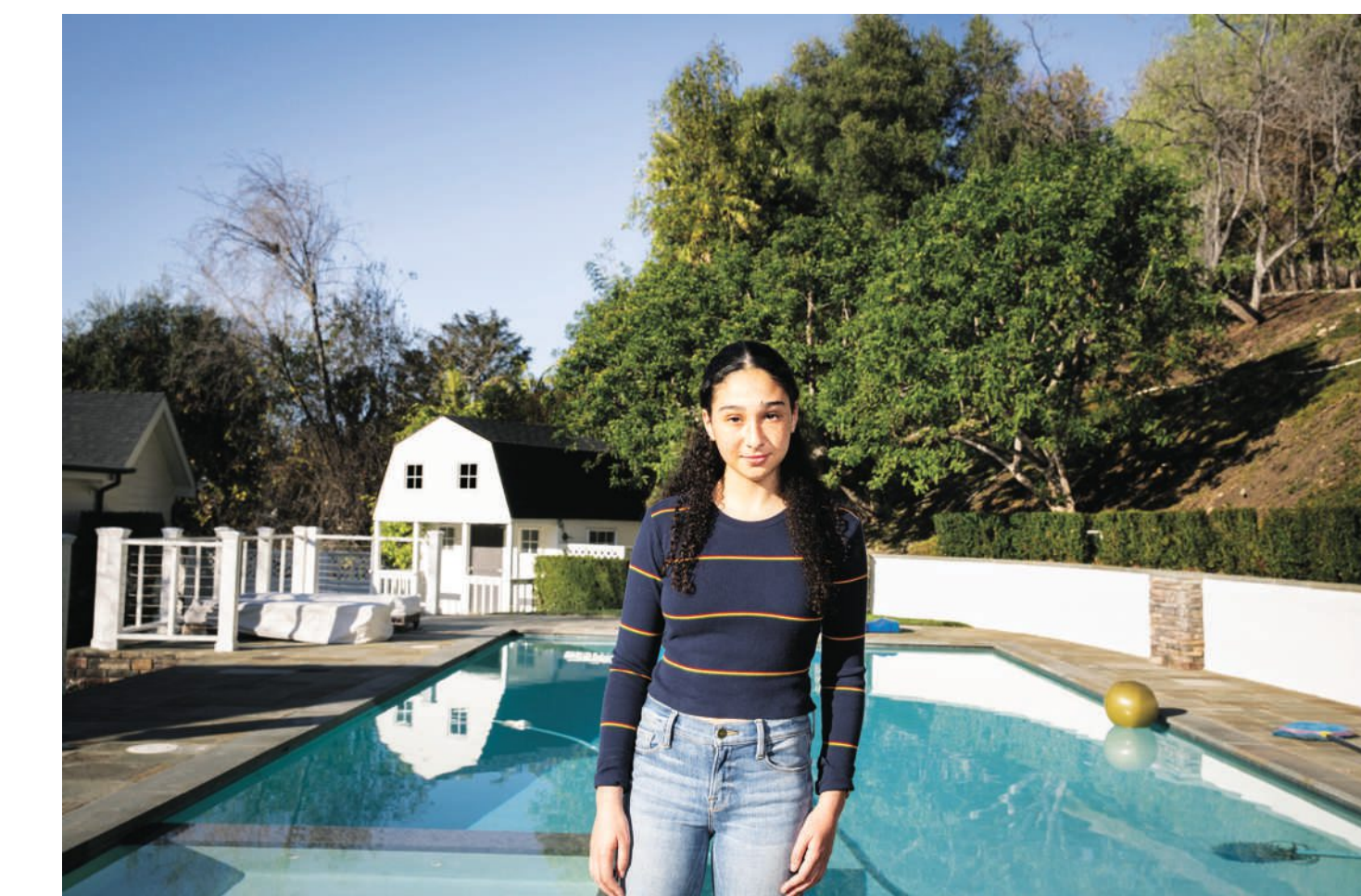
Even before coronavirus, the apps could cause her angst. "It's so easy to start just, like, over-analyzing your friend group. Like, 'Is that person really my friend?'" she says. "And social media is now a way for you to see when your friends are hanging out without you."

Kramon is a gregarious, social-butterfly type — "very much a hugger," she says. She's been disappointed by some friends' lack of effort to connect during the pandemic, and wrecked by photographic evidence that other friends have gotten together without inviting her. Because of the pandemic, in-person meet-ups are more exclusive these days, and that only makes an invite more coveted.

That hasn't been enough to drive Kramon away from her phone. Sometimes she's on two screens at once — learning virtually and scrolling simultaneously.

"When you get bored, like, it's so easy just to go on your phone," she says. "There's nobody there to tell you not to."

Quitting social media doesn't feel like a viable option: Some of her friends communicate exclusively through the apps. They don't even bother with texting anymore. More than ever, the little screen is where things are happening. But it's also a black hole. The constant scrolling has made Kramon more insecure. "I find myself comparing myself to influencers and other people



who I follow. And it becomes a huge thing about confidence," she says. "It's a little bit of a competition. While I'm on social media it's like, let me look at Charli D'Amelio. And then I'm like 'Oh, my God, look at her body.'"

Psychologists have noted a rise in eating disorders among teenagers over the course of the pandemic. At Children's Hospital, in Washington, doctors are normally treating five or six eating-disorder patients on any given day. But for the past six months they've been seeing twice that number, many of them in much worse shape, having lost up to 40 pounds by the time they are admitted.

Therapists suspect the jump is due in part to the increased exposure to filtered, Photoshopped pictures of people on social media and the decreased exposure to real human bodies as they actually appear. The pandemic didn't create this source of anxiety in teens, but it might be making it more relentless.

"When you're in school it's a different kind of attitude," says Kramon, "because you really see the truth of everyone's different bodies and are more accepting of each other."

Volunteering for Teen Line has helped Kramon stay hopeful while she waits for vaccines to accelerate a return to normal life. Some of the calls have been hard. Late last year she talked to a boy who in the past year had an aunt and uncle die in a car accident, a cousin commit suicide, a grandmother die of covid-19, and both parents become severely ill with the illness.

"I can't understand what you're going through, but I want to," she remembers telling him. The caller talked for almost a

half-hour and told Kramon at the end that he felt a little better for having told his story.

That's one thing Kramon appreciates, even on the most painful calls. Every time she talks to a caller the connection feels real, even if it's with someone she'll never speak to again. There's no

posing or putting up a front. Those moments, at least, are unfiltered.

**"I**m having trouble trusting people," a 16-year-old caller said on a Friday night in December. She'd been in conflict with her par-

ents, who thought she was lying about a boy she had been dating. Under pressure, some of the teen's friends had given up her secrets.

"Now I don't even know who to talk to."

"I'm all ears," said Selene Lam. "I'll try to be the person you can trust."

Lam, 18, sat in her bedroom, wire-framed glasses on, sweatshirt hood pulled up around her head, bed unmade. The specifics of this call were unique, but the theme was a common refrain. Families — ugh.

"If you're spending every day in the house with your family, it's kind of hard not to be driven crazy by your parents," says Lam, a senior at a Los Angeles charter school. "So a lot of teens have called and texted about family intruding on their personal space."

Unlike some of the kids she talks to at Teen Line, Lam feels like the pandemic has improved her relationships with her family, especially her mom. "We didn't have, like, the strongest connection before the pandemic just because we've both been so busy with our own stuff," Lam says. But over the last nine months, "I got to spend more time with her."

School, too, has felt easier as a result of the pandemic. Lam says she's always been academically driven, but has been able to let up on herself a bit this year. And to Lam, being out of the typical school environment has felt freeing.

"I got more confident over the pandemic," she says. "Talking behind a screen is so much easier than talking in front of the public, speaking in front of an entire class. I'm more willing to speak out my opinions."

Lately, Lam has begun putting Post-it notes on the wall above her desk. Some of them contain chemical formulas she's memorizing for AP chemistry. ("Sulfuric Acid, H<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>4</sub>.") The rest are lists of things Lam is grateful for. "Spotify wraps." "Oat milk." "Mom folding clothes."

Lam immigrated to the U.S. from Hong Kong at age 14, and spent her first few years here trying to memorize Taylor Swift songs, lose her accent and assimilate. The time away from school has given her an opportunity to think more about who she wants to be, not just who she's supposed to be.

Recently, Spotify showed Lam a list of her 100 most-played songs of the year. They were all in English. "I realized I don't have any of my Chinese songs that I grew up on," she says. So she started adding some of her old Cantonese favorites back to the mix.

The pandemic hasn't been universally bad for teens. Therapists who work with adolescents say that for many of their clients, the shutdowns, especially early last spring, felt like a release valve to their pressure-packed lives. For teenagers predisposed to depression and anxiety, "a lot of alone time with your depressive thoughts is not great," says Nicole McGarry, a Northern Virginia therapist who works with a lot of young people. At the same time, she says, "Some of my clients had a really profound experience of solitude. It was sort of like they were on detox."

Lam has had a better time than many others. But her time as a volunteer for Teen Line has given her a glimpse of how hard the pandemic has hit some of her peers.

"I've gotten more anxiety this year because everything is crazy," Lam's Friday-night caller told her. "I cry every day because life sucks right now."

The caller couldn't see it, but Lam nodded slightly while she listened. They talked for almost 30 minutes before Lam pointed the caller to websites where she could find information on healthy coping mechanisms, such as deep breathing and journaling, and organizations that could help her find a therapist.

"I really hope that you can do what's best for you," Lam said before they hung up. "And I hope you have a good night."

Hope is important, and the Teen Line volunteers are trying to keep a firm grip on it. Lam is hoping for a slew of college acceptances come spring. Raderman is hoping to get her driver's license soon. Gelfond is hoping his senior year of high school will take place inside a school building. Kramon is hoping to hug her friends again, before too long.

But their biggest hope, for themselves and for the kids who call in, is that some day soon they'll all feel a little less alone.

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PHOTOS BY ALYSON ALIANO FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Teen Line volunteers Lily Kramon, top, and Abi Raderman, above, have grappled with their own mental well-being during the pandemic as they help their peers.

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## CAPITAL BUSINESS

# Microsoft's JEDI contract faces new obstacles

Pentagon may move forward without the cloud-computing deal

BY AARON GREGG

The Pentagon is preparing for the possibility that it will have to move on without the long-fought JEDI cloud-computing contract, as an impending court decision threatens to leave the embattled procurement even more bogged down in litigation than it already is.

The weight of two long-running lawsuits has the Defense Department openly questioning whether JEDI will still be worth the trouble if the court seeks to depose former president Donald Trump and other former officials. The success of some of the Pentagon's other, quieter cloud initiatives is lending new weight to the idea that JEDI's one-cloud-to-rule-them-all strategy might not be necessary in the first place.

One senior defense official told The Washington Post that he thinks the department's enterprise cloud should draw from more than one tech company, breaking not only with past statements from the Pentagon but also with a central aspect of how JEDI was designed.

"If I were to make a decision today to create an enterprise cloud, I would totally think of having a multi-cloud approach. For reasons of diversity, avoiding lock-in," said Nic Chaillan, a former entrepreneur who is the Air Force's chief software officer.

In a statement, the Pentagon's acting chief information officer, John Sherman, said his team still wants to move forward with JEDI but is also looking for other ways to meet the military's needs.

"The Department is fully committed to meeting our warfighters' urgent and unmet cloud requirements — we hope through JEDI Cloud — but other elements of DoD's Cloud Strategy requirements, such as cloud-based storage and cloud-enabled software development, are still moving forward," Sherman said.

JEDI, which stands for Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure, was conceived in 2017 as part of a broader set of technology investments meant to help the United States win an artificial intelligence arms race with China.

It is meant to create a cloud-based central operating system for the U.S. armed forces that will bring new technologies to the battlefield, as well as provide new ways to protect and share classified intelligence. It is worth as much as \$10 billion over 10 years. Amazon Web Services, Microsoft, Oracle and IBM submitted proposals. (Amazon founder and chief executive Jeff Bezos owns The Washington Post.)

An Amazon representative declined to comment for this story. Rick Wagner, corporate vice president in charge of Microsoft's federal business, said JEDI should move forward along with other cloud initiatives.

"We won the JEDI contract twice and think concluding the litigation and moving forward is the fastest way to get our troops the technology they deserve," Wagner said. "We're committed to building on our 40-year relationship with DoD both by working on JEDI and by working on numerous other existing partnerships through which we support every branch of the U.S. military."

Defense officials hoped to get started with JEDI in 2019 but have been repeatedly stymied by lawsuits. The Pentagon's insis-



LUCY NICHOLSON/REUTERS

**The JEDI contract has been wrapped up in litigation for so long that the military could move on without it. JEDI was conceived in 2017 as part of a broader set of technology investments.**

tence that the award be limited to one company made the project a lightning rod for bid protests from the start. Trump's actions cast doubt on the procurement at a critical moment, playing into the latest of several bid protests.

It has become increasingly obvious to many in Washington that endless litigation may have already doomed JEDI.

The first major delay came from a bid protest first filed in 2018 by database giant Oracle, which claimed that a web of unsavory relationships unfairly wired the award in Amazon's favor. Those allegations were struck down, but the lawsuit delayed the award by several months.

Then, after the Defense Department awarded JEDI to Microsoft the first time in October 2019, Amazon became the protester. It accused Trump of acting on a long-standing grudge against Amazon founder Bezos. Amazon has sought to depose Trump, former defense secretary Jim Mattis and other former officials in the lawsuit. Microsoft and

the Defense Department asked to dismiss those allegations.

The Defense Department has spent millions of dollars attempting to push JEDI through its procurement pipeline. In a Nov. 18 letter to the office of Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), the Defense Department said JEDI had already cost taxpayers about \$5.3 million, not including attorneys' fees.

Amazon, Microsoft and the Defense Department are now waiting for Patricia Campbell-Smith, a federal judge with extensive experience in government procurement matters, to decide whether the allegations involving Trump can move forward. Oracle is still pressing its case in parallel.

The Defense Department, in a Jan. 28 memo to Congress that was distributed widely to reporters, seemed to imply that conducting depositions would hopelessly delay the project to the point that it is no longer worth pursuing.

Deposing former officials including Trump and Mattis "will be complex and elongate the timeline significantly," the Defense Department wrote. "The prospect of such a lengthy litigation process might bring the future of the JEDI Cloud procurement into question. Under this scenario, the DoD [chief information officer] would reassess the strategy going forward."

The department argued in the same memo that it "continues to have an urgent unmet requirement" and pledged to "ensure it is met one way or another."

Some interpreted the Pentagon's statement as a sort of threat.

"The government is making a not-so-thinly-veiled threat that it may well choose to jettison all or part of the procurement if it is forced to participate in the depositions of former president Trump and other top DoD offi-

cials," said Franklin Turner, a government contracts attorney with the law firm McCarter & English. Turner is not affiliated with the litigation.

Turner said the Biden administration could add an extra wrinkle to JEDI's already complicated path. Dana Deasy left the job as the Pentagon's chief information officer last month after shepherding JEDI for about two years. He was succeeded by acting CIO Sherman, who most recently served as the CIO responsible for the 17 agencies that make up the intelligence community.

As intelligence community CIO, Sherman oversaw the CIA's new cloud program, called C2E. That contract, which procurement documents describe as being worth tens of billions of dollars, took a decidedly different strategy than JEDI: It was awarded to five cloud providers.

It's possible that after confronting JEDI's legal woes, the Biden administration will conclude JEDI is more trouble than it is worth.

"This procurement has been under a national litigation microscope since Day 1, and we have a new sheriff in town in the form of the Biden administration," Turner said. "While it would be unusual, it is entirely possible that the government decides to go back to the drawing board on this one."

Throughout the litigation, military agencies have pressed on with other cloud initiatives of their own.

There are 13 other large cloud initiatives operating across the Defense Department. Although none of them have the departmentwide reach that JEDI would command, some of them are taking on tasks that would have been powered by JEDI if not for a court order.

One is Cloud One, an Air Force program that uses Microsoft and Amazon products. The Air Force

has lent it to the other services for certain projects, officials say. It is also being used, in place of JEDI, by the military's Joint Artificial Intelligence Center.

It has been used to implement a system called Kubernetes, originally developed by Google, that allows AI algorithms to be "containerized," so they can be applied to military systems in an isolated format.

It has also enabled an aircraft development process known as digital twinning, in which experimental jets and missiles are designed in a virtual format before physical prototypes are created. That technique has been applied to aspects of the Boeing-developed T-7 Red Hawk training aircraft, as well as the Air Force's new ballistic missile.

The Pentagon has always said its overall approach to cloud computing should rely on more than one provider. But, in a major break from the past, at least one high-level official is openly advocating that the enterprise cloud should also tap more than one provider.

In a recent interview, Chaillan said he would like to see the Defense Department go to multiple providers not only for its broader strategy, but also for its enterprise cloud contract. That would mean starting over with something other than JEDI.

"The concern right now is that really we only have one classified top-secret cloud, and it's Amazon," Chaillan said in an interview. (Amazon is the only company certified to handle top-secret data. Microsoft is approved to work one level below that, at the "secret" level, and is seeking the necessary accreditation for top-secret.)

Echoing long-standing concerns aired by JEDI's critics, Chaillan said: "It's just never good to be in any type of monopoly situation, for whatever reason, whether it's because the companies can decide one day [they] do not want to do business with DoD anymore, or it could be for strategic reasons in terms of a foreign state potentially attacking those locations and effectively shutting off these clouds because of the lack of diversity in locations, in physical locations."

Chaillan, a senior official overseeing the Air Force's cloud technology, does not administer JEDI. He joined the Defense Department in 2018 through a program meant to bring in outside tech talent, typically for terms that last five years or less. He is referred to as the Air Force's "senior software czar" on the service's website.

He added that it made sense to structure JEDI as a single-cloud solution three years ago. But the department has changed, and so has the technology.

"We think it's easier to have a single cloud, but it's not," Chaillan said. "The long-term impact of that monopoly and vendor lock-in aspect ... [means] it's going to be very difficult to move off of one cloud."

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### APPOINTMENTS

#### COMPANIES

**Middleburg Communities** of Vienna appointed **Stephen Burch** chief accounting officer.

**Valuation Services** of Arlington appointed **CJ Stephanson** and **Jacob Meredith** managers and **Bryan Weedman** senior associate.

**Yes& of Alexandria** appointed **Blanche Mitchell** vice president for compliance, **Seth Levin** vice president for account services and **Stacey DeOrzio** vice president for account services.

#### LAW AND LOBBYING

**Barnes & Thornburg** of the District appointed **Robyn Maguire** partner.

**Berkeley Research Group** of the District appointed **Matthew Tanner** and **Vir Chahal**

managing directors in the firm's energy and climate practice.

**Brunswick Group** of the District appointed **Don Baer** senior partner.

**Cozen O'Connor Public Strategies** of the District appointed **Tristan Breaux** principal.

**Faegre Drinker** of the District appointed **Dylan Carson** partner in the firm's antitrust practice.

**Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher** of the District appointed **Elizabeth Ising** and **Michael Murphy** co-leaders of the firm's new ESG practice, along with other lawyers from the firm's London, Dallas and Los Angeles offices.

**Holland & Knight** of the District appointed **Kevin Turner** partner.

**Jenner & Block** of the District appointed **Mark Davis**, **Alex Hadjis** and **Ron Pabis** partners.

**Kilpatrick Townsend** of the District appointed **Aarti Shah** partner in the firm's intellectual property department.

**Morrison & Foerster** of the District appointed **Andrea Delisi** counsel.

**Ropes & Gray** of the District appointed **Philip Hoffmann** senior attorney.

**ZemiTek** of Bethesda appointed **Luke Knittig** as Washington-based external relations lead for USAID's Power Africa.

Send information about promotions, appointments and personnel moves in the Washington region to [appointments@washpost.com](mailto:appointments@washpost.com).

#### TRANSACTIONS

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

Company	Insider	Title	Date	Action	Shares	Price	Now holds
2U	James Kenigsberg	Chief technology officer	Feb. 4	Sold	41,042	47	129,671
	Peter J. Clare	Officer and director	Feb. 1	Sold	60,829	32.06	5,183,385
	Kewson Lee	Chief executive	Feb. 1	Sold	123,532	32.06	2,956,160
Federal Agricultural Mortgage Liquidity Services	Zions Bancorporation	Beneficial owner	Feb. 2 to Feb. 4	Sold	30,000	75.86 to 77.71	195,000
	John Daunt	Officer	Feb. 5 to Feb. 9	Sold	35,000	17.47 to 17.50	76,571
	Nicholas Rozdilsky	Officer	Feb. 8	Sold	5,297	17.79	31,741
	Mark Andrew Shaffer	Officer	Feb. 5	Sold	20,000	17.19	92,250
	Mary D. Petryszyn	Officer	Feb. 4	Sold	968	302.93	6,539
Northrop Grumman NVR	Eugene James Bredow	President	Feb. 1	Sold	1,000	4,520	979
	Matthew B. Kelpy	Officer	Feb. 1	Sold	463	4,500	145
	Paul W. Praylo	Chief operating officer	Feb. 1	Sold	127	4,502.27	302
Walker & Dunlop	Howard W. Smith III	President	Feb. 1	Sold	8,435	83.13	445,573

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# DHS pivots to address terrorism threats from within U.S.

EXTREMISM FROM AI

majority of our employees in that area, was very personal for us, and it galvanized an effort that was already underway," McAleenan said.

For years leading up to El Paso, the Department of Homeland Security — created to prevent another 9/11 — had been under growing pressure to do more to address domestic extremism. Within seven weeks of the El Paso massacre, McAleenan released a plan for "countering terrorism and targeted violence" that amounted to a road map for the department's pivot from foreign threats to homegrown ones. It was the first time DHS had identified the extent of the danger posed by domestic violent extremists and white supremacists.

The plan got little attention or support from the White House, and even though DHS began speaking more directly about domestic threats, the effort made little difference on Jan. 6, when the department was one of several federal agencies caught flat-footed. Since that day's attack on the U.S. Capitol, calls have intensified for DHS to emphatically turn its attention inward and do more to protect Americans from other Americans.

The attack has left many lawmakers, and especially Democrats, insisting that domestic terrorism has eclipsed the threat from foreign actors such as the Islamic State and al-Qaeda. DHS and its agencies are responsible for securing the country's borders, ports, transportation and cyber systems, generally leaving the monitoring of extremist groups and terrorism investigations to the FBI. But DHS and its agencies have nearly eight times as many employees as the FBI, and calls for the department to play a more muscular role in combating domestic extremism have policymakers looking at new ways to enlist its resources.

The proposals have revived some of the civil liberties concerns that arose after the creation of the department as a large, internal security bureaucracy with a broad mandate. And the possibility of the department scrutinizing Americans has added to the unease because providing homeland security is less controversial when the threats are foreign.

DHS used its National Terrorism Advisory System to warn the public about attacks by domestic groups for the first time last month, citing "a heightened threat environment across the United States" in a bulletin issued a week after President Biden's inauguration.

"Ideologically-motivated violent extremists with objections to the exercise of governmental authority and the presidential transition, as well as other perceived grievances fueled by false narratives, could continue to mobilize to incite or commit violence," the warning stated.

Rep. Bennie Thompson (D-Miss.), chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee, has long insisted DHS should protect Americans from the gravest dangers they face, and he said that domestic extremists and white supremacists present the most urgent, lethal threat.

"A lot of them mask themselves under some guise of being patriots or some form of citizen, but the question is, what do they advocate? It's violence. It's overthrowing legitimately elected officials," Thompson said in an interview.

"So in my mind, those types of individuals who want to exercise violence to bring change, they are domestic terrorists, and we have the obligation to identify who they are and prosecute them to the fullest extent of the law."

During a hearing Thompson held earlier this month, lawmakers of both parties spoke favorably of new legislation to specifically address domestic terrorism, as experts warned the attack on the Capitol was viewed as a "victory" for extremists and a "watershed moment for the white-supremacist movement."

Rep. Michael McCaul (R-Tex.), the committee's former chairman, joined lawmakers calling for specific federal sanctions for domestic terrorism, potentially applying the same penalties as those that exist for terrorism that originates overseas. Such legislation could include penalties for providing material support to domestic groups and laws holding technology companies responsible for violent and extremist content on their platforms.

"I think it sends a strong message about where Congress is that we're going to treat domestic terrorism on an equal plane as international terrorism," McCaul said.

## Preventive work

Contrary to some television



portrayals, DHS does not have a standing contingent of armed homeland security agents with a specific mandate to stop domestic terrorism. But it has agencies and programs that could expand to devote more attention and resources to risks posed by homegrown extremists.

DHS's Office of Intelligence and Analysis collects information from the FBI, private contractors and state and local law enforcement agencies to organize and disseminate threat reports. Its employees and contractors generally lack the training and experience of FBI investigators, and they rely on open-source material.

The office failed to generate a specific warning about the possibility of right-wing groups storming the Capitol in an attempt to keep President Donald Trump in power.

Homeland Security Investigations, a branch of U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, has about 6,000 agents nationwide who investigate drug smuggling, human trafficking and illicit goods or currency. HSI has not focused on countering domestic extremism, but it is an armed component of DHS that, in theory, could have a more hands-on role stopping homegrown terrorists and white supremacists.

