"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine mixing with some clouds, not as harsh, high 18. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 18. **Tomorrow,** snow, sleet and freezing rain, high 33. Weather map, Page 26.

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KIM WON-JIN/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

An ice sculpture of a Hwasong-15 intercontinental ballistic missile at a festival marking the new year in Pyongyang, North Korea.

U.S. Miscalculated the Nuclear Progress of North Korea by Years

Flawed Estimates Rank as One of the Biggest Intelligence Failures

By DAVID E. SANGER and WILLIAM J. BROAD

WASHINGTON — At the start of Donald J. Trump's presidency, American intelligence agencies told the new administration that while North Korea had built the bomb, there was still ample time — upward of four years — to slow or stop its development of a missile capable of hitting an American city with a nuclear warhead.

The North's young leader, Kim Jong-un, faced a range of troubles, they assured the new administration, giving Mr. Trump time to explore negotiations or pursue countermeasures. One official who participated in the early policy reviews said estimates suggested Mr. Kim would be unable to strike the continental United States until 2020, perhaps even 2022.

KCNA/REUTERS

Kim Jong-un, 33, has led North Korea since late 2011.

Mr. Kim tested eight intermediate-range missiles in 2016, but seven blew up on the pad or shattered in flight — which some officials attributed partly to an American sabotage program accelerated by President Barack Obama. And while the North had carried out five underground atomic tests, the intelligence community estimated that it remained years away from developing a more powerful type of weapon known as a hydrogen bomb.

Within months, those comforting assessments looked wildly out of date.

At a speed that caught American intelligence officials off guard, Mr. Kim rolled out new missile technology — based on a decades-old Soviet engine design, apparently developed in a parallel program — and in quick succession demonstrated ranges that could reach Guam, then the West Coast, then Washington.

And on the first Sunday in September, he detonated a sixth nuclear bomb. After early hesitation among analysts, a consensus has now emerged that it was the North's first successful test of a hydrogen weapon, with explosive force some 15 times greater than the atom bomb that leveled Hiroshima.

The C.I.A. and other American intelligence services had predicted this moment would come, eventually. For decades, they accurately projected the broad trajectory of North Korea's nuclear program. Yet their inability to foresee the North's rapid strides over the past several months now ranks among America's most significant intelligence failures, current and former officials said in recent interviews.

That disconnect — they saw it

Continued on Page 14

One America Fights Another As Rift Widens

California Pushes Back Against White House

By TIM ARANGO

LOS ANGELES — When drivers entered California recently from the borders with Arizona and Nevada, they were greeted with signs welcoming them to an "official sanctuary state" that is home to "felons" and "illegals." It was a prank, but the message was clear: By entering California, they might as well have been entering foreign territory.

And in many ways it feels like that these days, as the growing divide between California and the Trump administration erupted this past week over a dizzying range of flash points, from immigration to taxes to recreational marijuana use.

What had been a rhetorical battle between a liberal state and a conservative administration is now a full-fledged fight.

Just as Californians were enjoying their first days of legal pot smoking, the Trump administration moved to enforce federal laws against the drug. On the same day, the federal government said it would expand offshore oil drilling, which California's Senate leader called an assault on "our pristine coastline."

When President Trump signed a law that would raise the tax bills of many Californians by restricting deductions, lawmakers in this state proposed a creative end-around — essentially making state taxes charitable contributions, and fully deductible. And California's refusal to help federal agents deport undocumented immigrants prompted one administration official to suggest that state politicians should be arrested.

The clash between California and Mr. Trump and his supporters — between one America and another — began the morning after he won the presidency, when Kevin de León, the State Senate leader, and his counterpart in the Assembly, Anthony Rendon, said

Continued on Page 21

A 'STABLE GENIUS': TRUMP DECLARES HE'S MENTALLY FIT

TWEETS ATTACK SKEPTICS

Unusually Intense Focus on the Condition of a President's Mind

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump, whose sometimes erratic behavior in office has generated an unprecedented debate about his mental health, declared on Saturday that he was perfectly sane and accused his critics of raising questions to score political points.

In a series of Twitter posts that were extraordinary even by the standards of his norm-shattering presidency, Mr. Trump insisted that his opponents and the news media were attacking his capacity because they had failed to prove his campaign conspired with Russia during the 2016 presidential campaign.

President Trump

"Now that Russian collusion, after one year of intense study, has proven to be a total hoax on the American public, the Democrats and their lapdogs, the Fake News Mainstream Media, are taking out the old Ronald Reagan playbook and screaming mental stability and intelligence," he wrote on Twitter even as a special counsel continues to investigate the Russia matter.

"Actually, throughout my life, my two greatest assets have been mental stability and being, like, really smart," he added. He said he was a "VERY successful businessman" and television star who won the presidency on his first try. "I think that would qualify as not smart, but genius....and a very stable genius at that!"

Continued on Page 20

Tapes Reveal Tacit Acceptance By Arabs of Jerusalem Decision

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

As President Trump moved last month to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, an Egyptian intelligence officer quietly placed phone calls to the hosts of several influential talk shows in Egypt.

"Like all our Arab brothers," Egypt would denounce the decision in public, the officer, Capt. Ashraf al-Kholi, told the hosts.

But strife with Israel was not in Egypt's national interest, Captain Kholi said. He told the hosts that instead of condemning the decision, they should persuade their viewers to accept it. Palestinians, he suggested, should content themselves with the dreary West Bank town that currently houses the Palestinian Authority, Ramallah.

"How is Jerusalem different from Ramallah, really?" Captain Kholi asked repeatedly in four audio recordings of his telephone calls obtained by The New York Times.

"Exactly that," agreed one host, Azmi Megahed, who confirmed the authenticity of the recording.

For decades, powerful Arab states like Egypt and Saudi Arabia have publicly criticized Israel's treatment of the Palestinians, while privately acquiescing to Israel's continued occupation of territory the Palestinians claim as their homeland.

But now a de facto alliance against shared foes such as Iran, the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic State militants and the Arab Spring uprisings is drawing the Arab leaders into an ever-closer collaboration with their one-time nemesis, Israel — producing especially stark juxtapositions between their posturing in public and private.

Mr. Trump's decision broke with a central premise of 50 years of American-sponsored peace talks, defied decades of Arab demands that East Jerusalem be the capital of a Palestinian state, and stoked fears of a violent backlash across the Middle East.

Arab governments, mindful of the popular sympathy for the Palestinian cause, rushed to publicly condemn it.

Egyptian state media reported that President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi had personally protested to Mr. Trump. Egyptian religious leaders close to the government refused to meet with Vice President

Continued on Page 13

Rising Anxiety in India Is Piercing Modi's Aura of Invulnerability

By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN and HARI KUMAR

SURAT, India — The immense popularity of Narendra Modi, India's most dynamic prime minister in decades, has always rested on two legs: Hindu nationalism and his tantalizing promises to build on the country's go-go economy.

That second leg is now looking a little shaky.

In the last two years, India's consumer confidence has plummeted, construction has slowed, the fixed investment rate has fallen, many factories have shut down and unemployment has gone up.

Fingers are pointing at Mr. Modi. Just about all economists agree that two of the prime minister's biggest policy gambles — abruptly voiding most of the nation's currency and then, less than a year later, imposing a sweeping new sales tax — have slowed India's meteoric growth.

"Things have been worsening, worsening, worsening," said Himanshu, an economics professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, who uses only one name.

Still, the economy here is far from failing. The stock market continues to soar, major rail, road and port projects are unfolding across the country, and foreign investors poured $25.4 billion into India from April to September, up 17 percent from the period in 2016.

ATUL LOKE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Umakant Sharma, a migrant laborer in a factory in Surat, India, said he was getting less work.

The government on Friday predicted that the country's gross domestic product would grow by 6.5 percent in the 2017-18 financial year. While that is the lowest number the country has seen in four years, India's economy is one that most countries would love to have.

But it does not feel that way to the huge number of Indians negatively affected by Mr. Modi's policies, and the grumbles are growing. So are social tensions, especially those that divide Hindus from Muslims, and upper caste

Continued on Page 10

INTERNATIONAL 6-15

Newfound Pride in Paraguay
Government officials and intellectuals are pushing to end the second-class status of Guaraní, a widely spoken indigenous language. PAGE 6

OBITUARIES 22-25

A Hero to Fellow Astronauts
John W. Young walked on the moon, commanded the first space shuttle mission and was the first to fly in space six times. He was 87. PAGE 22

SUNDAY BUSINESS

One Border, Two Truckers
Most Mexican drivers must hand off their cargo at the United States border. The Trump administration wants even tighter controls. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Like Michael Jackson on Skates
Yuzuru Hanyu, a transcendent star in Japan and perhaps the greatest figure skater of any era, battles an injury as he seeks another Olympic crown. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof PAGE 9

You didn't come this far to go somewhere else.

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly sunny, brisk, much colder, high 25. **Tonight,** mostly clear, bitterly cold, low 16. **Tomorrow,** sunshine and clouds, cold, high 30. Details, SportsSunday, Page 12.

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Test Countries For Facebook Illustrate Risk

Tweaks to Service Only Magnify Fake News

This article is by ***Sheera Frenkel, Nicholas Casey*** *and* ***Paul Mozur****.*

SAN FRANCISCO — One morning in October, the editors of Página Siete, Bolivia's third-largest news site, noticed that traffic to their outlet coming from Facebook was plummeting.

The publication had recently been hit by cyberattacks, and editors feared it was being targeted by hackers loyal to the government of President Evo Morales.

But it wasn't the government's fault. It was Facebook's. The Silicon Valley company was testing a new version of its hugely popular News Feed, peeling off professional news sites from what people normally see and relegating them to a new section of Facebook called Explore. Like it or not, Bolivia had become a guinea pig in the company's continual quest to reinvent itself.

As Facebook updates and tweaks its service in order to keep users glued to their screens, countries like Bolivia are ideal testing grounds thanks to their growing, internet-savvy populations. But these changes can have significant consequences, like limiting the audience for nongovernmental news sources and — surprisingly — amplifying the impact of fabricated and sensational stories.

On Thursday, Facebook announced plans to make similar changes to its News Feed around the world. The company said it was trying to increase "meaningful interaction" on its site by drawing attention to content from family and friends while de-emphasizing content from brands and publishers, including The New York Times.

The changes are being made as

Continued on Page 1

Trump's Jabs Echo Attitudes From the '20s

By VIVIAN YEE

The argument was genteel, the tone judicious, the meaning plain: America, wrote the senator leading Congress's push for immigration reform in 1924, was beginning to "smart under the irritation" of immigrants who "speak a foreign language and live a foreign life."

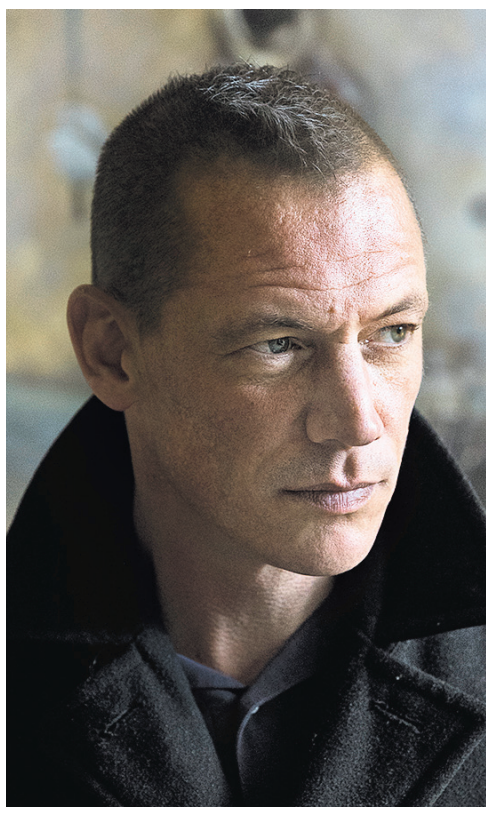
The year before, things had been slightly less decorous. A certain unnamed country in Europe was "making the United States a dumping ground for its undesirable nationals," the president of the American Museum of Natural History, Henry Fairfield Osborn, told a national immigration conference.

Here in the earliest weeks of 2018, the worldview that last gained wide acceptance nearly a century ago has found perhaps its most succinct expression yet — distilled, this time, to a pungent question from President Trump: Why should the United States take in immigrants from "shithole countries" in Africa over people from places like Norway?

Mr. Trump, who made the remark while discussing potential immigration legislation with members of Congress at the White House on Thursday, also asked, "Why do we want people from Haiti here?" "Take them out," he

Continued on Page 20

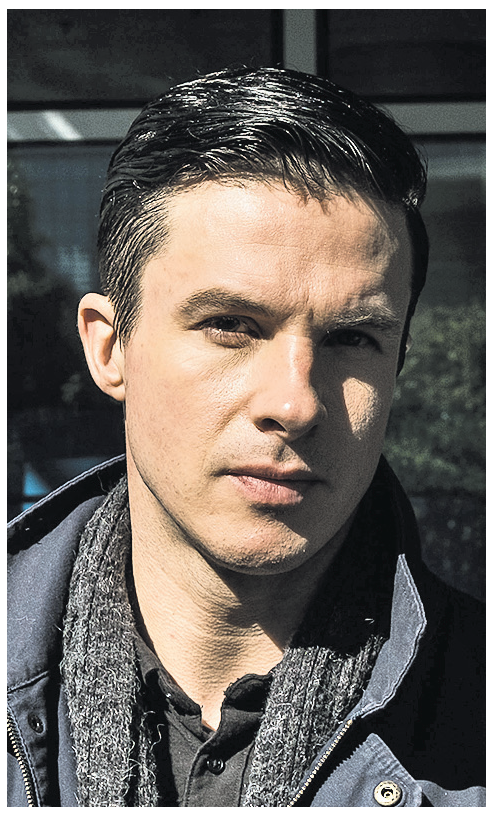
'I Felt Helpless': Male Models Accuse Photographers of Sexual Exploitation



RYAN YOUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Then he crawls on the bed, climbs on top of me.'

RYAN LOCKE, recalling a shoot with Mario Testino for a Gucci ad campaign.



LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'A lot of touching. A lot of molestation.'

ROBYN SINCLAIR, about the nature of his experiences with Bruce Weber.

AMANDA LUCIER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'You're exposing yourself, wondering what the pictures are even for.'

TERRON WOOD, who shot several ad campaigns with Mr. Weber.

This article is by ***Jacob Bernstein, Matthew Schneier*** *and* ***Vanessa Friedman****.*

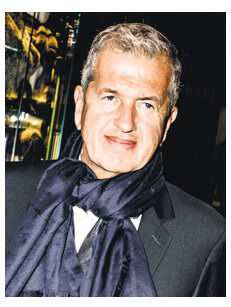
For a fashion model, success is the ability to incite desire. The job requirements often include nudity and feigning seduction; provocation is a lever for sales. In the industry, boundaries between the acceptable and the unacceptable treatment of models have been etched in shades of gray.

This has allowed prominent photographers to cross the line with impunity for decades, sexually exploiting models and assistants. The experience, once seen as the price models had to pay for their careers, is now being called something else: abuse of power and sexual harassment.

Fifteen current and former male models who worked with Bruce Weber, whose racy advertisements for companies like Calvin Klein and Abercrombie & Fitch helped turn him into one of the foremost commercial and fine art photographers, have described to The New York Times a pattern of what they said was unnecessary nudity and coercive sexual behavior, often during photo shoots.

The men recalled, with remarkable consistency, private sessions with Mr. Weber in which he asked them to undress and led them through breathing and "energy" exercises. Models were asked to breathe and to touch both themselves and Mr. Weber, moving their hands wherever they felt their "energy." Often, Mr. Weber guided their hands with his own.

Bruce Weber



Mario Testino

"I remember him putting his fingers in my mouth, and him grabbing my privates," said the model Robyn Sinclair. "We never had sex or anything, but a lot of things happened. A lot of touching. A lot of molestation."

In accounts going back to the mid-1990s, 13 male assistants and models who have worked with the photographer Mario Testino, a favorite of the English royal family and Vogue, told The Times that he subjected them to sexual advances that in some cases included groping and masturbation.

Representatives for both photographers said they were dismayed and surprised by the allegations.

"I'm completely shocked and saddened by the outrageous claims being made against me, which I absolutely deny," Mr. Weber said in a statement from his lawyer.

Lavely & Singer, a law firm that represents Mr. Testino, challenged the characters and credibility of people who complained of harassment, and also wrote that it had spoken to several former employees who were "shocked by the allegations" and that

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JAILED, SHUNNED, BUT NOW HIRED IN TIGHT MARKET

JOB SEEKERS SEE A SHIFT

With Competition Fierce, Criminal Record Isn't a Major Barrier

By BEN CASSELMAN

A rapidly tightening labor market is forcing companies across the country to consider workers they once would have turned away. That is providing opportunities to people who have long faced barriers to employment, such as criminal records, disabilities or prolonged bouts of joblessness.

In Dane County, Wis., where the unemployment rate was just 2 percent in November, demand for workers has grown so intense that manufacturers are taking their recruiting a step further: hiring inmates at full wages to work in factories even while they serve their sentences. These companies were not part of traditional work-release programs that are far less generous and rarely lead to jobs after prison.

"When the unemployment rate is high, you can afford to not hire anyone who has a criminal record, you can afford to not hire someone who's been out of work for two years," said Lawrence H. Summers, the Harvard economist and former Treasury secretary. "When the unemployment rate is lower, employers will adapt to people rather than asking people to adapt to them."

The American economy hasn't experienced this kind of fierce competition for workers since the late 1990s and early 2000s, the last time the unemployment rate — currently 4.1 percent — was this low.

