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Democracy Dies in Darkness

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2024 • \$3

ELECTION 2024

Trump team sees camps for deported

Mass roundups planned in a militarized border operation in second term

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, NICK MIROFF AND JOSH DAWSEY

Faced with a surge of migrant families at the U.S.-Mexico border in 2018 and 2019, Donald Trump's White House discussed ways to more aggressively deploy the resources and the might of the U.S. military.

Aides and officials spoke privately about detaining migrants on military bases and flying them out of the country on military planes — ideas that the Pentagon headed off. Throughout his presidency, Trump himself would frequently demand to send troops to the border and catch people crossing.

"He was obsessed with having the military involved," said a former senior administration official, who, like others, spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe private discussions.

That approach and unfinished business have taken on renewed significance and urgency as the country confronts another migrant crisis on the U.S.-Mexico border, and as Trump closes in on the Republican presidential nomination. The former president is making immigration a core

SEE TRUMP ON A4

The Fix: A poll shows that the border is still dogging Biden. A2

Few lessons on racism at Haley's high school

Classes did not suitably cover S.C.'s history of racial issues, some say

BY MICHAEL KRANISH

IN ORANGEBURG, S.C.

For most of her childhood, Nikki Haley attended public school in her rural hometown, where roughly half of her classmates were Black thanks to a model integration program that avoided the widespread "White flight" transforming many other districts.

But as Haley began her sophomore year of high school in the fall of 1986, she left Bamberg, S.C., commuting 20 miles north to a radically different environment: Orangeburg Preparatory, a newly created private school formed from the merger of two institutions known locally as "segregation academies" because of their nearly universal White enrollment in a majority-Black city.

At her new high school, where the daughter of Indian immigrants was one of the only non-White students, some classmates said in interviews that they weren't adequately instructed about South Carolina's history of divisive racial issues — from Jim

SEE HALEY ON A6



PHOTOS BY ELISE BLANCHARD FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Urban life rubs off on the Taliban

Group's fighters vowed to remake Afghan capital — but it appears to be changing them, too

BY RICK NOACK

IN KABUL

More than two years after Taliban fighters streamed into the Afghan capital, seizing power here and vowing to cleanse the country of Western decadence, many of them have come to embrace the benefits of urban life.

Some spend their weekends in the city's theme parks. Some watch cricket matches on large outdoor screens. Others are filling their Facebook pages with skyline selfies or buying self-help books published in the West. Most mornings, Kabul's English schools are crowded with Taliban soldiers and employees in camouflage jackets, who appear as eager as other students to study abroad.

As the Taliban continues to change Kabul, some here have started to wonder if the city may also have begun to remake the Taliban.

SEE KABUL ON A14



TOP: Former Taliban fighters who now work for the government and the military visit a tailor's shop in Kabul this month. More than two years after the Taliban took control, some in the group have embraced urban living's perks. ABOVE: Under Taliban orders, mannequins' faces are covered — with Gucci plastic bags — in a store window in Kabul.

Trans adults on edge amid broadening legislation

Policymakers extend focus beyond children with proposed bills that would limit LGBTQ+ rights



CHRISTOPHER SMITH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Charlie Adams, a transgender man, scrapes paint from tables in the art studio at Synergy Services in Kansas City, Mo., where he volunteers as part of the Medical Student Pride Alliance.

BY CASEY PARKS

Medical school is hard enough, but Charlie Adams's existence was on the line, so he took a day off from clinic rotations in Kansas City and drove three hours to the Missouri Capitol.

Republican legislators had proposed nine bills to restrict transgender rights. Two sought to limit the definition of sex. Another gave doctors the right to discriminate against trans people. And four aimed to keep them out of the bathrooms that match their identities.

Adams, 27, has a full beard and a deep voice, and as he spoke recently to a committee of legislators, a patch of chest hair peeked out from his navy blue scrubs.

"Do you want to see me in the women's restroom next time you're at the hospital?" he asked.

Adams spoke for two minutes, thanked the legislators, then scurried out. He had eight more bills to

SEE RIGHTS ON A10

In Oklahoma: Nonbinary teen dies after an altercation at school. A3

Biden cancels \$1.2B in loans

NEW REPAYMENT PLAN CUTS TIMELINE

President sends emails to tout student debt relief

BY DANIELLE DOUGLAS-GABRIEL AND TOLUSE OLORUNNIPA

President Biden on Wednesday began emailing more than 150,000 student loan borrowers enrolled in his signature repayment plan that their debts — \$1.2 billion in total — have been canceled, the latest effort by the administration to tout its success in providing debt relief as the campaign season heats up.

The president's debt relief policies have been met with a mix of praise and frustration. Activists have applauded his targeted approach; the administration has forgiven about \$138 billion in student loans for 3.9 million people, largely using existing relief programs. But they also continue to implore Biden to do more, despite the crushing defeat of a more sweeping loan forgiveness plan before the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, conservatives remain ardent critics of debt policies they say come at the expense of other taxpayers, many of whom never attended college.

The latest debt relief targets people enrolled in the Saving on a Valuable Education (Save) plan, and makes good on the adminis-

SEE LOANS ON A2

For young Russians, a dream destroyed

Navalny's vision of a 'beautiful' democratic future appears dead

BY MARY ILYUSHINA

RIGA, LATVIA — As shared grief over Alexei Navalny's death echoed across countless Russian émigré communities — in online chatrooms and encrypted messenger calls — many of the opposition leader's young, idealistic followers described the same sinking feeling: Their dreams of a free, democratic Russia died with him, forcing many to redraw their life plans.

Over six days of shock and mourning, of flowers and candles brought to makeshift memorials in Russia and across the world, many said they felt deeply alone, left to fight President Vladimir Putin one-on-one with little hope of victory. For many already abroad, it means never going home; and for those still home, it means deciding whether to leave, once and for all.

SEE RUSSIA ON A13

'A reminder': Killing in Spain looks to be a signal to Putin's foes. A11

Court action: Navalny's mother files suit to retrieve his body. A13

IN THE NEWS

At the cliff's edge Heavy rains and mudslides in Southern California have left oceanside mansions in harm's way. A9

Walgreens robberies Prosecutors say a second store manager helped with a scheme that repeatedly targeted the retailer in D.C.'s Chinatown neighborhood. B1

THE NATION

After an Alabama ruling that frozen embryos are people, some clinics paused IVF services. A5 James Biden told House investigators that his brother was never part of his dealings. A11

THE WORLD

Ukrainian soldiers say troops were left behind in their retreat from Avdiivka. A12 The United States backed Israel before the top U.N. court, diverging from its allies again. A13

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Gen Z workers say there's no shame in the job-search game, with some documenting struggles online. A15 The Supreme Court seems likely to pause the Environmental Protection Agency's effort to reduce cross-state pollution. A16

THE REGION

A new recall petition for a member of the D.C. Council is the second tied to last year's crime surge. B1 Virginia Gov. Glenn Youngkin (R) joined demonstrators at an antiabortion march in Richmond, despite the political cost. B1

STYLE

For a tour of Spain, Italy and Germany by the National Symphony Orchestra, the devil is in the details. C1

LOCAL LIVING

A focus on simple design improvements can make your home's kitchen happier and more functional.

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