

The Washington Post

MD DC VA M2 V1 V2 V3 V4



Thunderstorms 88/76 • Tomorrow: Thunderstorms 88/73 • DETAILS, B8

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 2015

washingtonpost.com • \$1.50

3 fatal shootings in a D.C. afternoon

Bowser, Lanier express anger over proliferation of guns on the streets

BY PETER HERMANN AND FAIZ SIDDIQUI

A man was fatally shot on the grounds of a Catholic church in Southeast Washington on Tuesday afternoon, and hours later, gunfire in an apartment five miles away in Congress Heights killed a woman and wounded a child and a teenager, D.C. police said.

Those shootings and a third, in Northeast, that also turned fatal came amid a surge of violence across the city that began in late spring and has touched every quadrant. The District has recorded 97 homicides this year, up about 30 percent from this time last year and nearing 2014's total of 105.

Mayor Muriel E. Bowser arrived at the scene of the triple shooting on Savannah Street SE and with Police Chief Cathy L. Lanier expressed anger over what they called a proliferation of weapons saturating the city's streets, some falling into the hands of children and teens.

"When people say what is driving this," said Lanier, referring to the killings, "it is illegal firearms in the homes and hands of the wrong people, and when children have access to firearms, bad things happen." On Monday, Lanier said that officers had seized 102 illegal guns in the past 30 days, which she termed a "staggering number."

The shootings — the first shortly after noon at the church, the second about 3:50 p.m. at the

SHOOTINGS CONTINUED ON A2

"They just need to leave that flag alone. They think it's racist, but it's not."

Bill McCrory, wearing a camo-colored Confederate-flag baseball cap with "Join the Cause" on the front and "Rebel" on the back



LUCIAN PERKINS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Mississippi flag defenders dig in

BY NEELY TUCKER

PHILADELPHIA, MISS. — The Confederate flag was on the run earlier this summer. It was coming down everywhere. National retailers stopped selling it. South Carolina's legislature ordered it removed from the state capitol grounds. Momentum swelled across a nation horrified by a neo-Confederate's killing of nine African Americans in a historic South Carolina church.

That sentiment swung into Mississippi, the last place in the nation to incorporate the emblem into its state flag. The state's two U.S. senators, both Republicans, said the flag should go. A Mississippi-born leader of the

The last state in the U.S. to fly the Confederate symbol is in no hurry to leave its past behind

Paisley Watkins, 2, waves the Confederate-themed flag as her mother, Dana Watkins, watches in the background during the Neshoba County Fair in Philadelphia, Miss.

Southern Baptist Convention, the bedrock faith of many of the state's conservatives, wrote, "Let's take down that flag."

The powerful speaker of the State House of Representatives, Philip Gunn, became a national story when he said his Christian belief dictated that the flag "needs to be removed." A handful of towns started removing it from city quarters. Even the Ole Miss football coach, whose team is named "the Rebels" for the Confederate troops of yore, said the flag should bite the dust.

Then The Moment met the rest of Mississippi. Fans of the flag rallied. Lt. Gov. Tate Reeves (R) took a shot at Gunn, tweeting about the

MISSISSIPPI CONTINUED ON A8

Female libido drug is cleared

FDA APPROVES ADDYI FOR MARKET

Warns of dangers when mixed with alcohol

BY BRIGID SCHULTE AND BRADY DENNIS

The Food and Drug Administration on Tuesday evening approved the world's first drug designed to stir a woman's waning desire for sex, a condition that affects an estimated 1 in 10 U.S. women.

The approval of the controversial drug, flibanserin, which the FDA twice rejected before and now will be marketed as Addyi, comes with a series of conditions reflecting the agency's concerns about serious side effects. These include a boxed warning that highlights the risks of low blood pressure and fainting in patients who drink alcohol while taking the drug, as well as a requirement that doctors complete a training course before being allowed to prescribe it.

"Because of a potentially serious interaction with alcohol, treatment with Addyi will only be available through certified health care professionals and certified pharmacies," Janet Woodcock, director of the FDA's Center for Drug Evaluation and Research, said in a statement. "Patients and prescribers should fully understand the risks associated with the use of Addyi before considering treatment."

Supporters of the drug hailed APPROVAL CONTINUED ON A9

New military pressure over gender barriers

Women finish Ranger course as the services assess all-male jobs

BY DAN LAMOTHE

The graduation this week of two female soldiers from the Army's famously difficult Ranger School has put new pressure on the U.S. military to make women eligible to serve across its combat ranks, current and former U.S. officials said.