DHS's most tangible institutional response is the Office for Targeted Violence and Terrorism Prevention, founded in 2019 to address "a growing threat from domestic actors — such as racially and ethnically motivated violent extremists, including white supremacist violent extremists, anti-government and anti-authority violent extremists, and others."

Its work is primarily preventive, not investigative, providing grants to state and local law enforcement programs and issuing threat briefings and assessments. The office remains relatively small, with a staff of about 30, but it is expected to grow in the coming years with more congressional funding.

"In the post-9/11 world, the threat was foreign terrorism," Tom Ridge, the first DHS secretary, said in an interview. "The CIA and the military were the tip of the spear, and we filled the defensive gap. But now there's another adjective in front of terrorism: domestic terrorism."

The well-known failure of law enforcement and security agencies to properly share information ahead of the 9/11 attack was a justification for the creation of DHS, Ridge noted. So an immediate challenge for DHS will be coordination among multiple federal agencies that collect and share information on domestic groups, he said.

Much of it arrives through state and local law enforcement agencies, and DHS's biggest asset, Ridge said, "is its relationships with state and local authorities."

Yet Ridge cautioned against DHS turning its attention away from foreign threats and other priorities. "What people don't understand — and people need to understand — is that DHS has so many other tasks embedded in its



TOP: The Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol led to calls by lawmakers for federal action to prevent domestic terrorism. ABOVE: A memorial outside the El Paso Walmart in 2019 where a gunman killed 23 people in the worst attack on Hispanic Americans in modern U.S. history.

PHOTOS BY MICHAEL ROBINSON CHAVEZ/THE WASHINGTON POST

mission," he said. "It's a multitask organization, and DHS has to be careful moving in that direction because I still don't think it's their primary job."

Another risk is partisanship and the perception that DHS will be used to stigmatize or harass groups that don't support the party in power.

In September, the former head of DHS's Intelligence and Analysis Office, Brian Murphy, filed a whistleblower complaint that included allegations that senior DHS officials sought to play down warnings of the threat posed by white supremacists, while giving more prominence to left-wing antifascists and anarchists. Murphy told his supervisors it would constitute "censorship of analysis and the improper administration of an intelligence program," according to his account.

His claims remain under investigation with DHS's inspector general. Other former DHS officials, including some who are critical of Trump, insist the department did not water down the threats of right-wing and white-supremacist groups. They point to new DHS programs and strong language in recent reports clearly identifying the threat posed by domestic extremists.

McAleenan, the former acting DHS secretary, also noted a major increase in FBI investigations of domestic extremists and white supremacists in recent years.

"What was missing was a whole-of-government approach and an emphasis from the White House that it was a priority," McAleenan said.

McAleenan had taken over DHS after Trump soured on Kirstjen Nielsen and removed her in April 2019. Nielsen directed her staff to develop plans for countering targeted violence and domestic hate groups, particularly after the 2017 mass shooting in Las Vegas and the 2018 attack on the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh.

Then came El Paso. "We've been tracking domestic terrorist threats and increased threats from white supremacists, but El Paso brought it home in a visceral way," McAleenan said in an interview.

The gunman posted a missive before the Walmart rampage espousing racist theories of demographic replacement that echoed Trump's statements about an immigrant "invasion."

"El Paso made it clear we need-

*"What was missing was a whole-of-government approach and an emphasis from the White House that it was a priority."*

**Kevin McAleenan**, former acting DHS secretary, noting an increase in FBI probes of white supremacists and other domestic extremists

ed a reorientation of DHS towards the current threat, both with respect to white supremacy but also domestic extremism more broadly," said Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, a counterterrorism consultant who worked with McAleenan to come up with the road map for DHS's expanded role countering targeted violence and terrorism.

An effort by a DHS analyst in 2009 to identify white supremacists and other extremist groups as a growing threat had fallen apart amid a backlash from Republicans who viewed it in partisan terms. The chilling effect lingered for years and discouraged analysts from devoting time and resources to domestic threats that lacked a link to foreign groups.

The Strategic Framework after El Paso was a "green light" from

DHS leadership, Gartenstein-Ross said, signaling that hateful, racist and violent Americans were an urgent threat and a priority for the department.

## A persistent threat

In October, DHS identified violent extremism in the United States as the leading domestic terrorism danger, noting that white supremacists were responsible for more killings in 2018 and 2019 than any other type of attacker.

"The primary terrorist threat inside the United States will stem from lone offenders and small cells of individuals," said the department's first Homeland Threat Assessment. "Some U.S.-based violent extremists have capitalized on increased social and political tensions in 2020, which will drive an elevated threat environment at least through early 2021."

The coronavirus pandemic was making matters worse, the report noted, by creating an environment that could "accelerate some individuals' mobilization to targeted violence or radicalization to terrorism."

It was a description, in general terms, of the anger and fury that fueled the Capitol attack.

Chad Wolf, the former acting DHS secretary who published the threat assessment, said DHS had a contingent of Customs and Border Protection officers and agents on standby on the day of the Capitol riot, but they were not called on by Capitol Police. "We don't have jurisdiction for the protection of the U.S. Capitol," he said.

During last summer's street protests following the police killing of George Floyd, Wolf was criticized by Democrats and former homeland security leaders for sending DHS agents and officers to quell civil unrest and use force against sometimes violent protests targeting a federal courthouse in downtown Portland,

Ore.

Trump was campaigning on a "law and order" message, echoed by DHS leaders, that fueled the politicization of the department's domestic role. And the scenes of CBP and ICE tactical officers in military fatigues stuffing suspects into rental vehicles in Portland quickly became a symbol of heavy-handed federal law enforcement.

In an interview, Wolf said he welcomed the bipartisan calls in the wake of Jan. 6 for a greater DHS focus on domestic extremism. "On the same token, I get frustrated because when we were in the thick of it last summer in Portland, there were no huge calls, except for vocal Republicans, saying we have to call out violence," he said. "I think there's a fine line — and we dealt with it — between protected First Amendment speech and what is considered hate and criminal activity."

In a sobering moment during the House hearing this month where lawmakers discussed new domestic terrorism legislation, former DHS adviser Elizabeth Neumann warned committee members the threat would probably persist for "10 to 20 years."

Neumann, who was DHS counterterrorism adviser under Trump, helped oversee the creation of a new contingent of DHS "regional coordinators" who work with state and local officials to prevent radicalization and recruitment by hate groups.

The approach places a greater emphasis on the social and psychological factors that lead to extremist violence. DHS has a dozen regional coordinators across the country, but Neumann said the goal is to expand their presence to every U.S. state.

"What we have been seeing the last five to six years is individuals with unmet needs who quickly radicalize according to whatever ideology they stumble upon," Neumann said in an interview.

"We're dealing with a phenomenon in this country of vulnerable, disaffected individuals who are being preyed upon or seeking it out themselves. And when it comes to prevention, what we've learned is that law enforcement agencies aren't necessarily the best to do interventions," she said.

"If someone has planned an attack, that is law enforcement territory. That person is too far gone. But when a person is on that journey to radicalization, their family members and loved ones notice changes in their behavior." Neumann predicted it will take five to 10 years to build out a more robust effort at DHS to prevent radicalization and extremism. What's challenging about the current moment, Neumann added, is the speed with which radicalization occurs, as individuals can quickly go from embracing an ideology to planning an attack.

"We have so many people talking online and using war metaphors," she said. "Are they using those terms to actually mean war? It's very hard to discern when you have so many people participating in angry rhetoric."

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LEANA S. WEN

## Is the CDC prioritizing expediency over teachers?

After much anticipation, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention on Friday released a 35-page road map for returning to in-person schooling. Though there are some admirable parts of the new operational guidance, I worry that it could result in more confusion and increased distrust.

Here's what the guidance does well. Unlike the Trump administration's watered-down recommendations that were couched in language such as wearing masks "if possible," these new guidelines are clear on many points. They lay out five mitigation measures that every school should implement: masking, distancing, hand-washing, cleaning and contact tracing. The part I like the most is how the CDC has divided schools into four categories based on degree of covid-19 transmission in their surrounding communities. At low and moderate levels, full in-person learning can occur; at higher levels, hybrid or reduced attendance is recommended.

But look a little deeper and the problems begin. I was shocked that six-feet of physical distancing is not required across the board. While it is mandated at the two highest levels of transmission, at low and moderate levels, the guidance says only that physical distancing of six feet or more should be done "to the greatest extent possible."

Recall that the six-foot rule is what the CDC itself recommends as the criteria for social distancing, even outdoors. Many experts have suggested that six feet indoors is not sufficient, and the CDC's own website explains that the coronavirus can be transmitted by tiny aerosols that can infect people at a greater than six-foot distance. In addition, there are now more-transmissible variants that will make this already highly contagious virus even more so.

One has to wonder: Is this change really based on the best available science? Or is it made out of necessity, because schools don't have the space and additional staff to accommodate six feet of separation? When asked to clarify during Friday's news conference, CDC Director Rochelle Walensky essentially admitted that it's the latter, saying it wouldn't be possible for many schools to be fully open if its own recommended distancing were rigorously enforced.

Another important omission is ventilation. It is widely accepted that ventilation is key to reducing covid-19 spread. Yet the road map contains scant information about ventilation, saying only that ventilation should be improved "to the extent possible . . . by opening windows and doors."

This is simply unacceptable. The Government Accountability Office has reported that to prevent covid-19 transmission, more than 41 percent of school districts need to update or replace their heating, ventilation and air conditioning systems in the majority of their schools. Does this finding no longer apply, or is the CDC acknowledging that because making the change is too expensive and will take too long, schools should reopen without the needed upgrades?

I can understand the argument that in-person schooling is just too important and cannot wait for these improvements. Perfect cannot be the enemy of the good, and we have to accept some level of risk because there is such great harm to keeping kids out of school.

If that's the case, however, then vaccinating teachers becomes of the highest importance. Yet the guidelines do not require that teachers are offered vaccinations before they return to the classroom. While many states have included teachers in priority groups, others have not. If the CDC included teacher vaccinations in their guidance, it could compel recalcitrant governors to move teachers to the front of the line. Instead, the many teachers and staff who are already spending hours every day in crowded, poorly ventilated spaces will be forced to continue doing so without the needed protection of the vaccine.

The lack of focus on teacher vaccination points to a broader problem: The reopening guidance does not prioritize the health of those who work in schools. Growing evidence suggests that schools don't contribute substantially to community transmission, but that doesn't mean they don't pose individual risks to teachers and staff. And while it might be that a student is safer in school than in an unmonitored child-care setting, it defies common sense to say that a teacher, especially one who is older or has underlying medical conditions, is just as safe in a packed classroom as they are doing remote instruction.

Don't get me wrong. As a physician and parent, I agree that every effort must be made to get our children back to the classroom, especially younger children and those with special needs. But the right way to do it isn't to forgo evidence-based, common-sense requirements. Doing so raises the same question that plagued the CDC under the Trump administration: Is it science or expediency that's driving its decisions? The Biden team has said they want to rebuild trust. These school reopening guidelines could do precisely the opposite.

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Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) on Feb. 11.

GEORGE F. WILL

## Now begins McConnell's project to shrink Trump's influence

One of Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell's many admirable traits is that he is uninterested in being admired. He uses his demeanor to disguise the fact that he has normal feelings and so might welcome public approbation for his decisions. He does not, however, make public decisions for the goal of pleasing the public. His 2006 nay vote was decisive in preventing Congress from sending to the states for swift ratification a popular constitutional amendment that would have overturned the Supreme Court ruling that flag burning is constitutionally protected political expression.

McConnell knew that if he voted on Saturday to convict Donald Trump, he would have been lionized, briefly, by many of his detractors, who are legion. Because he is the most consequential conservative since Ronald Reagan, his vote would have begun a process to which he is committed, that of making Trump inconsequential. But the time is not quite ripe. Like the author of Ecclesiastes, the Senate minority leader knows that to every thing there is a season.

McConnell's argument against impeaching a former president is: Impeachment is "a narrow tool for a narrow purpose" — "to protect the country from government officers." Hence Trump "is constitutionally not eligible for conviction," and convicting him might imply a Senate power, with "no limiting principle," to "convict and disqualify [from holding public office] any private citizen."

With characteristic parsimony regarding information about his feelings, McConnell said only that were Trump still in office, he, McConnell, "would have carefully considered" arguments for conviction. McConnell's preceding words, however, indicate such a vote to convict: Trump fed his

supporters "wild falsehoods" making him "practically and morally responsible" for Jan. 6, which was "a foreseeable consequence" of "false statements, conspiracy theories and reckless hyperbole" and a "manufactured atmosphere of looming catastrophe," all "orchestrated" by Trump, who then "feign[ed]" surprise about his mob's behavior, as he "watched television happily."

McConnell knows that Trump's grip on the Republican base — its activist core, which is disproportionately important in candidate-selection primaries — remains unshaken. But not unshakable. Trump might soon have a bruising rendezvous with the prosecutors in the Southern District of New York. (While explaining his opposition to the Senate's convicting Trump, McConnell pointedly noted that "impeachment was never meant to be the final forum for American justice," and that "we have a criminal justice system" and "we have civil litigation.") Trump's potential problems, legal and financial, might shrink his stature in the eyes of his still-mesmerized supporters. McConnell knows, however, that the heavy lifting involved in shrinking Trump's influence must be done by politics.

He has his eyes on the prize: 2022, perhaps the most crucial nonpresidential election year in U.S. history. It might determine whether the Republican Party can be a plausible participant in the healthy oscillations of a temperate two-party system.

In Republican Senate primaries for open seats in Ohio, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Alabama and perhaps elsewhere, and against Senate incumbents, too — and in the challenge to Rep. Liz Cheney (Wyo.), third-ranking in the Republican House leadership, who voted to impeach — Trump probably will endorse acolytes. They will

mimic his sulfuric rhetoric and, if nominated, many will lose in November.

McConnell remembers, if few others do, the names of Delaware's Christine O'Donnell ("I dabbled in witchcraft," but "I'm not a witch"), Missouri's Todd Akin ("legitimate rape" does not cause pregnancy), Indiana's Richard Mourdock (a woman made pregnant by her rapist is carrying a "gift from God"), Nevada's Sharron Angle ("Second Amendment remedies" might cure Congress's shortcomings) and others who won and then squandered Republican Senate nominations in 2010 and 2012. This was before McConnell began wielding the national party's resources in defense of its interests in state parties' decisions.

A McConnell vote to convict Trump on Saturday would have made it easier for the ex-president's minions to cast the coming 2022 intraparty contests as binary Trump-vs.-McConnell choices. No one's detestation of Trump matches the breadth and depth of McConnell's, which includes a professional's disdain for a dilettante. Trump enthusiasts are as hostile to McConnell as progressives are. He is equally impervious to the disapproval of both factions.

The Senate chaplain's prayer that opened the impeachment trial's first day included a familiar stanza from James Russell Lowell's 1845 poem written during heated national debates about slavery and the looming war with Mexico: "Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, / In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side." A political "moment" can, however, be a protracted process, as McConnell, who titled his 2016 memoir "The Long Game," understands.

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E.J. DIONNE JR.

## The beginning of the end of Trumpism

Don't waste time mourning the Senate's failure to convict Donald Trump for crimes so dramatically and painstakingly proven by the House impeachment managers. The cowardice of the vast majority of Republican senators was both predicted and predictable.

Instead, ponder how to build on the genuine achievements.

Led with extraordinary grace by Rep. Jamie B. Raskin (D-Md.), a diverse and able group of prosecutors laid out an indelible record not only of what happened on Jan. 6 and why, but also Trump's irresponsibility throughout his term of office: his courting of the violent far right; his celebration of violence; his habit of privileging himself and his own interests over everything and everyone else, including his unrequitedly loyal vice president.

This record matters. We often like to pretend that we can move on and forget the past. But our judgments about the past inevitably shape our future. Every political era is, in part, a reaction to the failures — perceived and real — of the previous one. The Hoover-Coolidge Republicans loomed large for two generations of Democrats. Ronald Reagan built a thriving movement by calling out what he successfully cast as the sins of liberalism.

By tying themselves to Trump with their votes, most House and Senate Republicans made themselves complicit in his behavior. And Trump will prove to be even more of an albatross than Hoover, who, after all, had a moral core.

Given the chance to cast a vote making clear that what Trump did was reprehensible, only seven Republicans in the Senate and 10 in the House took the opportunity to do so.

You can tell how worried Republicans are that they are now the Trump Party by the contortions of Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, who aided Trump almost to the end. Rarely has a politician been more blatant in attempting the impossible feat of running with the foxes and hunting with the hounds.

Moments after voting to let Trump off — "on a technicality," as Democratic Rep. Joaquin Castro of Texas shrewdly observed about many GOP "not guilty" votes justified by anything and everything but the question of guilt itself — McConnell blistered the inciter in chief in a speech the impeachment managers could have written.

His words told the world who won the argument. They also underscored how wrenching it will be for Republican politicians to appease the GOP's Trump-supporting majority while pretending to be another party altogether.

The fact that only seven Senate Republicans bolted should end the absurd talk that there is a burden on President Biden to achieve a bipartisan nirvana in Washington. If most Republicans can't even admit that what Trump did is worthy of impeachment, how can anyone imagine that they would be willing and trustworthy governing partners?

The case for ending the filibuster is now overwhelming. There are not 10 Republican Senate votes to be had on anything that really matters.

All the Republicans who broke with Trump deserve honor and respect. Unfortunately, it's hard to see how this varied group could either form the core of an alternative kind of Republicanism or be consistent governing partners with Biden.

Yes, Sens. Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Susan Collins of Maine could be

helpful on some issues. The work of Sen. Mitt Romney of Utah on a child tax credit suggests he may be trying to construct a problem-solving sort of conservatism the country needs. Maybe he'll be joined in this by Sen. Ben Sasse of Nebraska. But Sasse is even more conservative than Romney and his moral break with Trump does not portend any sort of larger rupture with party orthodoxy.

Sens. Richard Burr of North Carolina and Patrick J. Toomey of Pennsylvania are not running for reelection, and Sen. Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, whose impeachment vote may have taken the most courage of all, is under fierce attack from his Trumpist-dominated state party.

If Republicans are at sea about what to do with Trump, Democrats showed unity of purpose. Democratic senators from states that Trump carried (Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, Jon Tester of Montana and Sherrod Brown of Ohio) also deserve points for courage. But the fact that their votes were never really in doubt showed the extent to which Trump's post-election lawlessness has made him yesterday's man.

It's a sign of how far and how fast the ex-president has fallen that opponents of impeachment rationalized their votes by saying, as McConnell did, that Trump must still confront the "criminal justice system" and "civil litigation." You're in trouble when your would-be friends are saying you should be prosecuted rather than impeached.

All of which strengthens the hand of a president whose central campaign theme was a warning against the threat that Trump posed to democracy itself. A bipartisan majority of 57 senators and 232 House members has now declared that Joe Biden was right.

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MEGAN MCARDLE

## Stop stressing about who. Just vaccinate quickly.

On Dec. 29, 2020, around 6:45 p.m., a nurse in Humble, Tex., slid a needle into a vial of the Moderna vaccine and administered what would be the last shot of the night at a vaccination event the county health department had organized for emergency workers and other eligible people. With the event winding down, it was unlikely anyone else would show up. In six hours, 10 precious doses of vaccine would expire.

Hassan Gokal, the medical director of the county's covid-19 response, says he was determined they would not go to waste. After offering the vaccine to everyone on site — all of whom had either already been vaccinated or declined — and to the eligible relatives of a senior colleague, he put the vaccine in his car and began driving home, making phone calls as he went. By midnight, he had dispensed nine of the 10 remaining doses to the sort of patients who need them: seniors with health problems. Caregivers for those seniors. A worker at a health clinic. A mother whose child was on a ventilator. With one dose left, and no more takers, Gokal gave the last dose to his wife, who suffers from severe respiratory disease.

In recognition of his heroic efforts to ensure that not a drop of vaccine was wasted, Gokal has been fired from his job and faces possible prosecution by the local district attorney.

This outrageous story is a particularly horrific example of a broader national problem: We are too often more obsessed with making sure that exactly the right people get vaccinated than we are about getting people vaccinated, period. And unfortunately, some of the worst offenders are the people in charge of distributing the vaccines.

We saw it manifesting even before vaccines were available, when the advisory committee at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention developed an elaborately phased system for distribution. First, health-care workers would get their shots, then other essential workers, then seniors and people with high-risk conditions, then the rest of us. As you may remember, this plan immediately came under fire because the CDC's own analysis suggested it would result in more deaths than simply vaccinating seniors first — and because one justification for choosing the higher-death plan was that essential workers are disproportionately people of color.

Everyone was so angry about the racial aspect that almost no one pointed out the plan's greatest flaw: It was a logistical nightmare that was likely to delay vaccinations as public health authorities struggled to define what counted as essential work, contact those doing it, persuade those workers to take the vaccine and then verify their eligibility.

Those CDC advisers were little different from the angry readers I hear every day. All of them have a better plan to prioritize people with disabilities, or caretakers, or use antibody tests to ensure we don't vaccinate people who've already had covid-19. Whatever their merits, each of these plans would further complicate a process that is already moving too slowly.

Of course, one could ask whether it's worth taking our time to do it right. Speed is one value, but hardly the only one. There are valid arguments for trying to maximize the number of lives saved by only vaccinating those with virgin immune systems, or for repaying the courage of essential workers who have put themselves at risk for the rest of us. Those arguments might even carry the day if the United States had anything approaching the administrative capacity necessary to carry them out.

But America's fragmented public health system simply doesn't. And while speed may not be the only value we care about, the rise of more-contagious variants that may be learning to evade our immune systems means speed has to be at the top of our priority list.

Vaccination used to have two goals: protecting individuals directly by stimulating their immune systems and protecting their communities by denying the virus new hosts who will spread it. But thanks to the variants we now have a third goal: protecting the nation, and the globe, by draining the reservoirs of infection that allow the virus to evolve its way around our immune system. Of course, we'd like to reach those first two goals as quickly as possible. But the third one is why we have to move with all possible speed.

Every completed vaccination is one fewer opportunity for another variant to arise. We dare not waste even a drop of vaccine, nor let it sit in a freezer for one second longer than absolutely necessary, even if that means sometimes vaccinating people we'd have left until later in an ideal world.

Of course it's hard to watch other people who seem to be winning the vaccine lottery while we're still miserably waiting at home. But if you remember that each of them is sharing a little of their winnings with the rest of us, that misery might get a bit more bearable.

Twitter: @asymmetrinfo



PHOTOS BY NANNA HEITMANN/MAGNUM PHOTOS

## ‘This is not a practice alert’: Massive winter storm heaps snow on Moscow

Three-fourths of a normal February accumulation fell in a little over a day — a year after record-breaking warm weather

BY ISABELLE KHURSHUDYAN  
IN MOSCOW

The snow started falling late Thursday, sticking to car windshields and hiding walking paths. By Friday morning, apartment windows had a thick white rim at the bottom. It kept snowing. On Saturday, whole park benches were under a snow depth of 56 centimeters, or 22 inches.

By the time it was over on Sunday, parked cars were beneath heaps of snow.

Moscow is, of course, no stranger to snow squalls and drifts. Some snow was on the ground when the latest storm started. But the weekend’s wintry blast was noteworthy even for the Russian capital. Around 75 percent of the average February snowfall came down in little more than a day on Saturday, according to the Russian weather service Fobos.

A year ago, as Moscow experienced its warmest winter in nearly 200 years of record keeping, Russians longed for the white covering that often makes the dark days of January and February appear brighter.

And Moscow normally doesn’t miss a beat with snow. This wallop, however, was different. More than 100 flights were delayed or canceled at the city’s three main airports.

“It’s a real snowstorm, a snow Armageddon, a snow apocalypse. This is not a practice alert, but a combat alert,” Fobos’s Evgeny Tishkovets told the state-run RIA news agency before the snowfall even began.

Moscow’s deputy mayor, Pyotr Biryukov, announced that about 60,000 road workers, janitors and roofers — along with 13,500 units of equipment — were tasked with removing the snow. That included snow-eaters: one-manned vehicles that shovel snow onto a conveyor belt that stretches back to a separate truck collecting it.

Some residents decided to traverse downtown on skies. Dogs that waded through fluffy snow piles looked as though they were lost in a field of tall corn stalks. Businesses stayed open and fruitlessly attempted to keep their doorways clean as customers walked in with sopping boots.

The real cleanup effort was saved for Sunday. Neighbors met outside with shovels, joining the city cleaners. More snow is expected Tuesday.

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**TOP:** Moscow’s Red Square on Saturday. More than 100 flights were delayed or canceled at the city’s three main airports. “It’s a real snowstorm, a snow Armageddon, a snow apocalypse,” Fobos’s Evgeny Tishkovets told the RIA news agency before the storm began. **ABOVE LEFT and RIGHT:** Ice on the Moscow River, and a pedestrian passes a building while workers clear snow from the roof. **ABOVE:** A snow frolicker peers out from a balaclava. **LEFT:** A boy plays in a snow pile next to Red Square.

