

ELECTION 2024

Haley's lucrative path after U.N. stint

GOP presidential hopeful raked in millions from speeches and consulting

BY ISAAC STANLEY-BECKER

Nikki Haley was representing the United States on the world stage, as President Donald Trump's ambassador to the United Nations, when something closer to home intervened in 2017: a property dispute back in South Carolina.

Bankers were foreclosing on her parents' lake house, and they were having trouble tracking down the family. They tried the house itself, on the shores of picturesque Lake Murray, as well as Haley's home in a suburb of Columbia. She was initially named as a defendant in the action.

In vain, they went to Haley's workplace: the headquarters of the U.S. mission to the United Nations in New York.

"Denied access by U.N. security," a process server scrawled on an affidavit filed in January 2018.

The foreclosure action, initiated even as Haley served in the highest echelons of government, illustrates the financial pressure she faced as her family's primary breadwinner during her last stint in public service, which ended when she abruptly quit government later that year and entered the private sector.

In short order, she improved her financial position dramatically, making millions from private consulting, paid speeches and spots on corporate boards. She quickly extricated herself from the lake house proceedings and, in 2019, purchased a \$2.4 million property on Kiawah Island — a gated community near Charleston — with arched porticos, columns, balconies and stone balustrades.

Haley's finances are under a spotlight as she seeks a return to public life, this time as president. A financial disclosure she submitted earlier this year, as required for candidates, shows how she

SEE **HALEY** ON **A14**



A harvest of memories

An Iowa couple reflect on the past and what people owe one another in the present

Verna Orvis wasn't sure why the stitches on the wedding dress had come undone, but no matter, because she knew how to mend a rented garment, even one as old and delicate as this. She would pull the bundle of satin and lace from the plastic dust cover. She would flip the switch on one of the five sewing machines strewn across her dining room. Then she would feed the bridal gown her mother had worn nearly 70 years ago into the needle well.

She just needed to find an idle moment to inspect the ripped sleeve one more time. Had it been pleated or bunched?

"We're going to get that done," Verna said to herself, walking past the dress and into the kitchen. "One of these days."

CNN played on a small TV as she began cooking dinner. "More Biden s---," her husband, Jack, would sometimes call Verna's news shows, which ran in the background as she did

BY JOSE A. DEL REAL
PHOTOS BY MELINA MARA
IN CHICKASAW COUNTY, IOWA

Jack and Verna Orvis talk over the day after dinner as a rerun of "Gunsmoke" plays in the background of their Lawler, Iowa, home. The couple, whose politics have diverged over the years, reflect a changing country amid a family reunion and the annual corn harvest.

housework.

At 61 years old, Verna played many roles in Lawler, the small farm town in northeast Iowa where she lived — emergency seamstress, unofficial photographer, church organizer, mother of three grown daughters and, of course, wife of Jack. A lifelong instinct for record-keeping had served her well at the local company where she helped farmers navigate the byzantine world of crop insurance, which she had done since she was 19.

Now, as cornstalks dried and summer slid into the autumn of 2023, one project loomed above the rest: In four days, Verna was hosting a large family reunion at the same local ballroom where her parents had their wedding reception all those decades before. The reunion would fall on her parents' anniversary, to the day, and Verna had carefully studied a photo from the occasion. Her mother's dress would be on display alongside other family

SEE **COUPLE** ON **A8**

A war of traps and trickery

HAMAS TACTICS STIR FEAR AND CONFUSION

"There's no safe place," Israeli officer says

BY WILLIAM BOOTH,
ITAY STERN
AND HAZEM BALOUSHA

JERUSALEM — In a rubble-strewn alley near the Jabalya refugee camp in northern Gaza, Israeli soldiers say they found themselves being lured into a deadly and surreal trap.