The tight job market hasn't yet translated into strong wage growth for American workers. But there are tentative signs that, too, could be changing — particularly for lower-paid workers who were largely left out of the early stages of the economic recovery. Walmart on Thursday said it would raise pay for entry-level

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Panic in Hawaii as Missile Alert Is Sent in Error

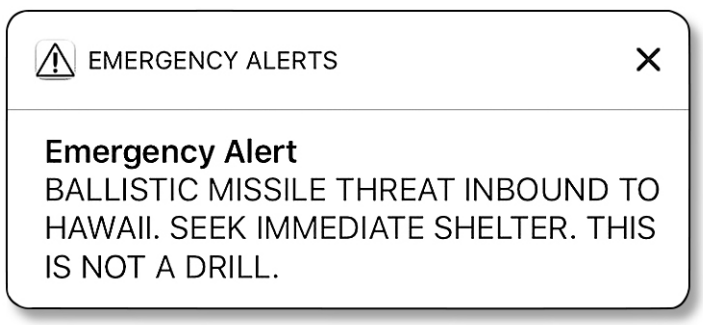
This article is by ***Adam Nagourney, David E. Sanger*** *and* ***Johanna Barr****.*

An early-morning emergency alert mistakenly warning of an incoming ballistic missile attack was dispatched to cellphones across Hawaii on Saturday, setting off widespread panic in a state that was already on edge because of escalating tensions between the United States and North Korea.

The alert, sent by the Hawaii Emergency Management Agency, was revoked 38 minutes after it was issued, prompting confusion over why it was released — and why it took so long to rescind. State officials and residents of a normally tranquil part of the Pacific, as well as tourists swept up in the panic, immediately expressed outrage.

"What happened today was totally unacceptable," said Gov. David Y. Ige. "Many in our community were deeply affected by this. I am sorry for that pain and confusion that anyone might have experienced."

Officials said the alert was the result of human error and not the work of hackers or a foreign government. The mistake occurred during a shift-change drill that takes place three times a day at the emergency command post, according to Richard Rapoza, a spokesman for the agency.



A WARNING The early-morning cellphone alert sent Saturday.

A RETRACTION The warning was revoked 38 minutes later.

"Someone clicked the wrong thing on the computer," he said.

State officials said that the

Continued on Page 21

A Smaller Bears Ears Monument Frees Land for Uranium Miners

By HIROKO TABUCHI

MONUMENT VALLEY, Utah — Garry Holiday grew up among the abandoned mines that dot the Navajo Nation's red landscape, remnants of a time when uranium helped cement America's status as a nuclear superpower and fueled its nuclear energy program.

It left a toxic legacy. All but a few of the 500 abandoned mines still await cleanup. Mining tainted the local groundwater. Mr. Holiday's father succumbed to respiratory disease after years of hacking the ore from the earth.

But now, emboldened by the Trump administration's embrace of corporate interests, the uranium mining industry is renewing a push into the areas adjacent to Mr. Holiday's Navajo Nation home: the Grand Canyon watershed to the west, where a new uranium mine is preparing to open, and the Bears Ears National Monument to the north.

The Trump administration is set to shrink Bears Ears by 85 percent next month, potentially opening more than a million acres to

KC MCGINNIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mining groups lobbied for a reduction of Bears Ears in Utah.

mining, drilling and other industrial activity. But even as Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke declared last month that "there is no mine within Bears Ears," there were more than 300 uranium mining claims inside the monument, according to data from Utah's Bureau of Land Management office that was reviewed by The New York Times.

The vast majority of those claims fall neatly outside the new boundaries of Bears Ears set by the administration. And an examination of local B.L.M. records, in-

Continued on Page 24

NATIONAL 16-24

Don't Call Him a Victim
Matt Mika was shot in an attack on a congressional baseball team in June. As he pieces his life back together, he doesn't want to be labeled. PAGE 16

OBITUARIES 25-27

Folksy Voice of College Football
Keith Jackson, known for his love of the game and his homey flourishes — like "Whoa, Nellie!" — was a fixture on TV for five decades. He was 89. PAGE 25

SUNDAY BUSINESS

What Bezos Can't Afford
Jeff Bezos, the Amazon founder and the world's richest person, long preferred to stay out of the public eye. That's no longer an option. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Patriots and Eagles Advance
In the N.F.L. playoffs, the New England Patriots crushed the Tennessee Titans, 35-14, while the Philadelphia Eagles edged the Atlanta Falcons, 15-10. PAGE 4

SUNDAY REVIEW

Amy Chozick PAGE 1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, morning clouds, then sunshine, a mild afternoon, high 63. Tonight, periodic rain late, low 53. **Tomorrow,** a few morning showers, high 58. Weather map, Page B8.

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HORROR AT FLORIDA SCHOOL; EX-STUDENT HELD

JOHN McCALL/SOUTH FLORIDA SUN-SENTINEL, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

A shooting victim was assisted Wednesday at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., northwest of Miami.

At Least 17 Die as Gunman Roams Halls in Rampage Near Miami

By AUDRA D. S. BURCH and PATRICIA MAZZEI

PARKLAND, Fla. — A heavily armed young man barged into his former high school about an hour northwest of Miami on Wednesday, opening fire on terrified students and teachers and leaving a death toll of 17 that could rise even higher, the authorities said.

Students huddled in horror in their classrooms, with some of them training their cellphones on the carnage, capturing sprawled bodies, screams and gunfire that began with a few shots and then continued with more and more. The dead included students and adults, some of whom were shot outside the school and others inside the sprawling three-story building.

The gunman, armed with a semiautomatic AR-15 rifle, was identified as Nikolas Cruz, a 19-year-old who had been expelled from the school, the authorities said. He began his shooting rampage outside Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in this suburban neighborhood shortly before dismissal time around 2:40 p.m. He then made his way inside and proceeded down hallways he knew well, firing at students and teachers who were scurrying for cover, the authorities said.

"Oh my God! Oh my God!" one student yelled over and over in one video circulating on social media, as more than 40 gunshots boomed in the background.

By the end of the rampage, Mr. Cruz had killed 12 people inside the school and three outside it, including someone standing on a street corner, Broward County Sheriff Scott Israel said. Two more victims died of their injuries in local hospitals. The aftermath at the school was an eerie shrine, with chairs upended, a computer screen shattered with bullet holes and floors stained with blood.

"This is catastrophic," said Sheriff Israel, who has three children who graduated from the high school. "There really are no words."

Mr. Cruz was arrested in Coral Springs, a neighboring city a couple of miles from the school, about an hour after fleeing the scene, the authorities said. He had slipped out of the building by mixing in with crowds of students. In addition to the rifle, Sheriff Israel said, Mr. Cruz had "countless magazines."

Continued on Page A23

JOEL AUERBACH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Anguished parents awaited information outside the school.

THE SCENE Many students used their cellphones to contact terrified parents, and to record the carnage occurring around them. PAGE A23

Zuma Leaves Thorny Legacy In South Africa

By NORIMITSU ONISHI

JOHANNESBURG — When President Jacob Zuma of South Africa resigned on Wednesday, he did not yield to South Africa's voters, courts or opposition parties, but to his own party, the African National Congress.

Mr. Zuma once said the party was more important than the nation itself, contending that it would govern South Africa until Jesus returned. And during his nearly nine-year presidency that was marred by scandal, corruption and mismanagement, A.N.C. officials had repeatedly rallied behind him as their leader.

In the end, though, his party turned against him, asking him to step down a full year and a half before the end of his second term. Cyril Ramaphosa, the deputy president and A.N.C. leader, is now acting president.

Under Mr. Zuma's leadership, South Africa's image tumbled. The country that had inspired the world with Nelson Mandela's idea of peaceful reconciliation, and the continent with Thabo Mbeki's vision of an "African renaissance," became known for corrupt leadership and a wide range of thorny problems.

Neighbors in the region often asked visitors from South Africa the same question: What went wrong?

"It was a period when South Africa, which was thought to be a shining example of the African continent, an economic powerhouse and also a vibrant democracy, was tested to the limit," said So-

Continued on Page A10

Steering Big Rigs Around Emissions Standards

By ERIC LIPTON

TRUMP RULES
Special Treatment

CROSSVILLE, Tenn. — The gravel parking lot at the Fitzgerald family's truck dealership here in central Tennessee was packed last week with shiny new Peterbilt and Freightliner trucks, as well as a steady stream of buyers from across the country.

But there is something unusual about the big rigs sold by the Fitzgeralds: They are equipped with rebuilt diesel engines that do not need to comply with rules on modern emissions controls. That makes them cheaper to operate, but means that they spew 40 to 55 times the air pollution of other new trucks, according to federal estimates, including toxins blamed for asthma, lung cancer and a range of other ailments.

The special treatment for the Fitzgerald trucks is made possible by a loophole in federal law that the Obama administration tried to close, and the Trump administration is now championing. The trucks, originally intended as a way to reuse a relatively new engine and other parts after an accident, became attractive for their ability to evade modern emissions standards and other regulations.

The survival of this loophole is a story of money, politics and suspected academic misconduct, according to interviews and government and private documents, and has been facilitated by Scott Pruitt, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, who has staked out positions in environmental fights that benefit the Trump administration's corporate backers.

Fitzgerald welcomed President Trump at one of its dealerships during the campaign, and it sells baseball caps with the slogan "Make Trucks Great Again."

The loophole has been condemned in recent weeks by an array of businesses and environmentalists: major truck makers like Volvo and Navistar; fleet owners like the United Parcel Service; lobbying powerhouses like the National Association of Manufacturers; health and environmental groups like the Ameri-

Continued on Page A20

KYLE DEAN REINFORD FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trucks with rebuilt engines at Fitzgerald in Crossville, Tenn., need not comply with exhaust rules.

After a Week, Trump Relents, Assailing Abuse

*This article is by **Julie Hirschfeld Davis**, **Maggie Haberman** and **Michael D. Shear**.*

WASHINGTON — One week after Rob Porter, his staff secretary, resigned amid spousal abuse allegations, President Trump said on Wednesday that he was "totally opposed to domestic violence," his first condemnation of the alleged conduct behind a scandal that has engulfed the White House.

His statement, which members of both parties had said was long overdue, came as John F. Kelly, Mr. Trump's chief of staff, faced new questions about his handling of Mr. Porter's case, including how he could have held a temporary high-level security clearance for more than a year in light of the allegations, and as committees in both the House and the Senate announced they would investigate the circumstances surrounding the granting of Mr. Porter's clearance.

Mr. Kelly told senior aides last fall to put an immediate end to granting new interim security clearances like the one given to Mr. Porter and directed them to resolve any issues preventing employees who held them at the time from receiving a full clearance, according to two people familiar with the discussion.

At a meeting in the West Wing, Mr. Kelly said he was assigning Kirstjen Nielsen, then his deputy, to enforce the new policy, the people said. But it is not known whether Mr. Kelly, Ms. Nielsen or any other senior officials sought to delve into why Mr. Porter was operating with only an interim clearance.

Mr. Porter resigned last week after allegations that he had

Continued on Page A16

Senators Agree On Immigrants In Face of Veto

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — A broad bipartisan group of senators reached agreement Wednesday on a narrow rewrite of the nation's immigration laws that would bolster border security and resolve the fate of the so-called Dreamers, even as President Trump suggested he would veto any plan that does not adhere to his harder-line approach.

Their compromise legislation sets up a clash pitting the political center of the Senate against Mr. Trump and the Republican congressional leadership.

Senators in both parties have been racing against a self-imposed end-of-the-week deadline to write legislation that could win wide support by increasing border security while at the same time offering a path to citizenship for young immigrants brought to the United States illegally as children.

Members of the bipartisan group, which calls itself the Common Sense Coalition, said their deal does just that. They were working Wednesday evening to determine whether their bill could garner the 60 votes necessary to break a filibuster.

"The president's going to have a vote on his concept. I don't think it will get 60 votes," said Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina and a member of the group, adding: "The bottom line then is: What do you do next? You can do what we've done for the last 35 years — blame each other. Or you can actually start fixing the broken immigration system. If you came out of this with strong border security — the president getting his wall and the

Continued on Page A22

Netanyahu Vows to Stay as Prosecutors Consider Bribery Charges

By DAVID M. HALBFINGER

JERUSALEM — As Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu fought back Wednesday against a police finding that he had accepted nearly $300,000 in bribes, his cool self-confidence betrayed not the slightest worry that he could be forced to step down anytime soon.

"The coalition is stable, and no one, me or anyone else, has plans to go to elections," he declared in Tel Aviv. "We will continue to work together with you for the citizens of the State of Israel, until the end of our term," in late 2019.

If Mr. Netanyahu had entered a dangerous new period in which he must battle for his political survival and avoid imprisonment, he did so possessed of political advantages that no Israeli prime minister has enjoyed before.

Beloved by his base and respected even by his adversaries as a guardian of Israel's security, Mr. Netanyahu remains the dominant figure on the Israeli stage, his combined 12 years as prime minister closing in on the record of David Ben-Gurion, Israel's principal founder.

And he has defended that position in part by steadily chipping away at the institutions that balance the powers of his office in ways that seem to echo the aggressive tactics of President Trump, except that he was doing it before there was a President Trump.

He and his governing coalition have campaigned to curb the activist Israeli judiciary, demonized the rambunctious press as a bas-

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Unease for Catholics in China
Worshipers feel powerless as Beijing and the Vatican try to settle a dispute over who appoints clerics. PAGE A4

'You Can't Ban Love'
Pakistan has outlawed Valentine's Day, but plenty of couples in the capital found ways to celebrate the holiday. PAGE A12

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Millions for Display of Might
President Trump wants a military parade. His budget director says it could cost the government up to $30 million. PAGE A22

Edge for G.O.P. in California
A voting reform put in place in California could end up keeping Democrats off the ballot in key districts. PAGE A15

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Help Still Wanted
After months of looking, no one has been found to succeed Carmen Fariña as chancellor of city schools. PAGE A24

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Changing the Narrative
The snowboarder Lindsey Jacobellis wants to be defined by her talent, not a 12-year-old Olympic blooper. PAGE B9

A Jumper Finds His Art
How a Chinese defector's story changed Nathan Chen, America's best shot at a gold medal in figure skating. PAGE B10

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Why Chicken Costs More
With just about every nation on earth growing, economists fear inflation will accelerate. One reason for their concern: not enough truckers. PAGE B1

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Best Song, an Oscars Curiosity
Sufjan Stevens and Mary J. Blige are first-time nominees in a category that has always been a mash-up of hits, snoozers and misfires. PAGE C1

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Wearing Black Panther's Mask
Marvel's new film, with Lupita Nyong'o, left, and Letitia Wright, has parents of young fans facing questions about race and cultural appropriation. PAGE D1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, some sunshine giving way to clouds, much colder, high 38. **Tonight,** snow, 1-3 inches, low 32. **Tomorrow,** clouds then sunshine, high 46. Weather map is on Page A20.

VOL. CLXVII ... No. 57,876 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2018 $3.00

Warned About Suspect, F.B.I. Didn't Act

Admission Amplifies Political Pressure on Bureau

This article is by ***Katie Benner****,* ***Patricia Mazzei*** *and* ***Adam Goldman****.*

The F.B.I. received a tip last month from someone close to Nikolas Cruz that he owned a gun and had talked of carrying out a school shooting, the bureau revealed Friday, but it acknowledged that it had failed to investigate.

The tipster, who called an F.B.I. hotline on Jan. 5, told the bureau that Mr. Cruz had a "desire to kill people, erratic behavior and disturbing social media posts," the F.B.I. said.

The information should have been assessed and forwarded to the Miami F.B.I. field office, the bureau said. But that never happened. On Wednesday, Mr. Cruz, 19, killed 17 students and teachers at his former high school in Parkland, Fla., law enforcement officials said.

The tip about Mr. Cruz appeared to be the second in four months, after another person told the bureau about online comments from Mr. Cruz that he wanted to become "a professional school shooter."

The news comes as the F.B.I. is under considerable pressure over its investigation into President Trump, with frequent attacks focused on the work of Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel's office overseeing the inquiry into Russian election interference.

In an unusually sharp public rebuke of his own agents, Attorney General Jeff Sessions said Friday that the missed warnings had "tragic consequences" and that "the F.B.I. in conjunction with our state and local partners must act flawlessly to prevent all attacks. This is imperative, and we must do better."

Rick Scott, the Republican governor of Florida, said the bureau's failure to act on the tip was "unacceptable" and called for the bureau's director, Christopher A. Wray, to resign. "Seventeen innocent people are dead and acknowledging a mistake isn't going to cut it," Mr. Scott said in a statement. Senator Marco Rubio, Republican of Florida, also asked for Congress to investigate.

Mr. Wray said in a statement that he was "committed to getting to the bottom of what happened in this particular matter, as well as reviewing our processes for responding to information that we receive from the public."

The F.B.I.'s admission opened up a new avenue of attack by conservatives who have questioned the impartiality of the bureau in its investigation into Russian intervention in the 2016 election.

"Last September, FBI was sent a screenshot of a comment by nikolas cruz," Ann Coulter, the conservative commentator, said in a post on Twitter. "Unfortunately, the FBI was busy running down Clinton campaign leads about a nonexistent Russian conspiracy with Trump."

It is not the first time that the F.B.I. has come under fire for being aware of a threat and failing to stop an attack.

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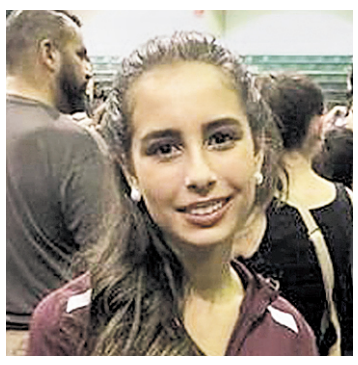
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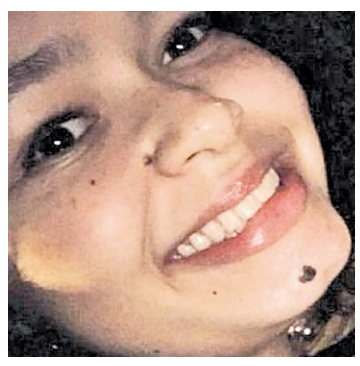
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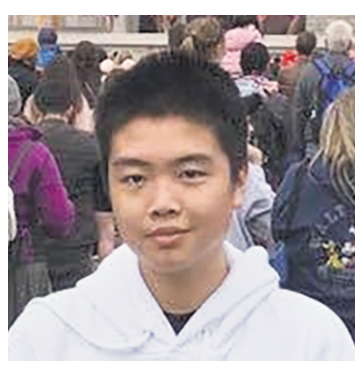
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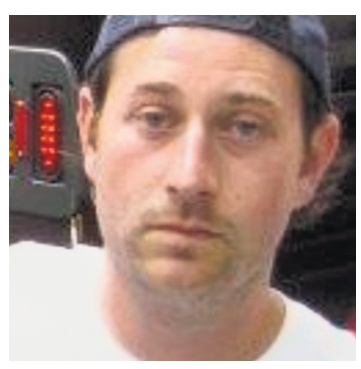
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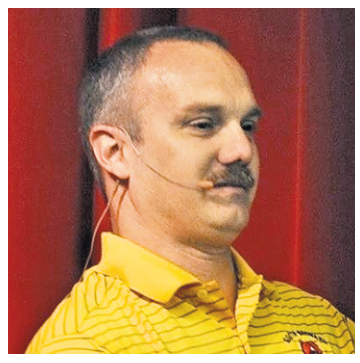
Christopher Hixon, 49

'People say it's too early to talk about it. If you ask me, it's way too late.'

