



Trainees in the Future Soldier Preparatory Course at Fort Jackson, S.C. About 95 percent of them will make it to basic training.

## The Program That Rescued Army Enrollment

**By GREG JAFFE**

FORT JACKSON, S.C. — His journey to the Army began last year when he lost his job as a hotel maintenance man and could only find work picking up trash at an Amazon warehouse.

At 42, Joseph King had given up on ever meeting the military’s enlistment standards.

Then he heard about an Army program, launched three years ago during one of the worst recruiting droughts in U.S. history, that helps those who aren’t eligible to join because they are overweight or unable to pass the military’s aptitude exam.

In late August, Joseph was sitting in a classroom at Fort Jackson, S.C., with 13 other trainees, most of whom were half his age. The instructor was showing them how to calculate a salesperson’s income based on salary, sales and

**More Than One in Five Recruits Go Through Remedial Course**

commission.

“What’s a commission?” the teacher asked.

The trainees were silent.

“Guys, I know this is insanely boring,” she said, “but we still have to learn it.”

Joseph rubbed his face. He knew what was at stake: health benefits, housing, a better life for his wife and five children.

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth has credited the military’s strong recruiting numbers this year to a nationwide surge in patriotism and a love for President Trump. “What changed is a commander in chief that Ameri-

ca’s young people believe in,” Mr. Hegseth told lawmakers this summer. “You can feel it in the ranks.”

Mr. Trump echoed the sentiment: “We’re getting the best people that you’ve ever seen.”

Mr. Trump’s election win and a higher unemployment rate among people ages 16 to 24 could have played a small role in improving recruiting, Army officials said. The Army’s recent success, though, would not have been possible without the program at Fort Jackson. About 22 percent of the Army’s more than 61,000 new recruits this year came in through the Future Soldier Preparatory Course, a senior Army official said.

Trainees in the program have 90 days to meet the Army’s minimum academic and body fat standards, or they are sent home. Those who pass go directly to 10

*Continued on Page A14*

## Hostages First For Gaza Deal, Rubio Suggests

**By AARON BOXERMAN**

JERUSALEM — Secretary of State Marco Rubio said on Sunday that the United States was hoping for a quick deal to bring home all hostages in Gaza as Israel and Hamas head into a new round of negotiations fraught with potential stumbling blocks.

Mr. Rubio acknowledged on NBC’s “Meet the Press” that the next phase of negotiations on President Trump’s plan to end the Gaza war would be tougher, touching on issues such as disarming Hamas and setting up a new government for Gaza that excludes the Palestinian militant group.

Asked whether the two-year-old war was over, Mr. Rubio responded: “Well, not yet. There’s some work that remains to be done.” He went on to say that Hamas had “agreed to the president’s hostage release framework.”

Mr. Rubio spoke a day before a new round of indirect negotiations between Israel and Hamas was expected to begin in Egypt. Israel and Hamas do not speak directly, instead relying on Qatari and Egyptian mediators to act as go-betweens, ferrying messages back and forth.

Ron Dermer, an aide to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, will lead Israel’s delegation. On Sunday, Hamas said its negotiators — headed by the senior leader Khalil al-Hayya — had arrived in Egypt for the talks.

*Continued on Page A6*

**POWER MOVE** Israel’s leader is taking credit for a U.S.-imposed deal. News Analysis. PAGE A6

## Weak Sales Mean Last Call for Many Craft Beers



Once the darling of the alcohol industry, small-batch beer makers like 21st Amendment Brewery are closing as tastes change.

**By JULIE CRESWELL**

For more than two decades, pints of lagers and ales flowed from the taps at 21st Amendment Brewery.

An early mover in craft brewing, the bar and restaurant flourished in San Francisco’s South Park neighborhood, near the financial district and the Giants’ Oracle Park, serving its own specialties like Hell or High Watermelon beer.

But after 25 years, 21st Amendment, named after the constitutional amendment that made alcohol legal after Prohibition, will say “last call” for the final time later this month as it shuts its doors.

What’s happened to 21st Amendment isn’t unique, as craft breweries across the country shutter or file for bankruptcy at a rapid rate.

Sales of craft beer fell 4 percent last year, according to the Brewers Association, the lobbying arm for small and independent brewers. There have been more brewery closings than openings over the past 18 months, the first time that has happened in 20 years.

And the big beer companies, which built or acquired smaller craft breweries during the industry’s heyday, are now jettisoning some of those brands. Last year, Molson Coors sold four of its craft beer companies to a cannabis

*Continued on Page A18*

## As Shutdown Grips U.S., Parties Mostly Shrug

### Each Side Sees Advantage in Deadlock

**By ANNIE KARNI**

WASHINGTON — At the White House, President Trump is posting A.I.-generated memes about the government shutdown, depicting his wonky budget director dressed as the Grim Reaper and ready to visit death on the federal bureaucracy.

In the Senate, Democrats show no sign of backing down from their demands in the shutdown fight, while Senator John Thune, Republican of South Dakota and the majority leader, has given verbal shrugs to reporters who ask about the status of his non-existent negotiations with the other party about how to bring the crisis to an end.

“I don’t know that there’s a lot to sort out,” Mr. Thune said on MSNBC on Friday, before sending senators home for the weekend.

And in the House, Speaker Mike Johnson has canceled votes for this week, telling his members they could stay home for the third straight week given the shutdown logjam.

With Mr. Trump and lawmakers having made no progress on a deal that would reopen the government, one thing was clear as the shutdown headed into its second workweek: There was little sense of urgency in Washington about cleaning up a mess that has thousands of federal workers facing furloughs and possible layoffs, and could disrupt critical federal programs.

