

Windy 49/30 • Tomorrow: Partly cloudy 51/35 B6

Democracy Dies in Darkness

MONDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2023 • \$3

Trump’s electors rethink roles

Less appetite — and opportunity — to serve if 2020 repeats itself

BY AMY GARDNER, PATRICK MARLEY AND YVONNE WINGETT SANCHEZ

Republican Party activist Ken Carroll thought he was doing the right thing when he agreed to cast an electoral college vote for Donald Trump at the Georgia Capitol on Dec. 14, 2020.

But he wouldn’t do it again. “Knowing what I know now? No,” Carroll said. “But hindsight provides a wealth of knowledge we don’t have at the time of an event.”

Carroll was one of 84 Republican presidential electors who convened to cast votes for Trump in 2020 across seven states where Joe Biden had been declared the certified winner. And he is among the electors in six of those states who have become embroiled in criminal investigations of their actions — saddled with legal bills and in some cases facing criminal charges. Carroll says he never again wants to be involved with a criminal investigation.

In the past few months, 25 of those 84 electors have been charged with felonies, such as forgery, false statements and filing false documents. Ten more have agreed as part of a lawsuit settlement to not serve as electors in any election in which Trump is on the ballot. And 13 others in Georgia have been labeled “unindicted co-conspirators.”

The publicity surrounding those investigations, and the specter of tarnished reputations and heavy legal costs, are likely to discourage future Trump electors — should the former president secure the GOP nomination next year — from casting votes for him

SEE TRUMP ON A4

How veterans in the Senate helped to end military holds

BY LIZ GOODWIN

When Sen. Dan Sullivan (R-Alaska) was asked in a July TV interview about his colleague’s decision to put a hold on hundreds of military promotions, Sullivan defended Sen. Tommy Tuberville (R-Ala.), saying it was his “right” to stall the promotions and that the impasse needed to be solved by a compromise.

But behind the scenes, the Marine Corps Reserve colonel was desperately trying to reach a solution with the senator from Alabama, who goes by “Coach” in reference to his former title at Auburn University, as Sullivan grew increasingly concerned about the blanket hold’s effect on military members and their families.

Sullivan, along with several other veterans who sit on the Armed Services Committee, finally broke Tuberville’s unprecedented blockade over a Biden administration abortion policy last week after a bipartisan pressure campaign that involved considerable political risk.