CAMERON KASKY, a junior at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School.

INDICTMENT BARES RUSSIAN NETWORK TO TWIST 2016 VOTE

Mueller Chronicles a Social Media War

By SCOTT SHANE and MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON — In September, as the first detailed evidence surfaced of Russia's hijacking of social media in the 2016 election, Irina V. Kaverzina, one of about 80 Russians working on the project in St. Petersburg, emailed a family member with some news.

"We had a slight crisis here at work: the F.B.I. busted our activity (not a joke)," she wrote of the project in Russia. "So, I got preoccupied with covering tracks together with the colleagues." She added, "I created all these pictures and posts, and the Americans believed that it was written by their people."

A 37-page indictment, handed up on Friday by a Washington grand jury and charging Ms. Kaverzina and 12 other people with an elaborate conspiracy, showed that she and her colleagues did not, in fact, hide their tracks so well from United States investigators. The charges, brought by Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel, introduced hard facts to a polarized political debate over Russia's intervention in American democracy, while not yet implicating President Trump or his associates.

The indictment presented in astonishing detail a carefully planned, three-year Russian scheme to incite political discord in the United States, damage Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign and later bolster the candidacy of Donald J. Trump, along with those of Bernie Sanders and Jill Stein. The precise description of the operation suggested that F.B.I. investigators had intercepted communications, found a cooperating insider or both.

The Russians overseeing the operation, which they named the Translator Project, had a goal to "spread distrust toward the candidates and the political system in general." They used a cluster of companies linked to one called the Internet Research Agency, and called their campaign "information warfare."

The field research to guide the attack appears to have begun in earnest in June 2014. Two Russian women, Aleksandra Y. Krylova and Anna V. Bogacheva, obtained visas for what turned out to be a three-week reconnaissance tour of the United States, including to key electoral states like Colorado, Michigan, Nevada and New Mexico. The visa application of a third Russian, Robert S. Bovda, was rejected.

The two women bought cameras, SIM cards and disposable

Continued on Page A12

Sees 'Unwitting' Ties to Trump Forces

By MATT APUZZO and SHARON LaFRANIERE

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department charged 13 Russians and three companies on Friday in a sprawling indictment that unveiled a sophisticated network designed to subvert the 2016 election and to support the Trump campaign. It stretched from an office in St. Petersburg, Russia, into the social feeds of Americans and ultimately reached the streets of election battleground states.

The Russians stole the identities of American citizens, posed as political activists and used the flash points of immigration, religion and race to manipulate a campaign in which those issues were already particularly divisive, prosecutors said.

SHAWN THEW/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Rod J. Rosenstein

Some of the Russians were also in contact with "unwitting individuals associated with the Trump campaign," according to court papers. Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel leading the investigation, made no accusation that President Trump or his associates were knowingly part of the conspiracy.

"The indictment alleges that the Russian conspirators want to promote discord in the United States and undermine public confidence in democracy," Rod J. Rosenstein, the deputy attorney general overseeing the inquiry, said in a brief news conference. "We must not allow them to succeed."

The 37-page indictment — handed up by a federal grand jury in Washington — amounted to a detailed rebuttal of Mr. Trump, who has sowed doubts that Russia interfered in the election and dismissed questions about its meddling as "fake news."

The Justice Department said

Continued on Page A12

Oligarch Tied to Troll Factory Earned Nickname 'Putin's Cook'

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

ST. PETERSBURG, Russia — Long before he was indicted by the United States in a case involving the troll factory that spearheaded Russian efforts to meddle in the 2016 United States elections, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin emerged from prison just as the Soviet Union was collapsing and opened a hot-dog stand.

Soon, he has said, the rubles were piling up faster than his mother could count them in the kitchen of their modest apartment, and he was set on his improbable career. He earned the slightly mocking nickname of "Putin's cook."

Despite his humble, troubled youth, Mr. Prigozhin became one of Russia's richest men, joining a charmed circle whose members often share one particular attribute: their proximity to President Vladimir V. Putin. The small club of loyalists who gain Mr. Putin's trust often feast, as Mr. Prigozhin has, on enormous state contracts. In return, they are expected to provide other, darker services to the Kremlin as needed.

On Friday, Mr. Prigozhin was one of 13 Russians indicted by a federal grand jury for interfering in the American election.

According to the indictment, Mr. Prigozhin, 56, controlled the entity that financed the troll fac-

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'Code Red!' Mass Shooting Generation Raises Voices for Change

Calling Out Politicians to Curb Gun Violence

This article is by ***Audra D. S. Burch****,* ***Patricia Mazzei*** *and* ***Jack Healy****.*

PARKLAND, Fla. — Delaney Tarr, a high school senior, cannot remember a time when she did not know about school shootings.

So when a fire alarm went off inside Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School and teachers began screaming "Code red!" as confused students ran in and out of classrooms, Ms. Tarr, 17, knew what to do. Run to the safest place in the classroom — in this case, a closet packed with 19 students and their teacher.

"I've been told these protocols for years," she said. "My sister is in middle school — she's 12 — and in elementary school, *she* had to do code red drills."

This is life for the children of the mass shooting generation. They were born into a world reshaped by the 1999 attack at Columbine High School in Colorado, and grew up practicing active shooter drills and huddling through lockdowns. They talked about threats and safety steps with their parents and teachers. With friends, they wondered darkly whether it could happen at their own school, and who might do it.

Now, this generation is almost grown up. And when a gunman killed 17 students this week at Stoneman Douglas High in Parkland, Fla., the first response of many of their classmates was not to grieve in silence, but to speak out. Their urgent voices — in television interviews, on social media, even from inside a locked school office as they hid from the gunman — are now rising in the national debate over gun violence in the aftermath of yet another school shooting.

While many politicians after the

Continued on Page A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Kosovo, 10 Years Later
A decade after declaring independence from Serbia, the nation has a new set of problems. Kosovo Journal. PAGE A6

Brain Injuries Still Unsolved
Twenty-one American diplomats in Cuba suffered concussion-like symptoms, but no blunt trauma, experts found. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-17

Romney Makes It Official
Mitt Romney, a critic of the president, confirmed that he would run to fill the seat of Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, a Republican who is retiring. PAGE A11

The Virtue in Smelling Bad
Products like perfume, deodorant and paint can contribute as much to air pollution as cars, a study says. PAGE A11

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Fascinated by Conspiracies
After two brothers were arrested on bomb-making charges, an uncle told of their conspiracy obsession. PAGE A18

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Isn't It Good Norwegian Wax?
Norway is a cross-country skiing powerhouse, and it all starts with its wax technicians and their material. PAGE D6

A Closing Chapter for Vonn
In an Olympic career full of happiness and dread, Lindsey Vonn says this year is "all that matters." PAGE D1

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

What Makes a Food 'Natural'?
Manufacturers, consumers and lawyers are wrangling over product labels. Some say the cases are a nuisance, but others argue they're necessary. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

The Comedy Murder Podcast
A new crop of podcasts bites back at the female stereotypes of the true-crime genre, alternately seized by a sensational story and ridiculing it. PAGE C1

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Bret Stephens PAGE A23

THIS WEEKEND

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy, periodic rain, much chillier, high 45. **Tonight,** cloudy skies, rain toward dawn, low 34. **Tomorrow,** periodic rain, high 44. Weather map appears on Page A24.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 57,881 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 2018 $3.00

E.U. Tapestry Begins to Fray As Poles Drift

Democratic Values and Nationalism Collide

By STEVEN ERLANGER and MARC SANTORA

SNIADOWO, Poland — The young mayor of this small town deep in eastern Poland is extremely proud of its new Italian fire engine, which sits, resplendent, next to a Soviet-era one. Nearby, the head of the elementary school shows off new classrooms and a new gymnasium, complete with an electronic scoreboard.

All of this — plus roads, solar panels, and improved water purification and sewer systems, as well as support to dairy farmers — has largely been paid for by the European Union, which finances nearly 60 percent of Poland's public investment.

With such largess, one would hardly think that Poland is in a kind of war with the European Union. In recent months, the nationalist government has bitten the hand that feeds it more than once.

The European Union has accused Poland of posing a grave risk to democratic values, accusing it of undermining the rule of law by packing the courts with loyalists. Western leaders have also criticized Poland's governing party for pushing virtually all critical voices off the state news media and for restricting free speech with its latest law criminalizing any suggestion that the Polish nation bore any responsibility in the Holocaust.

The tug of war has intensified as Eastern Europe becomes the incubator for a new model of "illiberal democracy" for which Hungary has laid the groundwork. But it is Poland — so large, so rich, so militarily powerful and so important geostrategically — that will define whether the European Union's long effort to integrate the former Soviet bloc succeeds or fails.

The stakes, many believe, far outweigh those of Britain's exit from the European Union, or Brexit, as the bloc faces a painful reckoning over whether, despite its efforts at discipline, it has en-

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ONCE HIS CRITICS, G.O.P. CANDIDATES WARM TO TRUMP

EFFORTS FOR A DÉTENTE

Romney Is Among Those Who Are Courting an Ex-Antagonist

By JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — Mitt Romney did not vote for Donald J. Trump in 2016. Representative Martha McSally of Arizona may not have, either, but she will not say. And Senator Dean Heller of Nevada now insists that he did cast his ballot for Mr. Trump, but for many months, he would not reveal his vote.

Senator Bob Corker supported Mr. Trump, but seemed to regret it last year when he concluded that the country had deposited an unruly toddler in the Oval Office.

Yet as these Republicans pursue a Senate run this year — or in the case of Mr. Corker, reconsiders one — they are essentially making peace with a president they once shunned. Their hopes for a détente with Mr. Trump, who effectively staged a hostile takeover of a party he joined only in 2012, reflect the realization that rank-and-file Republicans have come to embrace the president.

There is little appetite on the right for Trump skeptics in the halls of Congress.

"To the activists, those who vote consistently in Republican primaries, it's very much Trump's party," said Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona, who effectively decided against running for re-election because he did not want to accommodate such voters.

The reversals by Mr. Trump's onetime foes are as revealing as they are glaring.

Mr. Corker, who once suggested that the president required day care and that he might blunder the country into World War III, has mounted a charm offensive to win back the president's affection — a prerequisite if the senator is to delay his retirement plans and capture the Republican nomination in Tennessee. Mr. Romney, who in

Continued on Page A12

In Halls of Power, Gun Survivors Urge Action

AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protesters took their message in support of tougher gun laws to the Florida House of Representatives in Tallahassee on Wednesday.

'How Many Children Have to Get Shot?' Victim's Father Asks Trump at Meeting

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — An anguished father mourning his 18-year-old daughter vented his anger and pleaded for safer schools.

A fear-stricken student who watched classmates die last week wept openly as he called for banning assault weapons.

A mother who lost her 6-year-old son in a school shooting just over five years ago warned that more parents would lose their children if President Trump did not act, adding, "Don't let that happen on your watch."

One by one at the White House on Wednesday afternoon, survivors of school shootings and family members of victims shared their stories and their calls to action. The extraordinary public exchange with the president gave voice to an intensely emotional debate over how to respond to the latest gun massacre in an American school.

A week after a gunman opened fire with an AR-15-style assault rifle at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., killing 17 people and prompting a rash of student-driven lobbying for new gun restrictions, Mr. Trump met for more than an hour with grieving people in search of solutions. News cameras captured the unusual listening session, revealing an emotional give-and-take between a president and private citizens that is typically shielded from public view.

Mr. Trump used the event to pitch his own ideas about how to prevent such debacles in the future, polling the group about whether they supported allowing teachers and other school employees to carry concealed weapons, an idea he said could have halted the carnage in Parkland.

"That coach was very brave, saved a lot of lives, I suspect," Mr. Trump said, apparently referring to Aaron Feis, a coach at Stoneman Douglas who reportedly died using his body as a shield to protect students. "But if he had a firearm, he wouldn't have had to run, he would have shot and that would have been the end of it."

Mr. Trump said he would press to strengthen background checks for people buying guns and press for enhanced mental health meas-

Continued on Page A17

Pressure Building on Florida Republicans to Students' Chorus of 'Shame on You!'

By JULIE TURKEWITZ and ALEXANDER BURNS

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Seven days after the killing of 17 students and school staff members in Florida, Republican state leaders are facing pressure unlike any they have experienced to pass legislation addressing gun violence.

On Wednesday, swarms of student protesters carrying signs and boxes of petitions stormed the Florida Capitol, pleading with lawmakers to pass tougher gun control in the wake of the deadly shooting at a Broward County school last week.

On one floor, they crowded the doorway of the office of Gov. Rick Scott, a Republican and an ardent supporter of gun rights, shouting, "Shame on you! Shame on you! Shame on you!" On an upper floor, they gathered outside the office of the powerful speaker of the Florida House, Richard Corcoran. "Face us down! Face us down! Face us down!"

And on the House floor, Alondra Gittelson, who survived the attack at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, confronted Mr. Corcoran, a Republican, demanding to know why "such a destructive gun" — the AR-15 rifle — is widely accessible.

"How is an individual in society able to acquire such a gun?" Ms. Gittelson, 16, asked Mr. Corcoran.

Mr. Corcoran replied that he saw the rifle as a legitimate hunting weapon and did not believe a ban would help matters. "I'll just be honest with you," he said. "Me, personally — I don't believe that's the solution."

With about two weeks left in the legislative session, Republicans led by Mr. Scott have concluded that it would be politically catastrophic if they failed to do something to address the outcry. But they appear likely to pursue legislation narrower than what students are demanding, avoiding a ban on assault weapons.

The students continued their campaign into the night, trying to shout down Senator Marco Rubio and an N.R.A. spokeswoman during a forum broadcast by CNN

AUDRA MELTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Richard Corcoran

from Broward County, Fla., as the pair defended Americans' rights to own assault-style rifles.

The room erupted when Fred Guttenberg, whose daughter Jaime died last week, demanded that Mr. Rubio explain his position about such guns. "It is a weapon of war," Mr. Guttenberg told the Republican senator. "The fact that

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THE REV. BILLY GRAHAM, 1918-2018

Counselor to Presidents and Pastor to Millions

By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

The Rev. Billy Graham, a North Carolina farmer's son who preached to millions in stadium events he called crusades, becoming a pastor to presidents and the nation's best-known Christian evangelist for more than 60 years, died on Wednesday at his home in Montreat, N.C. He was 99.

His death was confirmed by Jeremy Blume, a spokesman for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

Mr. Graham had dealt with a number of illnesses in his last years, including prostate cancer, hydrocephalus (a buildup of fluid in the brain) and symptoms of Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Graham spread his influence across the country and around the world through a combination of religious conviction, commanding stage presence and shrewd use of radio, television and advanced communication technologies.

A central achievement was his encouraging evangelical Protestants to regain the social influence they had once wielded, reversing a retreat from public life that had begun when their efforts to challenge evolution theory were defeated in the Scopes trial in 1925.

But in his later years, Mr. Graham kept his distance from the

Continued on Page A18

ALFRED EISENSTAEDT/THE LIFE PREMIUM COLLECTION VIA GETTY IMAGES

Billy Graham in 1960. He took evangelism to a new level, using satellites to transmit sermons worldwide in myriad languages.

An Envoy Who Can Rival 'North Korea's Ivanka'

Trump Sends Daughter to Olympics Charmed by Dictator's Sister

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — When the sister of Kim Jong-un made her historic visit to the Winter Olympics in South Korea two weeks ago, saying nothing but commanding noisy press coverage, the South Korean news media quickly called her "North Korea's Ivanka."

Now, President Trump is sending the real Ivanka.

The question is whether Ms. Trump, with her fashion industry glamour, can counter the news media narrative set by a mysterious North Korean woman, Kim Yo-jong, who is a director of her totalitarian government's propaganda and agitation department.

White House officials recoil at any parallel between the dictator's sister and the president's daughter. But the comparison is obvious, if invidious, given their family pedigrees.

And Ms. Trump may benefit by another comparison: to Vice President Mike Pence, who sat near Ms. Kim during the opening ceremony of the Olympics and seemed unable to strike the same chord as she did with South Koreans. He later missed out on a meeting with North Korean officials after they canceled at the last minute.

Administration officials acknowledge that Ms. Trump, who will arrive in South Korea on Friday to watch the closing ceremony of the Games, could smooth some of the tensions that flared during the vice president's visit, even if they insist that is not the purpose of her trip.