				High today at approx. 12 a.m. <b>36°</b> Precip: 60% Wind: NE 4-8 mph
8 a.m.	Noon	4 p.m.	8 p.m.	
36°	36°	36°	33°	
JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON If the robin is a bird of spring, why do many of them strut their stuff in winter? <b>B3</b>				

**THE REGION**  
A guide to closings, traffic, parking and trash pickup in Virginia, Maryland and D.C. for Presidents' Day. **B4**



**OBITUARIES**  
Carlos Menem, 90, led Argentina for a decade through a period of economic turmoil. **B6**



## Va. Democrats to unveil school bill as political pressure mounts

BY GREGORY S. SCHNEIDER

RICHMOND — Democrats in the House of Delegates are set to unveil legislation on Monday to get students across Virginia back into public school classrooms by summer, signaling a way forward for a topic that has become increasingly politically urgent as the coronavirus pandemic drags on.

The proposal calls for school systems to devise plans for both in-person and virtual instruction during the 2021-2022 academic year that follow federal health guidelines. It includes protections for schools or teachers to insist on remote,

### House measure would reopen classrooms across state by summer

online sessions in the event of an outbreak or serious health concerns.

On Friday, the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention rolled out guidelines for reopening schools, and Gov. Ralph Northam (D) has called for Virginia systems to offer an in-person option by March 15.

Republican lawmakers in the General Assembly have been

pressing the issue for weeks with Democrats, who control both chambers, and reopening schools is a hot topic for GOP candidates in this year's governor's race. Earlier this month, the state Senate approved a bipartisan bill that consists of a single line calling for all school systems to offer a choice of virtual or in-person learning.

But the issue has been sensitive in the House of Delegates, where Democrats have cited the concerns of teachers unions and communities of color — which have been particularly hard hit by the virus — that reopening too soon could pose health

dangers. Some school systems around the state have already begun returning students to classrooms, while others have not.

The measure being introduced Monday in a House subcommittee meeting, which The Washington Post previewed under an agreement not to publicize it in advance, was crafted with the support of House leadership and in consultation with the Northam administration.

"The Governor appreciates efforts to ensure school reopening is consistent with health guidelines, respects the constitutional authority of

SEE VIRGINIA ON B3

### New cases in region

Through 5 p.m. Sunday, 3,544 new coronavirus cases were reported in the District, Maryland and Virginia, bringing the total number of cases to 959,900.

D.C.	MD.	VA.
+122	+847	+2,575
38,918	370,983	549,999

### Coronavirus-related deaths

As of 5 p.m. Sunday:

D.C.	MD.*	VA.
+0	+18	+16
979	7,554	7,012

\* Includes probable covid-19 deaths

## Officers' beliefs under scrutiny

### ACTING CHIEF WANTS BACKGROUND CHECK

Concerns over potential ties to extremist groups

BY KEITH L. ALEXANDER AND PETER HERMANN

The acting chief of the D.C. police says he wants to have background checks conducted on all officers and employees to identify any who might align with extremist groups.

Robert J. Contee III said he is meeting with police department attorneys and is in discussions with Mayor Muriel E. Bowser (D) about his plan to come up with a policy on extremist groups or ideologies that the city would deem inappropriate for police department employees to take part in. He also wants to hire an outside firm to conduct such investigations later this year.

After the deadly Jan. 6 Capitol riot, police leaders are under pressure to root out those with ties to extremist groups. The Capitol mob — some of whom displayed emblems of extremist groups — allegedly included off-duty law enforcement officers from outside the District.

"We have to do a top-to-bottom look for everything. MPD is a microcosm of the society that we live in. We have to identify those things and root them out immediately," Contee said.

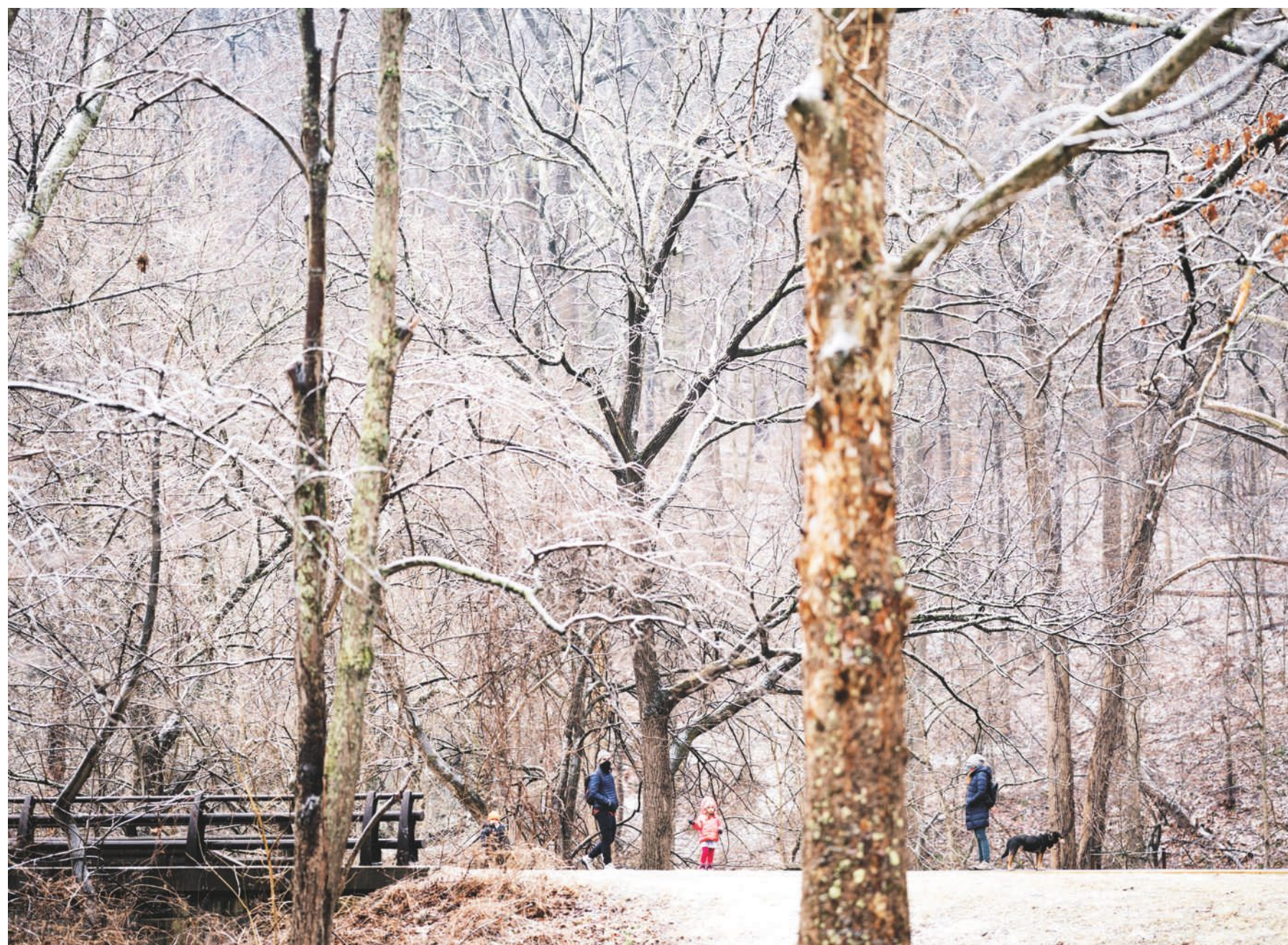
Although the department does some have hiring safeguards in place, there is no written policy that specifically bars participation in or adopting behaviors of extremist or hate groups, Contee said. He said he wants to set out rules and make clear what behaviors could result in discipline or termination.

"It's not okay for a police officer to be a member of a Nazi group, and we don't have any policy that says we can't be a member of such," he said. "We don't have anything specific that addresses these hate groups that prohibits hiring someone if we find they have posted on social media groups involving hate speech."

Contee stressed that he is still working with city officials to determine what such an investigation will entail, especially given personal rights concerns of more than 3,700 employees. He said he also plans to contact the police union.

Contee said one way could be an  
SEE POLICE ON B4

## Ice thaws, and hearts melt



SARAH L. VOISIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

On a dampening Valentine's Day, a family takes a walk in Rock Creek Park in D.C. Wet conditions are forecast to persist early this week, with rain expected Monday and Tuesday; a wintry mix is likely Thursday. **Forecast, B8.**

## Va. considers yield law for bicyclists

BY LUZ LAZO

Virginia lawmakers are considering a proposal that would allow bicyclists to yield instead of pause at stop signs in some cases without getting ticketed.

The measure before the Virginia General Assembly is in response to demands from an increasing number of bicyclists seeking protections and access to the road, particularly as their numbers rise amid the coronavirus pandemic.

Supporters say it will make roads safer for bicyclists after increases in traffic injuries and deaths, while opponents argue it makes the movements of cyclists less predictable. The bill also would require drivers to change lanes when passing a bicyclist if three feet of distance isn't possible and would allow two cyclists to stay side-by-side in a lane.

If approved, Virginia would join a handful of states that allow bicyclists to roll through stop signs.

### Proposal would allow them to roll through stop signs in some situations

Idaho adopted a bike yield law in the 1980s, allowing cyclists to treat stop signs as yields and red lights as stop signs. In recent years, Colorado, Washington state and Delaware also have allowed bicyclists to yield at stop signs. D.C. considered a similar measure in 2015, but it didn't pass.

Under the Virginia proposal, bicyclists would have discretion to proceed through a four-stop intersection without coming to a stop when no other traffic has the right of way. Many bicyclists already do this because it makes cycling easier and in some cases, they say, more safe.

Because bikes are easiest to maneuver when rolling, riders are most exposed to being struck

at intersections during a full stop, said Greg Billing, executive director of the Washington Area Bicyclist Association, one of more than 20 advocacy groups supporting the Virginia proposal.

"The quickest you can get through intersections and kind of get out of harm's way, the better," Billing said. The legislation, he said, "certainly doesn't allow a person on a bike to act recklessly and to put drivers or pedestrians and people with mobility challenges in any sort of harm's way. And that behavior would still be illegal."

Opponents argue that allowing cyclists to abide by a separate set of rules makes their actions less predictable and riders less safe.

"This basically will cause a great deal of distress, put pedestrians at severe risk and also put motorists in jeopardy from bicyclists," said Neil George, a resident of Old Town Alexandria, where road conflicts have risen in recent years. "Everyone needs to

SEE BICYCLISTS ON B4

## The case for continued relief for renters

### Regional Memo

ROBERT MCCARTNEY

how such help enabled families to pay the landlord after the coronavirus cost them their jobs.

The accounts show why it's vital both to continue such aid until the recession is behind us and to ensure that help is available to all who need it. Otherwise, the region risks what one nonprofit executive called "a cataclysmic wave of evictions" when governments lift the moratoriums on ousting renters from their homes.

Mohammad Ahmed, 30, gave up working as an Uber driver in March for fear of infecting his wife, 3-year-old son and two elderly parents who live with him. When he couldn't pay the rent or electric bill for their two-bedroom apartment in Arlington, a local charity funded mainly by taxpayer dollars stepped in.

The nonprofit, Arlington Thrive, picked up his \$1,259 monthly rent and \$113 electric bill for three months this fall.

"It really felt like a blessing," said Ahmed. "I didn't know where to go."

He's still worried about his bills and has gone deeply into debt. But he's counting on a state plan, the Virginia Rent Relief Program, to cover the rent until he can return to work.

Arlington Thrive, whose budget has grown fivefold in the past year due primarily to an influx of public funds, also rescued Alicia, 39. She is a single mother of three children, ages 5 to 15. She spoke on the condition that her full name not be used because she feared publicity might prevent her from returning to a D.C. hotel-management job from which she was furloughed in March.

She contacted the nonprofit in July. Arlington Thrive paid the \$1,898 rent on her one-bedroom apartment from August through

December.

"They've been a lifesaver," said Alicia, who has applied for multiple jobs without success since being furloughed. "I suffered from severe anxiety. Imagine not knowing where you're going to find money to pay your rent."

Like Ahmed, she has applied to the state plan for further relief.

Their experiences illustrate why it was important for the federal government to approve the Cares Act relief package in March. Mainly because of those funds, total federal and county support for Arlington Thrive rose over the past year from nearly \$1 million to \$6.5 million. Private contributions climbed, too, from about \$600,000 to over \$1 million.

Government action at the federal, state and local levels has been critical to keeping tens of thousands of families in their homes in our region even though they cannot afford the rent.

SEE MEMO ON B5

# EDUCATION

## What the Ivies can learn from Arizona State: Less selectivity isn't a bad thing



Jay Mathews

Michael M. Crow is the mad scientist of magnifying college matriculation. He wants our most renowned colleges to admit NOT just the top 5 to 10 percent of applicants, as usually happens, but the top 25 to 30 percent, at least.

Crow then wants to strengthen the academic muscles of that larger group with more advisers, tutors and courses that prepare students for careers in much-prized specialties that, not coincidentally, pay better.

My first reaction to the new book Crow co-wrote with historian William B. Dabars, "The Fifth Wave: The Evolution of American Higher Education," was that this was a pipe dream. I receive many requests to write about visionary proposals. My response is: Get back to me when it's working in real schools.

But as president of one of our largest and most innovative universities, Arizona State, Crow has had some remarkable results. By this fall, the pandemic should be receding. Across the nation, students will be freed from more than a year's

imprisonment with their parents. Amid those happy changes, offbeat ideas like Crow's might spread.

Ivy League schools earn their prestige mostly by admitting as small a portion of applicants as possible. This year, in part because of the suspension of entrance tests like the SAT or ACT, their admission rates are likely to plummet further. Applications to Harvard are up 42 percent this season, with its acceptance rate possibly going below 4 percent.

My solution to this stingy approach is to apply standard business practices. When companies have that much unfulfilled demand, they expand. Why don't our most prestigious colleges franchise themselves? We could have Princeton in Pittsburgh, Paducah and Pismo Beach, or Yale in Yakima, Yarmouth and Yreka.

I'm joking. As Crow and Dabars explain in their book, universities need to expand in ways that enhance not just the marketing of their brands, but also their diversity, depth and innovation.

Celebrated policy wonk Oren Cass breaks high school students into approximate fifths in his 2018 book, "The Once and Future

Worker: A Vision for the Renewal of Work in America." One-fifth fail to receive a diploma. One-fifth get a diploma but do not proceed to college. One-fifth enroll in college but don't graduate. One-fifth complete some level of college but take a job that doesn't require a degree. Only the remaining one-fifth realize the dream of graduating college and launching a career based on what they learned.

Crow and Dabars argue that most universities are blowing their chance to give more students the knowledge and thinking skills that lead to professional success. "Mere access to standardized forms of instruction decoupled from discovery and knowledge production will not deliver desired societal outcomes," the authors said.

"College is not for everyone," they said, "but if our nation is to remain competitive in the global knowledge economy, our society must begin in earnest to build a higher education infrastructure proportionate to the task." The authors recommend more "interaction of students with scientists and scholars working on the frontiers of discovery." They also want "opportunities for lifelong learning to more

than half the population."

That risks lower graduation rates. So universities, they said, will have to assume "responsibility for the success of each student" and reconfigure "the delivery of content through adaptive learning and other technology-enabled strategies." Universities taking that approach "will likely scale up to include twice as many students as are currently enrolled, producing three to five times as many graduates, and serving more than ten times the number of engaged learners" through online and other devices.

You may be thinking: yeah, sure. But Arizona State has some interesting data. From 2002 — when Crow took over — to 2019, non-White enrollment jumped 310 percent, from 11,487 to 47,104 (which is 39 percent of total students). The number of Black undergraduates went up 262 percent, the number of Hispanic undergraduates up 338 percent and the number of Asian undergraduates up 193 percent.

The school's four-year graduation rate has risen from 28.4 percent to 53.9 percent during Crow's tenure, even though the number of students has soared. The university had about 38,000 undergraduates in

2002. In 2020, it had about 102,000.

Arizona State ranks sixth among 747 universities without medical schools in total research expenditures, ahead of Caltech, Princeton and Carnegie Mellon. It offers free online courses and transferrable credits to students in nearly every country in the world. It has cut deals with companies to enhance depth and relevance of instruction or, in the case of Starbucks, to offer tuition-free enrollment for employees.

Arizona State admits anyone who meets the requirements set by its regents. Since 2007, it has cut the time it takes to decide on an applicant from two weeks to 24 hours. Once students are admitted, the university helps them find financial aid and promises they will be able to afford to attend whatever their financial situation.

Special courses for new Arizona State students are designed to enhance their learning and study skills. Mentors recruited from the junior and senior classes are ready to help. Freshmen arriving with low SAT scores and high school grade point averages can take seminars to work on critical reasoning, reading,

communication, emotional intelligence, teamwork and time management. One study showed the first-semester grade point averages of at-risk students at the school increased from 2.4 to 3.3.

Once the pandemic ends, students will again be meeting with advisers both in person and online. Adaptive courseware allows them to learn at different speeds. Data shows the courseware increased success rates in math from 66 percent in 2009 to 85 percent in 2015.

Most of this information comes from Arizona State. We need to know more about how well this approach works. But something unusual is happening there and at a few other large universities with similar ambitions.

Perhaps even our most prestigious schools could welcome more freshmen and work harder to prepare each for the demands of high-level thought and research. At the moment they are spending money on elaborate procedures to make their admission rates infinitesimal, and thus guarantee high rankings. Why not devote those resources instead to making more students better?

jay.mathews@washpost.com

## Amid coronavirus pandemic, gym class is in the game

BY KELLY FIELD

It's almost time for gym class, and my fifth-grader can't find her tennis ball.

"Adrienne, did you take it?" she demands of her younger sister, who swears she didn't (although she probably did).

"How about a soccer ball?" I ask. They're practicing dribbling skills.

"No, Mom," she says firmly. "We're indoors." It has to be a tennis ball. She searches under the coffee table and behind the couch; she scours her sister's cluttered room. No tennis ball.

This is what remote physical education looks like in our house. And what it sounds like? Thundering footfalls from the bedroom above my office, as my third-grader runs through games her PE teacher is using as a warm-up.

The coronavirus pandemic and the resulting widespread shift to remote learning have brought major changes to physical education. Games like Turkey Ninja Warrior and water-bottle bowling and solitary pursuits in spaces as small as a studio apartment have replaced class in open fields or gyms. Rolled-up socks and laundry baskets have replaced balls and nets.

The PE instructors I spoke with said the students seem to be having fun — the ones they can see on video, at least. Privacy policies in many districts bar teachers from requiring students to keep their cameras on, and some students don't.

But it's hard to gauge whether they're getting the same benefits from online PE as they did from in-person classes. Some students lack the equipment, space or parental support to participate fully. Instructors say it's tough to teach and assess motor skills, like catching and kicking, online.

Meanwhile, public health experts say kids need exercise more than ever.

"PE is so important, because our kids are sitting from 8 to 3," said Michelle Huff, a high school PE teacher in New Jersey who has taken to posting TikTok videos inviting kids to join in on PE activities.

In a majority of districts, students are spending some or all of their school days online. They're missing out on recess and extracurricular sports, many of which have been canceled for safety reasons. Public health experts are worried about unhealthy eating, too.

Compounding these issues, many students live in crowded apartments or in neighborhoods where it's not safe to exercise outside. In some cities, parks are closed because of the pandemic.

In places where schools remained closed through 2020,



COURTESY OF MICHELLE HUFF

childhood obesity rates were predicted to climb by more than 2 percent, according to estimates in a recent study by a researcher at Washington University in St. Louis.

Yet, even before the coronavirus shut down schools, fewer than half the states set any minimum amount of time that students must participate in PE, according to the Society of Health and Physical Educators (SHAPE), which represents PE and health instructors.

With much of PE now online, some kids are getting even less time in class than before. Because of the pandemic, California Gov. Gavin Newsom (D) waived the state's time requirement in March, prompting some districts to eliminate PE as a stand-alone class or make it an elective. Portland, Ore., nearly laid off its elementary adaptive PE instructors, who work with children with disabilities, before teachers defeated the move. At least two Massachusetts districts have eliminated elementary PE altogether this year, according to the president of the state's SHAPE chapter.

Advocates for physical education fear more cuts could be coming, as districts grapple with

looming budget cuts stemming from the current economic downturn. And if the Great Recession is any guide, those cuts could fall hardest on high-poverty districts, where students already have less access to after-school sports than in wealthier ones.

*"It's kind of like taking a pencil away from a classroom teacher."*

Kyle Bragg, elementary school PE instructor in Scottsdale, Ariz.

"Not all students have the privilege of taking ballet classes or sports clubs," said Julia Stevens, the president of Oregon's SHAPE chapter.

For now, though, PE instructors are focused on finding creative ways to keep their kids engaged. They're sending kindergartners on scavenger hunts that have them running around their homes to collect items. They're challenging high-schoolers to "beat the teacher" by performing more push-ups in a minute than their instructor.



KELLY FIELD/HECHINGER REPORT

**ABOVE:** Kelly Field's 11-year-old daughter, Emma, practices cup-shifting from a plank position as an at-home physical education exercise. **LEFT:** Michelle Huff, left, a PE teacher in New Jersey, has been posting Tik Tok videos with skills challenges for her students. **In this one, she and her sister, Steph Huff, also a PE teacher in New Jersey, perform a little dance.**

"We're disguising fitness," said Brett Fuller, the president of SHAPE's national board of directors and a curriculum specialist for health and physical education in Milwaukee Public Schools.

Because most kids don't have a whole lot of gym gear in their homes, SHAPE's reopening guidance recommends that teachers ask students what they have on hand and provide a checklist of common household items that could be repurposed as sports equipment.

Some substitutions are simple — cut plastic gallon milk cartons for catching, or unopened canned soup for weights. Others are trickier. Kyle Bragg, an elementary school PE instructor in Scottsdale, Ariz., said he's yet to find an acceptable alternative to a jump rope; nothing rotates at the same speed. He's told kids to ask their parents to buy one, but he can't force them. So for now, he's stuck with some students jumping over pillows.

"It's kind of like taking a pencil away from a classroom teacher," he said. "It's nearly impossible to meet a jump rope standard without a jump rope."

Some districts are purchasing take-home kits containing jump ropes, balls and beanbags. But

the kits can be pricey, and not all districts can afford them.

Some instructors are offering students choices: If they don't have the equipment they need for one activity — say soccer — they can try another, like running. The alternative might not target the same skills, but at least it gets them moving.

And in the midst of a pandemic that has upended nearly every aspect of education, some standards may simply need to be set aside for a bit, instructors say.

"You gotta be okay with okay," David Daum, an assistant professor of kinesiology at San Jose State University in California, he tells teachers.

The hardest things to teach and evaluate online, instructors say, are the skills, strategies and collaboration involved in team sports. There's just no way to play soccer alone in your living room.

That's why online PE courses — which have existed at the high school and college levels since at least the late 1990s — have historically favored fitness-based instruction, like interval training, over the development of gross motor skills like kicking. Covid-era classes seem to be following the same trend, said Daum, who researches online PE.

While some teachers have been asking students to send short video clips of themselves performing individual skills, like jumping rope, there are limitations and drawbacks to that approach: Some parents aren't comfortable with their children sharing videos of themselves, and some students send clips that are far too long. With dozens of students per grade, reviewing the submissions can take an instructor hours.

The alternative is to conduct assessments in live-stream classes, but that can open students up to ridicule and cyberbullying. Some districts have policies stating that students can't be required to keep their cameras on.

In such districts, it can be hard to tell whether students are participating at all. They might be doing jumping jacks, or they might be watching YouTube.

To gauge participation, many instructors are asking students to answer a question in a chat box or complete an exit ticket with questions about the lesson and their own performance. Some schools with fully asynchronous PE are relying on the honor system, with students using logs to report how much exercise they get each day.

It's unclear how many students are actually doing the portions of PE that aren't live-streamed. Are busy working parents enforcing it?

Despite the challenges involved in remote learning, Fuller, SHAPE's president, sees the pandemic as an opportunity to show that PE is not only about team sports. Teachers are learning technological skills that "none of us ever dreamt they'd have," he said. And students are discovering that fitness can be fun, even without group games.

Still, many PE instructors said they're eager to return to the gym and sports fields.

"I became a PE teacher because I needed to keep moving," said Andrew VanDorick, an elementary PE teacher in Maryland. "Sitting on a couch in front of a computer may be some people's dream job, but it drives me crazy. I can't wait to be back in front of the kids."

Oh, and that missing tennis ball? Turns out it isn't essential after all. When it vanishes again, just in time for water-bottle bowling, my 11-year-old substitutes a lacrosse ball — and rolls a spare.

education@washpost.com

Field is a reporter for the Hechinger Report. This story about physical education was produced by the Hechinger Report, a nonprofit, independent news organization focused on inequality and innovation in education.

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OBITUARIES

ABRAHAM J. TWERSKI, 90

Rabbi and psychiatrist treated addictions

FROM NEWS SERVICES AND STAFF REPORTS

Abraham J. Twerski, a Hasidic rabbi and psychiatrist who championed treatment for substance abuse and was the author of more than 80 books on subjects both spiritual and scientific, died Jan. 31 at a hospital in Jerusalem. He was 90.