"The ambush attempted to use dolls and children's backpacks with speakers playing sounds of crying," the Israel Defense Forces said in a statement this month. "These were placed intentionally near a tunnel shaft connecting to a large tunnel network." The IDF posted photos of two makeshift mannequins or dolls swaddled in toddler clothing rigged with explosives.

In recent days, the IDF has reported that its soldiers have been hearing recordings of weeping and people speaking Hebrew — attempts, commanders believe, to trick the Israeli soldiers to search for hostages nearby. The IDF has not released those recordings.

Some analysts suggest that wariness of such traps might have been a factor in the IDF's mistaken killing of three Israeli hostages in Gaza this month — that the troops were spooked and too fast to fire.

As the conflict rages, Israeli forces and Hamas militants on the ground are waging war on an increasingly complex battlefield — one on which Israel deploys 21st-century drones and robots while Hamas relies on some of the oldest tactics: deception, surprise, ambush.

In intense urban combat, fought above and below ground, Hamas militants dart from building to building in civilian clothes, the IDF says, and attempt to

SEE **GAZA** ON **A13**

Lahaina fire survivors face holidays with no home

Nearly 6,200 people need places to live and an estimated 1,000 have left amid Maui's housing crisis

BY REIS THEBAULT

More than four months since the deadliest wildfire in modern American history burned Lahaina to the ground, nearly 6,200 people are still looking for a place to live while their beloved Maui town is rebuilt.

There's the retiree who has been shuttled from one shelter to another; the family of five who can only afford to stay in their overpriced, unlicensed rental until month's end, when their shrinking finances will force them to leave the island; and the dozens of people camping on the beach to demand long-term housing for survivors of the blaze.

In the fire's immediate aftermath, many predicted this crisis. And yet, despite the warning signs, Maui has hurtled headlong into a housing emergency.

At the height of the holiday season, thousands are still desperate for permanence, stuck in 33 hotels, according to the American Red Cross. Hundreds more are crammed in with family and

SEE **LAHAINA** ON **A11**



Carlos Lamas, a Lahaina Strong volunteer, sets up lights for tents at a protest camp at Kaanapali Beach. Many residents are in housing limbo as lawmakers attempt to help.

MENGSHIN LIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

'King of the cannibals' rises in Silicon Valley

OpenAI's Altman a prodigy full of contradictions

BY ELIZABETH DWOSKIN,
MARC FISHER
AND NITASHA TIKU

Several weeks before he was ousted as CEO of OpenAI, Sam Altman called up his longtime mentor, billionaire Peter Thiel, to talk about how to overcome one of the biggest challenges for his company. To meet soaring demand for ChatGPT's ever-expanding capabilities and make the huge profits Altman envisioned, OpenAI needed massive computer firepower.

Altman confided to Thiel that he was looking to create a chips company, a massively expensive undertaking due to the cost of manufacturing. To raise the capital, he would travel to the Middle East, including Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia, and possibly tap his powerful Silicon Valley network, including Thiel's Founders Fund and Vinod Khosla, both backers of OpenAI.

Altman had spent much of



JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

Sam Altman returned as CEO of OpenAI after being ousted.

Investment empire: Sam Altman's influence grows in Silicon Valley. **A5**

2023 wooing Congress and the tech media, seeking to show how careful his company was being about protecting against the risks of AI. He'd told them about how

SEE **ALTMAN** ON **A4**

METRO
D.C. leaders struggle to address high absentee rates in city schools.

OPINION
Visual artist Avis Collins Robinson strove to the end to finish "Winter."



TRAVEL
Five New York bars that celebrate the art of Japanese cocktails.

BUSINESS
Where do Americans live after 85? Look inside the homes of 11 seniors.



ARTS & STYLE
In an Oscar-buzzy year at 54, Coleman Domingo is ready for his close-up.

SPORTS
In California, football haves and have-nots clash on homecoming.

NOTE TO READERS
There is no Book World section this week.

CONTENT © 2023
The Washington Post / Year 147, No. 53709

