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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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Longtime operative is seen as foil to Trump

Susie Wiles won his confidence and a job as his chief of staff

BY JOSH DAWSEY AND ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

When Donald Trump decamped Washington for South Florida in January 2021, he was in a foul mood — seething about losing the presidential election and shouting at advisers.

Two dinners with Susie Wiles, a veteran Florida political operative who had helped run both of his previous campaigns in the state, set him on a different course, people familiar with their interactions said. She convinced him that he could mount a political comeback and retake power.

Her efforts set the country on a different course as well and altered the trajectory of her own career. Wiles became his de facto chief of staff, then campaign manager once he launched his bid to return to the White House in 2022. After his election victory last week, Trump named Wiles, 67, his incoming White House chief of staff. She will be the first woman to hold the all-important role.

Wiles has already lasted longer, as a private adviser running his political operation, than any of Trump's chiefs of staff during his first term in office. His longest-serving chief of staff, retired Marine Corps general John F. Kelly,

SEE WILES ON A6

Use of fossil fuels booms despite vows of a phaseout

Ahead of climate talks, wealthy nations have undercut past pledges

BY CHICO HARLAN

When nations at last year's global climate conference historically agreed to transition away from coal, oil and gas, Australia's climate minister predicted that the "age of fossil fuels will end." Norway's foreign minister lauded countries for at last tackling the climate crisis "head-on." President Joe Biden said the deal put the world "one significant step closer" to its climate goals.

But one year later, these same wealthy countries are undercutting it, by scaling up exports and launching new fossil fuel projects that could last for decades. At the same time, major oil companies have weakened their climate pledges.

As world leaders gather in Azerbaijan on Monday to open COP29, the moves are fueling a sense among scientists and policy professionals that the world has squandered a crucial year and raising questions about how effectively the annual U.N. climate conference can address this core part of planetary warming.

One think tank analysis chronicles how countries are on course

SEE FOSSIL FUELS ON A12



ISABELLA MOORE FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A koala in a breeding program in New South Wales. Australia's government declared koalas endangered in 2022.

Logging threatens koala reserve

Australia allows tree cutting in areas proposed as refuge for endangered marsupial

BY MICHAEL E. MILLER

SHEAS NOB STATE FOREST, AUSTRALIA — The ecologist drove his weathered pickup truck through thick and shady eucalyptus forest. But as he reached a ridgeline, the woodland suddenly gave way to a sunbaked clearing of barren dirt and splintered wood the size of a football field. "This was all koala habitat," said Mark Graham, shaking his head. He pulled over to examine a gray gum tree that had been cut down by loggers since he'd been here a few

weeks earlier. What was left of its trunk showed scratches from koalas climbing it. Now the animals were gone.

"Welcome to the Great Koala National Park," Graham said sarcastically.

The center-left Labor Party swept to power in New South Wales, the country's most populous state, in March of last year with an environmental election pledge: It would stitch together up to 1,200 square miles of state and national forests to create one uninterrupted koala

SEE KOALAS ON A12



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A salute to veterans, with flags and fanfare

From left, Evelyn Jones, Navy veteran Sterling Moon and Air Force veteran Karl Fritz watch the National Veterans Parade in Washington on Sunday, a day ahead of Veterans Day.

On college campuses this semester, a shift in rhetoric

While pro-Palestinian protests are less disruptive, some schools see more extreme messaging

BY LAURA MECKLER AND SUSAN SVRLUGA

When antiwar protests disrupted campuses nationwide last year, signs and chants demanded, "Divest!" and "Cease-fire now!" This fall, much of the protest language has grown darker, celebrating the Oct. 7, 2023, attack, echoing language used by Hamas and declaring, "Glory to the resistance!"

Mass protests and crackdowns that engulfed colleges in the spring have dissipated, and campuses are far calmer and quieter this fall. But at some schools, student groups have struck a strik-

ingly more militant tone.

Earlier messages were not gentle — Israel's actions were regularly dubbed "genocide" — but until recently few had openly endorsed Hamas and its leaders.

To some, including many in the Jewish community, it's an alarming shift. But to others, the new rhetoric is the natural evolution of a movement responding to a brutal war now in its second year, with no end in sight.

Groups often escalate rhetoric when they haven't achieved their goals, with a small faction urging stronger action, said Mitchell Sil-

SEE PROTESTS ON A2

Trump cautions Putin on Ukraine

FIRST CALL BETWEEN MEN SINCE ELECTION

President-elect warns against escalating war

BY ELLEN NAKASHIMA, JOHN HUDSON AND JOSH DAWSEY

President-elect Donald Trump spoke with Russian President Vladimir Putin on Thursday, the first phone conversation between the two men since Trump won the election, said several people familiar with the matter.

During the call, which Trump took from his resort in Florida, he advised the Russian president not to escalate the war in Ukraine and reminded him of Washington's sizable military presence in Europe, said a person familiar with the call, who, like others interviewed for this story, spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss a sensitive matter.

The two men discussed the goal of peace on the European continent and Trump expressed an interest in follow-up conversations to discuss "the resolution of Ukraine's war soon," one of the people said.

In his presidential campaign, Trump said he would bring an immediate end to the war in

SEE PUTIN ON A4

Trump seeks more power over a Senate led by GOP

His allies back Scott's leadership bid as they aim to fast-track agenda

BY MARIANA ALFARO

President-elect Donald Trump and his allies signaled Sunday that they will try to call the shots in the Republican-led Senate, pushing the candidacy of Sen. Rick Scott (Florida) for GOP leader and demanding that Republicans allow Trump to make appointments to his administration and the courts without Senate approval.

Trump, who last year promised that he will be dictator "for Day One" of his presidency and has repeatedly expressed admiration for authoritarian leaders, insisted that the next Senate Republican leader make it possible for him to fast-track his nominations over any opposition.

Writing on Truth Social on Sunday, Trump said: "Any Republican Senator seeking the coveted LEADERSHIP position in the United States Senate must agree to Recess Appointments (in the Senate!), without which we will not be able to get people confirmed in a timely manner!"

In April 2020, frustrated with the Senate's speed in confirming his nominees, then-President

SEE SENATE ON A4

IN THE NEWS

MAGA and the 'manosphere' Inside the online offensive that turned out a new generation of men for Donald Trump. A3

FBI director As Trump returns to power, an open question surrounds the bureau: Will he once again fire its leader, or will Christopher A. Wray resign before he gets the chance? A6

THE NATION Leaders of the scientific community are girding themselves for another Trump term. A8
Immigration concerns only partly explain Trump's success in Texas's border counties. A10

THE WORLD Russian legislation against "child-free propaganda" could affect TV, movies and ads. A11
Israeli strikes in Gaza and Lebanon on Sunday killed at least 20 children, officials said. A14

THE ECONOMY A federal probe of the cryptocurrency Tether could pose a conflict of interest for Trump aide Howard Lutnick. A15

THE REGION Democrat April McClain Delaney is projected to win the race for Maryland's 6th Congressional District seat. B1

A D.C. man accused of attacking day-care teachers in front of two dozen children in 2023 was released after being found incompetent to stand trial. B1
Gov. Wes Moore (D) laid out four principles that will guide his leadership of Maryland after Trump takes office. B1

STYLE Randy Travis's beautiful baritone was lost. AI helped him sing again. C1
An Afghanistan war documentary that has been criticized for allegedly endangering some of the Afghans who appeared in the film was stripped of a prestigious journalism award. C1

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