He had covid-19, the disease caused by the novel coronavirus, his family told the Associated Press.

Dr. Twerski said he found an “exquisite harmony” between his medical and religious callings and was equally at home in the rabbinical world of Torah and Talmud study and the medical world as a practicing psychiatrist. It was a rare pairing that earned him respect in both the insular ultra-Orthodox Jewish world and wider American society.

He also composed liturgical music for Jewish worship services and collaborated with cartoonist Charles Schulz, the creator of the “Peanuts” comic strip, on a series of self-help books.

For years, Dr. Twerski led the Lubavitch Center, a Hasidic congregation in Pittsburgh. He was also a founder and the longtime medical director of the Gateway Rehabilitation Center, a residential treatment facility that now has 22 locations in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Abraham Joshua Twerski was born Oct. 6, 1930, in Milwaukee to immigrant parents from Russia. He was descended on both sides of his family from rabbis in the Hasidic tradition of Orthodox Judaism. He became an ordained rabbi at 21 and assisted his father in Milwaukee. Four brothers also became rabbis.

“I noticed that people weren’t flocking to me for counseling the way they had to my father,” Dr. Twerski later recalled in Pittsburgh Quarterly. “I decided that if I wanted to be the kind of rabbi my father was, I had to become a professional. So I went for broke, going to medical school to become a psychiatrist.”

He attended medical school at Marquette University in Milwaukee and struggled to pay tuition. He unexpectedly received a financial gift from entertainer Danny Thomas, which allowed him to complete his medical degree in 1960 and continue with specialized training in psychiatry.

He later became a teacher and clinical psychiatrist with the University of Pittsburgh. He had a long association with Pittsburgh’s St. Francis Hospital, where he treated a range of mental health issues, including addiction. He worked with an order of Catholic nuns, the Sisters of St. Francis, to create the first Gateway center for long-term residential treatment.

He chronicled the interfaith venture in one of his many books, “The Rabbi & the Nuns” (2013). He also wrote a column for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. In a 1991 column, he estimated that he had worked with 30,000 people recovering from alcoholism.

In another column, titled “Without a Job, Who Am I?” Dr. Twerski wrote that many people equated their sense of self-worth with their jobs. The column led to his first collaboration with Schulz, a 1995 book called “When Do the Good Things Start?,” featuring Schulz’s “Peanuts” characters.

Through his work in mental health, Dr. Twerski broke down barriers and taboos about psychiatry and abuse within the Orthodox Jewish world. His 1996 book “The Shame Borne in Silence: Spouse Abuse in the Jewish Community” was considered a groundbreaking work.

“Some of the people read the book and told me, you saved my life,” he told the Post-Gazette, “but others called me a scoundrel, how dare you besmirch your Jewish brethren?” He later said that his message became more widely received.

For the past several years, Dr. Twerski split his time between Israel and the United States.

His first wife, Golda, died in 1995. Survivors include his wife, Gail Bessler-Twerski; four children from his first marriage; two brothers; and many grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren.

In a 2006 Post-Gazette column, Dr. Twerski wrote that it was possible to lead a spiritual life “independent of religion,” noting that the search for truth and purpose and the ability to make ethical choices are spiritual qualities that can lead to “being the finest human being one can be.”

newsbits@washpost.com

DEATH NOTICE

CLAFFY

SUE DADE CLAFFY (Clark)

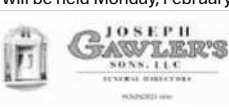
On Monday, February 10, 2021 passed peacefully after a lengthy illness due to the Coronavirus. She is preceded in death by her husband Joseph, of 53 years. She leaves brother in laws, Thomas S Claffy (Nancy), and Robert L Claffy (Beverly); nieces, Christina Benedi, Maria Claffy, and Stephanie Crump (Barrett) of Fairfax, Virginia and nephews, Robert (Grenda), Stephen (Amy), and John (Robin) of Virginia Beach. She will be dearly missed by her family and many many friends. Due to the Coronavirus the funeral will be private and a celebration of her life will be held at a later date. For comments and regrets, contact sclaffy@yahoo.com.

COHEN



JILL KATZ YOUNG COHEN

A resident of Washington DC since 1963, passed away quietly and peacefully Wednesday morning February 10, 2021. Born and raised through her teenage years in New York City, Mrs. Cohen was a New York City society debutante in the winter of 1960. She graduated high school from Mount Vernon Seminary in Washington, DC and attended the American University. Mrs. Cohen's first and everlasting priorities were her beloved children, Melissa (Ted) of Bethesda, Maryland, Cameron (Mia) and Chris (Gabby) of Florida and her five grandchildren, Lily, Sloane, Andrew, Jake and Sadie. Mrs. Cohen's interests were varied and broad. An avid traveler, she visited virtually every region of the world. She was a former ice dancer appearing in ice shows in Sun Valley, Idaho and was an aficionado of world figure skating championships, attending numerous competitions across the globe over many years. She was a lover and practitioner of high fashion, appreciator of art, Broadway musicals, dancing, politics and, as well, a long suffering fan of the Washington Football Team. Mrs. Cohen is survived by her three children and five grandchildren; brother, Tony Katz (Linda) of Naples, FL; two nephews, Jordan Katz (Kristina) of Arlington Heights, Illinois, and Brandon Katz of Westchester, New York and a niece, Whitney Katz of Florida. The family asks that in lieu of flowers, donations may be made to The Lupus Foundation of America at lupus.org. A private zoom memorial service will be held Monday, February 22.



GERBER

ROBERT RAY GERBER  
Robert R. Gerber, 88 of Falls Church, VA passed away on January 29, 2021. Services will be held at National Funeral Home. More information can be found at [www.nationalfh-mp.com](http://www.nationalfh-mp.com)

HILLIER



JANET ELAINE HILLIER (Age 80)

Janet Elaine Hillier of Fairfax, VA, on February 9, 2021 passed peacefully after a brief illness. She was born December 18, 1940 in Brooklyn, New York to William and Alice Hand. She is survived by her husband, Prince P. Hillier, and her three children, Deborah Hillier Scott Hillier (Nancy), and Brooke D. Pappagallo (Domenic).

Janet is additionally survived by her sister, Denise LaRuffa (Frank), brother, Bill Lipmeropoulos (Jane), cousin, Ed Lohse, grandchildren, Ashley Rogers, Matt Hillier (Hannah), Caitlin Ogles (Jeremy), Andrew Cormode, Carly Dobyns, Elyse Dobyns and great-grandchildren, Emily Rogers, Rebecca Rogers and Timothy Matthew Hillier (expected March 2021).

Services to be held 10 a.m., Thursday February 18, 2021 at St. Leo the Great Catholic Church, 3700 Old Lee Highway, Fairfax, Virginia. Interment to follow at Fairfax Memorial Park, 9900 Braddock Road, Fairfax, Virginia.

In lieu of flowers, donations may be made to the Society of the Little Flower (littleflower.org), Sisters of Life (sistersoflife.org) or INOVA Fair Oaks Professional Education Programs (foundation.inova.org).

When the need arises, let families find you in the Funeral Services Directory.

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The Washington Post



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To place a notice call 202-334-4122 or 800-627-1150, ext. 44122

DEATH NOTICE

KOSSIARAS



CONSTANCE ELLEN KOSSIARAS (Age 73)

On Thursday, February 11, 2021, of Rockville, MD. Born in Chicago, IL. Devoted daughter of William and Stella Metos. Beloved wife of Thomas Peter Kossiaras. Loving mother of Iliia (Nick) Coutos, Martha (Trot) Spares, Kossiaras and Peter (Carrie Wilson) Kossiaras. Adoring “Nona” of Connie, Peter, Tommy, Eleni and Aris. Sister of Peter Metos. Funeral Service at Saint Sophia Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 2815 34th St NW, Washington DC 20007, on Tuesday, February 16, 2021 at 11 a.m. Viewing at 10 a.m. Interment Parklawn Memorial Park. In lieu of flowers, memorial contributions may be made to St. Sophia Greek Orthodox Cathedral in her name. [www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com](http://www.COLLINSFUNERALHOME.com)

DEATH NOTICE

SECHREST



WINIFRED ELIZABETH SECHREST

Peacefully passed away February 6, 2021. Beloved wife of the late John L. Sechrest, Jr.; mother of Peggy Atterberry-Mosley, Robert F. Key (Edwin), Jean Epps-Tate (Fitzalbert) and the late M. Cardell Sechrest and Tyrone Waller. She is also survived by a host of grandchildren, sisters, other relatives and friends. Friends may visit with the family Friday, February 19 at Thornton Funeral Home, 3439 Livingston Rd., Indian Head, MD from 10 a.m. until time of service 11 a.m. interment at a later date. [www.thorntonfuneralhomepa.com](http://www.thorntonfuneralhomepa.com)

IN MEMORIAM

THOMAS-HARRIS



CARLOS PIERRE THOMAS-HARRIS

February 15, 1979 – October 24, 1996  
Happy 42nd Birthday, Carlos  
Love, Mom, Pop, Joshua, Jalen,  
Grandma, Family, Friends and  
Grandpa Holt who is in heaven with you.  
Grandma Thomas now has joined you.

PROFIT

JEANETTE MARIE PROFITT

On Thursday, February 11, 2021, loving Mother and Sister, Jeanette, lost her battle with cancer at the age of 75, and passed away peacefully at home surrounded by her immediate family. Preceded in death by her parents, Lillian and Robert Landrum, sister, Virgie Bodenstern and grandson, Jacob Profit. She is survived by her loving daughters, Lisa Shremshock (husband Philip), and Maria Olson. She is also survived by her grandsons, Joshua and Jesse Profit and Bryan Adcock, as well as her sister, Mildred Maurice, brother, Thomas Landrum and several nieces and nephews. The family is honoring Jeanette's wishes to be cremated and has elected not to have a service or funeral. In lieu of flowers, we ask that people please donate to the American Cancer Society.

RICKEY

PHILIP A. RICKEY (Age 86)

Peacefully on January 25, 2021. Born in Chicago, IL on March 20, 1934 to the late Donald Gladstone Rickey and Judith Sanderson. He was preceded in death by his wife, Diane O Rickey. After graduation from Geneva High School, he attended Lawrence College and continued his education getting his Master's degree at Harvard University. He spent four years in the Navy. After the Navy, he joined the CIA where he retired in 1992. Survived by children, Philip "Bert" Rickey, Paul Rickey (Janet), and Dawn Gray (Donald), four grandchildren, Diane Rickey Clark, Kathryn Tinney, Kellie Hopkins, and Kyle Hopkins and six great-grandchildren. Virtual services will be recorded and available on [www.murphyfuneralhomes.com](http://www.murphyfuneralhomes.com)

DEATH NOTICES

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email deadline: 3 p.m. daily  
Phone-in deadline: 4 p.m. M-F  
3 p.m. Sa-Su

CURRENT 2021 RATES: (PER DAY)

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Black & White  
1" - \$179 (text only)  
2" - \$340 (text only)  
3" - \$490  
4" - \$535  
5" - \$678

SUNDAY  
Black & White  
1" - \$179 (text only)  
2" - \$376 (text only)  
3" - \$543  
4" - \$572  
5" - \$738

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices  
\$150 each additional inch wkday  
\$179 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY  
Color  
3" - \$628  
4" - \$676  
5" - \$826

SUNDAY  
Color  
3" - \$645  
4" - \$760  
5" - \$926

6"+ for ALL color notices  
\$249 each additional inch wkday  
\$277 each additional inch Sunday

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ALL NOTICES MUST BE PREPAID

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Payment must be made via phone with debit/credit card.

The Washington Post

DEATH NOTICE

HERMAN



RHODA HERMAN

On Thursday, February 11, 2021, Rhoda Herman of Bethesda, MD. Beloved wife of the late Kenneth Herman; devoted and loving mother of Nadine (Alan) Levin, Eileen (Peter) Lehrer, Dianne "Donni" Rappaport; adored grandmother of Josh (Juliana) VerStandig, Marc VerStandig, Debora (Bryan) Laulicht, Suzanne (Paul) Dumaine, Gregory (Randi) Rappaport, and Melissa Pope; cherished great-grandmother of Adelaide VerStandig, Jamie Lauicht, Arthur Dumaine, Natalie, Gabrielle and Adam Rappaport, Jordan Jackson and Noah Pope; dear sister of the late Bea (David) Leventhal. Rhoda was also a beloved stepmother to Mitchell (Patti) Herman and Sandi (Jeff) Perkins and their families. Additionally, she will be missed by her dear friend, Paul Schultman.

Rhoda had a special zest for life, and she knew how to live it to its fullest. She was elegant, witty, intelligent, warm, and never wavered in doing what she believed to be right. She was a proud volunteer for the Red Cross, and a longtime supporter of charities focusing on the needs of children. She had a big heart, a love of travel, a penchant for hats, an appetite for great meals (she could pick crabs with the best), and most of all, a talent. Prayers for her beloved husband Paul, and is survived by her four children, 18 grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren. A graveside service will be held at Arlington National Cemetery. For further details visit [www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/fairfax-va/paula-johnson-10036883](http://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/fairfax-va/paula-johnson-10036883)

On Thursday, February 11, 2021, Rhoda Herman of Bethesda, MD. Beloved wife of the late Kenneth Herman; devoted and loving mother of Nadine (Alan) Levin, Eileen (Peter) Lehrer, Dianne "Donni" Rappaport; adored grandmother of Josh (Juliana) VerStandig, Marc VerStandig, Debora (Bryan) Laulicht, Suzanne (Paul) Dumaine, Gregory (Randi) Rappaport, and Melissa Pope; cherished great-grandmother of Adelaide VerStandig, Jamie Lauicht, Arthur Dumaine, Natalie, Gabrielle and Adam Rappaport, Jordan Jackson and Noah Pope; dear sister of the late Bea (David) Leventhal. Rhoda was also a beloved stepmother to Mitchell (Patti) Herman and Sandi (Jeff) Perkins and their families. Additionally, she will be missed by her dear friend, Paul Schultman.

Check should be made payable to the UMCF Foundation, 4603 Calvert Rd., College Park, MD 20740 (please note gift in memory of JOHN E. RANDELS, JR in memo section). Gifts can also be made online at [giving.umd.edu](http://giving.umd.edu) for the Terrapin Club Impact Fund, account #21-22940. Share memories <https://www.facebook.com/groups/181295420013972>

Rhoda had a special zest for life, and she knew how to live it to its fullest. She was elegant, witty, intelligent, warm, and never wavered in doing what she believed to be right. She was a proud volunteer for the Red Cross, and a longtime supporter of charities focusing on the needs of children. She had a big heart, a love of travel, a penchant for hats, an appetite for great meals (she could pick crabs with the best), and most of all, a talent. Prayers for her beloved husband Paul, and is survived by her four children, 18 grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren. A graveside service will be held at Arlington National Cemetery. For further details visit [www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/fairfax-va/paula-johnson-10036883](http://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/fairfax-va/paula-johnson-10036883)

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# THE WEATHER

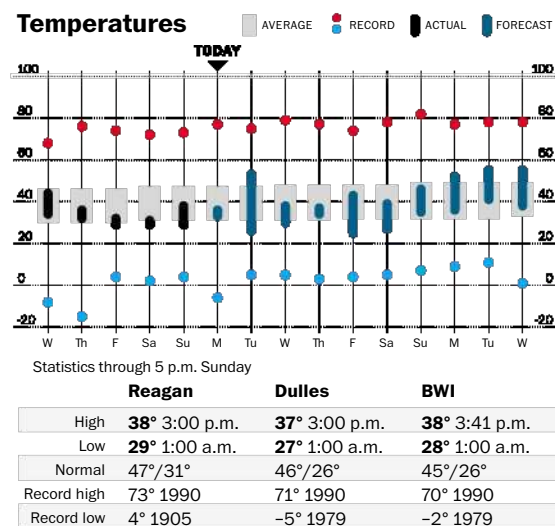
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### A mixed bag

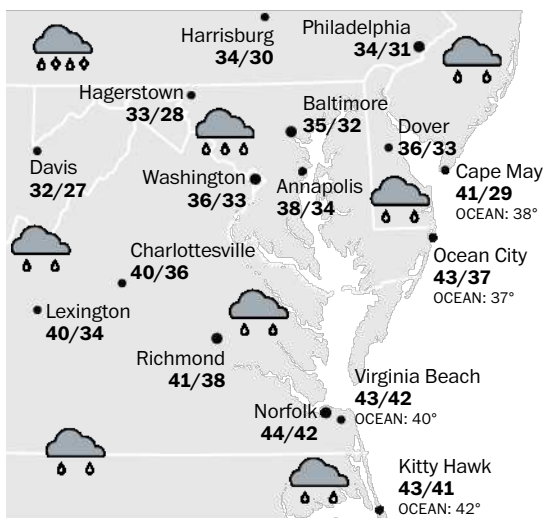
Spotty pockets of drizzle linger in the early morning, but we'll stay mostly cloudy and mostly dry for much of the daytime. Chilly and a bit raw, with highs in the upper 30s and a light east wind at 5 to 10 mph. Steadier rain develops after 5 p.m. and continues through the night, with lows in the mid-30s.

<b>Today</b> Cloudy, rain  <b>36°</b> 33° FEELS: 34° CHNCE PRECIP: 60% WIND: NE 4-8 mph HUMIDITY: High	<b>Tuesday</b> Morning rain, breezy  <b>53°</b> 26° FEELS: 48° P: 75% W: WNW 8-16 mph H: Moderate	<b>Wednesday</b> Partly sunny  <b>38°</b> 30° FEELS: 37° P: 10% W: WNW 6-12 mph H: Moderate	<b>Thursday</b> Snow, sleet, rain  <b>37°</b> 34° FEELS: 27° P: 80% W: NE 8-16 mph H: High	<b>Friday</b> Partly sunny, breezy  <b>43°</b> 25° FEELS: 34° P: 25% W: WNW 8-16 mph H: Moderate	<b>Saturday</b> Partly sunny  <b>39°</b> 27° FEELS: 32° P: 5% W: WNW 8-16 mph H: Moderate
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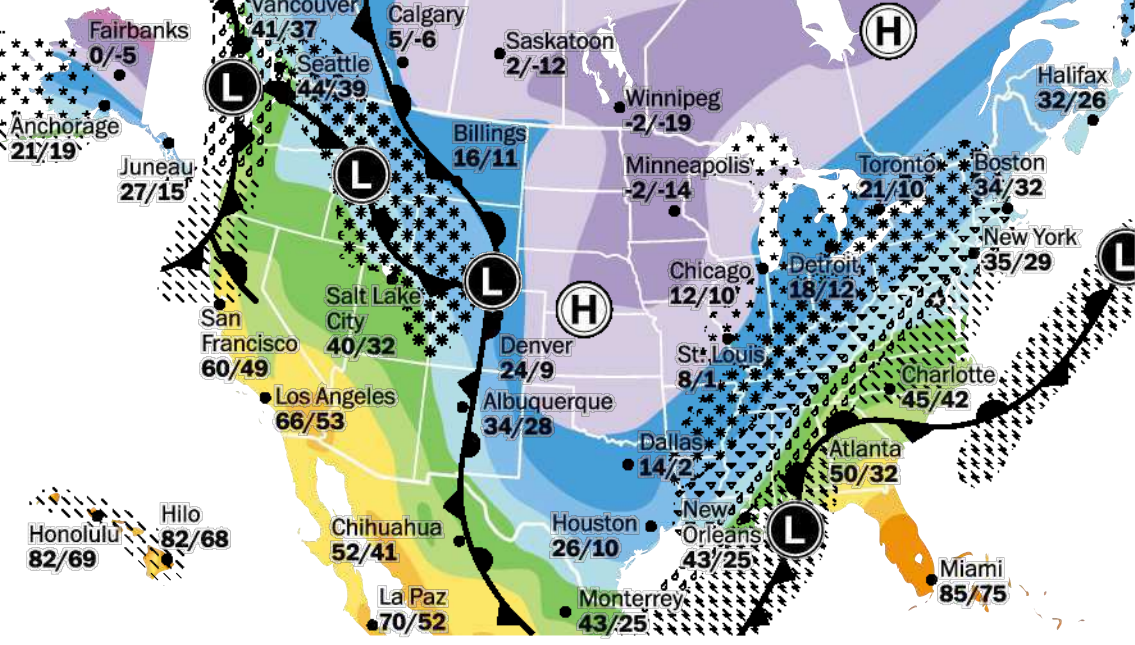
### OFFICIAL RECORD



### REGION



### NATION



**Pollen: Low**  
Grass Low  
Trees Low  
Weeds Low  
Mold Low

**Air Quality: Moderate**  
Dominant cause: Particulates

**UV: Low**  
1 out of 11+

**Blue Ridge:** Today, cloudy, ice early, rain. High 34-38. Wind south 10-20 mph. Tonight, rain, snow, sleet. Low 32-36. Wind south 15-25 mph. Tuesday, morning showers, partly sunny. High 36-40. Wind west 15-25 mph. Wednesday, partly sunny. High 30-34.

**Atlantic beaches:** Today, cloudy, shower. High 40-44. Wind north 8-16 mph. Tonight, cloudy, rain. Low 34-42. Wind east 8-16 mph. Tuesday, morning rain, mostly cloudy. High 51-64. Wind west 7-14 mph. Wednesday, partly sunny. High 34-39. Wind north 6-12 mph.

**Waterways:** Upper Potomac River: Today, cloudy, rain. Wind north-northeast 4-8 knots. Waves a foot or less. Visibility under 2 miles in rain. Lower Potomac and Chesapeake Bay: Today, cloudy, rain. Wind north-northeast 4-8 knots. Waves around a foot on the lower Potomac and on the Chesapeake Bay. River Stages: The stage at Little Falls will be around 3.70 feet today, rising to 3.80 Tuesday. Flood stage at Little Falls is 10 feet.

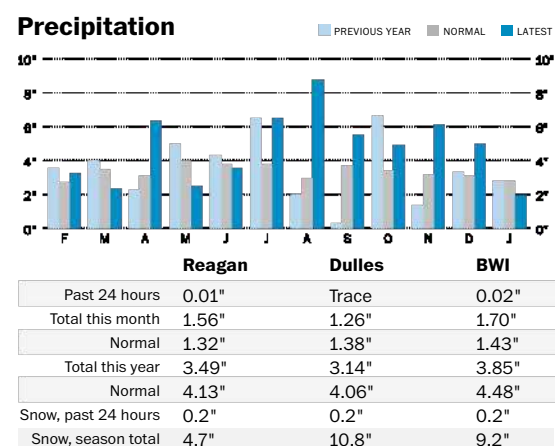
**Today's tides** (High tides in Bold)

Washington	5:12 a.m.	<b>10:37 a.m.</b>	5:38 p.m.	<b>11:03 p.m.</b>
Annapolis	1:34 a.m.	<b>7:31 a.m.</b>	1:49 p.m.	<b>8:01 p.m.</b>
Ocean City	3:39 a.m.	<b>9:52 a.m.</b>	4:08 p.m.	<b>10:10 p.m.</b>
Norfolk	5:46 a.m.	<b>11:54 a.m.</b>	6:00 p.m.	none
Point Lookout	<b>3:32 a.m.</b>	9:46 a.m.	<b>4:01 p.m.</b>	10:15 p.m.