While Mr. Pence met with North Korean defectors and condemned Mr. Kim for human rights abuses, officials said Ms. Trump would keep her focus on reaffirming the bonds between the United States and South Korea and cheering on American athletes. "Their talent,

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Last Laps for Greyhound Track
A dog track's closing reflects Macau's shift from a colonial backwater into a popular tourist destination. PAGE A8

Graft Cases Swell in Israel
A longtime top aide to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu agreed to become a government witness. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-19

Patrolling Far From the Border
The Border Patrol is using a little-known authority to set up checkpoints and search private property to crack down on illegal immigration. PAGE A13

On Second Thought
Nearly 70 percent of Americans link human activity to climate change. What changed doubters' minds? PAGE A11

NEW YORK A20-21

Like June in February
Record temperatures as high as 78 turned a Manhattan skating rink into a lagoon. Few complained. PAGE A20

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Making A.I. Feel Less Artificial
Researchers believe they can improve conversational A.I. systems by letting them talk to people online, but people can be bad influences. PAGE B1

Living in Alexa's World
Amazon's voice assistant may soon be the third great computing platform of our era, Farhad Manjoo writes. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

Fears of Meddling at the Oscars
Are Russians interfering with the awards show? It sounds like a joke, but two filmmakers aren't laughing. PAGE C1

THURSDAY STYLES D1-10

Her Bed in the Clouds
Our writer has a luxurious sleepover at One57, one of New York's newest, tallest and most resented buildings. PAGE D1

A Fashion-Conscious Olympics
At these Winter Games, the theatricality and flamboyance once frowned upon have been embraced. PAGE D6

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-19

Back Up After a Fall
Scott Hamilton is taking a back seat to the new guard of figure skating analysts, but don't feel sorry for him. PAGE B13

'We'll Never Be Even'
Short-track speedskaters spend hours torqued to the left. As a result, their bodies are asymmetrical. PAGE B11

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Michael Ian Black PAGE A23

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, plenty of clouds, rain tapering off, high 49. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, low 42. **Tomorrow,** clouds giving way to sunshine, milder, high 54. Details in SportsSunday, Page 14.

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N.R.A.'S MUSCLE BUILT ON VOTES, NOT DONATIONS

POWER OF MOBILIZATION

Strategy Limits Emphasis on Direct Spending on Candidates

By ERIC LIPTON and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — Few places have seen the National Rifle Association wield its might more effectively than Florida, where it has advanced a sweeping agenda that has made it easier to carry concealed weapons, given gun owners greater leeway to shoot in self-defense and even briefly barred doctors from asking patients about their firearms.

To many of its opponents, that decades-long string of victories is proof that the N.R.A. has bought its political support. But the numbers tell a more complicated story: The organization's political action committee over the last decade has not made a single direct contribution to any current member of the Florida House or Senate, according to campaign finance records.

In Florida and other states across the country, as well as on Capitol Hill, the N.R.A. derives its political influence instead from a muscular electioneering machine, fueled by tens of millions of dollars' worth of campaign ads and voter-guide mailings, that scrutinizes candidates for their views on guns and propels members to the polls.

"It's really not the contributions," said Cleta Mitchell, a former N.R.A. board member. "It's the ability of the N.R.A. to tell its members: Here's who's good on the Second Amendment."

Far more than any check the N.R.A. could write, it is this mobilization operation that has made the organization such a challenging adversary for Democrats and gun control advocates — one that, after the massacre at a school in Parkland, Fla., is struggling to confront an emotional student-led push for new restrictions.

The N.R.A.'s impact comes, in large part, from the simplicity of the incentives it presents to poli-

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WILLIAM WIDMER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE DROWNING COAST

Climate change is pushing seas ever higher, threatening coastal areas worldwide. But the American epicenter is south Louisiana. There, in the shadow of post-Katrina New Orleans, a fishing village named Jean Lafitte is a harbinger of an uncertain global future, watching the rising tides and fighting for time.

A SPECIAL SECTION, PRODUCED IN PARTNERSHIP WITH NOLA.COM | THE TIMES-PICAYUNE

REDACTED MEMO REBUTS CHARGES ON SURVEILLANCE

DEMOCRATS' REJOINDER

A Forceful Defense of an F.B.I. Under Attack From the G.O.P.

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The House Intelligence Committee released a redacted Democratic memorandum on Saturday countering Republican claims that top F.B.I. and Justice Department officials had abused their powers in spying on a former Trump campaign aide.

The document was intended by Democrats to offer a point-by-point refutation of what it called the "transparent" attempt by President Trump's allies on the committee to undermine the congressional and special counsel investigations into Russia's meddling in the 2016 presidential election and possible coordination with the Trump campaign.

But the dueling accounts reflected an extraordinary struggle on the committee to try to shape public perceptions of the credibility of the nation's top law enforcement agencies. For weeks, instead of focusing its full energy on investigating an attack on the American democratic system, the committee has been pulled into a furious effort by Mr. Trump and his allies to sow doubts about the integrity of the special counsel inquiry and the agencies conducting it.

The Democratic memo amounted to a forceful rebuttal to the president's portrayal of the Russia inquiry as a "witch hunt" being perpetrated by politically biased leaders of the F.B.I. and the Justice Department.

The newfound animosity toward the F.B.I. among ostensibly

Continued on Page 12

Despite an Ethics Order, Cuomo Took $890,000 From Appointees

*This article is by **Shane Goldmacher**, **Brian M. Rosenthal** and **Agustin Armendariz**.*

In late November, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo flew to Buffalo for a fund-raising trip, a quick two-stop jaunt that brought in more than $200,000 in donations for his re-election campaign.

The events, one at an Embassy Suites hotel and the other a more intimate gathering at a private residence, were hosted by two men familiar to Mr. Cuomo — and to state government.

One host, Steven J. Weiss, had been appointed by Mr. Cuomo to the New York State Housing Finance Agency in 2011 and the state board of the Roswell Park Cancer Institute in 2016. Government records show that Mr. Weiss has donated $53,000 to the governor's campaign since being picked for the housing agency.

The other, Kenneth A. Manning, had been named by Mr. Cuomo to the same cancer research institute board in 2015, as well as another public authority. Records show that Mr. Manning has donated $50,500 since his appointments.

That type of arrangement — appointments go out, campaign cash comes back in — has vexed government reformers in Albany for generations. Things were supposed to change in 2007, when Eliot L. Spitzer, then the newly elected governor, issued an executive order barring most appointees from donating to or soliciting donations for the governor who made the appointment. Mr. Cuomo renewed the order on his first day in office.

But a New York Times investigation found that the Cuomo administration has quietly reinterpreted the directive, enabling him to collect about $890,000 from two dozen of his appointees. Some gave within days of being appointed.

The governor also has accepted $1.3 million from the spouses, children and businesses of appointees, state records show.

In some cases, a husband and wife each won state appointments and then kept contributing. In others, the appointees stopped donating after receiving state posts, but their families continued writing checks. One appointee and his wife donated 11 times while he was serving. Another has given Mr. Cuomo, personally and through

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Should Trump Fear Mueller?

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — In a fiery speech to supporters on Friday, President Trump went after his vanquished opponent from 2016. "We had a crooked candidate," he declared. The crowd responded with a signature chant from the campaign trail: "Lock her up!"

About three hours later and 10 miles to the north, Mr. Trump's former deputy campaign chairman, who helped put him in the White House, arrived at a federal courthouse in Washington to plead guilty to being crooked and face the prospect that the authorities will now lock him up.

With each passing day, Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel investigating Russia's interference in the 2016 election, seems to add another brick to the case he is building — one more indictment, one more interview, one more guilty plea. Mr. Trump and his advisers insist they are not worried because so far none of the charges implicate the president. Yet no one outside Mr. Mueller's office knows for sure where he is heading and the flurry of recent action seems to be inexorably leading to a larger target.

"When you put that all together, the White House should be

Continued on Page 14

Spirited Activists on Camera, Brokenhearted Teenagers Off

By JACK HEALY

PARKLAND, Fla. — After a gunman turned their high school into a sprawling crime scene last week, three freshman friends leapt into the student movement for tougher gun laws. They rode a bus to the State Capitol and chased down lawmakers. They vowed to march on Washington. They shouted and waved signs saying "Protect Kids" and "Stop Killing the Future."

But at night, in the blackness that recalls the dark classroom where she hid as a gunman murdered her classmates, Samara Barrack, 15, cannot stop thinking about that afternoon, when she fled through a blood-covered hallway. Samantha Deitsch, also 15, grieves a friend from journalism class. Aria Siccone, 14, who walked past the bodies of students from her last-period study hall, feels nothing sometimes. Just numbness.

"I keep having flashbacks," Samara said. "There's times I want to cry and can't. There's times I want to have fun and am hysterical."

This is the reality that confronts students at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School when the cameras turn off and the day's rallies are over. They have won praise for their strength and eloquence on the world's stage. But even as they raise millions of dollars and plan nationwide rallies, parse the details of assault-weapons laws and spar with politicians and conservative critics, the young survivors of the massacre are struggling with the loss of their friends and educators, and the nightmares that flood back in moments of stillness.

And Parkland, once named Florida's safest city by a home-security group, is today a place carved open by rage, grief and questions about whether any

Continued on Page 18

After 38 Medals, Norway Feels Stress of Success

By DAVID SEGAL

PYEONGCHANG, South Korea — Surpassing its own lofty expectations, Norway has delivered the greatest performance in the history of the Winter Games, winning a total of 38 medals, 13 of them gold. A nation of only five million people has crushed all comers, including sports behemoths like Germany and the United States, in the events Norwegians care about the most.

Elsewhere, these historic results would yield the kind of street parties where strangers high-five one another until their hands hurt. In Norway, celebrations have been far more subdued. The most raucous it has gotten so far is a lot of joyful shouting at the television.

"We always want to win," said Fredrik Aukland, a TV sports commentator in Norway. "But modesty is a big part of the culture here. And Norwegians don't go out much."

Unless it's Constitution Day, ostentatious displays of all kinds are frowned upon in Norway, especially when it comes to wealth, a notable feature in one of the world's richest countries. Nobody expects a parade for returning athletes, even as they bring home multiple medals in cross-country (13), Alpine skiing (seven), biathlon (six), ski jumping (five) and speedskating (four).

DIEGO AZUBEL/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Johannes Hoesflot Klaebo wins the gold in the men's 4-x-10-kilometer cross-country relay. Norway has crushed its Olympic rivals.

The haul is sure to revive pangs of concern that have shadowed Norway's streak of victories in re-

Continued on Page A4

INTERNATIONAL 4-10

Raised by ISIS and Repatriated
Russia is bringing home to Chechnya the children born to those who flocked to Syria and Iraq to support the Islamic State. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 11-20

The Allure of Solitude
On remote islands off the Maine coast, small bands of residents hunker down for the winter and embrace the emptiness and a frontier sensibility. PAGE 11

SPORTSSUNDAY

In Shocker, U.S. Curlers Reign
The men's team beat top-ranked Sweden to win the United States' first Olympic gold medal in curling. The Americans finished next to last in 2014. PAGE 5

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Tax Fight Is Only Beginning
Major tax overhauls have long come once in a generation. But the 2017 law that raced through Congress is headed for years of turmoil. Your Taxes. PAGE 9

SUNDAY REVIEW

Frank Bruni PAGE 1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine and clouds, milder, high 55. **Tonight,** clear, low 38. **Tomorrow,** plenty of sunshine, another mild day for late February, high 55. Weather map appears on Page B6.

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DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Asylum seekers at the United Nations compound in Niamey, Niger. If selected by interviewers, they may get free passage to France.

China Moves to Allow Xi To Stay in Power for Years

A Surprise Plan to End Term Limits Would Give the President Vast Control

By CHRIS BUCKLEY and KEITH BRADSHER

BEIJING — China's Communist Party has cleared the way for President Xi Jinping to stay in power indefinitely, by announcing Sunday that it intends to abolish term limits on the presidency, a momentous break with decades-old rules meant to prevent the country from returning to the days when Mao was shown cultish obedience.

The surprise move, revealed in a dryly worded proposal to amend the Constitution, is the boldest yet by Mr. Xi as he seeks to strengthen the party's control over a modernizing society and restore China to what he considers its rightful place as a global power — an agenda that his allies have suggested requires his personal leadership.

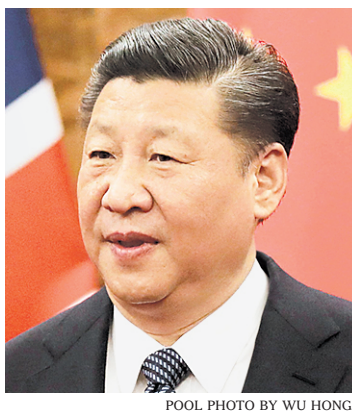
He has pressed China's claims over the South China Sea, begun a global infrastructure plan called the Belt and Road Initiative, drastically reorganized the military, bulked up domestic security and enforced ideological purity in schools and media — all parts of his vision of China as a prosperous, respected player on the world stage that stays faithful to its Communist and Confucian roots.

The timing of the announcement startled even experienced observers of Chinese politics: Mr. Xi completes his first term as president next month and could have waited until late in his second term to act. He also could have stepped down after his second term and run the country from behind the scenes, as some of his predecessors have.

The move alarmed advocates of political liberalization in China who saw it as part of a global trend of strongman leaders casting aside constitutional checks, like Vladimir V. Putin in Russia and Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Turkey.

The Constitution now limits Mr. Xi, who became president in 2013, to two terms in that office, amounting to 10 years. But the party leadership has proposed removing the line that says the president and vice president "shall serve no more than two consecutive terms," Xinhua, the official news agency, reported on Sunday.

By moving so early in his tenure, Mr. Xi, 64, is in effect proclaiming that he intends to stay in office well past 2023, overturning rules of succession in Chinese politics that evolved as the party sought stability following the power struggles to replace first Mao, and then Deng Xiaoping.



POOL PHOTO BY WU HONG

President Xi Jinping of China

"Xi Jinping will certainly continue," said Zhang Ming, a retired

Continued on Page A9

LIMITLESS POWER President Xi Jinping's efforts to indefinitely extend his rule renewed fears of a resurgence of strongman politics. PAGE A9

Pressure to Act On Gun Limits Tests Congress

This article is by ***Sheryl Gay Stolberg****,* ***Jonathan Martin*** *and* ***Thomas Kaplan****.*

WASHINGTON — Lawmakers will return to Washington on Monday facing intense public pressure to break their decades-long gridlock on gun control, a demand fortified by a bipartisan group of governors calling for Congress to take action to protect against mass shootings.

But even as members of both parties said it might be difficult for Congress to remain on the sidelines after the school massacre this month in Parkland, Fla., lawmakers have no clear consensus on even incremental changes to gun restrictions, let alone more sweeping legislation.

Over a weeklong recess, Republican leaders in both the House and the Senate remained largely silent on gun legislation, a reflection of the significant obstacles to passing even modest measures this year.

Many Republicans fear primary challenges from the right in the midterm elections this fall and do not want to be pushed into difficult votes. Democrats are not eager for legislation that they deem too incremental. And with lawmakers of both parties looking to wrap up their work to focus on their campaigns for re-election, the time to pass any significant legislation is running short.

If the past is prologue, Congress will do nothing.

Continued on Page A12

HUGS IN THE HALLS Students returned to a Florida high school scarred by a massacre. PAGE A12

Traveling to Niger to Keep Most Migrants There

France Grants Asylum to a Select Few

By ADAM NOSSITER

NIAMEY, Niger — In a bare suite of prefab offices, inside a compound off a dirt road, French bureaucrats are pushing France's borders thousands of miles into Africa, hoping to head off would-be migrants.

All day long, in a grassy courtyard, they interview asylum seekers, as the African reality they want to escape swirls outside — donkey carts and dust, joblessness and poverty, and, in special cases, political persecution.

If the French answer is yes to asylum, they are given plane tickets to France and spared the risky journey through the desert and on the deadly boats across the Mediterranean that have brought millions of desperate migrants to Europe in recent years, transforming its politics and societies.

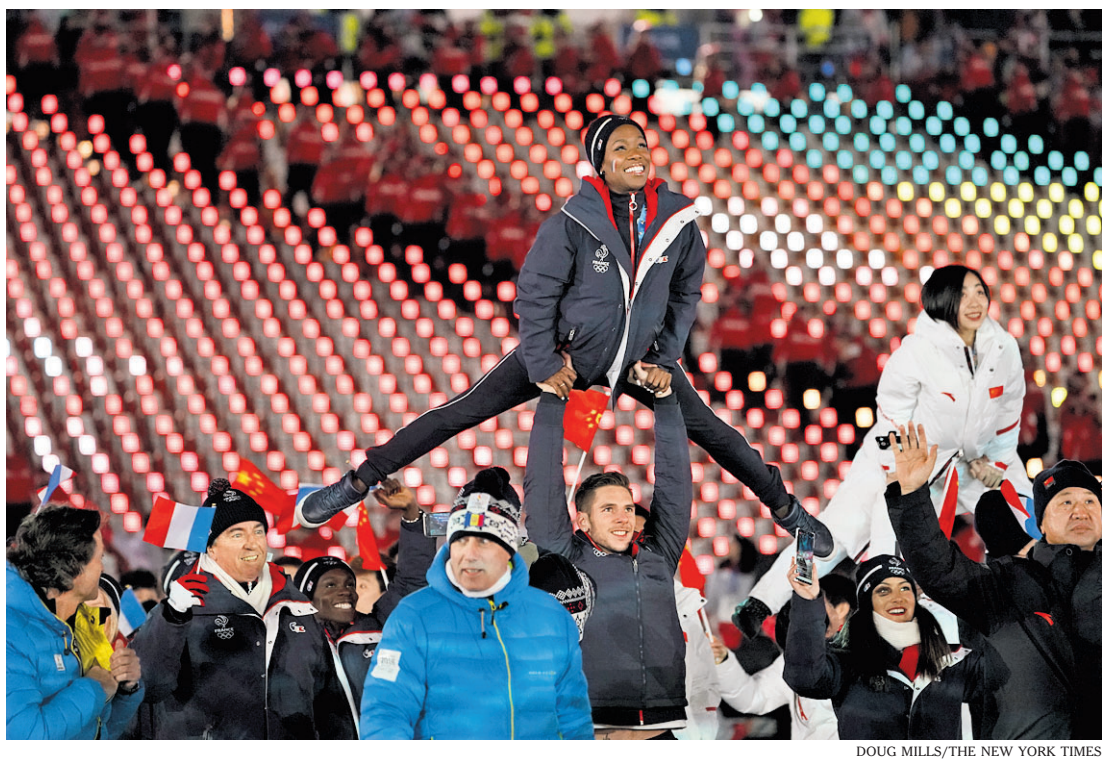
"We're here to stop people from dying in the Mediterranean," said Sylvie Bergier-Diallo, the deputy chief of the French mission in Niger.

