



Partly sunny 83/62 • Tomorrow: Mostly sunny 89/70 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 2024 • \$3

Death of Raisi adds to volatility in Mideast

Leadership shift comes amid rising confrontation between Iran and Israel

BY KAREEM FAHIM, NILO TABRIZY AND SUSANNAH GEORGE

The death of Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi in a helicopter crash Sunday quickly set in motion a leadership transition that officials insisted would leave the Islamic republic in steady hands and would probably lead to little change in the country's direction, analysts said.

"The Iranian nation shouldn't be worried," said Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader, according to state media. Raisi was seen as an enforcer of Khamenei's edicts, rather than an independent actor, according to analysts.

But if there was uncertainty caused by Raisi's death, it was in its timing: during an escalating confrontation between Iran and Israel that has stoked alarm in the Middle East and beyond. The conflict, a hair-trigger affair set off by the war in Gaza, has manifested in rising violence on Lebanon's southern border, in the Red Sea, and in Syria and Iraq.

Last month, direct fighting between Israel and Iran raised the level of anxiety. After Israeli strikes killed Iranian military commanders in Syria, Iran responded by firing a barrage of

SEE IRAN ON A12

Obituary: Hard-line president of Iran cracked down on dissent. B5

A repeated alarm on Afghanistan withdrawal

Top general warned that security would get 'very bad, very fast'

BY DAN LAMOTHE

The top U.S. general in Afghanistan during the American military's 2021 withdrawal repeatedly warned Washington that security would get "very bad, very fast" after troops departed, but the Biden administration still failed to grasp the danger in keeping its embassy open with only nominal protection, he told lawmakers investigating the war's deadly endgame.

Retired Gen. Austin Scott Miller said in closed-door testimony last month before the Republican-led House Foreign Affairs Committee that, as his tour was nearing its end in July 2021, he was so troubled by the administration's "lack of understanding of the risk" that he privately warned a Marine Corps commander charged with planning for a possible evacuation to prepare for "really adverse conditions."

"I did not foresee a good future for Afghanistan as I was departing," the general said in his testimony, later adding that he wishes he had done more to ensure his perspective from Kabul was conveyed.

SEE AFGHANISTAN ON A11



AZIN HAGHIGHI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Rescuers recover bodies Monday at the site in northwestern Iran where Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi's helicopter crashed on Sunday. Raisi, Foreign Minister Hossein Amir-Abdollahian and other officials died in the crash, according to Iranian state media.

ELECTION 2024

Taking on the far right in North Idaho splits GOP

In a place with a history of extremism, some Republicans say they're rooting it out of their own party

BY HANNAH ALLAM

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO — Locals prefer not to talk about the hate that took root here a generation ago, when the Aryan Nations and other militants built a white supremacist paradise among the tall pines and crystal lakes of North Idaho.

Community activists, backed by national civil rights groups, bankrupted the neo-Nazis in court and eventually forced them to move, a hard-fought triumph memorialized in scenes from 2001 of a backhoe smashing through a giant swastika at the former Aryan compound just outside of Coeur d'Alene, the biggest city in this part of the state.

For much of the two decades since, civic leaders have focused on moving beyond the image of North Idaho as a white-power fiefdom. They steered attention instead to emerald golf courses



RAJAH BOSE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Jack Riggs and Sandy Patano talk with attendees of a chamber of commerce breakfast event in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

and gleaming lakeside resorts where celebrities such as Kim Kardashian sip huckleberry cocktails.

Now, however, North Idaho residents are confronting that history head-on as a new movement builds against far-right ex-

tremism.

This time, activists say, the threat is no longer on the fringes of society, dressed in Nazi garb at a hideout in the woods. Instead, they see it in the leadership of the local Republican Party, which has mirrored the lurch to the right of the national conservative movement during the Trump era.

In this ruby-red state, the pushback is being led from within the party. A group of disaffected, self-described "traditional" Republicans has spent the past two years planning to wrest back control from leaders who they accuse of steering the local GOP toward extremism, a charge the officials vehemently deny. A crucial measure of the challengers' efforts comes Tuesday, Idaho's primary day.

If the breakaway group can succeed, it would make North Idaho an unlikely setting for

SEE IDAHO ON A6

Prosecution errors could unravel Navy bribery case

BY CRAIG WHITLOCK

Few Navy officers entangled themselves in the Fat Leonard corruption scandal more than Steve Shedd. In court documents and testimony, the former warship captain confessed to leaking military secrets on 10 occasions for prostitutes, vacations, luxury watches and other bribes worth \$105,000.