Yesterday's National High: Titusville, FL 90°  
Low: Ely, MN -50°

World High: Nara, Mali 107°  
Low: Kerbo, Russia -63°

NATIONAL	Today	Tomorrow	Des Moines	-1/-18/c	3/-7/pc	Oklahoma City	5/-12/c	11/9/sn	WORLD	Today	Tomorrow
Albany, NY	25/22/sn	30/10/sn	Detroit	18/12/sn	21/0/sn	Omaha	-2/-21/c	1/-2/s	Addis Ababa	77/53/s	79/53/pc
Albuquerque	34/28/s	42/23/r	Fairbanks, AK	0/-5/pc	16/7/sn	Orlando	84/68/pc	74/57/t	Amsterdam	41/40/sh	48/44/r
Anchorage	21/19/c	29/24/sn	Fargo, ND	-6/-19/s	-3/-8/pc	Philadelphia	34/31/l	48/24/r	Athens	44/35/sn	41/35/sn
Atlanta	50/32/sh	41/27/c	Hartford, CT	32/29/sn	35/10/l	Phoenix	67/51/pc	67/44/pc	Auckland	74/66/r	73/62/r
Austin	22/7/sn	31/24/pc	Honolulu	82/69/pc	82/70/pc	Pittsburgh	25/19/sn	27/9/c	Baghdad	81/57/s	82/62/pc
Baltimore	35/32/r	51/24/r	Houston	26/10/l	36/29/pc	Portland, ME	45/40/l	47/37/sh	Bangkok	91/77/s	91/78/pc
Billings, MT	16/11/sf	25/14/sn	Indianapolis	17/10/sn	18/3/pc	Portland, OR	45/40/l	47/37/sh	Beijing	42/22/s	33/14/s
Birmingham	43/22/r	35/23/c	Jackson, MS	26/11/l	30/18/c	Raleigh, NC	45/43/sh	61/31/r	Berlin	33/29/sn	40/36/sh
Bismarck, ND	4/-10/s	8/-3/c	Jacksonville, FL	74/59/r	66/43/c	Reno, NV	55/31/c	45/24/s	Bogota	66/48/sh	66/45/c
Boise	40/32/c	40/24/sn	Kansas City, MO	1/-14/sn	9/6/pc	Richmond	41/38/c	59/27/r	Buenos Aires	45/41/sh	51/44/c
Boston	34/32/sn	38/15/r	Las Vegas	64/48/pc	62/42/s	Sacramento	62/43/c	62/40/pc	Cairo	72/54/s	60/46/pc
Buffalo	26/19/sn	31/14/c	Little Rock	16/3/s	21/16/pc	St. Louis	8/1/sn	16/7/pc	Caracas	70/65/pc	68/63/pc
Burlington, VT	24/18/sn	25/16/sn	Los Angeles	66/53/c	69/51/pc	St. Thomas, VI	84/75/pc	84/75/pc	Copenhagen	35/30/sn	36/34/sf
Charleston, SC	58/56/c	64/37/c	Louisville	25/16/c	24/13/c	Salt Lake City	40/32/c	37/28/sf	Dakar	77/66/pc	78/66/pc
Charleston, WV	31/24/sn	31/14/c	Memphis	16/4/s	19/15/pc	San Diego	64/58/pc	64/49/pc	Dublin	55/46/sh	51/42/sh
Charlotte	45/42/sh	54/29/sh	Miami	85/75/sh	82/74/t	San Francisco	60/49/r	59/45/pc	Edinburgh	50/42/sh	51/37/sh
Cheyenne, WY	24/10/pc	33/11/c	Milwaukee	10/8/c	19/8/sn	San Juan, PR	84/74/pc	85/73/pc	Frankfurt	35/34/s	45/38/c
Chicago	12/10/sn	21/2/s	Minneapolis	-2/-14/pc	7/-4/s	Seattle	44/39/r	47/37/pc	Geneva	46/34/pc	53/39/pc
Cincinnati	22/14/sn	21/6/c	Nashville	29/16/l	25/16/c	Spokane, WA	27/20/sn	31/20/sn	Ham, Bermuda	70/66/pc	69/66/pc
Cleveland	22/15/sn	18/6/sn	New Orleans	43/25/r	41/34/pc	Syracuse	27/22/sn	26/10/sn	Helsinki	21/17/s	26/4/s
Dallas	14/2/c	21/18/c	New York City	35/29/l	44/21/r	Tampa	80/65/pc	67/55/c	Ho Chi Minh City	88/69/pc	91/69/pc
Denver	24/9/pc	38/14/sn	Norfolk	44/42/c	64/33/r	Wichita	2/-12/sf	10/7/pc	Prague	21/18/sn	37/32/sh



**Moon Phases**  
Feb 19 First Quarter  
Feb 27 Full  
Mar 5 Last Quarter  
Mar 13 New

**Solar system**  
Sun Rise 6:59 a.m. Set 5:46 p.m.  
Moon Rise 9:14 a.m. Set 9:45 p.m.  
Venus Rise 6:39 a.m. Set 4:54 p.m.  
Mars Rise 10:26 a.m. Set 12:44 a.m.  
Jupiter Rise 6:24 a.m. Set 4:34 p.m.  
Saturn Rise 6:04 a.m. Set 4:02 p.m.

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### REGIONAL MEMO

## Tenant support is vital, advocates say

**MEMO FROM B1**

Authorities have imposed temporary moratoriums that bar landlords from evicting tenants for nonpayment. An array of public and private programs has provided money to help tenants avoid falling too far behind on what they owe.

The D.C. government offers assistance via the Covid-19 Housing Assistance Program, Housing Stabilization Grants and other plans. Similar programs are available in Maryland.

Still, the need for assistance remains. The relief bill passed by Congress in December included \$25 billion in emergency rental assistance, but housing experts said that would only temporarily prop up a shaky status quo.

Meanwhile, many tenants are falling further behind on their rent, and increasing numbers are at risk of eviction when moratoriums end.

"If there does not continue to be a significant outpouring of support from the states and federal government, when the eviction moratoriums end — and they will end — there will be a cataclysmic wave of evictions," said Andrew F. Schneider, executive director of Arlington Thrive.

Said Peter Tatian, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute: "Theoretically, the assistance that the federal government is providing sort of matches up with where the rent shortfall is. The problem is the rent shortfall is a moving target ... because we have a continuing economic crisis."

In the District, the total of unpaid rent in January totaled between \$66 million and

\$119 million, according to the National Council of State Housing Agencies. It estimated that between 7,800 and 15,800 people were at risk of eviction when moratoriums end.

Figures were not available for the D.C. suburbs alone, but for Maryland as a whole, the rent shortfall ranged from \$206 million to \$381 million, and those at risk of eviction numbered between 38,000 and 71,400. In Virginia, the shortfall was between \$266 million and \$453 million, and between 42,800 and 86,500 were at risk of eviction.

*"The rent shortfall is a moving target."*

Peter Tatian, a senior fellow at the Urban Institute

A large number of renters who are eligible for help are not getting it for bureaucratic or other reasons. Many are not aware that aid is available or are wary of seeking it because they are undocumented immigrants.

One hurdle is a provision that the federal aid approved in December is available only to those who can provide pay stubs, bank statements or other paperwork to show they meet requirements such as that their income is sufficiently low to qualify for aid.

"The federal funds come with very high standards of documentation that some tenants simply can't meet," said Marian Siegel, executive director of Housing Counseling Services.



### The nonprofit Arlington Thrive has helped renters stay afloat.

A sizable but unknown number of tenants have concluded that they will never be able to catch up on back rent and have left their homes to move in with family or friends — an action known in the industry as "self-eviction."

This phenomenon is evident in a dramatic jump in apartment vacancy rates — from below 5 percent normally to between 15 percent and 25 percent at present, according to Patrick Alger, executive director of the Northern Virginia Apartment Association.

People "get so far behind on rent that they don't know what to do, [so] they pack up and move," Alger said.

The high cost of housing was one of the region's principal social ailments even before the coronavirus pandemic. Now the recession has made it worse.

Governments "need to keep the eviction and utility moratoria in place until we find a way to cancel the rents or have enough money in the city to pay what's owed and keep people in their homes," said Amber W. Harding, an attorney with the Washington Legal Clinic for the Homeless.

"I've been doing this work for 17 years," she added. "And this is probably the most worried I have ever been."

robert.mccartney@washpost.com

# Retropolis

Stories of the past, rediscovered.  
washingtonpost.com/retropolis

The Washington Post

**CAROLYN HAX**

A strict aunt's disciplining of her sister's 5-year-old twins may hold lessons for the whole family. **cs**



**MOVIE REVIEW**

In the third chapter of *To All the Boys*, audience and actors alike may have outgrown the material. **cs**

**BOOK WORLD**

Walter Mosley's latest *Easy Rawlins* mystery mixes page-turning drama with social commentary. **cs**



**KIDSPOT**

For the first time on a planet besides Earth, scientists will try to fly a helicopter on Mars. **cs**



TERRY WYATT/GETTY IMAGES FOR CMA

## Before a bridge, the same sad chorus

Racial slur confirmed stereotypes about country music, while historic coming-out defied them

BY EMILY YAHR

You won't find the full story of what happened in country music in the video posted to TMZ on Feb. 2, which showed Morgan Wallen, one of the genre's biggest stars, yelling the n-word outside his home. You won't find it in the carefully crafted corporate statements from radio companies and his record label and talent agency, who dropped his music, indefinitely suspended his recording contract and removed him from their rosters.

You can find it, however, in the comments on an Instagram post from a Nashville music executive describing Wallen as someone who is "maybe a little ignorant" and "lost his fight with alcohol" but "doesn't deserve this." Country stars who didn't publicly condemn his slur "liked" the post and filled the comment section with hearts.

You can also find it in the iTunes and Billboard charts, where sales of Wallen's music have soared as fans cry "cancel culture" and insist they will support him. You can find it in the reactions from Black country singers, who are deeply pained but unsurprised by Wallen's actions and the quick calls for forgiveness, as artists of color have been

SEE COUNTRY ON C3



JASON KEMPIN/GETTY IMAGES FOR CMA

**TOP:** Morgan Wallen was punished after a video showed him using the n-word, but he garnered support from those decrying "cancel culture." **ABOVE:** T.J. Osborne, seen at left with his brother John, came out as gay, receiving supportive comments from the industry.

## Weaver's quiet rise before a public fall

BY ROXANNE ROBERTS

The puzzle that is John Weaver comes in fragmented pieces: He's described as brilliant, brooding, tragically flawed. And as a liar, cheat, predator.

The Republican political consultant lived most of his life in the background, until last month when 21 men accused him of inappropriate, unwanted sexual texts. Weaver released a statement saying he believed the messages were "consensual mutual conversations" and then came out publicly for the first time in his 61 years.

"The truth is that I'm gay," he wrote. "And that I have a wife and two kids who I love. My inability to reconcile those two truths has led to this agonizing place."

The news was a shock in elite political circles: Even those who thought they knew Weaver well were floored to discover his sexual orientation and that he had been approaching young men for years.

"You could have knocked me over with a feather — I couldn't believe it," says Fred Davis, a GOP media consultant who knows Weaver and his family. And yet, there was always something mysterious about Weaver. "He's a genius, but that genius comes with a dark cloud."

One of his secrets was the decades-long effort to hide his homosexuality, which could have been an issue in conservative circles, especially at the beginning of his career. Friends and colleagues interviewed for this article say they don't care about his sexuality, but his texts were unacceptable: unsolicited and creepy, especially

SEE WEAVER ON C4

## Culture of lying made conviction impossible



**Margaret Sullivan**

The words spoken on the Senate floor over the past few days were almost innumerable. But the ones that stayed with me through the second impeachment trial of Donald Trump were among the very first ones uttered.

"Democracy needs a ground to stand upon — and that ground is the truth," lead House impeachment manager Jamie Raskin said in his opening statement, quoting his father, the political activist Marcus Raskin.

This Senate trial would not be a contest among lawyers, or between political parties, said the Maryland Democrat, who led the prosecuting team trying to make the case that the 45th president had incited the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol.

No, the trial would be, and should be, "a moment of truth for America."

As it turned out, truth was perfectly well served in the trial, at least on one side. Raskin and the other House managers made an irrefutable case. It was so irrefutable that even the former president's greatest enabler, Senate Republican leader Mitch McConnell, admitted what the facts were: that Trump was "practically and morally responsible" for the insurrection.

But the truth wasn't enough. It should be no surprise. After all, one of the hallmarks of the Trump administration — along with a penchant for cruelty and an endless font of self-dealing — was the lying.

From Day One's "alternative facts" about the size of the 2017

SEE SULLIVAN ON C2

## Host of 'The Bachelor' to step aside after 'uninformed' interview

BY EMILY YAHR AND LISA BONOS

Less than a week after "The Bachelor" host Chris Harrison defended a contestant accused of racially insensitive social media posts, he announced that he will be "stepping aside for a period of time," including the upcoming season finale's "After the Final Rose" special.

"My ignorance did damage to my friends, colleagues and strangers alike. I have no one to blame but myself for what I said and the way I spoke," he wrote in a lengthy statement on Instagram on Saturday. "By excusing historical racism, I defended it ... I am ashamed over how uninformed I was. I was so wrong."

On Feb. 9, Harrison sat down for an interview with "Extra" correspondent Rachel Lindsay, a former franchise star who was the first Black Bachelorette in the show's history in 2017. They started discussing the controversy surrounding current "Bachelor" Season 25 contestant Rachael Kirkconnell, whose recently unearthed social media history

revealed that she had "liked" a post with friends posing in front of a Confederate flag; shared an Instagram post containing language that echoed the QAnon extremist ideology; and attended an "Old South" antebellum-themed sorority party in college. Kirkconnell is still in the running and competing to win the affection of Matt James, who is the first Black lead of "The Bachelor."

Shortly after Harrison's interview with Lindsay aired, Kirkconnell wrote an apology on Instagram: "I didn't recognize how offensive and racist my actions were, but that doesn't excuse them. My age or when it happened does not excuse anything. They are not acceptable or okay in any sense. I was ignorant, but my ignorance was racist."

But at the time of the "Extra" interview, when Lindsay brought up the allegations about Kirkconnell, Harrison went on the defensive, saying, "The woke police is out there, and this poor girl Rachael has just been thrown to the lions." He added that he hadn't spoken to Kirkconnell about it yet

SEE HARRISON ON C2



CRAIG SJODIN/ABC

**Longtime host Chris Harrison talks with Matt James, the first Black lead of "The Bachelor." Harrison's recent comments and what many considered his condescending tone sparked outrage from fans.**

# Chris Harrison apologizes for ‘speaking in a manner that perpetuates racism’

HARRISON FROM C1

but said it was “unbelievably alarming” to watch people online “tearing this girl’s life apart and diving into her parents and her parents’ voting record,” as well as her social media posts.

“I saw a picture of her at a sorority party five years ago, and that’s it. Like, boom. Like, ‘Okay. Well, this girl is in this book now. And she’s now in this group.’ And I’m like, really?” Harrison said.

“Well, the picture was from 2018 at an Old South antebellum party. So that’s not a good look,” Lindsay said.

“Well, Rachel, is it a good look in 2018? Or is it not a good look in 2021?” Harrison argued. “Because there’s a big difference.”

“It’s not a good look ever,” Lindsay told him. “Because she’s celebrating the Old South. If I were at that party, what would I represent?”

“I don’t disagree with you. You’re 100 percent right in 2021. That was not the case in 2018,”

Harrison said. “And again, I’m not defending Rachael. I just know that, I don’t know, 50 million people did that in 2018. That was a type of party that a lot of people went to.”

As Lindsay continued to explain the issue, Harrison kept urging “grace and understanding” for Kirkconnell, whom he argued was an 18-year-old college student at the time who didn’t have the understanding to tell her friends: “Guys, it’s not really that woke that we’re here.”

Harrison’s comments and what many considered his condescending tone sparked outrage from fans. On her podcast “Higher Learning” with co-host Van Lathan later in the week, Lindsay said that she was “exhausted” by the diversity issues in the franchise, which she has spoken out against for years. “I can’t take it anymore,” she said, adding that she would stop working with the franchise once her contract is up. (She also hosts a Bachelor-sponsored podcast with former “Bach-



CRAIG SJODIN/ABC

**Bachelor Matt James with contestant Rachael Kirkconnell, who has been accused of racially insensitive social media posts.**

elorette” star Becca Kufirin.)

The following day, Harrison issued an apology after seeing the backlash: “While I do not speak for Rachael Kirkconnell, my intentions were simply to ask for grace in offering her an opportunity to

speak on her own behalf. What I now realize I have done is cause harm by wrongly speaking in a manner that perpetuates racism, and for that I am so deeply sorry.” As of Saturday, he announced that he will step aside from the show

indefinitely.

“To the Black community, to the BIPOC community: I am so sorry. My words were harmful. I am listening, and I truly apologize for my ignorance and any pain it caused you,” he wrote. “I am so grateful to those who have reached out to help me on my path to anti-racism.”

“This historic season of ‘The Bachelor’ should not be marred or overshadowed by my mistakes or diminished by my actions,” he added.

For years, ABC and its production company, Warner Bros., have been criticized for their lack of diversity in casting and in how contestants of color are treated on the show. In 2012, two Black men who applied for “The Bachelorette” (and were not chosen) accused the show of discriminating against people of color. Their suit was dismissed. Former Bachelorette Lindsay saw disparities between the treatment of her season finale and that of the next Bachelorette, Kufirin, who is White. “I was placed on display for three hours and labeled an angry Black female,” Lindsay said, after Kufirin’s 2018 finale.

This past summer, as Black Lives Matter protests erupted around the country, prompting a racial reckoning throughout American culture, the Whiteness of Bachelor shows was again put under the microscope. A

Change.org petition called on ABC and Warner Bros. to cast a person of color in the lead role, hire more crew members of color and give contestants of color screen time that’s comparable to that of White contestants.

Lindsay also threatened to stop working with Bachelor Nation, saying the culture surrounding the shows “perpetuates and mirrors exactly what is wrong in our society and [continues] to play into an audience that is willing to accept it, and I’m tired of it.” She also suggested she was tired of feeling as though the franchise doesn’t have her back. “There have been a number of times that contestants have done racist things or said it and the franchise is completely silent on it. . . I’m sick of pretending that I’m fine with it.”

Shortly after Lindsay’s comments in June, James was announced as “The Bachelor’s” first Black lead. Harrison agreed to step down only after Lindsay made public her frustrations with his initial response to the unearthing of Kirkconnell’s social media posts.

In Kirkconnell’s apology, she said she would do better: “I want to put my energy toward preventing people from making the same offensive mistakes that I made in the first place, and I hope I can prove this to you going forward.”

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**Lead House impeachment manager Jamie B. Raskin, a Maryland Democrat, closes out the prosecution’s presentation Thursday.**

MARGARET SULLIVAN

## Big Lie pushed the GOP to find an escape hatch

SULLIVAN FROM C1

inaugural crowd, Trumpian falsehoods became nothing short of routine. They were generously ladled out by a president, his spokespeople and his administration — and then repeated and amplified by his many helpers in the MAGA mediasphere, led by those at Fox News.

There were tens of thousands of these falsehoods, so many that last October, shortly before the election, the indefatigable Washington Post’s Fact Checker team threw up its hands.

“As President Trump entered the final stretch of the election season, he began making more than 50 false or misleading claims a day. It’s only gotten worse — so much so that the Fact Checker team cannot keep up,” they wrote.

This onslaught culminated in the Big Lie that undergirded the Jan. 6 insurrection: That the election was rigged — stolen, in fact. And that something had to be done about it.

It was this pervasive culture of lying that made it politically untenable for so many Republican senators, in the end, to vote their underdeveloped consciences. The muscles had atrophied, if they ever existed.

For if they voted to convict, their constituents — far from giving them credit for doing their patriotic duty — would turn on them. Perhaps viciously. Perhaps violently. And with the incitement, no doubt, of the twice-impeached president.

Days before the verdict, Sen. Jeff Merkley (D-Ore.) forecast the inevitable. He said that Trump would be acquitted on a technicality, what he called “an easy gate out”: the misbegotten notion that it’s unconstitutional to hold an impeachment trial after a president has left office.

“Why did so many of my colleagues need this easy escape hatch?” he asked. “They needed it because their base has been listening to what President Trump called ‘Trump media. . .’”

Merkley aptly described to MSNBC’s Nicolle Wallace a media bubble of far-right radio talk shows, cable television and social media feeds:

“They may think they’re

getting a full spectrum of opinion, but, really, they’re getting one opinion reverberating. And it’s so disconnected from reality.”

So disconnected from reality that when reality manages to intrude — in the form of undeniable facts, timelines, videos and presidential tweets — there’s nothing to do but deny it as outrageous and either look for an escape hatch or go on the attack.

That happened in the trial itself, as Trump’s defense lawyers channeled him with repeated false claims, including that President Biden never condemned the violence that accompanied some of the (largely peaceful) racial-justice protests last summer.

And then there was this whopper offered by defense lawyer Michael van der Veen, who said the Jan. 6 insurrection was “premeditated by fringe left and right groups.”

That’s nonsense, CNN’s Daniel Dale wrote on Twitter: “It was an insurrection of Trump supporters, including far-right groups. Some participants have oddball political pasts, but no evidence left-fringe groups planned anything.”

Where does this all leave us?

I’m hopeful enough to think that the sheer amount of truth that was hammered home over the days of the trial will matter. (How can anyone watch the video compilation that opened the House managers’ presentation and not get it?)

I’m optimistic enough to wonder whether McConnell’s post-trial statements, self-serving and hypocritical as they were, might sink in with some Americans.

And I’m still idealistic enough to think that the courage of the seven Republican senators who did overcome partisanship to vote their consciences could make a difference.

Maybe, even though the truth didn’t prevail, some of it managed to see the light of day. Enough, perhaps, to give America’s democracy some ground to stand on.

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For more by Margaret Sullivan, visit [wapo.st/sullivan](https://wapo.st/sullivan)

# Nashville (mostly) gets back to hemmin' and hawin'

COUNTRY FROM C1

marginalized within the format for decades.

"The system is set up for White boys like him to succeed, and to have a platform the size and reach that he enjoys," said singer-songwriter Adia Victoria. "I think of so many talented Black artists I know here in Nashville, who aren't able to get their foot in the door or aren't able to make a viable career, solely because the market is not there for them."

You have to go beyond the headlines, because even though country music prides itself on straightforward storytelling, the industry has long urged silence when it comes to anything controversial. Artists are cautioned early in their careers that if they don't want to alienate fans, they should stay quiet about hot-button issues. Most of them abide by this rule, as do the town's executives.

On Wednesday night, Wallen spoke at length for the first time about the incident, releasing a five-minute apology video to YouTube. He said the TMZ video was taken when he was "on hour 72 of 72 of a bender," and that he had been sober for nine days and counting as he's spent time apologizing to people he let down. "This week I heard firsthand some personal stories from Black people that honestly shook me, and I know what I'm going through this week doesn't compare to some of the trials I heard about from them," he said. He also asked his fans to refrain from defending him as he works to learn from his mistakes.

Behind closed doors this week, discussions about Wallen have dominated Zoom meetings, calls and group chats as managers and publicists had urgent conversations with their singers. Industry staffers, songwriters and artists, most of whom declined to speak on the record to The Washington Post because of the sensitivity of the issue, described a "monumental day" as they watched the Wallen story unfold.

"To see it all happen, the reason it happened, I think it was a shock wave in Nashville," said Leslie Fram, CMT's senior vice president of music strategy.

There was surprise at the quick consequences for the singer — who has consistently escaped repercussions for misbehavior — and particularly the immediate removal of his music from radio. (Some saw the news and assumed it would be shrugged off.) There was also sadness over how the incident confirms stereotypes about country music being uneducated and intolerant. Embarrassment about how this reflects on the format and the persistent lack of diversity. Fear over what other stories might be lurking out there. And, of course, skepticism over whether anything will actually change in a genre that resists change at every turn.

Local radio stations are already feeling pressure to add Wallen back into the rotation after complaints from listeners, and his record label's "indefinite suspension" remains vague.

"I just wish I believed that all actions being taken are intended to be punitive, instead of saving the involved parties from getting yelled at themselves," said one manager who works with Nashville artists, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the person was not authorized to

speak publicly.

Then another side of the country music industry revealed itself, even as Wallen headlines engulfed news coverage, when a second major story broke: T.J. Osborne, of the Grammy-nominated duo Brothers Osborne, came out as gay in a Time magazine profile. He's now the only openly gay singer signed to a major country label.

Loving, supportive comments poured forth from country stars and the industry, which was an encouraging sign to those who say that country music is more liberal than it gets credit for. It also showed that the genre employs people eager for the format to evolve — even if it has a long way to go.

"I just really hope that with those two stories on that day, we look back in 20 years . . . and say it's the day that Nashville at least began to look at itself in a way that's honest and true," said songwriter Bonnie J. Baker. She loves the genre but said she has grown increasingly disturbed by the town's unwillingness to acknowledge its flaws, suppressing anyone who doesn't fit into the White, heteronormative mold. She's married to a woman, and although she has never felt the need to hide, she has always quietly accepted that it is best not to speak up or rock the boat.

"It's the 'not wanting to rock the boat' that is the cancer that we have, and I can't live this way," Baker said. "We have to start having more courage."

Shortly after Osborne's Time profile published, country acts such as Miranda Lambert, Dan + Shay, Dierks Bentley and Little Big Town celebrated the announcement. "I want to get to the height of my career being completely who I am," Osborne told the magazine. "I mean, I am who I am, but I've kept a part of me muted, and it's been stifling."

The profile, which included supportive words from his brother and music partner, John Osborne, as well as his close friend Kacey Musgraves, moved many in the industry who saw the Wallen headlines and were relieved that they could focus on a piece of good news instead. While Osborne's personal life wasn't a secret in Nashville circles, they were thrilled that he finally felt as though he could speak about it openly, even with country music's tendency to cater to its conservative fans.

"I've had friends that have lost record deals because people found out they were gay," said singer-songwriter Cheley Tackett. "So to see T.J. be embraced and everyone applaud that, it's revelatory."

Popular CMT radio host Cody Alan came out several years ago and frequently hears from fans who say, "I'm gay, and it feels like there's no one like me in country music." That has broken his heart, he said, and he always wondered whether a contemporary country singer would ever feel comfortable sharing their own story.

"To see that day happen . . . for me personally, was just a beautiful yet jaw-dropping sort of moment, and one that I think I'd waited for a long, long time," Alan said.

He said there was a sharp sense of disappointment that Wallen overshadowed Osborne's historic moment in the spotlight, but at the same time, he was



John Osborne, left, and T.J. Osborne of Brothers Osborne perform in Detroit in 2019. After T.J.'s announcement earlier this month, he is the only openly gay singer signed to a major country label.



