

‘Off-ramps’ dwindle as shutdown threat rises

Tuesday revote on failed bill may be best hope before Sept. 30 deadline

BY THEODORIC MEYER AND MARIANNA SOTOMAYOR

Congress appears to be barreling toward a federal government shutdown in less than four days, with Democrats demanding concessions in exchange for their votes and Republicans refusing to yield.

Democratic leaders in the House and Senate are holding firm to their vow to oppose a relatively straightforward measure to extend government funding past Sept. 30 unless Republicans agree to negotiate on health care.

They did not seem rattled by the release of a memo late Wednesday from the White House Office of Management and Budget, threatening to direct government agencies to consider firing employees working on any program not funded by another law if a shutdown occurs.

“As a negotiating tactic, our response to Russ Vought is simple: Get lost,” House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries (D-New York) said Thursday, referring to the White House budget director.

Time is running short for either party to make overtures to the other.

The Senate is planning to take up legislation Tuesday to extend government funding hours before the deadline — but the same bill failed last week, when every Democrat except one voted against it. Republicans, who

SEE SHUTDOWN ON A14

Team spirit at the Ryder Cup



PAUL CHILDS/REUTERS

President Donald Trump greets rowdy golf fans Friday at Bethpage Black Golf Course in Farmingdale, New York, during the biennial event pitting the United States and Europe against each other. Europe leads after the first day. **Sports, B7**

After U.S. strikes, work increases at Iran mystery site

SATELLITE IMAGERY SHOWS CONSTRUCTION

Underground spot is by nuclear complex that was hit

BY WARREN P. STROBEL AND JARRETT LEY

Iran has increased construction at a mysterious underground site in the months since the U.S. and Israel pummeled its main nuclear facilities, suggesting Tehran has not entirely ceased work on its suspected weapons program and may be cautiously rebuilding, according to a Washington Post review of satellite imagery and independent analysis.

The ongoing work is at a site known as Kuh-e Kolang Gaz La, or Pickaxe Mountain, where since 2020 Iranian engineers have been tunneling deep into the Zagros mountain range — about a mile south of the nuclear complex at Natanz, which was a target of U.S. bombing strikes on June 22.

The purpose of Pickaxe Mountain remains unclear. International nuclear inspectors have never visited and Rafael Mariano

Grossi, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said Tehran rebuffed his questions about the site earlier this year.

Analysts who have monitored its construction estimate the halls under Pickaxe Mountain may be even deeper — between 260 and 330 feet — than those at Iran’s Fordow facility, which U.S. warplanes struck with massive earth-penetrating bombs. The site’s aboveground footprint sprawls over roughly a square mile of mountainside, with a pair of tunnel entrances on the east and west sides.

Iran said in 2020, when it announced plans for the facility, that it would house a production plant for assembling centrifuges, fast-spinning machines for enriching uranium, replacing a site destroyed earlier that year in what Tehran called an act of sabotage.

Construction on the tunnels SEE IRAN ON A18

Comey prosecution fulfills Trump’s promise of revenge

BY PATRICK MARLEY

On the campaign trail, Donald Trump equivocated when the television host “Dr. Phil” McGraw asked him to swear off retribution against his political foes.

“Sometimes revenge can be justified, Phil,” Trump said. “I have to be honest.”

On Thursday night and Friday morning, Trump celebrated one of the most brazen examples of payback since his return to the White House. Soon after a federal grand jury in Virginia indicted former FBI director James B. Comey, the president declared “JUSTICE IN AMERICA!” in a social media post, following up Friday with a post calling Comey a “destroyer of lives” and “A DIRTY COP.”

Trump’s predecessors sought to distance themselves from the

Justice Department’s prosecutorial decisions, declining to weigh in on pending cases, especially those that touched on politics, in deference to the agency’s tradition of independence. The fire wall, however imperfect, was established to preserve the democratic ideal of a country where justice is impartial and no one is above the law. Trump, in contrast, openly intervened in the Comey case, pushing out a prosecutor who declined to bring charges, replacing him with an ally and publicly demanding that Attorney General Pam Bondi take action.

Eight months into his second term, Trump has fulfilled his pledge to make retaliation a central feature of his presidency. He has revoked security clearances and Secret Service protection for

SEE COMEY ON A5

Talk on ‘warrior ethos’ said to be point of Hegseth summons

This article is by Tara Copp, Ellen Nakashima, Dan Lamothe, Alex Horton and Noah Robertson

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth ordered hundreds of generals to travel from around the world to hear him make a short speech on military standards and the “warrior ethos,” multiple people familiar with the event told

The Washington Post.

