

# The Washington Post

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*"I'm not hiding my disgust, my disdain, for this criminal offense."*  
U.S. District Judge Emmet G. Sullivan



Michael Flynn, who asked court meddling on these hobbled heels, left it needing to be more help to prosecutors to step out of prison.

## Judge excoriates Flynn, delays sentencing

Ex-Trump aide forced to reiterate his crimes, warned of prison time

BY STEPHEN S. HAY, MARY MAPPENARY AND CAROL D. LACROIX

A federal judge on Tuesday postponed the sentencing of Michael Flynn after he lambasted President Trump's former national security adviser for trying to undermine the country and warned he might not spare Flynn from prison.

U.S. District Judge Emmet G. Sullivan made clear he was infuriated by Flynn's conduct — both in lying to the FBI while in the White House and in working to influence the interests of the Trump administration while he was a part of Trump's campaign.

The judge seemed to take particular umbrage at the suggestion made by Flynn and his supporters, but he had been duped by the FBI. Early in the hearing, Sullivan forced Flynn to admit publicly that he knew lying to the bureau was illegal and that Flynn continued on p. A4

## Jurist disappoints Mueller foes with a lecture on the rule of law

BY CAROL D. LACROIX AND MICHAEL S. WILKINSON

For a full eight minutes, U.S. District Judge Emmet G. Sullivan read aloud an inventory of Michael Flynn's lies — describing his "disgraceful" conduct, President Trump's "outrageous" conduct and the FBI's "outrageous" conduct to "discover" FBI agents while "in the possession of the White House."

Flynn, a retired general who is the highest-ranking Trump aide to plead guilty as part of the special counsel investigation, returned to the courtroom after being indicted through his midsection. This was not how Flynn's supporters of Trump thought Tuesday's sentencing hearing would unfold. They had pinned their hopes on Sullivan, an independent-minded jurist with a history of breaking out prosecutorial misconduct, as the one who would reveal oversight by special counsel Robert Mueller II and the FBI. Some Flynn allies even speculated the judge might let him off with a fine and a plea deal.

Prosecutors thought Tuesday's sentencing hearing would be a show trial, an independent-minded jurist with a history of breaking out prosecutorial misconduct, as the one who would reveal oversight by special counsel Robert Mueller II and the FBI. Some Flynn allies even speculated the judge might let him off with a fine and a plea deal.

## Senate passes bill revamping criminal justice

EASES 'THREE STRIKES,' CRACKS DISPARITIES  
Big pivot for GOP and a bipartisan victory for Trump

BY JOHN WANKER AND KATHY WERNER

The Senate on Tuesday overwhelmingly passed a sweeping overhaul of the criminal justice system, after a remarkable political shift from Republicans who voted in large numbers to save money by reducing prison sentences, handing a rare bipartisan victory to President Trump.

The President had pushed on a vote of 87 to 13, with dozens of Republicans, including longtime House Minority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), voting in support of the bill. The bill would reduce the number of federal prisoners by 100,000, and would also reduce the number of federal prisoners by 100,000. The bill would also reduce the number of federal prisoners by 100,000.

## President backs off demand for wall funds

Trump seeks to avoid shutdown; short-term funding bill seems likely

BY KARA WYANER, DANIEL FALTYA AND SEYMOUR M. HERSH

President Trump on Tuesday abandoned months of efforts to demand for Congress to give him \$5 billion for his border wall, bowing to political reality as Republicans scrambled to avoid shutting down large portions of the government this weekend.

Leaders during a heated six-hour session argued that he'd be "forced" to shut down the government to get his wall money. Instead, White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders said Tuesday, Trump does not want a shutdown and will identify "other ways" to fund a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.

## In light of allegations, president to shut charity

Foundation was used for personal and political benefit, lawsuit says

BY DAVID A. FARRETT

President Trump has agreed to shut down his embattled personal charity and to give away its remaining money amid allegations that he used the foundation for his personal and political benefit, New York Attorney General Letitia James, Underwood announced Tuesday.