CMT radio host Cody Alan, seen in 2019, came out several years ago and always wondered whether a contemporary country singer would ever feel comfortable sharing their own story.

relieved to be able to amplify a story centered on a positive journey — and he thinks "it really is reflective of who country music is and what it's becoming."

A publicist for the Brothers Osborne did not return a request for comment, but the duo's Twitter account posted a statement the day the Time profile published: "Words can't describe the immense amount of love we feel today," they wrote. "This world, as imperfect as it may be, is beautiful at its core and our collective open minds/hearts are what make anything possible."

The reaction to Osborne from fellow country stars was markedly different from the response to Wallen — which was one of near-silence, aside from a few acts such as Maren Morris, Kelsea Ballerini and Mickey Guyton. Though not particularly surprising — country singers are advised not to criticize one another on social media — it cast doubt over a common question being raised now: Will the events, which saw an unusually forceful reaction from radio and other parts of the

industry, force country music to finally address its deep racial issues?

It's questionable: As soon as Wallen's music disappeared from radio playlists — an abrupt turnaround, as he was one of the most-played country artists —

*"It's the 'not wanting to rock the boat' that is the cancer that we have, and I can't live this way."*

Bonnie J. Baker, a songwriter, on Nashville's unwillingness to confront its flaws

fans started rallying in opposition to "cancel culture," a popular conservative catchphrase that also glosses over actual issues. Some bought his music in protest. On Feb. 5, Rolling Stone reported Wallen's digital album sales rose 1,220 percent.

But even those who con-

demned Wallen have said they don't think he should lose his career. They feel the right move is for him to take a step back and spend time educating himself about the origins of racist language and, consequently, his harmful behavior.

At a previously scheduled Zoom conference held by Nashville Music Equality, speakers stressed that although Wallen may have gotten the headlines, his actions spoke to a much bigger problem: the creation of an environment that led him to casually toss off the slur in the first place. Ultimately, Wallen is just a snapshot of the racial issues in the genre, and it's unclear whether this lightning-rod moment can have any effect unless people — specifically, White people in the industry who tend to avoid these topics — do the work to learn from it.

Sheryl Guinn, president of the Nashville chapter of the NAACP, said during the panel that she received backlash after she invited Wallen to have a conversation, as some thought she was offering forgiveness to someone who had not yet shown real remorse be-

yond a brief apology statement sent to TMZ.

"I do understand why some people's positions were, 'No, we don't need to talk to him about anything, he has every resource imaginable to him at his fingertips,'" she said. "I also understand that if we are not having the conversation, the people who are doing the wrong are still making justifications for doing the wrong . . . and there are some people who honestly don't know what the wrong is."

(In his recent apology video, Wallen said that he "accepted some invitations from some amazing Black organizations, some executives and leaders, to engage in some very real and honest conversations," and that their "kindness really inspired me to dig deeper on how to do something about this.")

The idea of "boys will be boys" has excused similar behavior by male country stars for years. Wallen had evaded scrutiny and consequences before when his actions spilled out into the public, including an arrest at Kid Rock's bar and being disinformed from (and then reinvented to) "Saturday Night Live" for violating pandemic safety measures.

"The question now is: Is there now a liability attached to someone like a Morgan Wallen?" Victoria said. "Someone who keeps screwing up, someone who keeps failing upward in spite of his behavior? I think the question here isn't 'Will it change minds?' It's 'Will he be held accountable?'"

Once again, it is an Instagram post that may be the most telling. Rakiyah Marshall, who runs a publishing and artist development company at Back Blocks Music and is in a relationship with Seth England, Wallen's record label co-founder, recently posted an Instagram photo that showed her hugging Wallen. Marshall, one of a small number of Black country music executives in Nashville, described the singer as "a little ignorant, for sure makes a lot of mistakes, may need a little extra love & care, has lost his fight with alcohol, but by no means is a racist," adding he "has a lot to learn about his missteps and it's going to take a while. He is not perfect nor does he get a pass for his reckless behavior. But he does not deserve this and I'll stand by that."

England co-signed the post in a comment, as did country stars such as Lauren Alaina and Jimmie Allen, who posted a heart emoji, while singers including Lambert and Dustin Lynch "liked" it. A similar post from Wallen's sister also earned support. But both posts led to critical comments, considering that Wallen barely had had time to absorb any of the consequences.

That's because there's also a sense of inevitability for a Wallen comeback down the road. One artist manager predicted that the standing ovation the musician eventually receives will make the ovation Carrie Underwood got for returning to the spotlight after a facial injury "seem like a golf clap."

"Everyone is so concerned this is permanent, but that's not really how it works here," Tackett said. "If he understands why what happened was such a bad thing, and if he shows some work on himself, then Nashville will very much forgive him. Because that's how this town is."

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BOOK WORLD

## New Easy Rawlins book is a masterful mix of mystery and social commentary

BY MAUREEN CORRIGAN

There comes a moment in every Easy Rawlins mystery I've read where I realize I have no idea what's going on. The plot picks up speed, becoming a hectic Tilt-a-Whirl ride where dead bodies, cold-stone killers, femmes fatales, crooked cops and lost spaces in Los Angeles whiz by at top velocity. It's at this moment — when I'm most exasperated with Walter Mosley as a writer — that I'm also most admiring. Because, once again, I realize that I don't care all that much that I can't keep track of what's going on — no more than I care that I can't keep track of what's going on in "The Maltese Falcon," "The Big Sleep" or "Cotton Comes to Harlem."

Like his influences Hammett, Chandler and Himes, Mosley wants readers to be immersed in the chaos of evil. The ability to simultaneously keep us readers in confusion and in thrall marks Mosley — winner of the National Book Foundation's 2020 Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters — as a

mystery master.

Since its debut in 1990, the Easy Rawlins series has charted a social history of Los Angeles, particularly focusing on shifting (or not) racial attitudes. "Devil in a Blue Dress" opened in a post-World War II Los Angeles when fate pushes Easy, an out-of-work Black Army vet, into his profession as a private investigator. The series has been advancing sporadically ever since. "Blood Grove," the 15th Easy Rawlins novel, takes place in the much mythologized summer of 1969. In the opening scene, Easy, who now owns his own detective agency, looks out his office window and watches the "long-haired hippies" next door as they tend to whatever illegal substances they're growing in their backyard nursery.

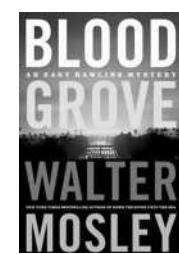
In traditional hard-boiled fashion, the novel finds Easy alone in his office when trouble walks in. The prospective client is a young White man, a traumatized Vietnam vet named Craig Kilian, with a strange story to tell. A few nights earlier, Craig was camping in a grove of blood

oranges in the San Fernando Valley, a place he retreats to when his nerves and nightmares get too bad. In the middle of the night, Craig heard a woman screaming and he ran to a dilapidated cabin nearby where he found a Black man wielding a knife at a White woman who was tied to a tree. Craig says he wrested the knife away and, by accident, stabbed the Black man. Then, someone came from behind and knocked Craig out cold. When Craig awoke, he was alone. He needs to know if he killed the man and if the woman is okay.

There are plenty of reasons Easy should turn down this case. Craig's memory is clearly unreliable and the racial identities of those involved are, as always, a potentially dangerously complicating factor. Nevertheless, Easy agrees to investigate for one overriding reason: He and Craig are both combat veterans. "Because of that bloody history Craig Kilian was as much my brother in blood as any Black man in the U.S. I had to help him because I could see his pain in my mirror."



Mystery writer Walter Mosley is skilled at keeping readers in confusion and in thrall.



**BLOOD GROVE**  
By Walter Mosley  
Mullholland.  
336 pp. \$27.

What ensues is the aforementioned Tilt-a-Whirl of a careening plot, but throughout "Blood Grove," Mosley also summons up images of places that linger: a hole-in-the-wall bar frequented by vets called "Little Anzio," the Dragon's Eye strip club, that eerie blood orange grove, and the fantastical round tower of a house — high above Los Angeles and accessible only by funicular — where Easy lives with his daughter, Feather. The adolescent Feather is adopted, and one of the array of subplots concerns the sudden appearance of Feather's biological uncle, Milo Garnet, who is White and a hippie. At one point, Milo pontificates to Easy in an attempt to bond. But Easy schools the dreamy Milo on the enduring hard realities of race in America:

"The way I see it is that you're me were both in a shipwreck and we got washed up on opposite shores. Not far apart, maybe only a quarter mile or so, but the waters between are shark infested. . . . We're both stranded but there's one big difference."

"What's that?" Milo Garnet

asked.

"I'm on a desert island, and even though it looks like you are too, really where you washed up is a peninsula. . . ."

"If I set out on my way looking for food and water, company, or just a different view, all I'll do is walk in a circle and end up back where I started — looking at you. But you take the same walk on your side, you will end up back in the bosom of America; hot dog stands, beautiful women, and enough drugs that you'll forget that shipwreck and the time it seemed like we were in the same jam."

The central mystery in "Blood Grove" — as in all the Easy Rawlins books — is as much about the brazen contradictions of American society as it is about what happened in that orange grove one night. But that mystery turns out to be pretty gripping, too.

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Maureen Corrigan, who is the book critic for the NPR program, "Fresh Air," teaches literature at Georgetown University.

# The fall of John Weaver, whose political career was shrouded in mystery

WEAVER FROM C1

a four-year exchange that started when one man was just 14 years old, the New York Times reported. Weaver offered help with their careers, then veered into explicit, suggestive comments about their bodies.

None of the men accuse Weaver of a crime; the only reported sexual encounter was consensual. But the men became increasingly uncomfortable and worried that blocking an influential Republican could negatively impact their aspirations for a job in politics.

Now there's a scramble to determine who knew what and when they knew it. A spokesman for the Lincoln Project, the group Weaver co-founded to unseat former president Donald Trump, says it was unaware of his texts until last month, when its statement denounced him as a "predator, a liar and an abuser." But multiple news outlets report some staffers may have known about the inappropriate behavior earlier. The organization announced Thursday that it was launching an independent investigation to determine Weaver's actions during his tenure. But the scandal has already compromised the moral high ground that the group touted last year.

Weaver declined to be interviewed for this article — not a surprise, really, just a month after his life imploded.

He spent four decades as a political operative without a winning presidential campaign — he got close with John McCain, had a shot with John Kasich, but ultimately fell short. The Lincoln Project was supposed to be another chance for Weaver to prove himself. Instead, that spotlight proved to be his undoing.

Growing up in Texas, Weaver dreamed of becoming a sports columnist. It was while working for the student newspaper at Texas A&M that Weaver met professor Phil Gramm and stumbled into a profession well suited for a smart, restless young man: political consulting. It's a job with no rules, no credentials and no permanent address.

"The problem with politics is that it attracts highly passionate and often brilliant people, but it

requires no degree or license," says a Republican consultant who has worked on campaigns with Weaver and who, like others interviewed for this story, spoke on the condition of anonymity to speak frankly about their former colleague. "There are no regulations. All you have to do to be a political consultant is show up at a campaign and say you are one. It's not like a real job where there's at least some modicum of vetting and background checks."

Weaver, he says, always had a dark side. "He was attracted to positive, reform-minded candidates who preached bipartisanship, but you always had a sense he had a stiletto in his boot — and would be happy to use it."

Weaver began his career with Gramm, who became a Democratic congressman, switched parties, was elected to the Senate and eventually ran for president. That led Weaver to the most significant politician in his life: McCain, who became almost a father figure.

Weaver and the senator from Arizona were joined at the hip for many, many years. As a top adviser, Weaver is credited with the "Straight Talk Express" strategy for McCain's 2000 presidential bid, a gambit that almost won the nomination. But McCain lost to George W. Bush, and Weaver was crushed he couldn't pull his friend over the finish line.

A winning presidential campaign is the Oscar of political consulting. Win and you write your own ticket: books, TV, pick of candidates. Still, despite the loss, the 2000 campaign made him a member of the political elite. "He's easily one the smartest and most creative strategic thinkers I've worked with in politics," says Davis, who worked with Weaver for McCain and Kasich.

But Weaver was also his own worst enemy. Dark — that word comes up in nearly every interview — and difficult. He could be charming and persuasive with candidates, explaining how he could help them win the office they thought they so richly deserved. But he was opinionated and arrogant, always right on any subject and dismissive of those beneath him.

A longtime rivalry with fellow Texan Karl Rove effectively shut Weaver out of the lucrative Bush political orbit. He was an adviser



John Weaver, seen in 2006 with Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), spent decades as a GOP consultant working for high-profile candidates.

for John Kerry's 2004 campaign and was back working for McCain's next presidential bid by 2007. But he lost an internal battle with another consultant on the campaign and was soon back on the street.

Weaver, despite commanding top-dollar consulting fees, was "always broke," according to several colleagues. He borrowed money from friends but never paid it back. (In 2013, Texas billionaire T. Boone Pickens took Weaver to court for an unpaid loan of \$125,000; Weaver said it was a misunderstanding and repaid the money.) Yes, there was a divorce from his first wife and ongoing medical bills, but his empty pockets were another mystery.

Thus commenced a series of uncomfortable partings with candidates (including Ambassador Jon Huntsman in his presidential bid and Michigan Gov. Rick Snyder) who paid Weaver large amounts of money and then alleged financial irregularities, which Weaver denied, according to a 2015 Politico profile. The major consultants can make \$1 million a year, and Weaver negotiated big bucks with little oversight. He was famous for disappearing and not returning calls. The rap is that he sought out weak candidates with deep pockets — but, then again, failed campaigns have plenty of blame to go around.

In the midst of all of this, there was no hint that Weaver was a

closeted gay man. Typically, in this world of dirty tricks and backstabbing, someone would have leaked that information. "Weaver's enemies delight in exposing that kind of stuff," says Jason Zengerle, who wrote the Politico story. The fact that they didn't suggests Weaver's sexuality really was a deeply held secret.

His health, however, was a source of frequent speculation. Weaver was beset by cancer and heart issues, but to campaign staffers those illnesses sometimes appeared to be a convenient excuse for Weaver to skip meetings and anything else he didn't feel like attending. "He was the boy who cried wolf," says one colleague.

By 2015, he was healthy enough to sign up for Kasich's presidential campaign. That job also faltered, and Weaver was looking for his next one.

It was around this time, according to the New York Times, that Weaver began texting his Twitter followers.

Weaver joined the Lincoln Project in late 2019, as one of eight Republican co-founders dedicated to the proposition that Trump was a threat to the republic. The opening salvo came in a New York Times op-ed written by Weaver, George Conway, Steve Schmidt and Rick Wilson, spoiling to take on the president and his enablers.

Weaver, says Schmidt, was asked to join because of his presi-

dential campaign experience and extensive media contacts. The board, aware of his reputation for messy finances, decided he would have no role in management or access to the money side of the organization.

To the surprise of almost everyone involved, the Lincoln Project took off. The ads attacking Trump were unsparing, and widely shared on social media. Democrats and money flooded what was suddenly an influential political action committee.

So did attacks on all the founders, veterans of Republican campaigns with plenty of enemies — especially from supporters of Trump who were furious at what they considered to be the ultimate betrayal. During the summer, according to Schmidt's account, the group picked up online chatter saying Weaver was gay. Schmidt then called Weaver simply to let him know the rumor was floating around and he should be aware in case it went public. Weaver told him the rumor was not true.

Shortly after that conversation, Weaver had a heart attack — at least, that's what friends were told — and went on medical leave. He never came back.

The American Conservative broke the story about the texts last month, before the New York Times report citing 21 accusers. Schmidt says the organization learned about the accusations at that time along with the rest of the public — and immediately cut ties.

"John Weaver led a secret life that was built on a foundation of deception at every level," reads a Lincoln Project statement. "... We extend our deepest sympathies to those who were targeted by his deplorable and predatory behavior. We are disgusted and outraged that someone in a position of power and trust would use it for these means."

But the Washington Blade, the Associated Press, the 19th and New York magazine, citing unnamed sources, reported this week that some Lincoln Project leaders were aware of the rumors last year. Six former staffers demanded to be released from non-disclosure agreements to discuss Weaver, the New York Times reported.

On Thursday, the group announced it is hiring "a best-in-

class outside professional to review Mr. Weaver's tenure with the organization and to establish both accountability and best practices going forward."

Later Friday, Schmidt announced he had resigned from the board of the Lincoln Project "to make room for the appointment of a female board member" amid reports not only about Weaver but also internal chaos and infighting. In his statement, he said he had been sexually abused as a child and shared his rage at his former colleague: "I detest John Weaver in a way I can't articulate."

One baffling aspect of the story is why Weaver would risk his family and career to approach strangers on Twitter with unsolicited sexual offers. Yes, he was a closeted gay man. But using such a public forum was reckless, at best, and the success of the Lincoln Project — with the ensuing spotlight on all the founders — made the risk much greater. And as New York Magazine reported, two men allege they received suggestive texts from Weaver before Lincoln Project internships. Weaver was playing with dynamite in one hand and a match in the other.

Why was he able to go undetected for so long? His unwanted behavior took place primarily outside an established workplace, and there has been no criminal behavior charged so far. Plus, Caren Goldberg, an expert witness in workplace harassment litigation, notes, "Men who are harassed, regardless of their own sexual orientation, don't tend to report" it as often as women who are harassed do (though as a general rule, victims of harassment rarely report it).

Weaver's career as a political consultant is over, which may be the least of his concerns. But he left with one last cryptic rejoinder.

"While I am taking full responsibility for the inappropriate messages and conversations, I want to state clearly that the other smears being leveled at me by Donald Trump's enablers as a way to get back at the Lincoln Project for our principled stand for democracy are categorically false and outrageous," he wrote in his statement. "I hope that by telling this truth at long last my family and I can move forward."

roxanne.roberts@washpost.com

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# TELEVISION

## TV HIGHLIGHTS



ERIC LIEBOWITZ/NETFLIX

**The Crew** (Netflix) Kevin James stars as a NASCAR chief for the Bobby Spencer Racing team. When the owner's daughter takes over, James has to protect himself and his crew from her attempts to modernize the team.

**The Bachelor** (ABC at 8) Difficult decisions and hometown visits loom; off-set controversies make it even more interesting. See story, C1.

**All American** (CW at 8) After Spencer gets some sage advice, he and the team rally around Chris to help him with his trauma.

**9-1-1** (Fox at 8) The 118 races to save the lives of workers trapped in a factory fire.

**9-1-1: Lone Star** (Fox at 9) Judd is shocked at the latest victim of an emergency call.

**Snowpiercer** (TNT at 9) As the Big Alice crew is granted shore leave on Snowpiercer, Layton and Wilford have differing opinions on the future.

**Black Lightning** (CW at 9) The war between the 100 and the Kobra Cartel rages on, and Lynn continues to be concerned about Jefferson.

**Below Deck** (Bravo at 9) Francesca finally comes to a decision regarding Elizabeth's future on deck.

**The Good Doctor** (ABC at 10) Lim is challenged by the unique circumstances surrounding a pregnant patient with an aggressive tumor.

## PREMIERES

**Aliens in Alaska** (Discovery Plus) New evidence and personal testimony from local witnesses shed light on alien activity.

**The Circuit** (Acorn TV) This drama series follows a magistrate and court officers and lawyers on a five-day round trip to dispense justice to the remote communities of northwestern Australia.

## MOVIE

**The Real Prince Philip** (Acorn TV) This documentary celebrates the life and achievements of Prince Philip, emphasizing the role his military experiences played in his later achievements.

## SPECIAL

**American Experience: Voice of Freedom** (PBS at 9) Explore the life of singer Marian Anderson. In 1939, after being barred from performing at Constitution Hall because she was Black, she triumphed at the Lincoln Memorial in what became a landmark moment in American history.

— Nina Zafar

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

BROADCAST CHANNELS										
2/15/21	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30
<b>4.1</b> WRC (NBC)	•News	•Hollywood	•Ellen's Game of Games	•The Wall	•The Wall	•The Wall	•The Wall	•The Wall	•The Wall	•The Wall
<b>4.2</b> WRC (IND)	The Munsters	The Munsters	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	The Nanny	The Nanny
<b>5.1</b> WTTG (Fox)	Fox 5	•TMZ	•9-1-1		(9:01) •9-1-1: Lone Star		Fox 5 News at 10		News	The Final
<b>7.1</b> WJLA (ABC)	•Wheel	•J'pardy!	•The Bachelor				•The Good Doctor		News	•J. Kimmel
<b>9.1</b> WUSA (CBS)	The Q&A	•ET	•Neighbor	•Bob-Abishola	•All Rise		•Bull		9 News	•Late-Colbert
<b>14.1</b> WFDC (UNI)	La Rosa de Guadalupe	•Vencer el desamor	•Te acuerdas de mí				•Dulce ambición		Noticias	Noticiero
<b>20.1</b> WDCM (MNTV)	•Family Feud	•FamFeud	Fox 5 News	•FamFeud	Fox 5 News	Creek	Big Bang	Big Bang	•Law & Order: SVU	
<b>22.1</b> WMPT (PBS)	Connect.	Collectibles	Antiques Roadshow	•American Experience					•Amanpour-Co	
<b>26.1</b> WETA (PBS)	•PBS NewsHour		Here	Here	Here	Here	•American Experience			
<b>32.1</b> WHUT (PBS)	DW News	•MotorWk	Evening With Berry Gordy	American Experience	Democracy Now!		•Seinfeld	•Seinfeld	World News	Kamla Show
<b>50.1</b> WDCW (CW)	•black-ish	•black-ish	•All American	•Black Lightning					Two Men	Two Men
<b>66.1</b> WPXW (ION)	NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles	

CABLE CHANNELS																																										
A&E	AMC	Animal Planet	BET	Bravo	Cartoon Network	CNN	Comedy Central	Discovery	Disney	E!	ESPN	ESPN2	Food Network	Fox News	Freeform	FX	Hallmark	Hallmark M&M	HBO	HGTV	History	Lifetime	MASN	MSNBC	MTV	Nat'l Geographic	NBC SportsNet WA	Nickelodeon	PARMT	Syfy	TBS	TCM	TLC	TNT	Travel	truTV	TV Land	TV One	USA Network	VH1	WNCN	WGN
Court Cam	Bourne Su	Alaskan Bush People	(6:00) Movie: Madea's Family Reunion ★★ (2006)	Below Deck	(6:00) The LEGO Movie 2	Erin Burnett OutFront	The Office (7:45) The Office	Street Outlaws: Full	Secrets	Mod Fam	College Basketball: Virginia at Florida State (Live)	Women's College Basketball: Stanford at Oregon	Kids Baking Championship	FOX News Primetime	(6:30) Movie: Toy Story 2 ★★ (1999)	(4:30) Movie: The Revenant	Movie: All of My Heart (2015)	Little House on the Prairie	(7:10) Movie: Dunkirk ★★★ (2017)	100 Day Dream Home	American Pickers	Rizzoli & Isles	Orioles Classics	The ReidOut (Live)	(6:30) Movie: Grown Ups ★ (2010)	Inside North Korea	The Loud House	Yellowstone	(6:00) Movie: The Fifth Element ★★ (1999)	Family Guy	(6:30) Rage in Heaven ★★	1000-Lb. Sisters	(6:15) Movie: Thor: Ragnarok ★★★ (2017)	The Alaska Triangle	Imp. Jokers	Andy Griffith	Cosby Show	Law & Order: SVU	VH1 Family Reunion: Love	Your Voice, Your Future	Last-Standing	
Court Cam	Movie: The Bourne Ultimatum ★★★ (2007)	Alaska: The Last Frontier: The Frozen Edge	Movie: The Clark Sisters: First Ladies of Gospel (2019)	Below Deck	Burgers	Anderson Cooper 360	The Office	Street Outlaws	Secrets	Mod Fam	College Basketball: Texas Tech at TCU (Live)	2021 Australian Open Tennis: Men's and Women's Quarterfinals (Live)	Kids Baking Championship	Tucker Carlson Tonight	Movie: Toy Story 3 ★★ (2010)	Movie: The Martian ★★★ (2015)	Movie: The Secret Ingredient (2020)	Little House on the Prairie	30 Coins	100 Day Dream Home	American Pickers	Rizzoli & Isles	J. Dooley	The Last Word	(8:45) Movie: Grown Ups 2 ★ (2013)	North Korea: Inside the Mind of a Dictator	Loud House	Yellowstone	(8:35) Movie: Death Wish ★ (2018)	Family Guy	Movie: In Cold Blood ★★★ (1967)	My Feet Are Killing Me	The Alaska Triangle	Imp. Jokers	Raymond	Fatal Attraction	WWE Monday Night RAW (Live)	VH1 Family	CyberNation: Public Sector	NewsNation (Live)		
Court Cam	Court Cam	Homestead Rescue: Survival Shelter	Movie: The Clark Sisters: First Ladies of Gospel (2019)	Below Deck	Burgers	Anderson Cooper 360	The Office	Street Outlaws	Bunk'd	Mod Fam	College Basketball: Texas Tech at TCU (Live)	2021 Australian Open Tennis: Men's and Women's Quarterfinals (Live)	Kids Baking Championship	Hannity (Live)	Movie: The Martian ★★★ (2015)	Movie: The Secret Ingredient (2020)	Little House on the Prairie	The Investigation	Ty Breaker	American Pickers	Rizzoli & Isles	H. Dooley	The Last Word	Movie: Grown Ups 2 ★ (2013)	New Air Force One	Sheldon	Yellowstone	Movie: The Shawshank Redemption ★★★ (1994)	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Conan	Go-Big Show	Bigfoot in Alaska	Imp. Jokers	Raymond	ATL Homicide	ATL Homicide	Straight	Chrisley	Basketball Wives	Celebrity-Wedding	VH1 Family Reunion: Love
Court Cam	Court Cam	Homestead Rescue: Survival Shelter	Movie: The Clark Sisters: First Ladies of Gospel (2019)	Below Deck	Burgers	Anderson Cooper 360	The Office	Street Outlaws	Bunk'd	Mod Fam	College Basketball: Texas Tech at TCU (Live)	2021 Australian Open Tennis: Men's and Women's Quarterfinals (Live)	Kids Baking Championship	Hannity (Live)	Movie: The Martian ★★★ (2015)	Movie: The Secret Ingredient (2020)	Little House on the Prairie	The Investigation	Ty Breaker	American Pickers	Rizzoli & Isles	H. Dooley	The Last Word	Movie: Grown Ups 2 ★ (2013)	New Air Force One	Sheldon	Yellowstone	Movie: The Shawshank Redemption ★★★ (1994)	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Conan	Go-Big Show	Bigfoot in Alaska	Imp. Jokers	Raymond	ATL Homicide	ATL Homicide	Straight	Chrisley	Basketball Wives	Celebrity-Wedding	VH1 Family Reunion: Love
Court Cam	Court Cam	Homestead Rescue: Survival Shelter	Movie: The Clark Sisters: First Ladies of Gospel (2019)	Below Deck	Burgers	Anderson Cooper 360	The Office	Street Outlaws	Bunk'd	Mod Fam	College Basketball: Texas Tech at TCU (Live)	2021 Australian Open Tennis: Men's and Women's Quarterfinals (Live)	Kids Baking Championship	Hannity (Live)	Movie: The Martian ★★★ (2015)	Movie: The Secret Ingredient (2020)	Little House on the Prairie	The Investigation	Ty Breaker	American Pickers	Rizzoli & Isles	H. Dooley	The Last Word	Movie: Grown Ups 2 ★ (2013)	New Air Force One	Sheldon	Yellowstone	Movie: The Shawshank Redemption ★★★ (1994)	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Conan	Go-Big Show	Bigfoot in Alaska	Imp. Jokers	Raymond	ATL Homicide	ATL Homicide	Straight	Chrisley	Basketball Wives	Celebrity-Wedding	VH1 Family Reunion: Love

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs • High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★ Excellent ★★ Good ★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

## MOVIE REVIEW

# Well, we loved it before: To All the Boys trilogy comes to an uneventful close

BY SONIA RAO

What does it mean when a film's most intriguing thread is a high school jock born after Y2K insisting his disinterested girlfriend listen to the band Oasis? Maybe that the viewer choosing to fixate on this detail isn't the intended audience. By its third installment, the once-clever To All the Boys franchise can only hope to pique the interest of bored teenagers.