But very few are actually approved, and so the French delegation is also there to send a message to other would-be migrants: Stay home, and do not risk a perilous journey for an asylum claim that would ultimately be denied in France.

The French outpost is part of a new forward defense in Europe's struggle to hold off migration from Africa; it is a small, relatively benign piece of a larger strategy that otherwise threatens to subvert Europe's humanitarian ideals.

After years of being buffeted by uncontrolled migration, Europe is striking out. Italy is suspected of quietly cutting deals with Libyan

Continued on Page A6



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Psst! The Competition's Over
Morgan Ciprès lifted his skating partner, Vanessa James, at the Olympic closing ceremony. Page D1.

Web of Donors Sees a Chance To Curb Labor

By NOAM SCHEIBER and KENNETH P. VOGEL

In the summer of 2016, government workers in Illinois received a mailing that offered them tips on how to leave their union. By paying a so-called fair-share fee instead of standard union dues, the mailing said, they would no longer be bound by union rules and could not be punished for refusing to strike.

"To put it simply," the document concluded, "becoming a fair-share payer means you will have more freedom."

The mailing, sent by a group called the Illinois Policy Institute, may have seemed like disinterested advice. In fact, it was one prong of a broader campaign against public-sector unions, backed by some of the biggest donors on the right. It is an effort that will reach its apex on Monday, when the Supreme Court hears a case that could cripple public-sector unions by allowing the workers they represent to avoid paying fees.

One of the institute's largest donors is a foundation bankrolled by Richard Uihlein, an Illinois industrialist who has spent millions backing Republican candidates in recent years, including Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin, Senator Ted Cruz of Texas and Gov. Bruce Rauner of Illinois.

Tax filings show that Mr. Uihlein has also been the chief financial backer in recent years of the Liberty Justice Center, which represents Mark Janus, the Illinois

Continued on Page A13

Low Oil Prices Spur the Saudis To Play the Field

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Saudi Arabia has long been the dominant force in oil, leaving the world at the mercy of its ambitions and its interests. Now the kingdom must refresh its strategy to reflect a weaker hand — and in many ways, a different game.

The changing nature of the energy industry — the oil production boom in American shale fields, the persistence of lower crude prices and the rise of natural gas — has transformed the geopolitical equation.

While Saudi Arabia is still a major energy producer, it must compensate for its lost revenue. And the United States, China and Russia are all circling in hopes of gaining a financial advantage.

Russia, smarting from Western sanctions and lower oil prices, is moving to embrace Saudi Arabia for energy deals despite their rivalry in Syria, where the two countries support competing sides. China, with its domestic oil production in steep decline, seeks a stable flow not just of Saudi oil but of Saudi investment in its growing petrochemical and refinery industries.

And Washington is willing to overlook those flirtations in the hope that Saudi Arabia will continue to be a strategic bulwark against Iran.

The desires of all three superpowers fit neatly into Saudi Arabia's strategy to find new investment partners as part of a broader push to diversify its oil-dependent economy, trim large budget

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A Mine Blast Sent Him to Jail. Miners May Send Him to Congress.

STEVE HELBER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Don Blankenship was the head of Massey Energy in 2010.

By TRIP GABRIEL

LOGAN, W.Va. — The devastating explosion in the Upper Big Branch coal mine killed 29 men in 2010 and scarred West Virginia like few events in modern memory. Don Blankenship, the head of the mining company, went to prison over it.

Not many people would call that a springboard for a career in politics.

Yet when Mr. Blankenship emerged last year from his one-year sentence for conspiracy to violate mine safety laws, rather than express remorse or contrition over the tragedy, he announced a run for the United States Senate, in a state where coal has been as much a cultural identity as an economic one.

Coal Boss Says He Was a 'Political Prisoner'

His return to the public eye has reawakened painful memories in West Virginia, especially for relatives of the disaster's victims. "You took 29 lives away from families like mine," said Judy Jones Petersen in an interview, as if she were addressing Mr. Blankenship. Her brother, Dean Jones, was killed in the disaster. "Shame on you for coming back," she said.

At one of Mr. Blankenship's meet-and-greet events with voters, a knot of protesters held signs: "You must be joking."

But in the coal fields, many people don't think his candidacy is a joke at all. He has found support

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

A Pain Reawakened in Nigeria
The kidnapping of dozens of schoolgirls has residents asking why the government hasn't learned lessons from a similar episode in 2014. PAGE A8

'A Bomb on the Doorstep'
For decades, residents of a poor fishing village in Venezuela have tried to stop a state-run oil refinery from polluting a bay they share. PAGE A4

Cease-Fire Stops Little in Syria
There were new ground attacks against a rebel-held enclave east of Damascus, and reports of a suspected chlorine attack by government forces. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A10-14

Pushing Conservative Studies
Arizona lawmakers are financing new college programs promoting Republican ideology, to the ire of faculty. PAGE A11

New Approach to Opioid Crisis
The F.D.A. will embrace medications that help temper cravings, even if they don't fully stop addiction. PAGE A10

NEW YORK A15-17

Rape Case Goes Off Campus
The looming trial of a Yale student raises the question of whether colleges or courts should handle accusations of sexual assault on campus. PAGE A15

Garner's Family Is Still Waiting
The New York police have yet to hold an administrative trial for the officer linked to a chokehold case. PAGE A17

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

How a Superstar Was Made
Marc Stein sat with Stephen Curry to analyze his coming-out party at Madison Square Garden in 2013. PAGE D2

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Balking at 'Blockchain Bros'
Women are finding that the cryptocurrency gold rush is already stacked against them. PAGE B1

Bankruptcy for Weinstein Co.
After sale talks with investors fell apart, the studio said it had "no choice" but to declare bankruptcy. PAGE B3

ARTS C1-8

Reappraising a 'Pearl Earring'
Technology borrowed from medicine is helping to explore lingering questions about a Vermeer masterpiece. PAGE C1

That Guy in 'Three Billboards'
Sam Rockwell, an Oscar favorite for his role as a racist police officer, is a familiar face with an unfamiliar name. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Charles M. Blow PAGE A19

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds breaking for some sunshine, morning snow showers, chilly, high 44. **Tonight,** clear, low 32. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, high 47. Details in SportsSunday, Page 12.

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Call for Privacy Hands a Crisis To Tech Giants

Business Model Relies on Consumer Data

This article is by ***David Streitfeld, Natasha Singer*** *and* ***Steven Erlanger****.*

SAN FRANCISCO — The contemporary internet was built on a bargain: Show us who you really are and the digital world will be free to search or share.

People detailed their interests and obsessions on Facebook and Google, generating a river of data that could be collected and harnessed for advertising. The companies became very rich. Users seemed happy. Privacy was deemed obsolete, like bloodletting and milkmen.

Now, the consumer surveillance model underlying Facebook and Google's free services is under siege from users, regulators and legislators on both sides of the Atlantic. It amounts to a crisis for an internet industry that up until now had taken a reactive, whack-a-mole approach to problems like the spread of fraudulent news and misuse of personal data.

The recent revelation that Cambridge Analytica, a voter profiling company that had worked with Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign, harvested data from 50 million Facebook users, raised the current uproar, even if the origins lie as far back as the 2016 election. It has been many months of allegations and arguments that the internet in general and social media in particular are pulling society down instead of lifting it up.

That has inspired a good deal of debate about more restrictive futures for Facebook and Google. At the furthest extreme, some dream of the companies becoming public utilities. More benign business models that depend less on ads and more on subscriptions have been proposed, although it's unclear why either company would abandon something that has made them so prosperous.

Congress might pass targeted legislation to restrict consumer data use in specific sectors, such

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With Passion and Fury, Students March on Guns

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chloe Trieu, 15, center, a student at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, and her sister Victoria, 19, an alumna, in Washington.

Rebuke of N.R.A. by Huge Crowds Across U.S.

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Standing before vast crowds from Washington to Los Angeles to Parkland, Fla., the speakers — nearly all of them students, some still in elementary school — delivered an anguished and defiant message: They are "done hiding" from gun violence, and will "stop at nothing" to get politicians to finally prevent it.

The students, as they seized the nation's attention on Saturday with raised fists and tear-streaked faces, vowed that their grief about school shootings and their frustration with adults' inaction would power a new generation of political activism.

"If they continue to ignore us, to only pretend to listen, then we will take action where it counts," Delaney Tarr, a student at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, where a gunman killed 17 people last month, told tens of thousands rallying in Washington. "We will take action every day in every way until they simply cannot ignore us any more."

For many of the young people, the Washington rally, called March for Our Lives, was their first act of protest and the beginning of a political awakening. But that awakening may be a rude one — lawmakers in Congress have largely disregarded their pleas for action on television and social media in the five weeks since the Parkland shooting.

That reality helped drive the Parkland survivors in Washington, as they led a crowd that filled blocks of Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and Capitol Hill. Thousands more rallied at about 800 "sibling" marches around the country and abroad, where students, like those in the capital, made eloquent calls

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Porn Star Suing Trump Is Known for Her Ambition: 'She's the Boss'

President's Unlikely Foe 'Is Not Someone to Be Underestimated'

This article is by ***Matt Flegenheimer, Rebecca R. Ruiz*** *and* ***Katie Van Syckle****.*

One by one, the honorees came forward to be recognized: the wounded veteran, the tech executive and the noted porn star.

It was the 10-year reunion for Scotlandville Magnet High School's Class of 1997 in Baton Rouge, La., and a few alumni were being singled out for professional distinction. Stephanie Clifford needed no reintroduction. "Everybody already knew," she said of her career in an interview. She worked the room of suits and gowns with a smile.

By now, the public knows both too much about Ms. Clifford, who goes by Stormy Daniels, and almost nothing at all.

She is the actress in pornographic films who is suing a sitting president, with whom she said she had a consensual affair, in order to be released from a nondisclosure agreement she reached with his lawyer just before the 2016 election. Over the past two months, she has guided the story of her alleged relationship with President Trump — and the $130,000 she was paid to keep silent — into a full-fledged scandal. If Ms. Clifford's court case proceeds, Mr. Trump may have to testify in depositions, and her suit could provide evidence of campaign spending violations. She is scheduled to appear on "60 Minutes" on Sunday.

And if her name has seemed ubiquitous — repeated on cable television and in the White House briefing room, and plastered on signs outside nightclubs, where her appearance fees have multiplied — there is this to consider: Unlike most perceived presidential adversaries, about whom Mr. Trump is rarely shy, Ms. Clifford has not been the subject of a single tweet.

To many in the capital, Ms. Clifford, 39, has become an unexpected force. It is she, some in Washington now joke, and not the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, who could topple Mr. Trump.

Those who know her well have registered the moment differently. Ms. Clifford has subsisted amid the seamier elements of a business often rife with exploitation and unruly fare; more than a few of her film titles are unprintable. But for most of her professional life, Ms. Clifford has been a woman in control of her own narrative in a field where that can be uncommon. With an instinct for self-promotion, she evolved from "kinder-

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THE OTHER SIDE Supporters of the Second Amendment tried to counter the groundswell. PAGE 23

Speculators Swarm Houston to Make a Fast Buck on Misery

By SIMON ROMERO

HOUSTON — The yard signs appeared almost immediately. Canyon Gate was still in ruins, its streets strewn with moldy furniture, the stench of rot everywhere. But somehow, someone had managed to plant dozens, maybe hundreds of them across the tiny Houston suburb. One proclaimed "Dump Your Home!" Another, stuck into the dirt, read "Flood Damage? We Can Help."

BUILT TO FLOOD
A City in Recovery

Bernadette Leaney, 67, one of the thousands of Houston residents whose homes were swamped in the aftermath of Hurricane Harvey, hated them. She and her neighbors were just beginning their grim reckoning with the damage. Who could be looking to make a buck this soon? She tried to ignore the come-ons. "But then I realized I just couldn't stand looking at them anymore," she said. "They were adding to our despondency."

She tore down every sign she came across — 114 by her count — until another resident told her it was one of their own neighbors who had posted many of them. His name was Nick Pelletiere, she

TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nick Pelletiere in his flood-hit home near Houston. He has been buying up similar homes cheaply.

learned. He ran a company that transported cadavers for funeral homes, but recently he had expanded into another lightly regulated trade: buying and selling flooded homes. People in Canyon Gate called him Shady Nick.

Mr. Pelletiere is one of the many speculators driving a new — and somewhat confounding — economy in neighborhoods across post-Harvey Houston, one that is especially notable in Canyon Gate, a subdivision built in the 1990s where rice fields once stretched to the horizon. Many parts of the city were hit hard by the hurricane, but Canyon Gate has the extraordinary distinction of being built within the confines of a reservoir specifically designed by the Army Corps of Engineers to protect central Houston

Continued on Page 20

In Sweden, Preschools Teach Boys to Dance and Girls to Yell

By ELLEN BARRY

STOCKHOLM — Something was wrong with the Penguins, the incoming class of toddlers at the Seafarer's Preschool, in a wooded suburb south of Stockholm.

The boys were clamorous and physical. They shouted and hit. The girls held up their arms and whimpered to be picked up. The group of 1- and 2-year-olds had, in other words, split along traditional gender lines. And at this school, that is not O.K.

Their teachers cleared the room of cars and dolls. They put the boys in charge of the play kitchen. They made the girls practice shouting "No!" Then they decided to open a proper investigation, erecting video cameras in the classroom.

Science may still be divided over whether gender differences are rooted in biology or culture, but many of Sweden's government-funded preschools are doing what they can to deconstruct them. State curriculum urges teachers and principals to embrace their role as social engineers, requiring them to "counteract traditional gender roles and gender patterns."

It is normal, in many Swedish preschools, for teachers to avoid referring to their students' gender — instead of "boys and girls," they say "friends," or call children by name. Play is organized to prevent children from sorting themselves by gender. A gender-neutral pronoun, "hen," was introduced in 2012 and was swiftly absorbed into mainstream Swedish culture, something that, linguists say, has never happened in another country.

Exactly how this teaching method affects children is still unclear.

One of the few peer-reviewed efforts to examine the method's effects, published last year in the Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, concluded that some behaviors do go away when students attend what the study called "gender-neutral" preschools.

For instance, the children at these schools do not show a strong preference for playmates of the same gender, and are less likely to make assumptions based on stereotypes. Yet, the scientists found no difference at all in the children's' tendency to notice gender, suggesting that may be under a

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SUNDAY BUSINESS
The City of Facebook
The social media giant is building a brick-and-mortar community in California. Do people love technology companies enough to live in one? PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY
Rambling Into the Final Four
Loyola-Chicago, on a magical N.C.A.A. tournament run, upset Kansas State, 78-62, on Saturday. Michigan advanced, 58-54, over Florida State. PAGE 4

T MAGAZINE
The Design Issue
From a visit to an Austrian castle of 52 rooms built in the 12th century to the London apartment of an artist, the homes we pass through say so much.

SPECIAL SECTION
Money, Family and Trust
In a section on wealth, a bitter dispute in an Arkansas family over a matriarch's estate shows how, for some, it's not possible to have all three. PAGE 2

SUNDAY REVIEW
Maureen Dowd PAGE 9

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, morning clouds, showers, afternoon sunshine, milder, high 60. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 55. **Tomorrow,** sunshine and clouds, high 76. Weather map is on Page A26.

VOL. CLXVII ... No. 57,930 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 12, 2018 $3.00

'Bring back our girls,' the world demanded when Boko Haram kidnapped more than 200 Nigerian students in 2014. These are some of the lucky ones.

Rahab Ibrahim, one of the abducted schoolgirls, now attends a private university with other freed students.

The Girls Brought Back

By DIONNE SEARCEY
Photographs by ADAM FERGUSON

YOLA, Nigeria — The list had more than 200 names.

Martha James. Grace Paul. Rebecca Joseph. Mary Ali. Ruth Kolo. And so many others.

It took Nigerian officials agonizing weeks to publish the names of all the students Boko Haram kidnapped from a boarding school in the village of Chibok four years ago, on the night of April 14. Once they did, the numbers were staggering.

The list quickly circulated among the grieving parents searching for their daughters, some setting out on motorbikes to confront the Islamist militants who had stormed the school, loaded the girls into trucks and hauled them away at gunpoint.

Soldiers used the list, too, as they combed the countryside for the missing students, marching through the forest, dispatching jets and enlisting the help of foreign militaries.

Negotiators checked the names as they bartered with militants for the girls' release. And the list became an inspiration for protesters hundreds of miles away in the capital, who kept marching for the girls' return, day after day.

"As I began to read each name, my resolve strengthened," said Oby Ezekwesili, a former education minister who led protests. "They were not just statistics. These were real human beings."

Far away in America, France, South Ko-

Continued on Page A11

Risks Abound With Any Plan To Strike Syria

Diplomats and Military Fear Consequences

This article is by ***Peter Baker****,* ***Thomas Gibbons-Neff*** *and* ***Helene Cooper****.*

WASHINGTON — President Trump made clear on Wednesday that missiles "will be coming" at Syria at any moment, telegraphing a military operation as he has previously said he would never do. But the real suspense remained — how many missiles, for how long, at what targets and to what end.

The strike that Mr. Trump was preparing as retaliation for a suspected chemical attack carries all sorts of perils that worry military planners and diplomats alike. A fresh intervention in one of the most combustible battlegrounds on the planet — one already crawling with Syrian, Russian, Iranian, American, Turkish and Kurdish forces — could easily bring unintended consequences.

The more expansive the strike, officials and experts said, the greater the risk of accidental casualties that could deepen the conflict with Russia or Iran. Yet a more restrained operation might not inflict enough damage on the government of President Bashar al-Assad to change his calculations.

If Mr. Trump goes beyond missiles and authorizes the use of manned aircraft even from outside Syrian airspace, they face the dangers of a modern air defense system provided by Moscow. And Mr. Trump's warning, along with the delay in acting, has given the Syrians as well as their Russian and Iranian allies days to prepare.