## Inside America's other opioid epidemic

The nation's capital is ground zero for an explosion in African American overdose deaths

BY PETER JAMISON

Some, whose pockets could be turned, were answering his phone. He just after 9 a.m. on a cold August morning, Sam Rogers had walked to a corner two miles east of the U.S. Capitol on Pennsylvania Avenue, hoping to find heroin that would let him live.

### IN THE NEWS

**THE NATION** President Trump's Federal Communications Commission nominee Richard Dickson recommended that school systems consider allowing transgender students to use the restrooms and locker rooms that match their gender identity. Dickson also advised against increasing the minimum age required for gas purchases. AS A ban on buy-one-get-one-free deals has been used in the 2017 Las Vegas massacre will take effect next year, the Justice Department said. AS House Republican Paul D. Ryan's proposal to...

**THE REGION** Canada's Moore Farm, the Colonial-era Biting Area in McLean, will close after rejecting an overnight bid in The D.C. Council approved a nearly \$200 million bid to alter negotiations for a hospital east of the Anacostia River to the south. AS The D.C. Council legislative committee on 12/18/19, allowing it to review and private business and through...

### INSIDE

**FOOD** Danish A Christmas treat that's easy to prepare yet full of traditional flavor. ES **STYLE** Being a boy Three fashion navigators middle school's colors and gender codes. ES

A lawyer of her own Penny Marshall, who starred in "Laverne & Shirley," then became a groundbreaking director, died at 75. ES

James Harris, 39, was hospitalized for a head injury after he was hit by a car while walking in the park near his home.

Michelle of pills by Wala; Franco overnight led to quiet life. AS

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Case: CL-2019-0002911

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... as many will ... with McSally ...



Leslie Moonves in July 2015. The CBS chief executive resigned in September after months of allegations of sexual misconduct surfaced.

# A transformative moment for women

BY ALYSSA ROSENBERG

I was exposed to abuse as a very young girl. I have certain things early on, without even having to be told. I knew that I had the power — physically, socially and financially — and that a lot of institutions support that arrangement. I knew this long before I had the words to articulate it, and I had you know, by now, you too.

Like many women, I had been harassed and sexually assaulted by the time I was of college age. But I kept quiet — I did not expect filing complaints to bring justice. And I didn't see myself as a victim.

Then two years ago, I became a public figure representing domestic violence, and I felt the full force of our culture's wrath for women who speak out.

Friends and advisers told me I would never again work as an actress — that I would be blacklisted. A couple I was attached to recast my role. I had just shot a two-year campaign as the face of a global fashion brand, and the company dropped me. Questions arose as to whether I would be able to keep my role in the movies "Justice League" and "Aquaman."

I had the rare vantage point of seeing, in real time, how institutions protect men accused of abuse. I imagine a powerful man as a ship, like the Titanic. That ship is a huge enterprise. When it strikes an iceberg, there are a lot of people on board desperate to patch up holes — not because they believe in or even care about the ship, but because their own fates depend on the enterprise.

In recent years, the #MeToo movement has taught us about how powerful like this works, not just in Hollywood, but in all kinds of institutions — workplaces, places of worship or simply in particular communities. In every walk of life, women are confronting these men who are beloved by social, economic and cultural power. And these institutions are beginning to change.

We are in a transformative political moment. The president of our country has been accused by more than a dozen women of sexual misconduct, including assault and harassment. Outrage over his statements and behavior has emerged a female-led opposition. #MeToo started a conversation about just how profoundly sexual violence affects women in every area of our lives. And here, in this moment, we are invited to Congress that ever in our his-

tory with a mandate to take women's issues seriously. Women's rage and determination to end sexual violence are turning into a political force. We have an opening now to bolster and build institutions protective of women. For starters, Congress can reauthorize and strengthen the Violence Against Women Act. Passed in 1994, the act is one of the most effective pieces of legislation enacted to fight domestic violence and sexual assault. It creates support systems for people who report abuse, and provides funding for rape crisis centers, legal assistance, counseling and other critical services. It improves responses by law enforcement, and it prohibits discrimination against LGBTQ survivors. Funding for the act expired in September and has only been temporarily extended.