The historic achievement by the two women, who are expected to be awarded the prestigious Ranger Tab at a ceremony on Friday, comes amid a sweeping assessment at the Pentagon that is expected to lead to the removal of long-standing barriers to female soldiers across the armed services.

How far and fast those gender boundaries shift is expected to become evident within months, when each branch of the military is required to submit a petition to

senior leaders in the Pentagon listing the dwindling set of jobs that they want to remain all-male, with detailed justifications required for every category from which women would be excluded.

There are already emerging signals on how some of the services plan to proceed. Each of the services is considering changes to physical requirements for certain positions that could enable greater female participation — a move that some have resisted out of concern that it would erode standards in place for decades.

The Army's decision to allow women to attend Ranger School this year was seen by many as an unambiguous signal from a military branch that nevertheless has yet to allow females to serve in its elite units, including its 75th Ranger Regiment, a light-infantry force of about 3,600 soldiers.

The graduations this week of Capt. Kristen Griest, a military police officer from Orange, Conn., and 1st Lt. Shaye Haver, an Apache helicopter pilot from Cop-

MILITARY CONTINUED ON A4



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

An NFL pedigree on the sideline at Osborn High

Chris Samuels, a six-time Pro Bowler with the Washington Redskins, instructs Osborn players during his first day of practice at the Manassas school earlier this month. "He's been to the NFL, so he can show us things that many people have never seen before," says Eagles senior lineman Jace Moore. Story, D1 — plus a photo gallery at washingtonpost.com.

Health law 'repeal and replace' joins GOP contest

BY DAVID A. FAHRENTHOLD AND JENNA JOHNSON

For Republican leaders, one loaded phrase represents the difference between the party they are and the party they wish to be: "repeal and replace."

Since 2010, Republicans have pledged to repeal and replace President Obama's Affordable Care Act — promising a legislative backflip that would please conservatives who despise the law's every word and moderates who want to keep some of its benefits.

They haven't been able to do it — although not for lack of trying. The GOP-led House has voted 56 times to repeal or undermine the law, but zero times on a plan to replace it.

On Tuesday, the party's unsolved dilemma made its first big appearance in the 2016 Republican presidential race. First, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker released INSURANCE CONTINUED ON A9

IN THE NEWS



SPEC. RYAN HALLOCK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Missed signs An Army investigation cited poor conduct and discipline before a soldier shot 22 Afghan villagers in 2012. A8

System glitch The FAA blamed the debacle that affected East Coast flights on a problem at an air traffic control center in Virginia. A3

THE WORLD **Imprisoned Washington Post reporter** Jason Rezaian and his family are steeling themselves for a severe verdict from an Iranian judge that could come as early as Wednesday. A2

Authorities in Thailand were looking for a suspect seen on closed-circuit television near a Bangkok shrine where a bomb blast killed 22 people. A6

Concern about the Islamic State's gains fueled world powers' discussions on how to end the Syrian war. A7

Many in China want to know whether young contract firefighters missing after chemical-fueled blasts in Tianjin had proper training. A7

THE NATION **Shorter women** have a higher chance of giving birth early, according to a study released Tuesday. A3

African Americans and Hispanics with college degrees fared worse in financial turmoil than those without degrees, a study said. A5

The White House hired its first openly transgender official,

who will work in personnel recruitment. A2

Fading in the polls, Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker aimed to attract Donald Trump supporters in the GOP presidential race. A5

THE ECONOMY **Oil prices are at their lowest level** in years, but gas prices are not dropping as quickly. A12

First-time home buyers are spending a greater percentage of their annual pay. A12

The EPA called for cuts in methane emissions from oil and gas operations. A13

White-collar companies are increasingly extending parental leave

and benefits that help new parents manage. A11

THE REGION **A former police supervisor** at a federal lab complex was charged with trying to make methamphetamine. B1

A lawsuit over a disputed Metro real estate deal was revived after the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed a lower court's dismissal. B5

Saying Frederick County's English-only law sends "the wrong signal," the council repealed the measure. B5

The House of Delegates challenged the Virginia Senate's abrupt adjournment from a special session. B1

INSIDE

FOOD **Vining and dining** Tomato creativity blossoms in our ninth reader recipe contest. E1

METRO **Leader's early exit** As dean, Gary Hall stirred change at Washington National Cathedral. B1

BUSINESS NEWS.....A10
CLASSIFIEDS.....D9
COMICS.....C7
LOTTERIES.....B3
OBITUARIES.....B5
OPINION PAGES.....A14
TELEVISION.....C6



PostPoints
(DETAILS, B2)

DAILY CODE 2 1 0 2

CONTENT © 2015
The Washington Post / Year 138, No. 257



Printed using recycled fiber

Military missed signs ahead of soldier's shooting rampage

Report cites poor conduct, discipline before Afghan massacre

BY MARY PAT FLAHERTY

U.S. military commanders missed signs that Army Staff Sgt. Robert Bales "would engage in future unwarranted violent behavior against Afghans," according to an Army investigation of a 2012 massacre in which Bales left a remote base and shot 22 villagers.

