



ELECTION 2024

## Haley's U.N. tenure marked by conflicts

Clashes with Trump and Cabinet members preceded her abrupt exit

BY MICHAEL KRANISH

As President Donald Trump listened inside the Oval Office, Nikki Haley pitched a dramatic gambit to jump-start Middle East peace talks: cutting off U.S. funding to a U.N. program providing critical aid to Palestinian refugees.

It was a startling idea, especially coming from the ambassador to the United Nations, who months earlier had toured a West Bank refugee camp. Trump's chief of staff, John F. Kelly — the only other person in the Oval Office at that moment, according to Haley — rushed out to find Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, who had made clear he would oppose cutting the funds.

That left Haley with a much-sought opportunity: direct access to Trump. In the moments that followed, she successfully pushed the president toward a decision that could deplete resources for food, education and other services for millions of refugees, including the girls and young women she had recently met, and alienate the Palestinian leaders whom she once hoped to win over.

The tense meeting in early 2018, as described in Haley's memoir and confirmed by former administration officials, highlights the extraordinary conflicts

SEE **HALEY** ON A10



**Where they stand:** We surveyed top Democratic, independent and third-party candidates on abortion, the economy and more. **A8-9**

**Sunday Take:** Haley's campaign lacks energy ahead of primary. **A2**

**Independents' day?** Unaffiliated voters play a big role in N.H. **A6**

**Trump flub:** Haley questions former president's mental fitness. **A7**

## A D.C. teen lost friends to gun violence. He's battling to make sure he isn't next.



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

BY EMILY DAVIES IN ORLANDO

The lazy river curved through the theme park until the water was too deep for 14-year-old Rashad Bates to stand. He clung to the wall, looked into a cave he was about to enter and yanked off his goggles. ¶ “I don’t want to go there,” he said. ¶ Rashad, unable to swim, had practiced staying away from danger. At home in the nation’s capital, he’d grown up surrounded by gun violence. But in this theme park in Orlando, he was surrounded by green pool noodles. Two floated toward him. Rashad tucked them under his arms.

Slowly, he pulled himself closer to the wall, and then all at once, he pushed himself off. Toward the cavern with pillars shaped like icicles. Toward his friend, who knew how to swim. Toward the beams of sunlight that shone through cracks in the rock and splashed the turquoise water.

“I’m doing it,” he whispered. That was more than Rashad could have imagined for himself a week earlier, when he sat in the back row of a funeral for two of his friends, trying not to think that he could be next.

Demarcos Pinckney, 15, and Kevin Mason, 17, were shot to death last summer in front of Rashad’s apartment building off Langston Place, a street in



EMILY DAVIES/THE WASHINGTON POST

**Rashad Bates visited a water park in Orlando just weeks after attending a funeral for two friends who were killed by gunfire. The trip was meant to give the teen a break from his D.C. neighborhood, where it can feel like violence defines his days.**

Southeast Washington sandwiched between a church and a parkway. The teens, who used to live floors beneath Rashad, were at least the seventh and eighth people in his life to die suddenly and unexpectedly. First, his dad died when he was in third grade; Rashad and his mother said they do not know the cause and declined to discuss the circumstances. Then, one bullet at a time, he lost friends.

Rashad missed a few funerals because he could not find rides or did not feel like going. Still, in his first 14 years, Rashad had sat through five services.

The trip to Orlando, organized by one of Rashad’s mentors, Jawanna Hardy, was meant to

SEE **FUTURE** ON A14

## Houthi fight has no end in sight

U.S. STRIKES HAVEN’T HALTED ATTACKS

Open-ended campaign risks quagmire in Yemen

BY MISSY RYAN, JOHN HUDSON AND ABIGAIL HAUSLOHNER

The Biden administration is crafting plans for a sustained military campaign targeting the Houthis in Yemen after 10 days of strikes failed to halt the group’s attacks on maritime commerce, stoking concern among some officials that an open-ended operation could derail the war-ravaged country’s fragile peace and pull Washington into another unpredictable Middle Eastern conflict.