It all reflects the reality of two parties so convinced that they have the political advantage in their partisan battle that a shutdown has seemed inevitable for weeks, and a quick resolution feels out of reach.

Republicans who hold a governing trifecta have adopted a mostly passive posture in the shutdown fight, insisting that Democrats accept their short-term government funding bill without concessions.

Starting down the shutdown deadline, they did not even bother engaging in the typical political theater that often precedes such time-crunch crises on Capitol Hill. In shutdown showdowns past, lawmakers worked late into the evening or the early hours of the morning to at least appear as if they were doing everything possible to head off disaster. This time around, Mr. Thune did not keep the Senate in session much past the dinner hour last Tuesday after a pair of failed votes made it clear that Congress would surely miss the midnight deadline for funding the government.

The weekend break was more evidence that they felt little pressure to reassure Americans they were on the job and working hard to break the logjam. Mr. Trump’s trolling has only underscored the blasé attitude.

It was not always like this.

“In 2013, the shutdown felt big, novel, even extreme,” said Brendan Buck, who served as a top adviser to former Speakers John A. Boehner and Paul D. Ryan, both Republicans.

That year, amid a bitter budget standoff over President Barack Obama’s health care law, Republicans shut down the government for the first time in two decades. The ordeal carried with it a sense of fear and urgency. Mr. Obama himself appeared in the White House briefing room to appeal

*Continued on Page A11*



Speaker Mike Johnson has canceled votes for this week.

**SHUTDOWN POLITICS** The White House has cut or paused funding to blue states and cities. PAGE A10

## Is a Ban on Conversion Therapy Infringing on Protected Speech?

**By ANN E. MARIMOW**

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. — When Kaley Chiles welcomes therapy clients to her tranquil bungalow of an office, she offers loose-leaf tea and asks what brings them to counseling, what’s causing distress and how she can help them meet their goals.

Under a 2019 Colorado law, if clients under 18 tell her that their same-sex attractions are causing them stress, as a licensed therapist, she is forbidden from counseling them to change their sexual orientation. If they want to talk about their gender identity, she cannot advise them to change it.

Colorado lawmakers and major

### Justices Will Hear Case on Law in Colorado

medical groups say that kind of counseling is ineffective and potentially harmful for minors, and it is therefore appropriate for state governments to outlaw it for licensed mental health professionals.

Mrs. Chiles, an evangelical Christian with a master’s degree in clinical mental health from Denver Seminary, says the law violates her First Amendment rights, constraining what she is allowed

*Continued on Page A11*

## In Portland, Socialists Blaze Trail for Mamdani

**By KELLEN BROWNING**

PORTLAND, Ore. — Too extreme. Too inexperienced. An absolute disaster.

Mainstream politicians are sharpening their attacks, and the wealthy are threatening to move away as a socialist revolution sweeps through the city.

They’re not talking about Zohran Mamdani or his plans for

### Political Outsiders Fight to Budge City Hall

New York City.

Rather, they are agonizing over the scene in Portland, Ore., where the democratic socialist principles espoused by Mr. Mamdani — the front-runner to become New

York’s next mayor — have already taken root at City Hall.

Four members of the Democratic Socialists of America, along with their left-wing allies, have occasionally formed a working majority on Portland’s 12-person City Council this year, promising sweeping changes aimed at improving the lives of everyday residents. The socialists advocate

*Continued on Page A17*

#### NATIONAL A9-18

**Newsom to Fight Deployment**

The California governor said the Trump administration sent 300 federalized members of his state’s National Guard to Portland, Ore. PAGE A16

**Full View of the Constitution**

In a first, the National Archives has mounted the entire document for display. The exhibition comes as its provisions are under pressure. PAGE A13

**A Tangle in Central Park**

Critics say the park’s drives, on which pedestrians, e-bikes and horse-drawn carriages share space, have become increasingly chaotic. PAGE A18

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-8

**A Last Laugh in India?**

A comedian was forced offstage after a political joke led to a mob attack, and he is unlikely to return soon. PAGE A4

**New Tactic in Nicaragua**

The government of Rosario Murillo and Daniel Ortega arrests dissidents without acknowledging their detention. PAGE A8



#### BUSINESS B1-5

**Tough Time to Take the Helm**

New retail chief executives are facing unexpected challenges, like tariffs and worried shoppers, as they try to deal with existing tests. PAGE B1

**The Fuel Behind a Higher Fee**

U.S. job losses appeared to drive the president’s move to charge employers \$100,000 for each H-1B visa used to hire a skilled worker from abroad. PAGE B1

**New Tariffs Hit Housing Costs**

President Trump’s levies on furniture, wood, vanities and kitchen cabinets will probably make it more expensive to build and buy homes. PAGE B1

#### ARTS C1-6

**Unsung Heroes Offstage**

At the Metropolitan Opera, a cramped studio at the back of the hall is a command tower of sorts, where the elaborate visuals of a show like “Kavalier & Clay” are orchestrated. PAGE C1

**Dim Prospects for Combs**

Many who have tracked the career of the music mogul believe his reputation has been irreparably damaged by the testimony of his abusive behavior as a boss and boyfriend. PAGE C1

OPINION A20-21  
**David French** PAGE A21



SPORTS D1-7  
**Training for Season, and a Life**

After a blood clot forced him off the court, Victor Wembanyama is back, pushing himself hard with a brutal training regimen. PAGE D1