We should continue to fight sexual assault on college campuses, while simultaneously insisting on fair processes for adjudicating complaints. Last month, Education Secretary DeVos proposed changes to Title IX rules governing the treatment of sexual harassment and assault in schools. While some changes would make the process for handling complaints more fair, others would weaken protections for sexual assault survivors. For example, the new rules would require schools to investigate the most serious complaints, and then only when they are made to designated officials. Women on campuses already have trouble coming forward about sexual violence — why would we allow institutions to scale back support?

I write this as a woman who had to change my phone number weekly because I was getting death threats. For months, I rarely left my apartment, and when I did, I was pursued by cameramen and photographers on foot, on motorcycles and in cars. I should clarify that posted pictures of me upon them in a segregated light. I sit as though I was on trial in the court of public opinion — and my life and livelihood depended on my trial judgments far beyond my control.

I want to ensure that women who come forward to walk about violence receive more support. We are electing representatives who know how deeply we care about these issues. We can work together to demand changes to laws and rules and social norms — and to fight the imbalances that have shaped our lives.

This winter is an act and a message of hope for women at the American Civil Liberties Union.

ALYSSA ROSENBERG

Excerpted from washingtonpost.com/people/alyssa-rosenberg

## Pay the women instead

If there is one tiny kernel of relief in the infuriating news cycle that has been 2018, it is the report that CBS doesn't intend to pay disgraced and disgraced former chairman and chief executive Leslie Moonves \$120 million in severance. Of course, that relief is mitigated

by the fact that the company is not paying the women who have been wronged by Moonves. It's a perverse incentive structure that gives companies millions of reasons not to deal aggressively with male stars who harass their co-workers. Some companies have begun to write employment contracts specifying that employees who are fired because of sexual misconduct can't demand that

# Racism is a national security issue

BY RUSSELL W. FOSTER

The newly released reports from the Senate Intelligence Committee about Russian interference in the 2016 election have been nothing short of revelatory. Both studies — one produced by researchers at Oxford University, the other by the cybersecurity firm New Knowledge — describe in granular detail how the Russian government tried to sow discord and confusion among American voters, and both conclude that Russia's campaign included a massive effort to deceive and co-opt African Americans. We now have irrefutable confirmation that a foreign power sought to exploit racial tensions in the United States for its own gain. For all that U.S. intelligence agencies reported (that the Russian government worked to sway the 2016 election, foreign election meddling has been one of our most deeply held national security concerns. But our discussions about Russian interference rarely touch on the other, major threat to our election: the resurgence of state-sponsored voter suppression in the United States. In light of these startling new reports, it's clear we can no longer think of foreign election meddling as a phenomenon separate from attempts to disenfranchise Americans of color. Racial injustice remains a real vulnerability in our democracy, one that foreign powers are only too willing to attack.

How should we respond? First, we have to make it easier, not harder, for Americans to vote. In the wake of the Supreme Court's 2013 Shelby County decision, which severely weakened the Voting Rights Act, we've seen a resurgence of voter-suppression efforts across the nation. Congress has the power to fix the Voting Rights Act, but so far it has declined to do so. The revitalization of Russia's racial targeting should serve as a wake-up call that domestic voter suppression, in addition to being unconstitutional, effectively aids foreign attacks on our democracy. Indeed, we should take seriously the danger that domestic and foreign groups may coordinate to suppress turnout in future elections; a possibility we can begin to forestall, first and foremost, by protecting the franchise here at home. Rep. Hank Johnson (D-Ohio) has already introduced a comprehensive new voting rights bill, and Congress should swiftly act upon it in the new year.

Second, these revelations only deepen the urgency of demanding more accountability from technology companies. The New Knowledge report criticizes social media companies such as Facebook for misleading Congress about the nature of Russia's interference, noting that "one even denied that specific groups were targeted. This is just more evidence that Silicon

Valley has yet to come to grips with the enormous influence it wields in our democracy and the ways that foreign powers can use that influence to manipulate Americans. Congress should require greater transparency and responsibility from these corporations before the 2020 elections.