The White House convened senior officials on Wednesday to discuss options for the way ahead in the administration’s evolving response to the Iranian-backed movement, which has vowed to continue attacking ships off the Arabian peninsula despite near-daily operations to destroy Houthi radars, missiles and drones. On Saturday, U.S. Central Command announced its latest strike, on an anti-ship missile that was prepared for launch.

The deepening cycle of violence is a setback to President Biden’s goal of stemming spillover hostilities triggered by Israel’s war against Hamas in the Gaza Strip. Underscoring the threat, Iran on Saturday blamed Israel for a strike on the Syrian capital, Damascus, that killed five Iranian military advisers. The Israeli military declined to comment. In Iraq, an attack on Ain al-Asad air base, which hosts Iraqi and U.S. troops, left one Iraqi soldier seriously injured, according to a Defense Department official. An Iran-linked faction there said it was responsible.

The Houthis, one powerful faction in Yemen’s long-running civil war, have framed their campaign, which has included more than 30 missile and drone attacks on commercial and naval vessels since November, as a means of pressuring Israel, bolstering their stand-

SEE **YEMEN** ON A19

## Animosity of ‘out group’ fuels U.S. polarization, experts say

Researchers note that feelings are increasingly affecting political divide

BY JOEL ACHENBACH

ATKINSON, N.H. — They stood in line for hours, in steady snow that became steady sleet, to hear the leader of their tribe.

Fresh from a major victory in Iowa, former president Donald Trump was scheduled to speak at 5 p.m. The parking lot at the country club opened at 10 a.m. The doors opened at 2 p.m., and hundreds of people were already in line. When everyone finally got inside, most had to stand tightly packed for hours more until the snowstorm-delayed candidate finally arrived just before 7 p.m.

It’s not always logistically easy being in the Trump tribe, but people stuck it out — and when

instructed to turn around and express their sentiments directly to the news media, they dutifully booed and raised middle fingers.

The antagonism that Trump supporters feel toward the media is a small piece of a broader political and cultural phenomenon. This country, though politically fractious since its founding, is more polarized than ever, the rhetoric more inflammatory, the rage more likely to curdle into hate. It’s ugly out there.

As the 2024 primary season revs up, and with the political stakes this year extraordinarily high, voters are both polarized and hardly budging. Pundits expect another close election that’s a repeat of 2020. There’s not a lot of wobble on either left or right.

Social scientists have taken note of these hardening political divisions, pumping out academic articles and books that add data to what appears to be a steady rise in tribalism.

One theme emerges in much

SEE **POLARIZATION** ON A7

## Football can’t heal Detroit. But winning won’t hurt.

Across a divided city in a diverse state, the Lions’ meteoric rise is a unifying force

BY KENT BABB

HAMTRAMCK, MICH. — After two years of war, the Rev. Daniel Schaicoski has his Sunday routine down. He looks out into the congregation, seeing familiar dread on the new faces dotting the pews of Immaculate Conception Ukrainian Catholic Church. He sees parishioners, many of them newly arrived from Ukraine, with husbands, fathers and brothers staying off the Russians back home. And he works into his homily a reason for hope.

“Sometimes you have to die to rise again,” he says. “I keep repeating that: After the ashes, my dear, a great country will be born.”

Fifty-five years old. Born in Brazil. Educated in Rome. The Vatican assigned him in 1999 to this church, built with brick and gold, in one of Detroit’s many insular enclaves.

SEE **DETROIT** ON A12



EMILY ELCONIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

**The Lions defeated the Rams last weekend in their first home playoff game since the 1993 season.**

**Inside:** The slippery truth about staying warm on frigid NFL fields. **D1**

METRO

A volunteer working with at-risk youths was fatally shot on a D.C. street.

SPORTS

California lawmakers pushed a football ban. Families pushed back.

BUSINESS

➡ Tween taste is expensive these days. Blame social media.

ARTS & STYLE

The Met risked messing up its great European galleries. It paid off.

TRAVEL

➡ A guide to Auckland’s center of queer nightlife on Karangahape Road.

BOOK WORLD

“The Fetishist” is a novel ahead of its time, and a mother’s dying gift.

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