This wouldn't be an unusual assessment for most of the high school rom-coms Netflix dumps onto its platform, except that 2018's "To All the Boys I've Loved Before" set the expectations for its sequels sky-high. The film became a sensation, serving as a launchpad for stars Lana Condor and especially Noah Centineo, the heartthrob who earned comparisons to a young Mark Ruffalo.

Their chemistry remains intact with "To All the Boys: Always and Forever," now streaming, the final film of the trilogy based on Jenny Han's novels. The rest falls limp. Whereas the first movie freshened up genre tropes — the plot centered on bookworm Lara Jean Covey (Condor) pretending to date sensitive lax bro Peter Kavinsky (Centineo) for mutual gain — the third feels stale.

It picks up with the three Covey daughters honoring their late mother's memory by visiting



KATIE YU/NETFLIX

Noah Centineo and Lana Condor keep up the chemistry in "To All the Boys: Always and Forever," but seem to have outgrown their roles.

South Korea over spring break with their father (John Corbett) and his soon-to-be fiancée (Sarayu Blue), whose romance is one of few aspects from the second mov-

ie to remain relevant. Awaiting Lara Jean at home are the stress- of college acceptance season as well as her boyfriend, Peter, with whom she plans to attend Stan-

ford. The catch, of course, is that she doesn't actually get in — and while on a class trip across the country, she falls deeply in love with New York University in-

stead. Will their relationship survive the distance? Should they just break up now and get it over with? Both are real questions

high-schoolers face at this point in their lives, but that doesn't amount to engaging conflict here, thanks to a dull screenplay. Though Condor and Centineo bring their best assets to the table — sincerity and charm, respectively — the film doesn't give them much to do. (It does try to jam in a "Spectacular Now"-lite reconciliation story line between Peter and his father, which feels a bit out of the blue.)

The franchise traded hands after "To All the Boys I've Loved Before," with cinematographer Michael Fimognari grabbing the directing reins from Susan Johnson for the latter two films. The tonal shift is palpable, an upbeat rom-com swapped for movies going through the motions. "P.S. I Love You" and "Always and Forever" are perfectly inoffensive Netflix rom-coms — and yes, the opposite sort exists — but, unfortunately for fans who had high hopes for them, that's all the films wind up being.

Regardless of whether Lara Jean and Peter have outgrown each other, it seems their audience — and the actors, given the more dynamic roles coming their way — have outgrown them. A fitting goodbye.

sonia.rao@washpost.com

**To All the Boys: Always and Forever** (115 minutes) is now streaming on Netflix.

## MOVIE DIRECTORY

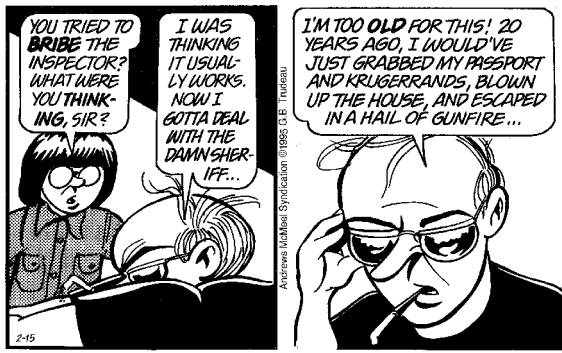
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MARYLAND	Virginia
<p><b>AMC Columbia 14</b> 10300 Little Patuxent Parkway The Croods: A New Age (PG) CC: 3:15 Wonder Woman 1984 (PG-13) CC: 3:05-6:35 Fatale (R) CC: 6:40 The Little Things (R) CC: 3:40-6:50 The World to Come (R) CC: 3:05-6:50 Supernova (R) CC: 3:45 A Writer's Odyssey (NR) 3:10-6:40 The Mauritanian (R) CC: 3:30-6:50 The Marksman (PG-13) CC: 6:10 Land (PG-13) CC: 4:10-6:45 Nomadland: The IMAX 2D Experience (R) CC: 3:50-6:50 Judas and the Black Messiah (R) CC: 3:00; 4:00-7:00; 6:00</p> <p><b>AMC Loews St. Charles Town Ctr. 9</b> 11115 Mall Circle The Croods: A New Age (PG) CC: 4:30-7:00 Hidden Figures (PG) CC: 5:00-8:15 Wonder Woman 1984 (PG-13) CC: 4:00-7:30 The Little Things (R) CC: 5:15-6:50 Judas and the Black Messiah (R) CC: 4:35-7:45-8:15</p>	<p><b>AMC Hoffman Center 22</b> 206 Swamp Fox Rd. The Croods: A New Age (PG) CC: 2:00-6:00 Hidden Figures (PG) CC: 4:45-8:00 Wonder Woman 1984 (PG-13) CC: 3:45-7:45 A Writer's Odyssey (NR) 1:10-4:35-7:50</p> <p><b>Hoyt's West Nursery Cinema 14</b> 1591 West Nursery Road The Croods: A New Age (PG) CC: 4:00-6:40 The War with Grandpa (PG) CC: 4:40 Wonder Woman 1984 (PG-13) CC: 3:40-6:40 Fatale (R) CC: 7:40 News of the World (PG-13) CC: 4:20-7:10 The Little Things (R) CC: 4:10-7:20 The Marksman (PG-13) CC: 4:50-7:30 Judas and the Black Messiah (R) 4:10-7:20</p> <p><b>AMC Courthouse Plaza 8</b> 2150 Clarendon Blvd. Wonder Woman 1984 (PG-13) CC: 4:15-6:30 The Little Things (R) CC: 4:30-6:15 Judas and the Black Messiah (R) 4:30-6:15 The Mauritanian (R) CC: 4:00-7:30</p> <p><b>AMC Potomac Mills 18</b> 2700 Potomac Mills Circle The Croods: A New Age (PG) CC: 3:30-6:30</p>

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PICKLES



BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE
NORTH
10762
Q32
743
AK6
WEST
84
AK1094
A6
10873
EAST
1953
J865
Q92
92
SOUTH (D)
AKQ
7
KJ1085
QJ54

The bidding:
SOUTH WEST NORTH EAST
1 1 1NT 2♥(I)
3 3 Pass 3 Pass
4 4 Pass 5 All Pass
Opening lead - ♥K

"It's Newton's Third Law of Marriage," a club player sighed to me. "For every action, there's an equal and opposite overreaction."

My friend had been today's West, playing with his wife in a duplicate game. Against five diamonds, he led the king of hearts.

"My wife signaled 'count' with the eight," West told me. "I knew I couldn't cash a second heart, so I led a club. South won in dummy and led a trump: deuce, jack. I took my ace and led another club. South won in dummy again, led a second trump to his 10, took the king and claimed, making five."

"I made a remark about my wife's bid of two hearts when she had next to nothing. She said I could think about it while I'm sleeping on the couch tonight. I think that was a slight overreaction."

East may have been upset about the defense. West probably beats five diamonds if he ducks the first trump. South will return a club to dummy to lead a second trump to his 10, and then West can win and give East a club ruff.

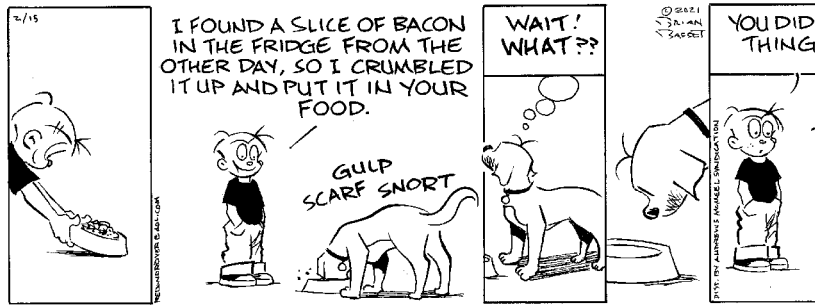
DAILY QUESTION

You hold:
84 AK1094
A6 10873
Your partner opens one diamond, you respond one heart and he bids two clubs. What do you say?

ANSWER: This decision is close. You must judge whether to force to game or settle for an invitation. Since you have prime values and good intermediates in hearts, a raise to three clubs would be an underbid. Stretch slightly to bid two spades, a "fourth suit" call that simply asks partner to bid again.

— Frank Stewart
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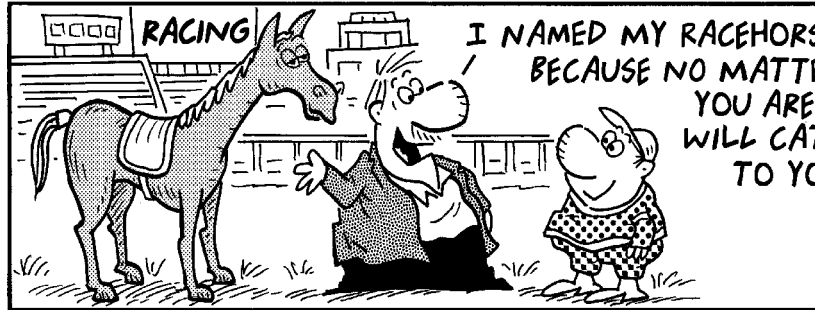
RED AND ROVER



AGNES



FRANK AND ERNEST



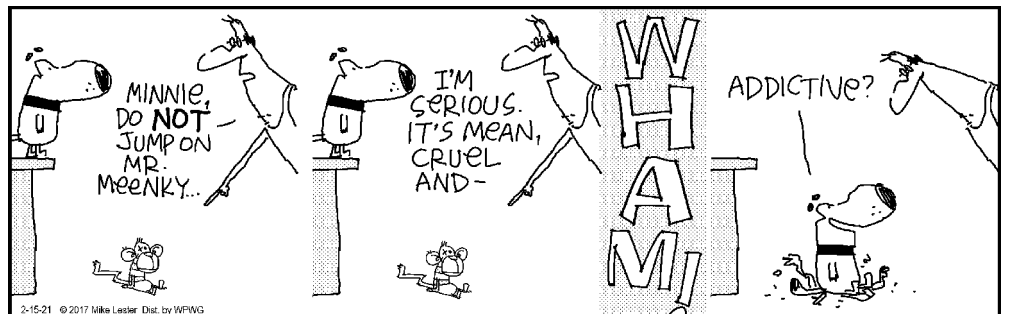
WUMO



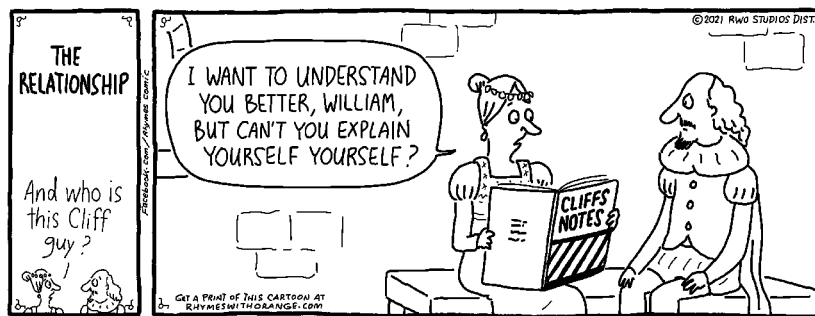
CLASSIC PEANUTS



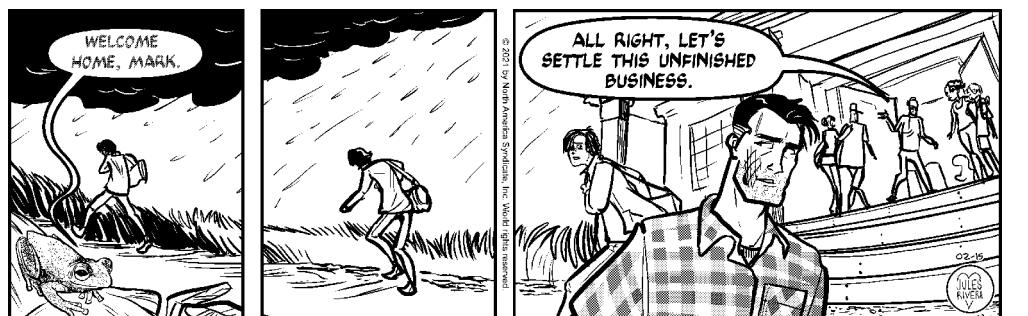
MIKE DU JOUR



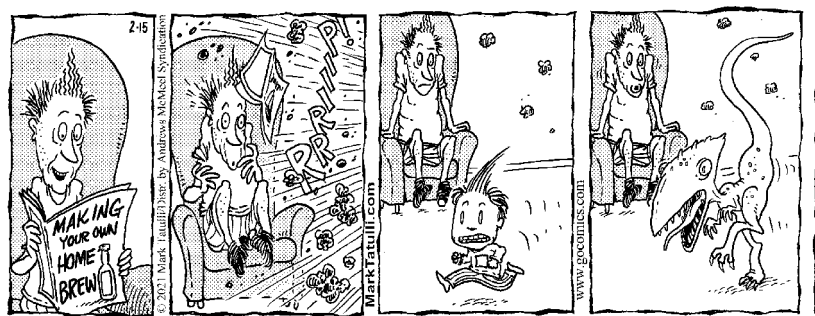
RHYMES WITH ORANGE



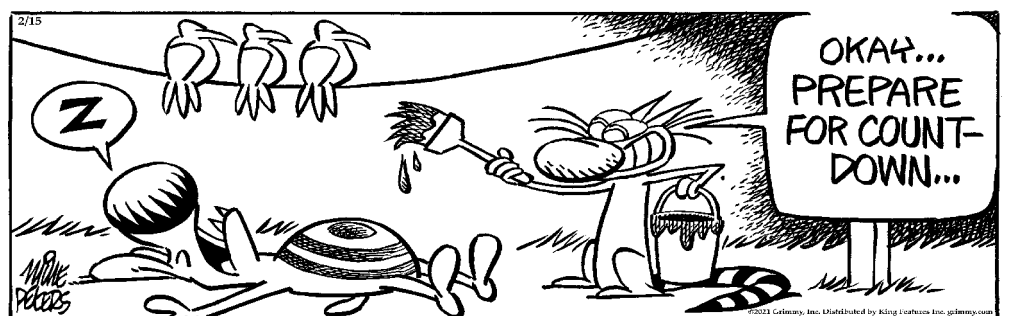
MARK TRAIL



LIO



MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



BALDO



BLONDIE



SALLY FORTH



SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

Sudoku grid with numbers 5, 6, 1, 4, 2, 3, 7, 2, 5, 9, 2, 5, 3, 6, 1, 8, 3, 7, 5, 2, 1, 4, 7, 5, 2, 1, 4, 4, 8, 9, 3, 6, 3, 9, 6, 3, 1, 8, 7, 4, 1, 9, 5

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★★★★★

SCRABBLE G R A M S

Scrabble game board with racks containing letters like E, O, W, N, B, G, D, A, E, E, O, M, N, N, A, A, E, P, M, C, D, E, O, S, C, G, N, T

Jumble Crosswords puzzle grid with clues: 1. Brash, 5. Competing, 6. Age, develop, 7. shower, 1. Coarse fabric, 2. Opposing, 3. Solar, 4. or later

Jumble Crosswords puzzle grid with clues: ANEBZR, LARVI, RENIP, OEMTER, RLBPAU, DLBPAU, DLBPAU, DLBPAU, DLBPAU

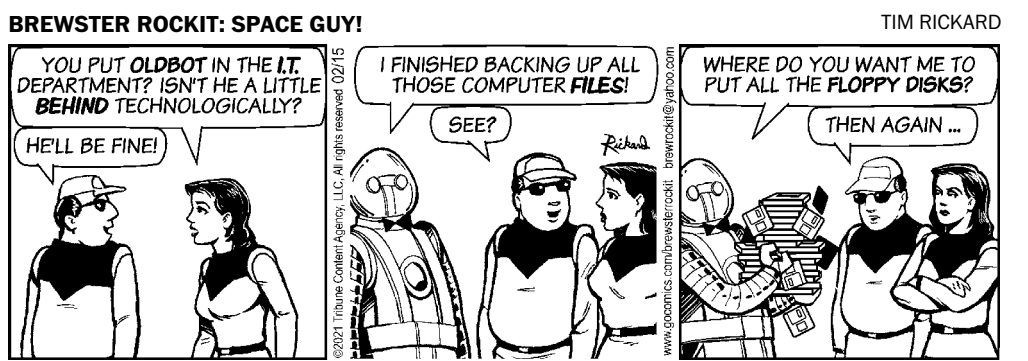
SHERMAN'S LAGOON



CURTIS



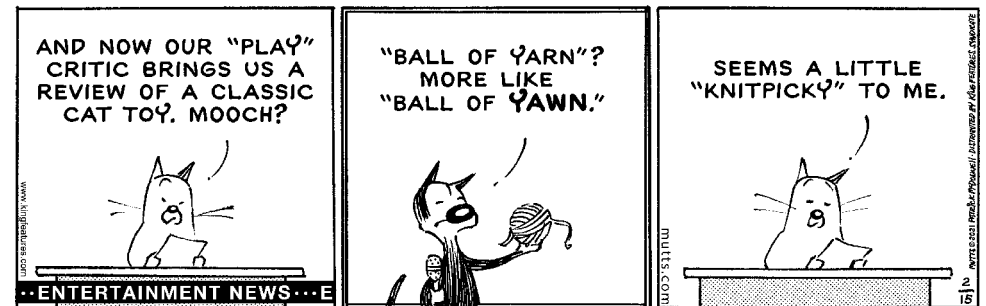
BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!





MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL



ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN



HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | FEBRUARY 15

Curious, imaginative and sensitive, you make your unusual dreams and visions a reality. This year, by thinking creatively out of the box — and with more patience — you succeed tremendously. If single, you like to be free to roam, so this is not the year you become committed. If attached, affection is extremely important to you, and your partner needs to give this on a daily basis. Libra calms your chaos.

ARIES (MARCH 21-APRIL 19). The adventurer within you awakens. You're weary of the details of daily routine and long for expansion. Keep your cheerful outlook and be aware of how associates are affecting you.

TAURUS (APRIL 20-MAY 20). Peace and quiet today help you find a sense of direction. You have ideas concerning future plans that others aren't receptive to just yet. Natural beauty in a wilderness setting helps you align your natural inner rhythms.

GEMINI (MAY 21-JUNE 20). Favors are unexpectedly returned. Friends are sincere and supportive. You will be wise in your selection of long-range goals. Working on projects that have enduring quality brings satisfaction today; think longevity.

CANCER (JUNE 21-JULY 22). You're shown how important you are to professional associates as well as your loved ones. Return all emails and phone calls promptly. The appropriate responses you make now will make today a success.

LEO (JULY 23-AUG. 22). You can travel back to an old haunt. It's also a favorable time to reread a favorite book or to review language skills. Stories or poems with a profound message have considerable appeal.

VIRGO (AUG. 23-SEPT. 22). Today brings a mystery to light, and the financial situation is clarified through details a partner brings to your attention. Don't take advice verbatim, especially about business. A second opinion is a good idea.

LIBRA (SEPT. 23-OCT. 22). You attract compliments and adoration from unlikely sources today. Be honest about your feelings if a romantic mood is exhibited by someone to whom you're not drawn. There could be some new developments at work to analyze.

SCORPIO (OCT. 23-NOV. 21). Turn daily duties into a competitive game to boost morale. Your energy and enthusiasm make you an inspiration to co-workers. Don't hesitate to take on a new responsibility. And make sure to get in some exercise today.

SAGITARIUS (NOV. 22-DEC. 21). Today helps you know yourself better and tap into your potential. Others are more loving and cooperative. You can share a good joke with someone you care for. Celebrate by reaching out and focusing on creative projects and hobbies.

CAPRICORN (DEC. 22-JAN. 19). Entertain at home; plan a family activity. Elderly relatives may have entertaining information about genealogy and family traditions. It's a splendid time to redecorate and rearrange your home.

AQUARIUS (JAN. 20-FEB. 18). Commuter travel or a short neighborhood trip brings a chance encounter or experience that serves to awaken new perspectives. You will be exposed to those who have a different philosophy of life than yours.

PISCES (FEB. 19-MARCH 20). You are slightly distracted with your work today. You will long to make some new purchases, either to give as gifts or to add pleasure to recreation hours. Be sensible and study your budget before overextending though.