Finally, we have to accept that foreign powers act upon these divisions because they are real — because racism remains the United States' Achilles' heel. Indeed, it is, and always has been, a national security vulnerability — a fundamental and deeply exploitable reality of American life that belies the image and narrative of equality and justice we project and export around the world. It may be especially difficult in our era of "fake news" and "alternative facts" but we must recognize that our failure to acknowledge hard truths, especially when it comes to race, makes it easier for foreign powers to turn us against one another. Russia did not conjure out of thin air the black community's legitimate grievances about racial politics. Nor did it invent racist and hateful conspiracy theories. Rather, Russian trolls seized upon these real problems, readily-made sources of discord. Moving forward, we need to recognize that our failure to honestly address issues of civil rights and racial justice makes all of us more susceptible to foreign interference.

This is hardly the first time our adversaries have identified race and racism as America's great vulnerability. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union frequently pointed to segregation and civil unrest as proof of American hypocrisy. This propaganda was sufficiently widespread, and contained enough truth, that leaders of both parties began arguing that segregation undermined the United States' position in the "Cold War, helping to ease the passage of civil rights legislation in the 1950s and 1960s.

Today, we need a similar understanding that our failure to ensure equal justice for all has grave implications for U.S. national security. The upcoming House oversight committee hearings on Russian interference and voter suppression will be critical opportunities to educate the public on the threats to our democracy, and they deserve our close attention.

But we must be careful not to reduce the struggle for racial equality into a bloodless question of national interest. Civil rights are essential to our national security, but national security cannot be the chief rationale for pursuing civil rights. After all, racial injustice is not just another check in our arsenal. It is the great flaw in our character. Our adversaries know that race makes us our own worst enemy. It is past time we learn this hard truth ourselves.

For more on this and other issues, visit the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

DAVID IGNATIUS

# A Russian spy's dream

In the American political (or a moment as a laboratory experiment. A foreign adversary (let's call it "Russia") begins to play with the subject, using carrots and sticks to condition their behavior. The adversary develops tools to dial up anger and resentment inside the lab bubble, and even recruits unwitting accomplices to perform specific tasks.

This 21st-century political dystopia isn't drawn from a "spec script" that just landed in Hollywood. It's a summary of two reports on the Kremlin-linked Internet Research Agency published last week by the Senate Intelligence Committee. The studies describe a sophisticated, multilevel Russian effort to use every available tool of our open society to create resentment, mistrust and social disorder.

For years, Russian intelligence agents have been brilliant at creating false fronts and manipulating opposition groups. Now, thanks to the Internet, they seem to be perfecting these dark arts. Even as it rolled ahead, the Kremlin has just introduced new legislation to block its own information space from foreign penetration. Under the new law, reported this week, Russia could control all Internet and message traffic into the country, block any dissident websites and, during a crisis, manage the Russian Web from a central command point.

Russian IRA activities were designed to polarize the U.S. public and interfere in elections, the study says, by encouraging African American voters to boycott elections, pushing right-wing voters toward extremism, and "spreading sensationalist, conspiratorial and other forms of junk political news and misinformation."

The Russians pushed every button. They sought to tap African American anger with "Black Lives Matter" and "Black Matters" Facebook pages. They reached conservatives through pages called "Army of Jesus," "Heart of Texas" and "Secular Borders." The list of the IRA's top-50 Facebook pages is a catalogue of American rage.

The New Knowledge report blows the cover off these Internet operations. It shows how Hillary Clinton and vice-presidential pick Joe Biden were depicted as the "Satan Team" with Clinton wearing devil horns and Biden wearing a red mark on his forehead. The researchers found an image of Jesus wearing a red "Make America Great Again" hat.

Ignatius provided a special platform for manipulating younger Americans: The IRA's "Blacktaggers" account had 305,650 followers. "American Veterans" had 225,680 followers. It also had 194,794 and 175,000 followers. The IRA also had a top 40 Instagram pages cited in the New Knowledge study. Russia's Internet activity wasn't just