On the witness stand in a related case in 2022, Shedd also admitted that he had lied repeatedly to federal agents and betrayed his oath to defend the Constitution.

"You're a traitor to the United States, aren't you?" attorney Joseph Mancano asked the Naval Academy graduate.

"Yes, sir," Shedd replied, acknowledging that he was "a disgrace" who "deserves prison."

Yet because of mistakes by the Justice Department, Shedd might avoid punishment for his crimes.

SEE FAT LEONARD ON A13



CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES

Refloated Dali returns to port

Tugboats maneuver the container ship Dali through the Port of Baltimore and into the Seagirt Marine Terminal on Monday. The damaged vessel had been sitting on the bed of the Patapsco River since March 26, when it crashed into the Francis Scott Key Bridge, destroying the span and killing six construction workers. Story, B1

ICC to consider leaders' arrests

ISRAEL, HAMAS ACCUSED OF CRIMES

Netanyahu, others face possible prosecution

BY LOUISA LOVELUCK

In a stunning announcement that drew sharp indignation from both warring parties, the International Criminal Court's chief prosecutor said Monday that he was seeking to charge senior figures in the Israel-Gaza conflict, including Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Hamas leader Yehiya Sinwar, with war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Karim Khan's statement listed extensive charges and sought additional arrest warrants for Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant and two other top Hamas leaders — Mohammed Diab Ibrahim al-Masri, the leader of the Izzedine al-Qassam Brigades better known as Mohammed Deif, and Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas's political leader.

The ICC is the only permanent international court that wields power to prosecute individuals for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Its announcement Monday was historic: Although Israel is not a signatory to the Rome Statute, upon which the court is founded, the arrest warrants, if issued, would nonetheless stigmatize the country.

SEE WARRANTS ON A10

Court critics: U.S. lawmakers decry attempt to charge Israelis. A10

State rests its case in Trump's N.Y. trial

Judge erupts at witness called by the defense as proceedings near a close

BY SHAYNA JACOBS, DEVLIN BARRETT AND TOM JACKMAN

NEW YORK — Prosecutors rested their case against former president Donald Trump on Monday, a momentous day in the month-long trial that was quickly overshadowed by the judge's angry dressing-down of a witness he thought was being disrespectful.

For most of the day, the trial seemed to be winding down; defense lawyers indicated they did not plan to call Trump as a witness, and might finish presenting their case in a few hours. That schedule suddenly changed when their second witness, lawyer Robert Costello, infuriated the judge.

"Are you staring me down right now?" New York Supreme Court Justice Juan Merchan asked incredulously of Costello, an outspoken critic of the case filed against Trump by the Manhattan district attorney.

"Clear the courtroom," the judge ordered.

The court officers began yelling at news reporters to leave, the reporters began yelling to be allowed back in.

SEE TRUMP ON A4

IN THE NEWS

A delayed response As masked agitators attacked protesters at UCLA, police didn't intervene for more than three hours, a Washington Post examination found. A8

Offsetting emissions The world's largest carbon-capture plant opened this month, highlighting the industry's growth. A15

THE NATION After evading and taunting prosecutors, Rudy Giuliani is expected to appear in court. A2
District Attorney Fani T. Willis faces voters and an appeal from Donald Trump. A3

THE WORLD The party of India's Narendra Modi gains as politicians switch parties and voters follow. A9
A British court ruled that Julian Assange can appeal his extradition to the United States. A12

THE ECONOMY China makes some of the world's hottest EV models, but they are a rarity on U.S. roads. A14
FDIC chair Martin Gruenberg announced that he will resign after an independent report accused him of tolerating a hostile workplace culture at the agency. A15

THE REGION Backed by dueling factions of the GOP, the front-runners in Virginia's 7th Congressional District primary look similar on paper. B1
A D.C. police captain driving to work was injured when a gunman shot into his vehicle in the Brightwood area. B1

OBITUARIES Ivan Boesky, 87, personified Wall Street excesses in the '80s before he was felled by an insider-trading scandal. B4
HEALTH & SCIENCE Some married couples who sleep apart say it helps their relationships, with better rest and plenty of time for intimacy. E1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A14
COMICS.....C6
OBITUARIES.....B4
OPINION PAGES.....A16
TELEVISION.....C3
WORLD NEWS.....A9

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