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Democracy Dies in Darkness

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In India, a reality check for U.S. trade

Firms seeking alternative to China find an economy awash in its imports

BY KARISHMA MEHROTRA

NEW DELHI — American businesses looking to reduce their reliance on China have increasingly been eyeing India in the past few years as a new manufacturing hub — and as a hedge against potential disruptions in Chinese supply chains caused by rising geopolitical tensions or another pandemic.

But as India has amped up its production of goods like smartphones, solar panels and medicine, the Indian economy itself has become even more dependent on Chinese imports, in particular for the components that go into these products, according to trade figures and economic analysts.

This dynamic serves as a reality check for U.S. policymakers, who have been urgently promoting efforts to diversify supply chains away from Chinese factories and “de-risk” the commercial relationship with China.

“Unless China stops being the third party from where components come in and we just assemble, that de-risking is not going to happen for any country coming in and producing in India,” said Sriparna Pathak, an associate professor at Jindal University focusing on India-China relations.

India’s imports from China have been growing twice as fast as those overall and now make

SEE INDIA ON A12



MENACHEM KAHANA/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Protesters gather in Jerusalem on Monday to call for an agreement with Hamas to release the remaining hostages held in the Gaza Strip.

Israelis stage mass demonstrations to urge deal

BY STEVE HENDRIX AND SHIRA RUBIN

JERUSALEM — Thousands of Israelis over two days staged the largest anti-government demonstration since Oct. 7, taking to the streets and joining a general strike Monday that brought much of the country to a halt as the last of six hostages recovered from Gaza over the weekend was laid to rest.

The killings of Israeli American Hersh Goldberg-Polin, 23, and five other hostages sent shock waves throughout Israel, igniting fury among hostage families and

their hundreds of thousands of supporters who have for months accused Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of torpedoing a deal in favor of his political interests.

“Hersh, we failed you, we all failed you,” said Hersh’s father, Jon Polin, at the funeral Monday, his shirt torn in accordance with Jewish mourning tradition and with a sticker bearing the number 332 — the number of days that the remaining hostages have languished in Hamas captivity.

In a rare, hour-long televised news conference Monday evening, Netanyahu said that he was

sorry he was unable to bring the six hostages home alive but insisted that the Israeli military would remain along the strategic Philadelphi Corridor on the Gaza-Egypt border, a demand that many say has delayed the conclusion of a deal that would involve the release of hostages.

Netanyahu said an Israeli withdrawal from the area, after the killing of the hostages, would send Hamas a message — “murder more hostages, you’ll get more concessions.”

The prime minister’s comments came at the end of a day of mourning and amid calls for the

government to make a deal to bring home the nearly 100 hostages who remain in Gaza. Polin, who with his wife, Rachel Goldberg, has spearheaded American Israeli hostage family delegations to the United States and recently spoke at the Democratic National Convention, said about Hersh that he hoped that “maybe, just maybe, your death is the fuel that

SEE ISRAEL ON A14

Arms suspension: Britain pauses some military exports to Israel. **A15**

Campus caution: D.C.-area colleges brace for new protests. **B1**

ABUSED BY THE BADGE

A school cop accused of sexual misconduct with kids kept his job for years

BY JENN ABELSON, JESSICA CONTRERA AND NATE JONES

COLUMBIA, S.C. — The teen was nervous to hear the results of the investigation. Weeks had passed since the 15-year-old reported that a school resource officer sexually assaulted her. In his office. In the middle of the school day.

Now a captain from the Richland County Sheriff’s Department had set up a meeting with the 10th-grader and her therapist to tell them what was going to be done about it.

The 38-year-old officer, Deputy Jamel Bradley, had previously been the subject of at least five complaints in his nine years at Spring Valley High School. Parents, fellow deputies, an administrator and a coach had all raised concerns that Bradley was acting inappropriately with teenage girls. □

Two of his colleagues had reported that they saw Bradley, alone with a female student, late at night in a secluded parking lot.

Capt. Heidi Jackson was aware of some of the past allegations when she met with the 10th-grader and her therapist in May 2018, law enforcement records show. With the girl’s permission, The Washington Post is identifying her by her middle name, Dianah.

Sitting in her therapist’s office,



OBTAINED BY THE WASHINGTON POST

A still image from a video shows school resource officer Jamel Bradley interacting with students at the school where he used to work.

Dianah tugged at her armful of bracelets. One said, “It’s ok not to be ok.”

Jackson told Dianah that she believed her story, and others did, too, according to notes taken by the girl’s therapist and shared with The Post.

But some people on the force, Jackson said, “did not want to see this side” of the school resource officer. Richland County Sheriff Leon Lott had personally recruited

SEE POLICE ABUSE ON A10



MARVIN JOSEPH/THE WASHINGTON POST

Disabled employees wait for rides home outside the Eisenhower Center workshop in Milwaukee.