The report, which U.S. Central Command released Tuesday after refusing to do so for three years, concluded that the command climate at the base "suffered from low standards of personal conduct and discipline." But it also said that concerns about Bales's conduct "did not rise to the level of warnings or indicators" that he was planning a shooting rampage, which was among the worst atrocities of the war.

Bales, 42, is serving a life sentence after he pleaded guilty to murdering 16 people, mostly women and children, and burning many of their bodies during a middle-of-the-night attack that sparked widespread protests in Afghanistan and led to a tempo-

rary suspension of combat operations.

The report offers no explanation for why Bales sneaked away to kill the villagers or any insight into his mental and medical assessments before his deployment.

Days before the attack, Bales had beaten an Afghan truck driver and acted erratically at the base while on steroids, the report said. But that behavior alone did not suggest that he would "commit the extremely violent acts" of March 2012, the report said.

Non-commissioned officers, not higher-ups, were to blame for not curbing drinking and steroid use, the investigation found.

Although acknowledging those deficiencies at the small site, the report explicitly states that command issues did not figure into the shootings.

"Command climate issues had no effect or contribution whatsoever" to Bales's rampage, the report says. After the shootings, one Special Forces member was discharged for giving Bales steroids and a soldier was disciplined for drinking alcohol.

Bales was on his fourth deployment in 10 years after three tours in Iraq. The married father of two was a squad leader with a Stryker brigade based at Joint Base Lewis-McChord near Tacoma, Wash., and was working with a small

team that included Special Forces in Kandahar province.

Army Reserve Maj. Gen. Ricky L. Waddell, the report's lead investigator, wrote that he had limited his inquiry to search for previous warning signs in Bales's conduct because of the then-pending criminal investigation and military proceedings. Waddell said his review of Bales's medical and mental health records was limited.

The investigation started within two weeks of the shootings, ran for a month and was forwarded to CentCom in June 2012, about a year before Bales's 2013 guilty pleas.

When he pleaded guilty, Bales admitted that while deployed he used sleeping pills, steroids and liquor — including drinking whiskey in the hours before he twice sneaked away from his post on March 11, 2012, to walk to two villages. Bales went door to door before shooting 22 people. He burned bodies using kerosene from a lamp, testimony showed.

Bales had left his camp before dawn, killing some villagers, then returned to his base and woke a fellow soldier, telling him he had shot people, that soldier recounted in court. The statement — which amounted to a confession — seemed so preposterous that the soldier said he did not believe Bales and went back to sleep, he

told the court.

Bales left the post a second time and killed the rest of his victims in another nearby village. He returned to the base in a blood-stained uniform and wearing sheeting torn from a doorway that he had fashioned into a cape.

Marine Corps Gen. John R. Allen, who was commander of U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan at the time of Bales's actions but has since retired, commissioned the investigation.

In accepting the report, Allen wrote, "I want to express my heartfelt sorrow" and extended his condolences to the families and friends of the villagers. He also pledged tighter discipline and urged better training of conventional forces, such as Bales and others on the base, who are selected to work in villages to stabilize them and counter insurgents.

"Though words and investigations cannot undo what happened, please be assured that I will continue to take every measure to ensure that our forces are well disciplined and follow the laws of armed conflict," Allen wrote.

After the shootings, a commander at Bales's outpost warned soldiers to get rid of alcohol and hide contraband because Army investigators were on their way,

according to the report. Some military members also lacked credibility in their accounts of events and some Special Forces members showed "disdain" for infantry units and more loyalty to one another than to Army values, the investigation found.

The report on Bales — known as an Army 15-6 report — was withheld as Bales's criminal case progressed but finally was released after repeated media requests, including from The Washington Post, under the Freedom of Information Act.

The nearly 600-page document contains numerous recommendations, including more explicit training on personal conduct and discipline and acceptable behavior toward local residents. It advised keeping the small base camp open because removing it would "give the enemy an unearned propaganda victory."

The report also called for closer contact between commanders at in-country headquarters and remote sites.

In addition, the document exposed a gap between senior soldiers who either did not know of banned behavior, including drinking, at the base or participated in it, while junior soldiers felt uncomfortable "jumping the chain" to report violations.