— Madalyn Aslan

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DILBERT

SCOTT ADAMS



JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY



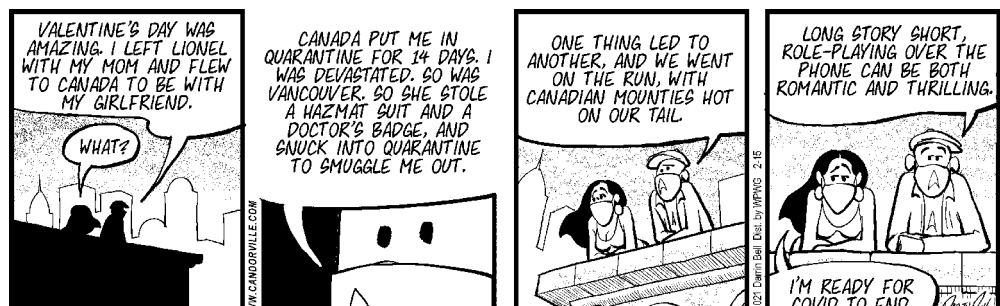
FRAZZ

JEF MALLET



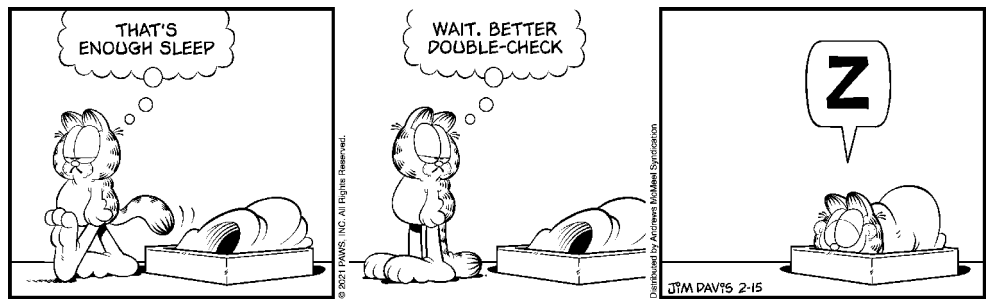
CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL



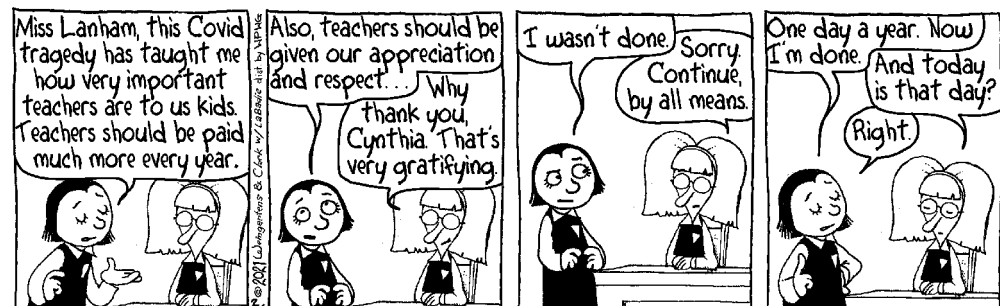
GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS



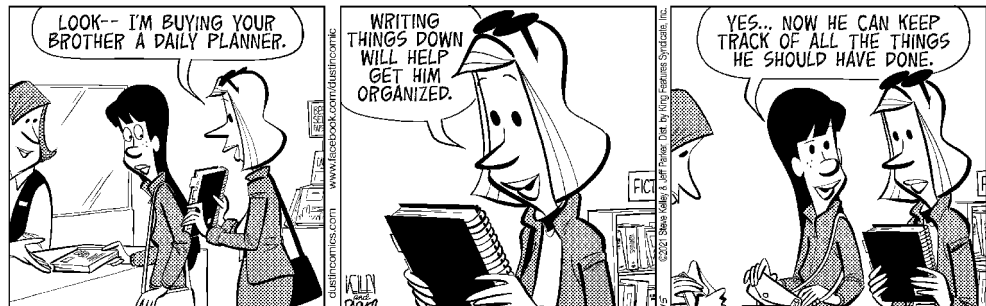
BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK



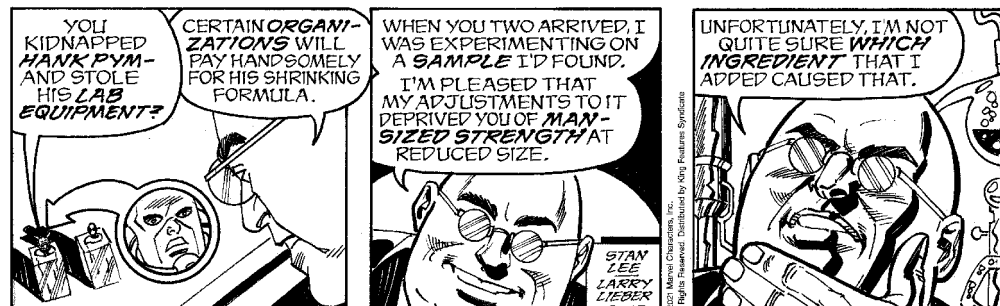
DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER



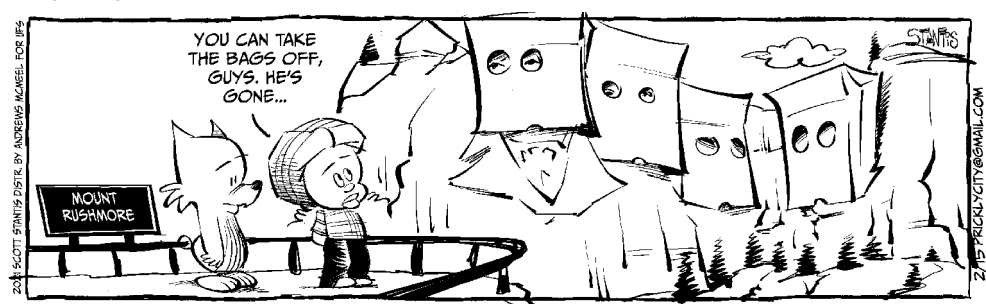
THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

STAN LEE & ALEX SAVIUK



PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS



LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK



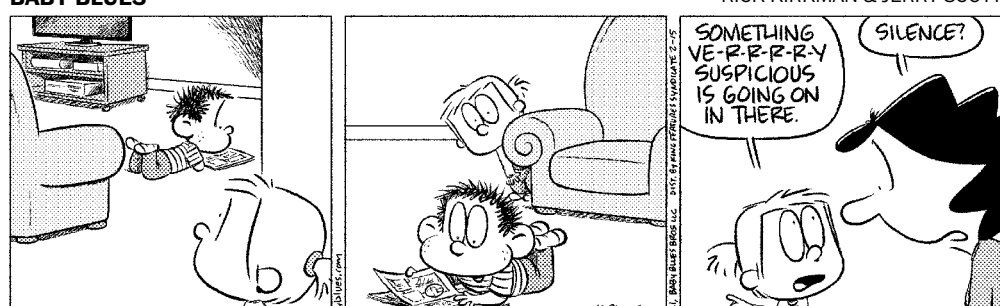
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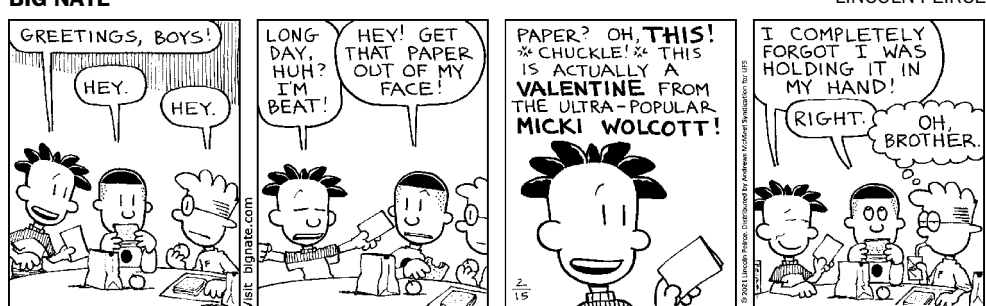
BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT



BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE



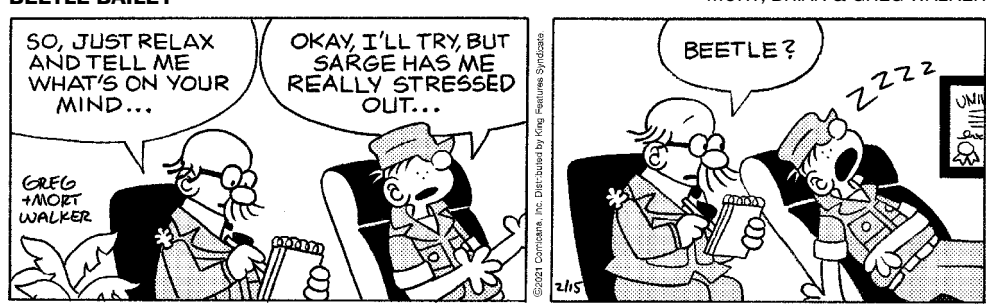
ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK



BETLE BAILEY

MORT, BRIAN & GREG WALKER



PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS



PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

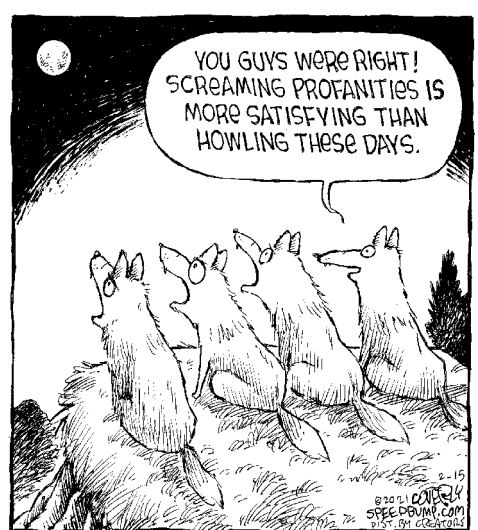
Sudoku grid with numbers 1-9 in a 9x9 grid.

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

Scrabble grid with letters A-Z and scores for racks 1-4.

SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY



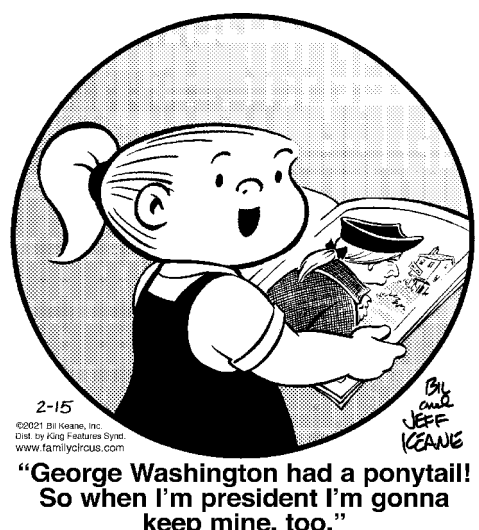
DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM



FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE



REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS





# Frese stands alone after 500th victory with Terps

MARYLAND 95,  
NEBRASKA 73

BY KAREEM COPELAND

Brenda Frese was a little more than 24 hours away from becoming the winningest coach in Maryland women's basketball history when a storm encased the greater D.C. area in a thick layer of ice. The ninth-ranked Terrapins already had waited nine days since they last faced another team because of a coronavirus

postponement, and now a canceled flight had put another game in jeopardy.

The Big Ten matchup at Nebraska would have to be a day trip, but a scrambled schedule and frigid temperatures had no effect on the Terrapins. Frese now stands alone with 500 wins at the helm of the Maryland program, breaking a tie with Chris Weller with a 95-73 blowout of the Cornhuskers Sunday in Lincoln, Neb.

"It's been an incredible journey," Frese said. "One I'm incredibly proud of. Most importantly is just the consistency factor to be

able to do this at such a high factor, day in and day out, with just such incredible student-athletes and families and staff and support staff to be able to make this happen."

Frese likes to talk about how she was unable to comprehend 500 wins when she first was hired to replace the retired Weller, who finished one short of that milestone. She simply hoped to get a second contract and even lobbied to have Weller coach a game to reach that nice, round number. Nineteen seasons later, Frese has added the 2005-06 national

championship and three Final Fours to her résumé, coached 14 WNBA draft picks and put together 14 top-10 recruiting classes. She was named the national coach of the year in 2001-02, the season before then-athletic director Debbie Yow poached Frese from Minnesota.

"The overachiever trait was what I really felt," Yow told The Washington Post, "the spirit of the woman and how she speaks about winning and what can be done."

Frese has downplayed the significance of the milestone, but a

toothy grin spread ear-to-ear as her team stormed her with a group hug, bouncing around the woman who brought this group together. Assistants gave the "we-are-not-worthy" bow steps away.

Frese pointed to the stands after the final buzzer, where her two older sisters were able to attend, and she had a voice mail from Weller by the time she reached the locker room. The two had spoken this past week about the upcoming moment.

"She's not one of these people who walks around with a chip on their shoulder," Weller told The

Illinois at Maryland  
Wednesday, 1 p.m., Big Ten Network

Post. "She's just a nice person who gets things done and cares about others. They're a good example of what you want in a program."

"You've got to consider her as the total person. She's not just a coach. She's a mother. She does a remarkable job, and I'm very proud of her and the women's basketball program."

Not only did Frese improve her record at Maryland to 500-130  
SEE MARYLAND ON D4

## For HBCUs, real change requires more than recruits



Kevin B. Blackstone

Writing a column on sports in 1936, one of the most influential thinkers who happened to graduate from a historically Black college and

university, W.E.B. Du Bois from Fisk, distilled the problem of amateur athletics, particularly as it related to "Negro" athletes, as they were called then. It was economic, he explained.

"There is no difference between a professional and an amateur in reality, except that a higher standard of honor is expected of one than of the other," Du Bois wrote Sept. 19, 1936, in the Pittsburgh Courier. "This the law and public opinion may easily remedy. It is to the clear interest of the Negro athletes to help abolish the distinction between Professional and Amateur in athletic competitions."

But no one changed how so-called amateur games treated Black athletes then. And no one has changed it since. It is a problem of equity and is the most critical issue facing what we call the revenue-generating college sports, football and basketball.

Over the past several months, however, it has been suggested that some sort of seismic shift was taking place in these games colleges play only for their own pay. A few elite teenage Black male athletes chose to play basketball or football at the HBCUs where Du Bois learned and lectured — where they often had little choice but to play for

SEE BLACKSTONE ON D4

### MEN'S COLLEGE BASKETBALL

Maryland's all-around performance has it in control all game as it tops Minnesota, 72-59. D4

### GOLF

Daniel Berger shoots a 65 for a two-stroke victory at Pebble Beach as Jordan Spieth's woes continue. D8

### ON THE WEB

The Daytona 500 was delayed by rain and ended too late for this edition. Please visit [POSTSPORTS.COM](https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/).



KEITH SRAKOCIC/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Bryan Rust scored past Capitals goalie Vitek Vanecek in the first period. Washington returned with a full lineup after three covid-related postponements.

# Back and off track

BY SAMANTHA PELL

PITTSBURGH — The Washington Capitals went into PPG Paints Arena on Sunday afternoon healthy, rested and eager to get back on track after an unexpected week-long break.

And with a full cast of skaters available for the first time in nearly four weeks, the Capitals came out with energy and set the pace early against the Pittsburgh Penguins. But the chance to break their losing streak slipped away amid multiple lulls and shaky goaltending.

The Capitals fell to the Penguins, 6-3, and have lost four straight games in regulation after a 6-0-3 start to the season.

"[We're] concerned about every game,

PENGUINS 6,  
CAPITALS 3

Shaky goaltending results  
in fourth straight loss

Capitals at Penguins

Tomorrow, 7 p.m., NBCSW, NBCSN

but certainly I am not concerned about our team," defenseman John Carlson said. "I think we got pieces in there that know what to do. . . . We are losing, and no one is accepting that, but I think our game is getting better. Feels like we are going longer stretches of going the right way."

Washington will get another chance to have things go the right way against the Penguins (7-5-1) when the rivals meet again Tuesday night at PPG Paints Arena.

If Vitek Vanecek is in the net for that game, it would be his 11th straight start. After allowing four goals on 36 shots Sunday, he has given up three or more goals in nine of his past 10 starts. The Capitals have allowed three or more goals in six straight games and in all but two games this season. They have allowed 22 goals in the four-game skid.

Washington was down 4-3 entering the third period after Nicklas Backstrom's late second-period score gave the Capitals a glimmer of hope. But it could never find the equalizer, and Jake Guentzel's second-

SEE CAPITALS ON D2

## Defensive effort speaks for itself in Wizards' win

WIZARDS 104,  
CELTICS 91

BY AVA WALLACE

The Washington Wizards didn't do much physically in just their third practice of the month Saturday ahead of their matchup against the Boston Celtics. Practice time has been scarce in February, with 16 games scheduled in 27 days, so Coach Scott Brooks used the rare session to get his team in line mentally. The Wizards watched film unrushed and

### Rockets at Wizards

Today, 7 p.m., NBCSW, NBA TV

talked through some of their immediately correctable defensive issues.

On Sunday against the Celtics, Washington's mental preparation paid dividends with a 104-91 win in which the team's defense made up for another so-so offensive outing, and the Wizards held all-star Jayson Tatum, averaging 26.6 points per game this season, to just six points.

It helped that the Wizards (7-17) had a rested Bradley Beal, a new

SEE WIZARDS ON D3



JOHN MCDONNELL/THE WASHINGTON POST

A rested Bradley Beal led five Wizards in double figures with 35 points, but communication on defense was key to Sunday's victory.

## Braced for emotional return, Wall reflects on exit from D.C.

Trade to Rockets didn't break his bond to city, Beal

BY AVA WALLACE

John Wall's face pops up on the video conference, and he grins and waves, sporting a red snapback on his head and a black hoodie with his charitable foundation's logo across his chest. The virtual face time this February morning doesn't have Wall in front of a microphone addressing reporters — he is calling in from Houston as the surprise guest of honor at a tele-assembly for fifth-graders at Ketcham Elementary School in Southeast Washington.

"Who is your favorite basketball

player?" One squirming student asks during the question-and-answer portion. Wall's response — he has always admired Allen Iverson — draws nods from only the principal and a few teachers.

Ketcham's fifth-graders, most of whom are 10 or 11 years old, were infants when the Washington Wizards drafted Wall with the No. 1 overall pick in 2010. So young were they during the point guard's prime years that it isn't a stretch to imagine they will know Wall's legacy in D.C. as one based in charity as much as basketball.

SEE WALL ON D3















## AUSTRALIAN OPEN

## Williams powers into the quarterfinals

ASSOCIATED PRESS

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA — Serena Williams tumbled to the ground, her heavily taped right ankle turning, her body contorting, her racket flying.

This was early in the second set of a competitive-as-can-be match-up in the Australian Open's fourth round against a younger version of herself — stinging serves, huge groundstroke cuts, a fierce streak — and during a stretch Sunday when things seemed to be slipping away.

Williams quickly put up a hand to indicate she was okay, retied the laces of her right shoe, and, while it took her a bit to regain control, she did so, just in the nick of time. Grabbing the last two games, Williams pulled out a 6-4, 2-6, 6-4 victory over No. 7 seed Aryna Sabalenka to reach the quarterfinals at Melbourne Park.

Two years ago at this tournament, Williams was on the verge of a quarterfinal win when she hurt her ankle and ended up losing.

"Well, my first thought was, 'Not another ankle sprain in Australia.' But I knew immediately that it wasn't. Then I was more embarrassed than anything. I was like, 'Oh, my goodness! I don't like falling,' Williams said. 'But I was fine. I mean, once I realized I didn't twist my ankle, like at all, I was like, 'Okay, I'm good, let me just get up.'"

Williams moved closer to an eighth Australian Open championship and record-tying 24th Grand Slam singles title overall.

Her most recent came in 2017, while she was pregnant.

On a cloudy day with the temperature in the mid-60s, both Williams and Sabalenka dismissed much in the way of subtlety or nuance.

"I was okay with it, really," Williams said. "If she wants to play power, let's go."

These two hit the ball hard, over and over again at Rod Laver Arena, and Williams was barely better. She ended up with more winners (30-24) and more aces (9-4) while cranking up her best-in-the-game serve to as fast as 126 mph.

When Williams needed to volley, she did, claiming 13 of 15 points when she went to the net. More importantly, she covered the court much the way she did in her



LOREN ELLIOTT/REUTERS

Serena Williams recovered from a fall to claim a hard-fought 6-4, 2-6, 6-4 win over Aryna Sabalenka.

younger days.

And she showed no signs of trouble from the left Achilles' tendon that hampered her in a U.S. Open semifinal loss in September and forced her to withdraw from the French Open before the second round later that month.

"I've worked really hard on my movement. Yeah, I like retrieving balls. I mean, obviously I like to be on the offense, but I can play defense really well, as well," the 39-year-old American said.

Sabalenka — a 22-year-old from Belarus playing in only her second fourth-round Slam match — was visibly and audibly frustrated. She frequently would scream after lost points. She spiked her racket, too.

With the high quality of the match, the only shame was that no fans were there to see it in person. That's because this was Day 2 of the five-day lockdown imposed by the Victoria state government after some coronavirus cases emerged at a local hotel.

Williams now faces No. 2-ranked Simona Halep, a two-time major winner who beat French Open champion Iga Swiatek, 3-6, 6-1, 6-4. The other quarterfinal on

that half of the draw will be Naomi Osaka against unseeded 35-year-old Hsieh Su-wei of Taiwan.

Eight-time Australian Open champion Novak Djokovic shrugged off a side muscle injury to beat Milos Raonic, 7-6 (7-4), 4-6, 6-1, 6-4, and register his 300th win in a Grand Slam match.

Top-ranked Djokovic joined Roger Federer as the only men to achieve the milestone.

He hurt a stomach muscle when he fell during his third-round win over Taylor Fritz, and there were concerns he would not recover in time to play Raonic. But he competed for almost three hours, wearing tape above his right hip, and later said if he wasn't playing a major, he'd probably already have withdrawn from the event.

His quarterfinal will be against U.S. Open finalist Alexander Zverev, who beat No. 23-seeded Dusan Lajovic, 6-4, 7-6 (7-5), 6-3.

Dominic Thiem, the third seed and last year's runner-up, struggled in a 6-4, 6-4, 6-0 loss to three-time major semifinalist Grigor Dimitrov.

Even more unexpected: Dimitrov's next opponent is Aslan Kar-

atsev, a 27-year-old Russian qualifier who is the first player since 1996 to reach the quarterfinals in his Grand Slam debut. Karatsev beat 20th-seeded Felix Auger-Aliassime, 3-6, 1-6, 6-3, 6-3, 6-4.

Osaka barely advanced, saving two match points and grabbing the last four games to top Garbiñe Muguruza, 4-6, 6-4, 7-5.

The 71st-ranked Hsieh's 6-4, 6-2 victory over Marketa Vondrousova made her the oldest woman to make her major quarterfinal debut in the professional era.

In early Monday play, fourth-seeded Daniil Medvedev swept past American Mackenzie McDonald, 6-4, 6-2, 6-3, to reach the quarterfinals and stretch his winning streak to 18 matches.

On the women's side, Jessica Pegula reached her first Grand Slam quarterfinal with a 6-4, 3-6, 6-3 win over No. 5 Elina Svitolina.

It was the first career victory over an opponent ranked in the top 10 for Pegula, 26, whose parents own Buffalo's NFL and NHL franchises.

Pegula next plays fellow American Jennifer Brady, who notched a 6-1, 7-5 win over Donna Vekic.

## GOLF

## Berger closes with eagle for Pebble Beach crown

BY DOUG FERGUSON

PEBBLE BEACH, CALIF. — For all the stunning views at Pebble Beach that can be so soothing, Daniel Berger couldn't escape the tension when he arrived at the final hole Sunday in the Pebble Beach Pro-Am.

He was tied for the lead, needing a birdie on the par-5 18th to win. Off to his right were out-of-bounds markers below a row of hedges, where Berger hit his drive Saturday that led to double bogey. To his left was the Pacific Ocean.

"I was going to go down swinging," he said.

Two of the best swings of his career, a driver into the fairway and a 3-wood from 250 yards away in the cool air at sea level, left him 30 feet and two putts away. Berger capped it off with an eagle putt for a 7-under-par 65 and a two-shot victory over Maverick McNealy.

"To step up there and hit a great drive and then one of the best 3-woods I've ever hit in my life and then to make that putt is just as good as it gets for me," Berger said.

He finished at 18-under 270 for his fourth career victory.

Berger started his final round with a 4-iron to 20 feet for an eagle on the par-5 second hole to catch Jordan Spieth in no time at all. And while the cast of contenders kept changing, Berger was never out of the mix until he had the final say with one last eagle, his fourth of the week.

He won for the second time since the PGA Tour returned to golf in June from the coronavirus pandemic, starting with a playoff victory at Colonial, where a half-dozen players had a chance to win over the final hour.

This wasn't much different. Spieth went from leading to lagging behind. He started with a two-shot lead and was three shots behind after six holes, wasting the scoring stretch at Pebble Beach. He finished with two birdies for a 70 and tied for third with Patrick Cantlay (68), who made all his putts at Pebble on Thursday. He had 10 birdies in the opening round when he tied the

course record with a 62. He made seven birdies and an eagle in two weekend rounds.

Berger saw a leader board leaving the 18th green and knew he was tied. He just figured it would be with Nate Lashley, unaware of the sad turn of events on the 16th.

Lashley, playing in the final group with Spieth, nearly holed his wedge on the 11th for a tap-in birdie that took him to 16 under and leading by one shot. He was tied with Berger with three holes to play when Lashley went long on the 16th hole. He pitched out to 12 feet, missed the par putt and then missed the next two putts from the three-foot range.

That gave him a triple bogey from which he could not recover. Lashley jammed the bottom of his putter into the green and left without speaking to the media.

McNealy, who played at Stanford and once lived in a house near the 15th green at Pebble Beach, quietly made five birdies over his last eight holes.

"I had the adrenaline pumping coming down the stretch there and feelings that I hadn't really felt on the golf course in a little while, trying to close this out and give myself a chance," McNealy said.

The last one was on 18 when his eagle putt stopped inches from the cup, giving him a 66 and a tie for the lead that didn't last long. Berger was in the group behind him, and he played the hole to perfection.

"I wanted to win the golf tournament. I didn't want to lose it on the last," Berger said. "I just wanted to go out there and try to hit the best shot that I could, and I wasn't going to be conservative on the 3-wood coming in."

The eagle putt was fast and broke both ways, and Berger only wanted a two-putt birdie with no stress. That it fell for eagle was a bonus he was all too happy to take.

Spieth finished in the top four for the second week in a row, a strong sign that his game is coming back after a drought that dates back to his 2017 British Open victory at Royal Birkdale.

— Associated Press

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