Two Defense Department officials said the Syrian military had moved some of its key aircraft to a Russian base, assuming the Americans would be reluctant to strike there. Russian commanders have also moved some of their military forces in anticipation of American action.

"You want to hit military targets, military equipment as much as possible, because it's the Syrian military that's carrying out these atrocities," said Andrew J. Tabler, a Syria scholar at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "You want to make sure that you deliver a message and that you degrade their military capabilities."

At the same time, he added, "the

Continued on Page A8

HOW IT HAPPENED Details are being pieced together about a suspected chemical attack on a Syrian town. PAGE A8

RYAN WILL RETIRE, SCATTERING HOPES OF G.O.P. FOR 2018

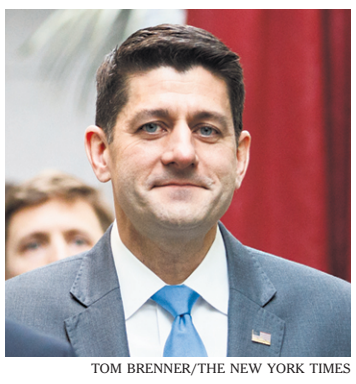
LOSS OF TOP FUND-RAISER

Announcement Imperils Republicans' Shaky Grip on House

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — Fifteen months after Republicans took full control of Washington, the man long seen as central to the party's future is abandoning one of the most powerful jobs in the capital, imperiling the G.O.P. grip on the House and signaling that the political convulsions of the Trump era are taking a grave toll on the right months before Election Day.

House Speaker Paul D. Ryan's retirement announcement on Wednesday blindsided many House Republican candidates and



TOM BRENNER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

House Speaker Paul D. Ryan

their campaign leaders who were counting on him to lead them to victory in the November midterm elections. His decision to leave Congress at 48 sent an undeniably pessimistic message to Republicans: that stable, steady leadership is lacking in their deeply divided party as they head into a campaign season defined by the whims of President Trump.

And for a White House bracing for a potential Democratic impeachment inquiry, the ominous impact of Mr. Ryan's retirement was unmistakable. He has made it more difficult to stave off Democrats' taking control of the House, where Republicans currently hold a 23-seat majority.

As many as 50 House Republican seats are at risk in competi-

Continued on Page A20

DIVISIONS Paul D. Ryan took the helm to heal a fractured G.O.P. He will leave with its fault lines clearly visible. PAGE A21

Headline a Tabloid Didn't Run Catches the Investigators' Eyes

This article is by ***Jim Rutenberg****,* ***Emily Steel*** *and* ***Mike McIntire****.*

President Trump has long had ties to the nation's major media players. But his connections with the country's largest tabloid publisher, American Media Inc., run deeper than most.

A former top executive of Mr. Trump's casino business sits on A.M.I.'s four-member board of directors, and an adviser joined the media company after the election. The company's chairman, David J. Pecker, is a close friend of the president's.

And in the Trump era, A.M.I.'s flagship tabloid, The National Enquirer, has taken a decidedly political turn, regularly devoting covers to the president's triumphs and travails with articles headlined "Trump's Plan for World Peace!" and "Proof! FBI Plot to Impeach Trump!"

Since the early stages of his campaign in 2015, Mr. Trump, his lawyer Michael D. Cohen and Mr. Pecker have strategized about protecting him and lashing out at his political enemies.

Now the tabloid company has been drawn into a sweeping federal investigation of Mr. Cohen's activities, including efforts to head off potentially damaging stories about Mr. Trump during his run for the White House. In one instance, The Enquirer bought but did not publish a story about an alleged extramarital relationship years earlier with the

Continued on Page A19

Behind the F.B.I. Raid

Investigators are looking into whether Michael D. Cohen tried to quash negative stories about his client, Donald J. Trump. Page A18.

Remember Those Friends You Deleted Long Ago? Facebook Does

BRIAN X. CHEN
TECH FIX

When I downloaded a copy of my Facebook data last week, I didn't expect to see much. My profile is sparse, I rarely post anything on the site, and I seldom click on ads. (I'm what some call a Facebook "lurker.")

But when I opened my file, it was like opening Pandora's box.

With a few clicks, I learned that about 500 advertisers — many that I had never heard of, like Bad Dad, a motorcycle parts store, and Space Jesus, an electronica band — had my contact information, which could include my email address, phone number and full name. Facebook also had my entire phone book, including the number to ring my apartment buzzer. The social network had even kept a permanent record of the roughly 100 people I had deleted from my friends list over the last 14 years, including my exes.

There was so much that Facebook knew about me — more than I wanted to know. But after looking at the totality of what the Silicon Valley company had obtained about yours truly, I decided to try to better understand how and why my data was collected and stored. I also sought to find out how much of my data could be removed.

How Facebook collects and treats personal information was central this week when Mark Zuckerberg, the company's chief executive, answered questions in Congress about data privacy and his responsibilities to users. During his testimony, Mr. Zuckerberg repeatedly said Facebook has a tool for downloading your data that "allows

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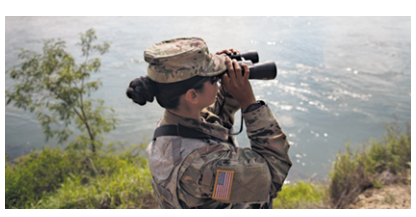
DAY TWO As Mark Zuckerberg again faced House questioning, calls for oversight of social media technology mounted. PAGE B4



NATIONAL A16-23

Extra Eyes and Ears
On Texas' border with Mexico, National Guard troops in combat fatigues try to to stand out and blend in. PAGE A16

'You Remember, Don't You?'
A woman who said Bill Cosby sexually assaulted her when she was 17 gave her account at his retrial. PAGE A23

INTERNATIONAL A4-15

Pompeo Makes the Rounds
Mike Pompeo undertakes a charm offensive before a Senate vote to become secretary of state. PAGE A10

Algerian Air Disaster Kills 257
The crash of a military transport plane about 15 miles southwest of the capital, Algiers, was the nation's deadliest. A handful of people survived. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A24-27

A Superintendent Steps Down
Camden's troubled schools are surging after a state takeover, but Paymon Rouhanifard is moving on. PAGE A25

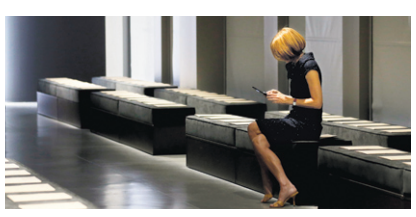
BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Taking a Dim View of Tariffs
While saying President Trump is right to highlight China's offenses, many trade experts say his planned tariffs would backfire. PAGE B7

Wrinkle in Nafta Talks
The Trump administration is pushing for a quick ending to the trade talks, but it has not ceded much ground. PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-12

Raid Widens Doping Scandal
A raid on the International Biathlon Union's headquarters serves to escalate the Russian doping scandal. PAGE B12



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Imagining a World After Anna
A rumor that Anna Wintour would leave Vogue took flight; Condé Nast denied it. But it's still buzzing. PAGE D1

Men of No Markdowns
At home with the couple who ran one of SoHo's most chic stores and offered blowtorched Eames chairs. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-8

A Harmonious Retirement
Many artists apply to spend their golden years at Casa Verdi, a Milan mansion filled with instruments. PAGE C1

Digging Into Her Family's Past
A book by the TV news host Alex Wagner blends memoir and journalism to trace her roots and see just who she is. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

Nicholas Kristof PAGE A31

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, partly sunny skies, warm, high 80. **Tonight,** periodic rain and drizzle, cooler, low 42. **Tomorrow,** periodic rain and drizzle, chillier, high 45. Weather map is on Page C8.

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TRUMP LAUNCHES STRIKES ON SYRIAN TARGETS

Lawyer's Files A Bigger Risk Than Mueller

This article is by ***Matt Apuzzo, Michael S. Schmidt, Maggie Haberman*** *and* ***Eileen Sullivan.***

WASHINGTON — President Trump's advisers have concluded that a wide-ranging corruption investigation into his personal lawyer poses a greater and more imminent threat to the president than even the special counsel's investigation, according to several people close to Mr. Trump.

As his lawyers went to court in New York on Friday to try to block prosecutors from reading files that were seized from the personal lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, this week, Mr. Trump found himself increasingly isolated in mounting a response. He continued to struggle to hire a new criminal lawyer, and some of his own aides were reluctant to advise him about a response for fear of being dragged into a criminal investigation themselves.

The raids on Mr. Cohen came as part of a monthslong federal investigation based in New York, court records show, and were sweeping in their breadth. In addition to searching his home, office and hotel room, F.B.I. agents seized material from Mr. Cohen's cellphones, tablet, laptop and safe deposit box, according to people briefed on the warrants. Prosecutors revealed in court documents that they had already secretly obtained many of Mr. Cohen's emails.

Mr. Trump called Mr. Cohen on Friday to "check in," according to two people briefed on the call. Depending on what else was discussed, the call could be problematic, as lawyers typically advise their clients against discussing investigations.

Mr. Cohen has publicly declared that he would defend the president to the end, but court documents show that prosecutors are building a significant case that could put pressure on him to cooperate and tell investigators what he knows.

The documents seized by prosecutors could shed light on the president's relationship with a lawyer who has helped navigate some of Mr. Trump's thorniest personal and business dilemmas. Mr. Cohen served for more than a decade as a trusted fixer and, during the campaign, helped tamp down brewing scandals about women who claimed to have carried on affairs with Mr. Trump.

Mr. Trump, Mr. Cohen and their teams were still scrambling on Friday to assess the damage from the raid early Monday morning. They remained unsure what had been taken, an uncertainty that has heightened the unease around Mr. Trump.

Although his lawyers had projected confidence in their dealings

Continued on Page A13

PARDONED President Trump said I. Lewis Libby Jr. was treated unfairly by a special prosecutor in a C.I.A. leak case. PAGE A11

F.B.I. VETERAN FAULTED Andrew G. McCabe, an ex-deputy director of the agency, was accused of being misleading. PAGE A11

TOM BRENNER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump addressed the nation about Syria from the White House on Friday night.

Britain and France Join the Mission to Punish Assad, the President Says

This article is by ***Helene Cooper, Thomas Gibbons-Neff*** *and* ***Ben Hubbard.***

WASHINGTON — The United States and European allies launched airstrikes on Friday night against Syrian research, storage and military targets as President Trump sought to punish President Bashar al-Assad for a suspected chemical attack near Damascus last weekend that killed more than 40 people.

Britain and France joined the United States in the strikes in a coordinated operation that was intended to show Western resolve in the face of what the leaders of the three nations called persistent violations of international law. Mr. Trump characterized it as the beginning of a sustained effort to force Mr. Assad to stop using banned weapons, but only ordered a limited, one-night operation that hit three targets.

"These are not the actions of a man," Mr. Trump said of last weekend's attack in a televised address from the White House Diplomatic Room. "They are crimes of a monster instead."

Shortly after the attack, the Syrian presidency posted on Twitter, "Honorable souls cannot be humiliated."

The strikes risked pulling the United States deeper into the complex, multisided war in Syria and raised the possibility of confrontation with Russia and Iran, both of which were supporting Mr. Assad with military forces. Within 90 minutes, the Russian ambassador to the United States warned of "consequences" for the allied attacks.

While Mr. Trump vowed as recently as last week to pull American troops out of Syria, he said he would remain committed to the goal of preventing further chemical attacks.

"We are prepared to sustain this response until the Syrian regime stops its use of prohibited chemical agents," he said.

But Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, who had urged caution in White House deliberations leading up to the strike, told reporters on Friday night that there were no more attacks planned unless Mr. Assad again uses gas on his own people.

"We confined it to the chemical weapons-type targets," Mr. Mattis said. "We were not out to expand this; we were very precise and proportionate. But at the same time, it was a heavy strike."

The assault was twice the size and hit two more targets than a strike that Mr. Trump ordered last year against a Syrian military airfield. Launched from warplanes and naval destroyers, the burst of missiles and bombs struck Syria shortly after 4 a.m. local time on Saturday.

They hit three of Mr. Assad's chemical weapons facilities: a scientific research center in greater Damascus that was used in the production of weapons, and two chemical weapons facilities west of Homs, one of which was used for the production of the nerve agent sarin and the other was part of a military command post, said Gen. Joseph F. Dunford Jr., the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of

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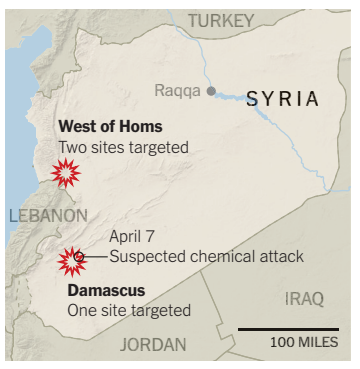

Source: Strike locations from the Pentagon. Control areas from Conflict Monitor by IHS Markit (as of April 9, 2018).

THE NEW YORK TIMES

The strikes were aimed at facilities tied to chemical weapons.

CONSEQUENCES Officials braced for retaliation beyond the battlefield by Russia or Iran, such as attacks on cybersystems. PAGE A9

THE WAR'S TOLL The United Nations and others have said it is virtually impossible to produce an accurate death count in Syria. PAGE A8

A Pregnancy, a Payment and a G.O.P. Resignation

By REBECCA R. RUIZ and JIM RUTENBERG

A major donor with close ties to the White House resigned on Friday as deputy finance chairman of the Republican National Committee after the revelation that he had agreed to pay $1.6 million to a former Playboy model who became pregnant during an affair.

The deal was arranged in the final months of 2017 by President Trump's personal lawyer and fixer, Michael D. Cohen.

Under the terms of the deal, the Republican donor, Elliott Broidy, would pay the woman in installments over the course of two years, and she would agree to stay silent about their relationship, two people with knowledge of the arrangement told The New York Times. The deal was first reported by The Wall Street Journal.

The agreement with Mr. Broidy is the latest instance to come to light of Mr. Cohen's involvement in efforts to suppress negative information. On Monday, as part of a wide-ranging federal inquiry into Mr. Cohen's activities, the Federal Bureau of Investigation raided the lawyer's Manhattan office and hotel room. The F.B.I. was seeking, among other things, business records, emails and documents relating to Mr. Cohen's role in paid confidentiality agreements during the presidential campaign with two other women, who said they had had sexual relationships

Continued on Page A13

Trump Lawyer Set Up Deal for Big Donor

CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bee Time
Three million bees, most for sale, were delivered to Bryant Park in Manhattan on Friday. Page A15.

Does France Protect Minors? #MeToo Sets Off Legal Furor

By ALISSA J. RUBIN and ELIAN PELTIER

PARIS — Having twice before run into an 11-year-old named Sarah in the neighborhood, the 28-year-old man chatted amiably with her and said he had something to show her at an apartment building nearby.

But once the elevator doors closed, she became afraid, she told the police and her lawyer, Carine Durrieu Diebolt. "He began to kiss her, his expression became nasty," the lawyer said.

In the elevator, on the top floor of his building and finally in his apartment, Sarah told the police and her lawyer, he pressed her to have sex — first fellatio, then intercourse. As soon as she could get away, she called her mother in tears.

The question of whether the girl was raped is now going to be tried in a court in Pontoise, a distant suburb of Paris. But the case has set off a national furor, giving urgency to efforts by the government of President Emmanuel Macron to change laws protecting minors in France.

Under French law, it is illegal for an adult to have sexual contact with a minor under the age of 15. But that is not considered rape; it is a lesser crime with a lesser penalty.

In most Western countries, under so-called statutory rape laws, sex with a minor under a certain age is considered rape because the minor is thought to be too young to consent. France has no such law; all rape judgments must be based on proof of either violence, force, surprise or lack of choice in a situation.

But in the #MeToo era, prevailing attitudes around gender equality and harassment are being challenged in this country, which has a famously libertine disposition toward sex. Mr. Macron has made clear that the position of women in society is a priority and among the many areas of French life he wants to transform. He has pointedly included more women in the ranks of power.

So his government is proposing a law that would make it easier for girls and boys under 15 to prove that they had been raped. Still, government officials have hesitated over this complex issue and are facing criticism that the proposed change does not do enough.

"The victim will still have to prove that she did not consent,"

Continued on Page A5

'Untruthful Slime Ball': Trump and G.O.P. Lash Back at Comey

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — James B. Comey's searing tell-all book was met with an aggressive counterattack on his character by President Trump and his allies on Friday, even as many Democrats struggled with conflicted feelings about the man they blame for Hillary Clinton's loss in the 2016 election.

In the book, Mr. Comey, whom Mr. Trump fired as F.B.I. director in May, describes the president as "unethical, and untethered to truth," and writes that he often wondered about Mr. Trump's refusal to acknowledge Russia's attempt to influence the election. "Maybe it was a contrarian streak," he wrote, "or maybe it was something more complicated that explained his constant equivocation and apologies for Vladimir Putin." He also compares the president to a Mafia boss.

Pointed details from the book, "A Higher Loyalty: Truth, Lies, and Leadership," leaked out Thursday night before its official release Tuesday. The response from the president was personal and vicious, even by Mr. Trump's standards.

In two early-morning tweets, the president called the former F.B.I. director an "untruthful slime ball" and a "proven LEAKER & LIAR." Mr. Trump

Continued on Page A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

On View: The Data of 346,000
An artist is under investigation for an exhibit intended to highlight China's lack of privacy protections. PAGE B2

Titan's Gift, With Conditions
A billionaire provoked an outcry after proposing that a school take his name in return for $25 million. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

More Hurt at Gaza-Israel Fence
Palestinians demonstrating against the Israeli blockade gathered by the thousands. Nearly 1,000 people were injured and one person was killed. PAGE A7

Police to Investigate Behavior
A sister of a Korean heiress known for "nut rage" on an airliner apologized for a water-hurling tantrum. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A15-17

Cuomo Closes Ranks
Expecting a snub, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo and his labor allies split from the Working Families Party. PAGE A15

ARTS C1-7

A Stepchild of Cinderella
Massenet's "Cendrillon," a take on the fairy tale, is a delightful Met production, writes Zachary Woolfe. PAGE C1

3 Years Later, a Musical Rises
"Be More Chill" played a month in New Jersey in 2015, and little happened. Then the internet got busy. PAGE C1

NATIONAL A10-14

The Times in El Segundo?
Dr. Patrick Soon-Shiong, a billionaire who plans to take over The Los Angeles Times, wants to move the paper's newsroom to the suburbs. PAGE A10

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

N.B.A. Title Chase Begins
As the first round of the postseason gets underway, the debate returns about equating success solely with championships. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Bret Stephens PAGE A19

THIS WEEKEND

Being a Black Woman
The Magazine asks: Why are black mothers and babies in the United States dying at more than double the rate of white mothers and babies?