During Bales's military hear-

ing, a comrade at the outpost testified that Bales showed no remorse when he was taken into custody.

Bales himself offered no explanation when he pleaded guilty and the judge asked him why he had shot. "I've asked that question a million times, and there is not a good reason in the world for the horrible things I did," Bales replied.

Bales later sought clemency, but was denied, in a long letter to Army officials in which he said he had become "paranoid and ineffective" by the time of his Afghan deployment and filled with hate "towards everyone who isn't American." The letter was obtained by the News Tribune of Tacoma in June, after Bales's conviction had been upheld.

Bales also wrote in the letter that during his imprisonment at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas, he has come to see that "what I thought was normal was the farthest thing from normal."

Bales had financial problems related to loans on his home, was arguing with his wife while deployed and had not received a promotion he had expected, according to testimony. Bales enlisted in 2001 and was living in Lake Tapps near the Tacoma base.

He had been on his remote base for 89 days before the shootings.

marypat.flaherty@washpost.com

"I like it just for the history of it. I've had it a long time. When we moved in, the pole was already there, so we put it up."

Shawn Quick, resident of Mississippi, on the Confederate flag

Mississippians resist calls to oust Confederate-themed flag

MISSISSIPPI FROM A1

South Carolina gunman: "No symbol or flag or Web site or book or movie made him evil." The governor, tea party favorite Phil Bryant, agreed, saying the flag should stay. But if a change were to be considered, each said that the state's voters should decide the issue.

By the time the historic Neshoba County Fair rolled around, flag supporters had found their footing.

The grounds — where candidate Ronald Reagan once came to declare his belief in "states' rights" — were festooned with state flags and Confederate banners. They were draped from many of the hundreds of cottages that ring the red-dirt horse-racing track. They lolled outside the RVs parked beneath the pines. They flapped from the back of pickup trucks.

"They just need to leave that flag alone," said Bill McCrory, 35, watching the harness races on a sweltering Sunday afternoon. He was wearing a camo-colored Confederate-flag baseball cap, with "Join the Cause" on the front and "Rebel" on the back. "They think it's racist, but it's not."

So when Gunn stepped to the podium at the fair, it heralded a notable moment in the state's history. The man taking on the flag was not a carpetbagger or an outside agitator but one of the state's most powerful conservatives.

"I see the ladies from the Philip Gunn fan club all around here," Gunn began, playfully acknowledging flag wavers in the audience. "It is true that I voiced my opinion about the flag a few weeks ago and made my opinions known," he continued.

Then Gunn, who declined to comment for this article, seemed to wilt, if not retreat.

"They are my opinions and my opinions alone," he said in an off-hand tone. "They don't stand for anybody else... The fact is we can't do anything about the flag today. The legislature is not in session. There is no bill before us. It's not on the ballot next Tuesday. It's not on the ballot next November."

And that was it.

Mississippi's most powerful supporter of a new flag no longer seemed to be such a powerful supporter of a new flag. With the governor and lieutenant governor already on the record against it, prospects for removing the flag seemed as stagnant as a pool of Delta rainwater.

Sitting hard by the Mississippi River, the Confederate flag flies from the pole in front of Shawn Quick and Christine Councell's one-story brick rancher.

The house sits in the middle of a riverfront industrial district. The landscape is railroad tracks and tanker cars, abandoned metal buildings. The air conditioning is out, so the conversation is on the semi-shaded front porch, with their pit bull, Coco, and her puppies. Their other adult pit, Dixie, was eaten by an alligator recently and carted off down the river.

It is 97 degrees. The flag is emblazoned with "The South Will Rise Again."

"I like it just for the history of it,"



Clockwise, from top: Clarksdale Mayor Bill Luckett, who took down the flag in his town, chats with Lamar Powell, center, and Kenneth Hulse; Robert Khayat, a former chancellor at the University of Mississippi, was instrumental in getting fans to stop flying the flag at football games; attendees at the Neshoba County Fair call for the removal of Speaker Philip Gunn. More photos at washingtonpost.com/nation.

Quick says. "I've had it a long time. When we moved in, the pole was already there, so we put it up."

Both are aware that some of their fellow Mississippians find the flag offensive.

"They just don't know their history," Councell says.

"You got that right," Quick adds.

This is a common sentiment in white Mississippi — that the Confederate battle flag is a historic banner that embodies the noble service and sacrifice of men who fought for "states' rights."