SEE TUBERVILLE ON A6

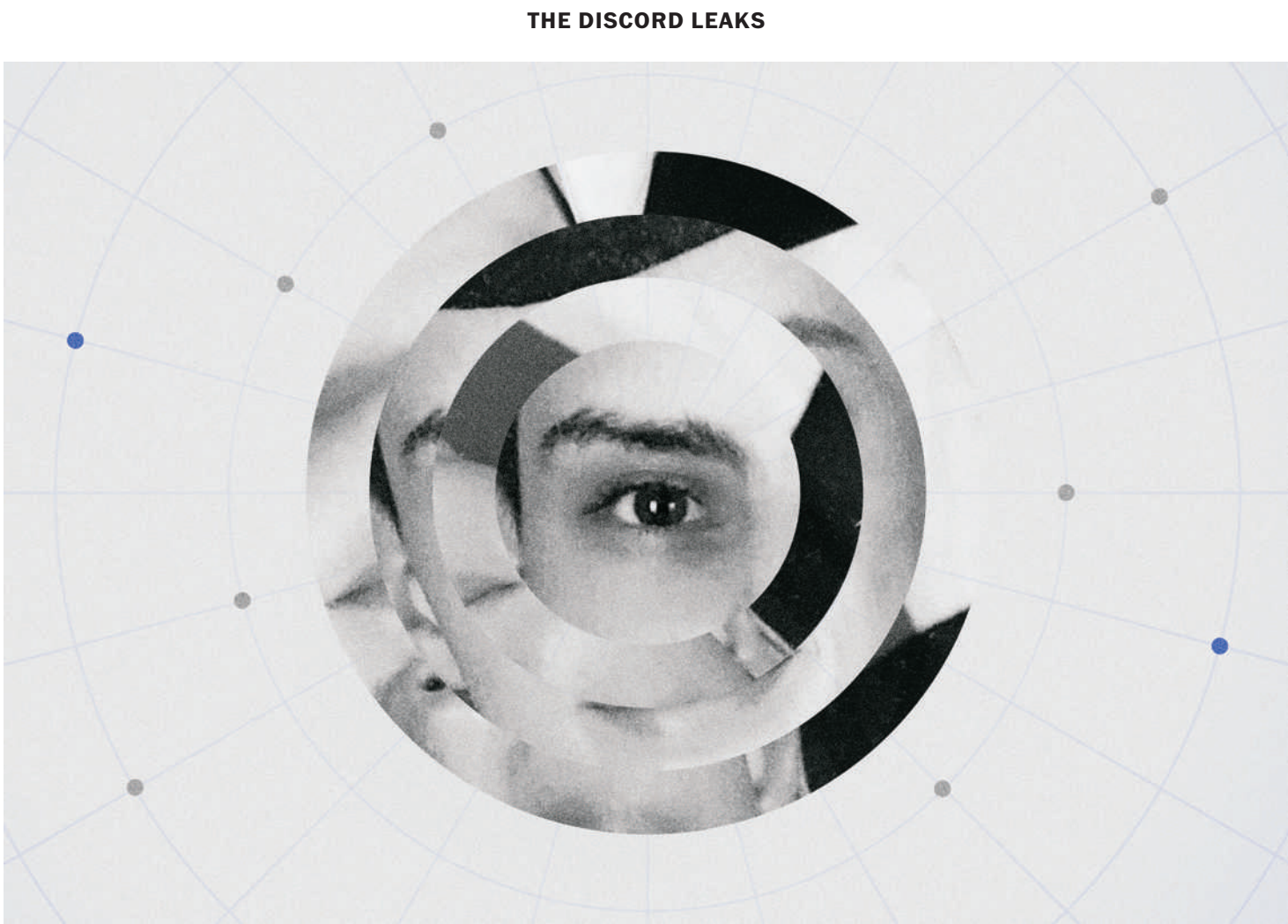


ILLUSTRATION BY LUCY NALAND/THE WASHINGTON POST; OBTAINED BY WASHINGTON POST; ISTOCK

The online world of Jack Teixeira

As he tapped anxiously at his computer keyboard one afternoon in early spring, Charles wondered when the FBI would arrest his best friend.

He had last spoken to Jack Teixeira online two days earlier. Teixeira had said to “keep low and delete any information that could even possibly relate to him.” The next day, he “went ghost mode ... just went off the internet,” Charles said.

Teixeira was not on the run, but he was frantic. Over the past year, he had shared an enormous amount of highly classified government intelligence with about two dozen friends in a virtual clubhouse that they had set up on Discord, a digital platform especially popular with video gamers. It let Teixeira and his friends — who, like Charles, were mostly teenage boys — talk and play together online.

Interviews and documents detail how classified secrets were allegedly shared on Discord

BY SHANE HARRIS AND SAMUEL OAKFORD



About this partnership: New reporting by The Washington Post and Frontline reveals details about Jack Teixeira’s alleged leak of classified U.S. intelligence on Discord, his possible motivations and the red flags officials missed that could have helped stop him.

Based on a collaborative months-long investigation, “The Discord Leaks” examines one of the biggest leaks of government secrets in U.S. history. The new documentary premieres on Dec. 12 on PBS and online at washingtonpost.com.

For more than two years, they had hung out nearly every day, and in the throes of covid lockdowns, usually all day.

Teixeira was just 21, but he was enlisted in the Massachusetts Air National Guard and worked as a computer technician inside an intelligence facility at a military base on Cape Cod. The job came with a top-secret security clearance that gave Teixeira access to computer networks containing some of the most highly classified information in the U.S. government. The boys looked up to him like an older brother or world-wise uncle.

Charles said the tightknit group of friends, who shared a love of guns and

SEE LEAKS ON A8

A global security debacle What to know about the fallout from the online leaks. A8

After 109 years, check-out time for the Harrington

Inelegant, infamous and incomparable, D.C.’s longest-running hotel closes its doors Tuesday

BY PAUL SCHWARTZMAN

The air conditioning system is out of date, the bathrooms are cramped, and the occasional creepy-crawly has been known to drop by unannounced.