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, rather cloudy, windy, cool, a few showers, high 50. **Tonight,** cloudy, breezy, colder, low 38. **Tomorrow,** cool, clouds and sunshine, high 53. Weather map, Page B14.

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CUBA PREPARES FOR GENERATION WITH NO CASTRO

END OF ISLAND DYNASTY

Party Loyalist Is the Only Candidate Put Forth to Follow Raúl Castro

By AZAM AHMED

HAVANA — Raúl Castro, who took over from his brother Fidel 12 years ago and led Cuba through some of its biggest changes in decades, is expected to step down on Thursday and hand power to someone outside the Castro dynasty for the first time since the Cuban revolution more than half a century ago.

During his two terms as president, Mr. Castro, 86, opened up his Communist country to a small but vital private sector and, perhaps most significantly, diplomatic relations with the United States. It was a notable departure from his brother's agenda, yet it was possible only because he, too, was a Castro.

His handpicked successor, Miguel Díaz-Canel Bermúdez, 57, is a Communist Party loyalist who was born a year after Fidel Castro claimed power in Cuba. His rise ushers in a new generation of Cubans whose only firsthand experience with the revolution has been its aftermath — the early era of plenty, the periods of economic privation after the demise of the Soviet Union, and the fleeting détente in recent years with the United States, its Cold War foe.

Officials started gathering here in Havana on Wednesday morning and put forward Mr. Díaz-Canel as the sole candidate to replace Mr. Castro, all but assuring his selection by the Communist

Continued on Page A6

Puerto Rico, Entire Island, Loses Power

Millions in Dark After Excavator Accident

By JAMES WAGNER and FRANCES ROBLES

SAN JUAN, P.R. — After seven months and close to $2.5 billion, almost everybody in hurricane-ravaged Puerto Rico had their lights back on — until a freakish accident on Wednesday plunged the entire island once again into darkness.

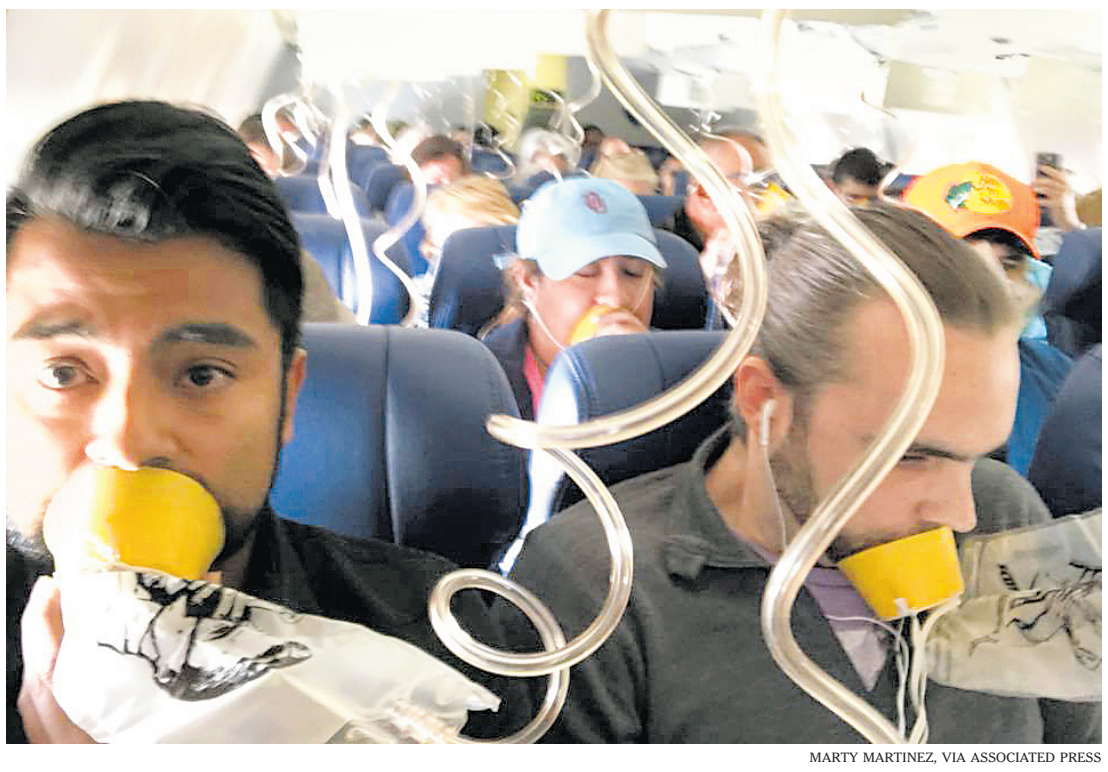
The Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority had boasted Wednesday morning that less than 3 percent of its customers remained without power, substantially concluding what some estimates called the biggest power failure in United States history. The island of 3.4 million residents was open for business again, government officials said.

It was only a few hours later that an excavator working near a fallen 140-foot transmission tower on the southern part of the island got too close to a high-voltage line. The resulting electrical fault knocked out power to nearly every home and business across Puerto Rico, authorities said, a catastrophic failure that could take up to 36 hours to restore.

It was the first time since Hurricane Maria left the island's power grid in ruins on Sept. 20 that nearly all of the electric company's 1.5 million customers found themselves in the dark, although another failure less than a week ago had cut power to 870,000 users. Only small pockets generated by microgrids were spared from the latest power loss.

Continued on Page A20

DISPARITY A stadium in San Juan had power in time for a major league baseball game. PAGE B9

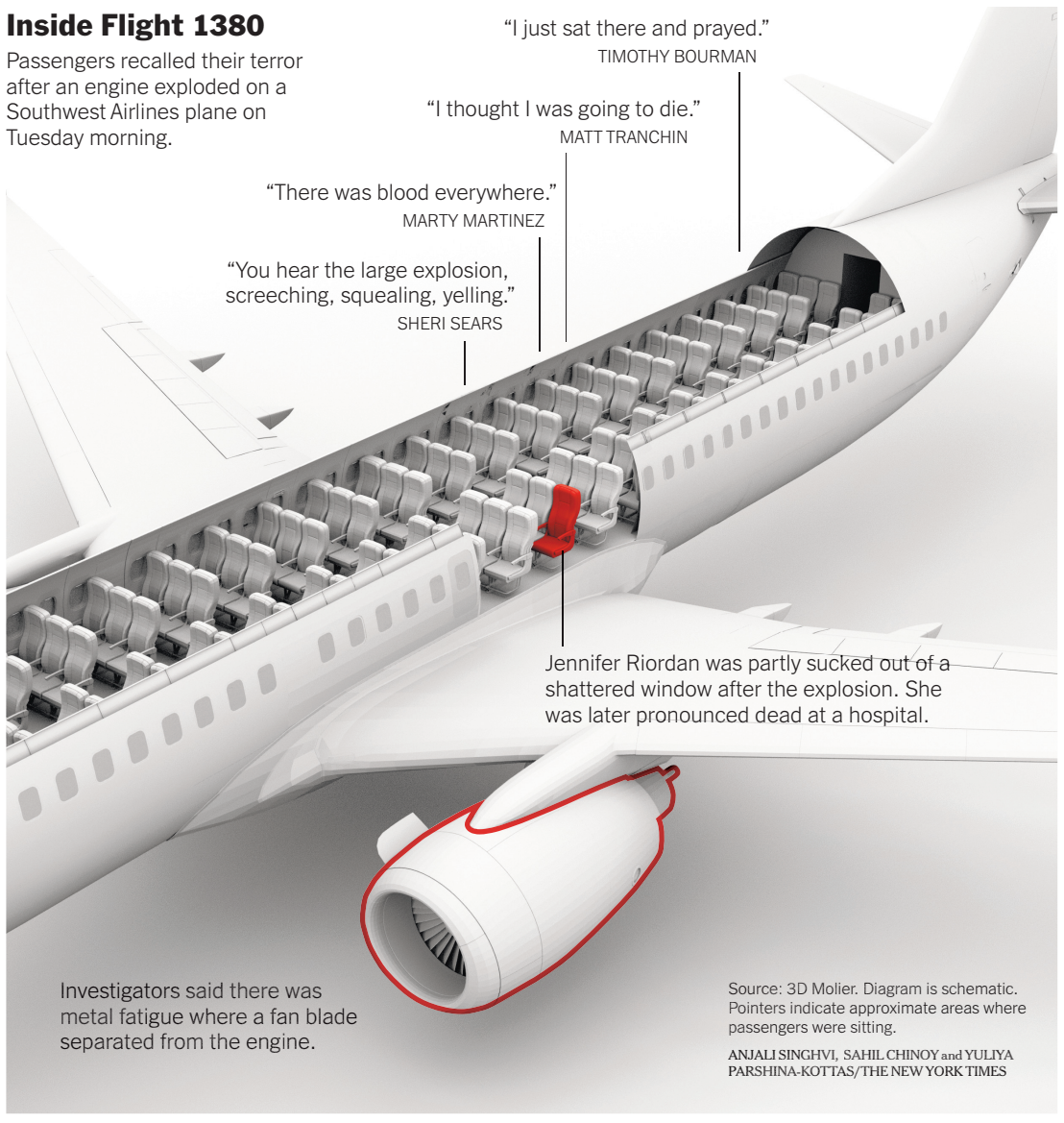


MARTY MARTINEZ, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Marty Martinez, left, with other passengers aboard Southwest Airlines Flight 1380 on Tuesday.

Inside Flight 1380

Passengers recalled their terror after an engine exploded on a Southwest Airlines plane on Tuesday morning.



Source: 3D Molier. Diagram is schematic. Pointers indicate approximate areas where passengers were sitting.

ANJALI SINGHVI, SAHIL CHINOY and YULIYA PARSHINA-KOTTAS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

PRESIDENT WARNS HE COULD DEPART PYONGYANG TALKS

PLAN TO AVERT FAILURE

Says He Would Walk Out of Meeting With Kim if It's 'Not Fruitful'

By MARK LANDLER

PALM BEACH, Fla. — President Trump declared on Wednesday that he would scrap a planned summit meeting with North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un, or even walk out of the session while it was underway, if his diplomatic overture was not heading toward success.

Mr. Trump continued to express optimism — verging on eagerness — about sitting down with the North's reclusive leader. But as the momentum for a meeting grows in both Washington and East Asia, the president acknowledged that it was a perilous undertaking that could still end in failure.

Trump

"If I think that it's a meeting that is not going to be fruitful, we're not going to go," Mr. Trump said at a news conference at his Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida, standing alongside Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan. "If the meeting, when I'm there, is not fruitful, I will respectfully leave the meeting."

Mr. Trump's words reinforced his decision to send the C.I.A. director, Mike Pompeo, on a secret trip to meet Mr. Kim. Mr. Pompeo, nominated by Mr. Trump last month as secretary of state, played advance man for the president in Pyongyang, laying the groundwork for the planned meeting.

Among the potential hurdles for the gathering, Mr. Trump said, were three American citizens detained in North Korea. The president said that the United States was "fighting very diligently" to obtain their release and that there was a chance of positive developments.

Still, Mr. Trump conspicuously declined to make their release a precondition of his meeting with Mr. Kim. He also did not demand any new concessions from North Korea beforehand, underscoring how determined he is to make history by convening with the leader of a country he threatened with war a few months ago.

In preparing for the planned event, Mr. Trump's decision to dispatch his C.I.A. director reflected the president's trust in and comfort with Mr. Pompeo, as well as how diplomats were sidelined in

Continued on Page A10

OVERTURE South Korea said it had been in talks about an end to the Korean War. PAGE A10

OBSTACLE Kim Jong-un's fleet of Soviet-era planes may limit options for a summit site. PAGE A11

Farmers' Anger at Trump Tariffs Puts G.O.P. at Risk in Midterms

By JONATHAN MARTIN

CASSELTON, N.D. — Here in the largest soybean-producing county in the country, a snowy winter has left North Dakota farmers like Robert Runck with time on their hands before spring planting — time they have spent stewing over how much they stand to lose if President Trump starts a trade war with China.

"If he doesn't understand what he's doing to the nation by doing what he's doing, he's going to be a one-term president, plain and simple," said Mr. Runck, a fourth-generation farmer who voted for Mr. Trump. Pausing outside the post office in this town of 2,300, Mr. Runck said the repercussions could be more immediate for Representative Kevin Cramer, a Republican whose bid against Senator Heidi Heitkamp, a Democrat, has been complicated by the proposed tariffs.

"If it doesn't get resolved by election time, I would imagine it would cost Kevin Cramer some votes," he said.

Stern warnings are coming from all over the Midwest about the political peril for Republicans in Mr. Trump's recent course of action, in which the tariffs he slapped on foreign competitors invited retaliatory tariffs on American agriculture. Soybeans are America's second-largest export to China, and that country's proposed 25 percent duties on the crop would hit hardest in states like Iowa, Kansas and Minnesota

Continued on Page A17

Quiet Flight, Then a Blast and a Sudden Plunge

People Recount Terror on a Stricken Jet

By JACK HEALY and CHRISTINE HAUSER

Tens of thousands of feet above the earth, the passengers clasped hands with strangers, prayed together and got ready to die.

Moments earlier on Tuesday morning, they had been playing Sudoku, catching up on their reading for church and curling up together to watch funny movies as their Southwest Airlines flight climbed above 30,000 feet on its way from New York to Dallas. It was around 11 a.m., 20 minutes into a four-hour flight, as they skimmed above the clouds and waited for flight attendants to hand out drinks.

Then, with a deafening roar, Flight 1380 became a midair scene of chaos and terror for the 144 passengers and five crew members on board.

With no apparent warning, the plane's left engine exploded after one of its fan blades broke off. A gust of shrapnel blew out a window, partly sucking one passenger in Row 14 headfirst into the sky. Oxygen masks dropped down and the plane plunged thousands of feet in a minute.

Over the next 20 minutes, the depressurized cabin air swirled with wind and debris, panic and prayers as the pilot rerouted the plane to Philadelphia for an emergency landing.

"I grabbed my wife's hand and I started praying: 'Dear Jesus, send some angels. Just save us from this,'" said Timothy C. Bourman, 36, a pastor from Woodside, N.Y., who was on his way to a church retreat in San Antonio. "I thought we were goners."

In the cockpit, Tammie Jo Shults, a veteran Navy pilot, flew on with one engine, displaying what one passenger would later call "nerves of steel."

Ms. Shults was well trained to handle stress in the cockpit. She had flown supersonic F/A-18 Hornets as one of the Navy's first fe-

Continued on Page A19

UNSHAKABLE The pilot who landed the crippled jet was said to have "nerves of steel." PAGE A19

TASNEEM ALSULTAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Places. Ready. Action!

A Riyadh theater held a screening on Wednesday as Saudi Arabia ended a three-decade ban on public movie theaters. Page A4.

Fury in Germany as Rap Duo With Anti-Jewish Lyrics Gets Award

By MELISSA EDDY and ANDREW CURRY

BERLIN — In Germany's hugely popular hip-hop music scene, one of the biggest albums of the past year was from two trash-talking rappers who rhymed about their prowess in bed and in the weight room and about violently dominating their opponents.

The album has racked up sales, but has also attracted a different sort of attention. In one song, the pair boasts about how their bodies are "more defined than Auschwitz prisoners." In another, they vow to "make another Holocaust, show up with a Molotov."

Widespread condemnation turned into an uproar since the rappers, Farid Bang and Kollegah, won the Echo award for best hip-hop album at Germany's equivalent of the Grammys on April 12.

The lead singer of the country's pre-eminent punk rock band objected to the award from the same stage that night. "In principle I consider provocation is a good thing," Campino, the lead singer of Die Toten Hosen, said. "But we need to differentiate between art as a stylistic device, or a form of provocation that only serves to destroy and ostracize others." Other winners have said they are returning their prizes.

Posting on Twitter in German, the foreign minister, Heiko Maas, wrote: "Anti-Semitic provocations do not deserve awards, they are simply disgusting." He also noted the unfortunate timing of the ceremony. April 12 is a day of worldwide solemnity. "That such a prize was handed out on Holocaust Remembrance Day is

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INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Macron Feels French Wrath
Less than a year into Emmanuel Macron's term, there's a pervasive sense that a president is pushing too far, too fast in too many areas. PAGE A7

Collateral Damage on the Web
Russia's attempts to block the messaging app Telegram knocked out sites of many small businesses. PAGE A9

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Can Training Remove Biases?
Researchers are divided on the effectiveness of the anti-bias training Starbucks will give its employees. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A14-20

Cosby Defender Testifies
Bill Cosby's star witness said that the woman who accused Mr. Cosby of assault told her it would be easy to frame a celebrity to get money. PAGE A20

Recovering the Unrecoverable
Civilian volunteers, with the help of digitized records and DNA testing, tracked down the final resting place of a Marine lost on Okinawa. PAGE A14

'She Was Just Like You and Me'
Barbara Bush was remembered in Houston a day after her death as an approachable former first lady out for a stroll in the sunshine. PAGE A18

NEW YORK A21-23

A Curb to Presidential Pardons
New York's attorney general is moving to change a law on whether some cases can be prosecuted twice. PAGE A22

Nanny Convicted in Killings
Yoselyn Ortega's lawyers had claimed she was too mentally ill to understand her actions in 2012. PAGE A21

THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Her Body, Their Dress Code
School officials in Florida told a T-shirt-wearing teenager to bandage her nipples, prompting a silent, and braless, protest by 30 fellow students. PAGE D1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-13

Shun Passing, Risk Early Exit
The Portland Trail Blazers' one-on-one style of play is hindering them as defenses become less forgiving in the N.B.A. playoffs. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Christopher Buckley PAGE A27

ARTS C1-8

The Met's Scholarly Showman
Max Hollein, the new director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has an individualistic streak that may disrupt the museum's traditional ways. PAGE C1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy, periodic rain, cooler, high 57. **Tonight,** clearing, low 50. **Tomorrow,** partial sunshine, becoming milder during the afternoon, high 68. Weather map is on Page B12.