The other side of states' rights in Mississippi evokes the Black Codes, the Mississippi Plan, the pig law, prison farms, poll taxes, Jim Crow segregation and the killings of Emmett Till and Medgar Evers and the three civil rights workers. Mississippi's Confederate veterans won the battle for white supremacy, built monuments to themselves in nearly every town and set in place a system

of oppression that would last until the civil rights movement finally knocked it away.

A recent 1,100-mile trip through the state that included dozens of interviews revealed pockets of support for a new flag among whites, mostly in college towns and larger cities. Nearly all African Americans are against the existing flag, but doubt is widespread that change is within reach.

"My district would be in support of a new flag, but they're like, 'This has a snowball's chance in hell,'" said Kimberly Campbell, a state House representative from the heavily African American Jackson area.

Deep in the heart of the Delta, dark clouds are moving across the sky in the distance. The overcast hangs like a curtain, visible for miles before it's reached. Further on is the historic blues town of Clarksdale, one of the municipali-

ties that has taken down the flag. Bill Luckett, the mayor, is an actor, lawyer and co-owner of a blues club with the actor Morgan Freeman, a native son. He's also a white man elected by a populace that is 79 percent black.

There was no vote on the flag issue.

"I just checked with the city attorney to see if I had the authority, and I did, so I just did it," Luckett says.

Aldermen in a few cities, including Columbus, Starkville and Hattiesburg, have voted to remove the flag after the Charleston shooting. Elsewhere, it's complicated.

Washington County lies along the Mississippi on the south end of the Delta. It is 71 percent black. Its county board of supervisors voted 3 to 2 along racial lines to remove the state flag in 2001. But the board put it back up in 2012. And in July, the board voted to keep it up, again voting 3 to 2, this time

with a black supervisor siding with two whites.

A group of more than 60 state notables, including Freeman, signed a full-page ad in the Jackson Clarion-Ledger this week advocating a new flag, an attempt to spur new momentum.

But several of the list's big names — Freeman, John Grisham, Archie Manning, Kathryn Stockett — haven't actually lived in the state for years, as commentators on the paper's Web site wryly noted.

More importantly: Other than the NAACP, which has kept up a steady bid to dump the flag for more than two decades, there is no serious organization devoted to retiring the flag.

In the primary round of elections earlier this month — which included every elected office in the state — no campaign turned on the issue. Few candidates even mentioned it.

Whit Waide, a political science

professor at Mississippi State whose family has been in Mississippi since statehood, said, "I would give up this job if it would mean a new state flag."

He's also well placed to help make that happen. His college roommate and best friend is Reeves, the lieutenant governor. If Reeves supported a bill for a new flag, along with Gunn, the House speaker, it would almost certainly pass.

"I love him. He's my best friend," Waide says, shaking his head. "And I just hate that he's on the wrong side of this."

Back at the Neshoba County Fair, Tommy Williams's family has owned a cottage near the first turn of the racetrack for more than three decades. A retired administrator with the Mississippi Department of Health, he describes himself as a "Civil War historian" and thus has always flown a Confederate flag at the fair. He's gracious on the subject and says he can certainly understand other points of view.

But when he takes a reporter onto the second-floor deck, the atmosphere changes.

He quiets down the all-white crowd, then announces that a reporter is here, writing about the flag.

Silence ensues. One man yells something angrily. Another leans forward and says, "They can get rid of the flag all right — just take the NAACP out of the state with it."

Another sidles up, showing a cellphone photograph of a truck's bumper sticker: "Don't Blame Me — I voted for the White Guy."

"How about that?" he says. "You ever see anything funny as that?"

Another man approached and politely said: "The Irish were bred with the African slaves, you know? Even the Irish, we were slaves. At some point, you just have to get over it."

Dusk falls softly in Mississippi, the gloaming comes on and then night falls hard. Orange fires burn after midnight from a sawmill plant in hill country. Mist holds above the river.

The voices of Mississippi echo in these hours.

There's Robert Khayat, the former chancellor at Ole Miss who single-handedly got the tens of thousands of fans to stop flying the Confederate flag at football games — by banning sticks inside the stadium. Could the state actually change its flag?

"That'd be a tough one," he says. Then Derrick Johnson, head of the state chapter of the NAACP: "The problem is not so much the flag as the mind-set it represents."

Finally, there comes the soft Southern accent of David Sansing, Mississippi's preeminent historian, now professor emeritus of history at the University of Mississippi.

"Mississippians do not study their past," he says, "they absorb it."

More faintly, "We're a strange group."

Fainter still, fading away now, talking about Mississippi's eternal attitude toward the rest of the world: "We don't really need you to like us."

neely.tucker@washpost.com