Hegseth’s orders, which were sent earlier this week to senior generals and admirals worldwide, require anyone in a command position with the rank of one-star general or rear admiral and above, as well as their senior enlisted leaders, to be at Marine Corps University at Quantico, Virginia, on Tuesday.

Exceptions will be granted on a rare basis with approval from top military officials, the people familiar with the matter said, speaking on the condition of anonymity to discuss sensitive planning.

“It’s meant to be an eyeball-to-eyeball kind of conversation,” one person familiar with ongoing discussions said. “He wants to see

the generals.”

The orders, first reported by The Post on Thursday, were delivered without any stated reason, sending staff, many of whom will be coming in from commands that are focused on the world’s

SEE HEGSETH ON A4

Medals of Honor: Awards given for 1890 massacre will remain. **A4**

Millennials are getting cancer early. Why?

Researchers suspect a lifetime of exposure to everyday chemicals is playing a role

BY ARIANA EUNJUNG CHA, ÁLVARO VALIÑO AND DAN KEATING

ST. LOUIS — Gary Patti leaned in to study the rows of plastic tanks, where dozens of translucent zebrafish flickered through chemically treated water. Each tank contained a different substance — some notorious, others less well understood — all known or suspected carcinogens.

Patti’s team is watching them closely, tracking which fish develop tumors, to try to find clues to one of the most unsettling medical puzzles of our time: Why are so many young people getting cancer?

The trend began with younger members of Generation X but is now most visible among millennials, who are being diagnosed in their 20s, 30s and early 40s — decades earlier than past genera-

tions. Medications taken during pregnancy, the spread of ultra-processed foods, disruptions to circadian rhythms — caused by late-night work, global travel and omnipresent screens — and the proliferation of synthetic chemicals are all under scrutiny.

Older Americans are still more likely to be diagnosed than younger ones. But cancer rates among those age 15 to 49 have increased by 10 percent since 2000 even as they have fallen among older people, according to a Washington Post examination of federal data.

Young women are more affected than men. From ages 15 through 49, women have a cancer rate that is 83 percent higher than men in the same age range.

SEE CANCER ON A6

‘Near-miracle’: NIH disbursed billions to labs before deadline. **A7**



JOSH BARBER/AQUARIUM OF THE PACIFIC

Awash in love and grief

Ghost, a giant Pacific octopus, at California’s Aquarium of the Pacific in June. The beloved cephalopod is dying, and spending life’s end privately tending to eggs that will never hatch. Ghost’s fans have reacted by sharing memories of the octopus they describe as intelligent, outgoing and, according to one young admirer, “a very, very pretty strawberry.” **Story, A2**

No letup in war, Netanyahu tells U.N. despite a global backlash

BY JOHN HUDSON, SUSANNAH GEORGE AND CLAIRE PARKER

NEW YORK — Benjamin Netanyahu castigated his “weak-kneed” critics and vowed to continue fighting Israel’s enemies until they are “gone” in a defiant speech at the United Nations on Friday that was simultaneously broadcast into the Gaza Strip by speakers at the direction of the Israeli prime minister.

“Many of those who wage war on Israel today will be gone tomorrow,” he said, as throngs of diplomats walked out in protest of his address in the cavernous U.N. General Assembly hall.

The annual gathering of world leaders in New York began with prominent Western powers in-

SEE NETANYAHU ON A12

Today’s WorldView: Finland’s leader gives kudos to Trump. **A12**

IN THE NEWS

Riding with a ‘Twister Sister’ As a member of the storm-chasing reality TV show, Melanie Metz has become a legend among peers. **A10**

Texas shooting The migrant victims of a gunman’s attack on a Dallas ICE facility have garnered little mention, striking some in the community as yet another indignity. **A3**

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New drug tariffs have sparked confusion among governments and manufacturers. **A3**

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Russia is lending China its expertise in airdropping armor, a possible ill omen for Taiwan. **A9**

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TikTok is likely to split off its U.S. operations into a separate company. Here’s what that would mean for the app’s users. **A13**
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STYLE

Prada presented a collection at Milan Fashion Week that was profoundly ugly, on purpose. **B1**

SPORTS

The Commanders will be without QB Jayden Daniels and top WR Terry McLaurin on Sunday in Atlanta. **B7**

THE REGION

The return of the death penalty to D.C. was endorsed by the president, 44 years after the city banned capital punishment. **B13**
A small-business owner just expanded operations in D.C., but tariffs are threatening to drag her beauty brand. **B13**

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