Fight looms over low pay for disabled

Administration considers rule that would phase out long-running program

BY JACQUELINE ALEMANY, CAITLIN GILBERT AND AMANDA MORRIS

A decades-long fight over whether people with disabilities should be paid less than minimum wage is set to come to a head this month.

For nearly 90 years, disability activists have pushed to end a law that allows employers to obtain a certificate that enables them to pay disabled workers less than the minimum wage. Some workers in the program make as little

as 25 cents per hour.

Opponents of the law say that it is a Depression-era relic that devalues the work of people with disabilities and limits the types of work they can do. They’ve faced fierce pushback from a small cohort of well-organized defenders of the law, including some parents of disabled workers, who argue that for some, this program is their only opportunity to do meaningful work and earn a wage.

Congressional action to end the program nationwide has languished, and President Joe Biden,

who promised during his 2020 campaign to phase it out, has declined to take action for most of his presidency. That is set to change soon: Biden’s Labor Department has submitted a rule for review by the White House Office of Management and Budget that could fulfill his promise — and set off a massive legal and political battle, The Washington Post has learned.

Officially called Section 14(c), the law was enacted by Congress as part of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. Under the law,

SEE POLICY ON A9

ELECTION 2024

GOP aims to dull VP’s image

TRUMP FACES FAVORABILITY GAP

Campaign invests heavily in negative campaign ads

BY ISAAC ARNSDORF, JOSH DAWSEY AND MARIANNE LEVINE

Donald Trump’s team is approaching the final nine weeks of the presidential campaign as a race to drag Kamala Harris down.

Americans’ views of the Republican nominee have barely budged over the past nine years, spanning three White House bids, two impeachments, an insurrection, four indictments and an assassination attempt. He remains deeply divisive, with enthusiastic support and intense opposition.

President Joe Biden was also broadly unpopular, but now Trump faces Harris, whose favorability rating is roughly even. An ABC News/Ipsos poll released on Sunday found that 46 percent of likely voters viewed Harris favorably versus 43 percent unfavorably, while Trump’s ratings were 33 percent to 58 percent.

With little chance of improving Trump’s standing, Trump’s advisers see the only option as damaging hers.

“What matters is their ability to prosecute a case to the point

SEE CAMPAIGN ON A8

Labor Day pitch: Harris targets union voters on holiday. **A7**

Loyalty to Trump was key to his comeback

2016 aide Lewandowski joins campaign after harassment allegations

BY BETH REINHARD AND ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

Days after a Republican donor accused Corey Lewandowski, a longtime Donald Trump adviser, of sexually harassing her at a Las Vegas charity dinner in September 2021, she received an unexpected and apologetic phone call.

The call was from the former president, seeking to reassure her, said the donor, Trashelle Odom, who alleged that Lewandowski had repeatedly groped her and made sexually explicit comments at the event.

“I really appreciated him taking the time to call me,” Odom said in a recent interview with The Washington Post, speaking about Trump’s outreach, which has not been previously reported.

Donald Trump Jr., the former president’s eldest son, also called to check on her, she said, and promised that Lewandowski would face consequences. He was quickly ejected from his leadership role at a pro-Trump organization, with a Trump spokesman

SEE LEWANDOWSKI ON A6

IN THE NEWS

A potential breakthrough A stem cell therapy has shown promise for people with Type 1 diabetes, cutting the need for insulin for some people in a medical experiment. **A4**

Medical debt forgiven District officials worked with a nonprofit group to erase \$42 million in costs for some residents. **B1**

THE NATION The U.S. government seized a plane used by Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro. **A2** **Election fraud** charges in Texas have upended lives, but they rarely result in convictions. **A3**

THE WORLD The recent crash of a “dark” tanker shows the dangers of China’s thirst for cheap oil. **A13** **Germany’s** leader urged mainstream parties to snub the far right after its election wins. **A15**

THE ECONOMY Court cases seeking to overturn Biden administration student loan repayment programs leave borrowers in limbo. **A16** **California officials** approved a hike in homeowners insurance rates through Allstate as the wildfire threat increases in the state. **A16**

THE REGION The new superintendent in Montgomery County is excited at a chance for a “reset” in the school district. **B1** **D.C. police** fatally shot an armed man after they say he crashed into a McDonald’s in Southeast and tried to grab an officer’s gun. **B4**

STYLE **Indré Rockefeller** wants her fellow fashion designers to think more critically about the end of a product’s life. **C1**

HEALTH & SCIENCE **Executive function** studies — like the famous Marshmallow Test — may have cultural biases built in. **E1**

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