No one has stayed at the Hotel Harrington in downtown Washington because it is luxurious, elegant, or, for that matter, especially nice.

Mostly it’s the Harrington’s bargain rates and stellar location — a few blocks from the White House and National Mall — that has drawn tourists from across the United States and Europe for more than a century.

“We go up to our room and my brother touches the closet door and it falls off,” Linda Levine of Raleigh, N.C., said the other day, recalling a stay at the Harrington in the late 1990s. “There was a stain of unknown origin in the bathroom.”

Still, Levine added, “It was an affordable way to see the city.”

The Harrington’s recent announcement that it’s closing on Tuesday after 109 years will end its reign as the city’s longest continuously operating hotel, an accomplishment inspiring testimonials, as well as wonder that something

SEE HARRINGTON ON A22



CRAIG HUDSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The Harrington has drawn tourists from around the world during its 109 years, owing to its location and low nightly rates. Harry’s, the hotel’s in-house dive bar, stopped serving Dec. 3.

Houthi naval threat grows

GROUP TO TARGET ISRAEL-BOUND SHIPS

U.S. seeks allies for an expanded Red Sea force

BY DAN LAMOTHE AND KAREEM FAHIM

The United States, attempting to contain the spread of Israel’s war in Gaza, is pitching allies on expanding a multinational naval task force to address an alarming rise in attacks on commercial vessels traveling near Yemen that have posed a significant threat to global shipping.

The White House says it’s a “natural response” after the Houthis, a Yemeni militant group aligned with Iran, have fired missiles and one-way drones at several ships and hijacked at least one in recent weeks. But it remains unclear whether the United States and its partners will be able to deter the Houthis or tamp down Israel’s demands for forceful action. Measures such as military strikes or designating the Houthis as terrorists could complicate efforts by the United Nations, the United States and the others to end a disastrous civil conflict in Yemen.

The Houthi attacks have underscored broader outrage across the Middle East over Israel’s assault on Gaza. The campaign has leveled neighborhoods, killed about 18,000 people and triggered a humanitarian disaster, prompting a wave of retaliatory attacks on U.S. and Israeli interests in the region.

SEE HOUTHIS ON A15

Aid: Pressure on Israel intensifies as conditions worsen in Gaza. A14

Penn furor stirs debate on limits of free speech

BY HANNAH NATANSON AND SUSAN SVRLUGA

The resignation of the University of Pennsylvania’s president following her testimony over how to handle calls for the genocide of Jews has highlighted the tight-rope school leaders are walking as students protest the war in Gaza — and fueled instant debate over how far colleges can go to restrict speech.

Liz Magill’s departure, announced Saturday, divided politicians, academics and the nation, with some hailing it as a needed corrective to curb hateful rhetoric on college campuses. Republican lawmakers, who have argued in recent years that America’s most prestigious schools are also its most out-of-touch, were especially eager to paint universities as hotbeds of angry leftist rhetoric where liberal ideologies are tolerated, while conservative viewpoints are shut down.

Democrats and Jewish groups celebrated the exit, too, which came after Magill refused to say, during testimony before

SEE UPENN ON A2

IN THE NEWS

A visit from Zelensky President Biden will host his Ukrainian counterpart at the White House this week as Congress looks more and more unlikely to pass additional aid. A7

Alex Jones on X Elon Musk restored the conspiracy theorist’s account on the platform, a move likely to hasten advertisers’ flight. A2

THE NATION
Kari Lake struggled to court moderates in Arizona, imperiling a GOP Senate pickup. A3
A storm system delivered high-impact hazardous weather across the East Coast. A16

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Argentina’s new president, embraced by far-right leaders around the world, was sworn in. A13

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THE REGION
The roar of automatic weapons is back on America’s streets as illegal conversion devices power up firearms. B1
Students missing routine vaccinations were kept out of D.C. schools last week, setting off a scramble for immunizations. B1

STYLE
National Security Council spokesman John Kirby is increasingly being perceived as “the de facto co-press secretary,” as one veteran reporter put it. C1
Monica Hesse reflects on a viral episode from Paris Hilton’s days as a new mother. C1

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