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LEADERS OF TWO KOREAS MEET

Talks to Address Kim's Nuclear Program

By DAVID E. SANGER and CHOE SANG-HUN

SEOUL, South Korea — Kim Jong-un on Friday became the first North Korean leader to set foot in South Korean-controlled territory, starting a historic summit meeting with the South's president that will test Mr. Kim's willingness to bargain away his nuclear weapons.

Mr. Kim's decision to cross into the world's most heavily armed border zone, a prospect that seemed unthinkable just a few months ago, was broadcast live in South Korea, where a riveted nation sought to discern the intentions of the North's 34-year-old leader.

For South Korea's president, Moon Jae-in, who has placed himself at the center of diplomacy to end the nuclear standoff with the North, the meeting presents a formidable task: finding a middle ground between a cunning enemy to the North and an impulsive ally in the United States.

The historic encounter at the Peace House, a conference building on the South Korean side of the border village of Panmunjom, could set the tone for an even more critical meeting planned between Mr. Kim and President Trump.

On Friday morning, Mr. Kim emerged from a North Korean administrative building inside Panmunjom, and walked toward the border line, where Mr. Moon was waiting. The two leaders smiled and shook hands across a concrete slab that marks the border bisecting Panmunjom.

Then, Mr. Kim stepped across the border.

After the two leaders posed for photos, they crossed briefly into

Continued on Page A9

KOREA SUMMIT PRESS POOL

President Moon Jae-in of South Korea, left, welcomed Kim Jong-un of the North for a summit meeting on Friday morning as Mr. Kim became the first North Korean leader to cross the border.

Jury Finds Cosby Guilty In a Sexual Assault Case Seen as a Turning Point

Comic's Sick Joke: Warm TV Dad

WESLEY MORRIS
CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

If a sexual predator wanted to come up with a smoke screen for his ghastly conquests, he couldn't do better than Cliff Huxtable.

Cliff was affable, patient, wise, and where Mrs. Huxtable (Phylicia Rashad) was concerned, justly deferential. His wit was quick, his sweaters roomy and kaleidoscopic. He could be romantic. Cliff should have been the envy of any father ever to appear on a sitcom. He was vertiginously dadly. Cliff is the reason for the cognitive dissonance we've been experiencing for the last three or four years. He seemed inseparable from the man who portrayed him.

Bill Cosby was good at his job. That sums up why the guilty verdict Thursday is depressing — depressing not for its shock but for the work the verdict now requires me to do. The discarding and condemning and reconsidering — of the shows, the albums, the movies. But I don't need to watch them anymore. It's too late. I've *seen* them. I've *absorbed* them. I've lived them. I'm a black man, so I *am* them.

If Judge Steven T. O'Neill sent Mr. Cosby away for the rest of his life, that sentence couldn't undo what he's convicted of having done to Andrea Constand, his accuser in two trials. It also can't undo what he once did for me, which was to make me believe in myself. This is foundational, elemental, cellular stuff. There is no surgical procedure to rid me of it. Anyway, I don't want to lose that belief, just the man who ennobled me to possess it in the first place. Maybe we're all compartmentalizing.

"America's Dad" is what we called Bill Cosby. And we called him that because, well, what a revolutionary way to put it. Through him, we were thumbing our noses at the long, dreary history for black men in America by elevating this one to a paternal Olympus. In the 1980s he made the black American family seem "just like us." (That's how a recent episode of the reborn, reactionary "Roseanne" snidely described nonwhite families currently on television.)

The Huxtables laughed and bonded and debated and lip-synced. They were glamorous and simple and extraordinarily

Continued on Page A19

Advance for Women Seeking Justice

By GRAHAM BOWLEY and JON HURDLE

NORRISTOWN, Pa. — A jury found Bill Cosby guilty on Thursday of drugging and sexually assaulting a woman at his home 14 years ago, capping the downfall of one of the world's best-known entertainers, and offering a measure of satisfaction to the dozens of women who for years have accused him of similar assaults.

On the second day of its deliberations at the Montgomery County Courthouse, the jury convicted Mr. Cosby of three counts of aggravated indecent assault against Andrea Constand, at the time a Temple University employee.

Mr. Cosby's case was the first high-profile sexual assault trial to unfold in the aftermath of the #MeToo movement, and many considered the verdict a watershed moment, one that reflected that the accounts of female accusers may now be afforded greater weight and credibility by jurors.

After the verdict on Thursday, the Montgomery County district attorney, Kevin R. Steele, asked that Mr. Cosby's $1 million bail be revoked, suggesting he had been convicted of a serious crime, owned a plane and could flee, prompting an angry outburst from Mr. Cosby, who shouted, "He doesn't have a plane, you asshole."

"Enough of that," Judge Steven T. O'Neill said. He did not view Mr. Cosby as a flight risk, he said, adding that he could be released on bail but that he would have to remain in his nearby home. The judge did not set a date to sentence Mr. Cosby on the three counts, all felonies and each punishable by up to 10 years in state prison.

The National Organization for Women called the verdict a "notice to sexual predators every-

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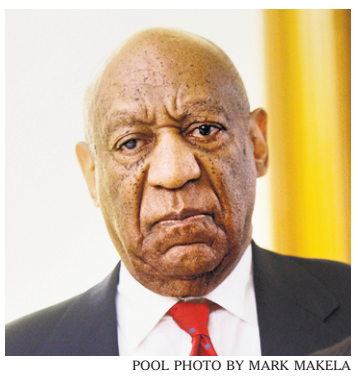

POOL PHOTO BY MARK MAKELA

Bill Cosby after his guilty verdict was announced.

Isolated Office Hid V.A. Pick From Scrutiny

This article is by ***Michael D. Shear****,* ***Nicholas Fandos*** *and* ***Sheri Fink****.*

WASHINGTON — To senior White House aides serving the last three presidents, Dr. Ronny L. Jackson was the war-tested doctor who served in Iraq, helped them cope with their high-pressure jobs and ran his medical staff with the rigor befitting his rank of rear admiral in the Navy.

But inside the White House medical unit, a military-run office with a few dozen doctors and nurses, Dr. Jackson was viewed as a bully and someone who kept sloppy medical records, drank too much and loosely dispensed strong drugs to curry favor with the powerful politicians and political aides he admired. Three current and former colleagues said that Dr. Jackson was sometimes intoxicated during overseas trips and that staff members were often ordered to leave a bottle of rum and a Diet Coke in his hotel room.

On Thursday, Dr. Jackson withdrew from consideration to join President Trump's cabinet as the secretary of Veterans Affairs after those and other allegations about his behavior cascaded into public view. Dr. Jackson, Mr. Trump and numerous White House officials dating to the Obama presidency insisted none of it was true.

"These false allegations have become a distraction for this president," Dr. Jackson said.

Dr. Robert G. Darling, a former White House physician to President Bill Clinton and a retired

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For Many, Life on Team Trump Ends in a Crash

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — Another day, another casualty. Or two.

By the time the sun set Thursday, Dr. Ronny L. Jackson was a failed cabinet nominee whose life had been picked apart for public consumption, and Michael D. Cohen was back in court facing possible criminal prosecution.

NEWS ANALYSIS

A ride on President Trump's bullet train can be thrilling, but it is often a brutal journey that leaves some bloodied by the side of the tracks. In only 15 months in office, Mr. Trump has burned through a record number of advisers and associates who have found themselves in legal, professional or personal trouble, or even all three.

Half of the top aides who came to the White House with Mr. Trump in 2017 are gone, many under painful circumstances, either because they fell out with the boss or came under the harsh scrutiny that comes with him. Some of the president's longest-serving aides have left with bruises. His son and son-in-law have hired lawyers and been interrogated. Even his lawyers now have lawyers as they face inquiries of their own.

Proximity to Mr. Trump has been a crushing experience for

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E.P.A. CHIEF "I have nothing to hide," Scott Pruitt said under questioning by House members on ethical lapses. PAGE A16

VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Spring Gallery Guide
A detail of a David Hockney work, at Pace Gallery in Chelsea, one of 54 shows featured. Page C13.

Once a Leader of a Revolution, Now the Target of an Uprising

By FRANCES ROBLES

MASAYA, Nicaragua — The revolutionary, many Nicaraguans say, is suddenly facing a revolution of his own.

The insurrection that led to the rise of President Daniel Ortega and his Cold War struggles with the United States began here in Masaya 40 years ago. Mr. Ortega's brother died fighting in this town, and an old national guard post still stands as a landmark to the uprising that brought their leftist guerrilla movement to power.

But in recent days, the guard post has been turned into a charred, vandalized mess. Protesters have even taken a famous war slogan and spray-painted it on the walls in a mocking warning to Mr. Ortega. "Let your momma surrender," it says.

Nicaragua is undergoing its biggest uprising since the civil war ended in 1990.

Faced with a presidential couple that controls virtually every branch of government and the news media, young people across the nation are carrying out their own version of an Arab Spring. Armed with cellphones and social media skills, they are challenging the government in a way that has astonished residents who lived through Mr. Ortega's revolution in the 1970s, the civil war in the '80s and the 30 years since then.

Demonstrators — many of them members of Mr. Ortega's own party — have burned vehicles and barricaded intersections. Thousands have swarmed streets around the country, condemning government censorship and the killing of protesters. After fighting

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NATIONAL 14-20

Online Sleuthing Led to Arrest
Investigators seeking the Golden State Killer plugged DNA from crimes into an online genealogy database. PAGE A19

Walkouts by Teachers Spread
Schools closed in Arizona and Colorado as teachers there were the latest to demand more school funding. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Modi and Xi to Meet Today
The leader of India is expected to seek assurances from the Chinese president that could help him as he begins to campaign for next year's vote. PAGE A4

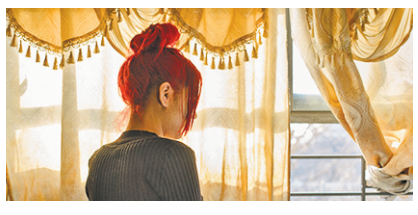
Caravan's Big Obstacle: Trump
Hundreds of Central American migrants are in Tijuana and hope to walk together to the border Sunday. PAGE A12

OBITUARIES A24-25

From Cab to Stage
Before her acting career, Gertrude Jeannette was one of the first women to drive a cab. She was 103. PAGE A24

NEW YORK A21-23

Menendez Is Admonished
A Senate panel chastised Senator Robert Menendez for accepting gifts from a doctor. PAGE A21



Strip Searches on Jail Visits
The practice is prohibited, but dozens of lawsuits allege a pattern of humiliating searches of visitors. PAGE A22

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Cigarette-Free Children's Films
Disney films kicked the smoking habit in 2015, but what happens when 20th Century Fox, with its edgier fare, joins the fold? Activists intend to keep the heat on. PAGE B1

An Overheating Economy?
Many Americans are just beginning to climb out of the Great Recession, yet policymakers are debating whether the economy is getting too boisterous and needs to be reined in. PAGE B2

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Paul Krugman PAGE A27

SPORTSFRIDAY B9-15

N.F.L. Draft: The Top 3
The Browns picked quarterback Baker Mayfield, below. The Giants took running back Saquon Barkley, and the Jets chose quarterback Sam Darnold. PAGE B9

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds and sunshine, very warm, high 89. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, evening thunderstorms, low 63. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sunshine, high 73. Weather map, Page B16.

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ANDRES KUDACKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

No Shirt. No Shoes. No Problem.
Rockefeller Park in Lower Manhattan was a prime spot for sunbathing on Thursday as temperatures hit an unspringlike 92 degrees.

On Attack for Trump, Giuliani May Aggravate Legal and Political Peril

NEWS ANALYSIS

President Loses Grip on His Own Story

By PETER BAKER

As of last week, the American public had been told that President Trump's doctor had certified he would be "the healthiest individual ever elected." That the president was happy with his legal team and would not hire a new lawyer. That he did not know about the $130,000 payment to a former pornographic film actress who claimed to have had an affair with him.

As of this week, it turns out that the statement about his health was not actually from the doctor but had been dictated by Mr. Trump himself. That the president has split with the leaders of his legal team and hired the same new lawyer he had denied recruiting. And that Mr. Trump himself had financed the $130,000 payment intended to buy the silence of the actress known as Stormy Daniels.

Even in the current political environment that some derisively call the post-truth world, the past few days have offered a head-spinning series of revelations that conflicted with the version of events Mr. Trump and his associates had previously provided. Whether called lies or misstatements, Mr. Trump's history of falsehoods has been extensively documented, but the string of factual distortions that came to light this week could come back to haunt him.

The shifting statements also illustrated starkly why some of the president's lawyers have urged him not to submit to an interview by the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, who is investigating whether Mr. Trump's campaign cooperated with Russia during the 2016 presidential election and whether the president obstructed justice to thwart that investigation. Those lawyers have said Mr. Mueller is setting a perjury trap for Mr. Trump. What they do not say publicly is that they worry the president would be unable to avoid contradicting himself.

Mr. Trump has for years presented selective and creative accounts of his life and businesses — "truthful hyperbole," as he put it in his first book — and at times this habit has gotten him in trouble. Even after being elected president, he paid $25 million to settle lawsuits accusing him of fraud for hoodwinking students who signed up for his now defunct, for-profit Trump University.

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Firestorm at White House After a Revelation

This article is by ***Michael D. Shear****,* ***Matt Apuzzo*** *and* ***Maggie Haberman****.*

WASHINGTON — President Trump's new legal team made a chaotic debut as Rudolph W. Giuliani, who was tapped recently to be one of the president's lawyers, potentially exposed his client to legal and political danger by publicly revealing the existence of secret payments to Michael D. Cohen, the president's personal lawyer.

After he moved into the White House, the president began paying Mr. Cohen $35,000 a month, Mr. Giuliani said, in part as reimbursement for a $130,000 payment that Mr. Cohen made to a pornographic film actress to keep her from going public about an affair she said she had with Mr. Trump. The president confirmed he made payments to Mr. Cohen in a series of Twitter posts on Thursday morning.

DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rudolph W. Giuliani with Donald J. Trump, then a candidate for president, in 2016.

The explosive revelation, which Mr. Giuliani said was intended to prove that Mr. Trump and Mr. Cohen violated no campaign finance laws, prompted frustration and disbelief among the president's other legal and political advisers, some of whom said they feared the gambit could backfire.

Legally, the failure to disclose the payments could be a violation of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, which requires that federal officials, including Mr. Trump, report any liabilities of more than $10,000 during the preceding year. Mr. Trump's last disclosure report, which he signed and filed in June, mentions no debt to Mr. Cohen.

Politically, Mr. Giuliani's remarks — made in television appearances and interviews — raised questions about the president's truthfulness and created a

Continued on Page A12

U.S. Considers Reducing Force In South Korea

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — President Trump has ordered the Pentagon to prepare options for drawing down American troops in South Korea, just weeks before he holds a landmark meeting with North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un, according to several people briefed on the deliberations.

Reduced troop levels are not intended to be a bargaining chip in Mr. Trump's talks with Mr. Kim about his weapons program, these officials said. But they acknowledged that a peace treaty between the two Koreas could diminish the need for the 28,500 soldiers currently stationed on the peninsula.

Mr. Trump has been determined to withdraw troops from South Korea, arguing that the United States is not adequately compensated for the cost of maintaining them, that the troops are mainly protecting Japan and that decades of American military presence had not prevented the North from becoming a nuclear threat.

His latest push coincides with tense negotiations with South Korea over how to share the cost of the military force. Under an agreement that expires at the end of 2018, South Korea pays about half the cost of the upkeep of the soldiers — more than $800 million a year. The Trump administration is demanding that it pay for virtually the entire cost of the military presence.

The directive has rattled officials at the Pentagon and other agencies, who worry that any reduction could weaken the American alliance with South Korea and raise fears in neighboring Japan at the very moment that the United States is embarking on a risky nuclear negotiation with the North.

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Green Berets Quietly Aid War on Yemen Rebels

Commandos' Secretive Assistance to Saudis Is an Escalation

This article is by ***Helene Cooper****,* ***Thomas Gibbons-Neff*** *and* ***Eric Schmitt****.*

WASHINGTON — For years, the American military has sought to distance itself from a brutal civil war in Yemen, where Saudi-led forces are battling rebels who pose no direct threat to the United States.

But late last year, a team of about a dozen Green Berets arrived on Saudi Arabia's border with Yemen, in a continuing escalation of America's secret wars.

With virtually no public discussion or debate, the Army commandos are helping locate and destroy caches of ballistic missiles and launch sites that Houthi rebels in Yemen are using to attack Riyadh and other Saudi cities.

Details of the Green Beret operation, which has not been previously disclosed, were provided to The New York Times by United States officials and European diplomats.

They appear to contradict Pentagon statements that American military assistance to the Saudi-led campaign in Yemen is limited to aircraft refueling, logistics and general intelligence sharing.

There is no indication that the American commandos have crossed into Yemen as part of the secretive mission.

But sending American ground forces to the border is a marked escalation of Western assistance to target Houthi fighters who are deep in Yemen.

Senator Tim Kaine, Democrat of Virginia and a member of the Armed Services Committee, on Thursday called the Green Berets mission a "purposeful blurring of lines between train and equip missions and combat." He cited the report in The Times and called for a new congressional vote on the authorization for the use of military force — a war powers legislation used by three successive presidents in conflict zones around the world.

Beyond its years as a base for Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Yemen has been convulsed by civil strife since 2014, when the Shiite Muslim rebels from the country's north stormed the capital, Sana. The Houthis, who are aligned with Iran, ousted the government of President Abdu Rabbu Mansour Hadi, the Americans' main coun-

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NADIA SHIRA COHEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gains of Arab Spring in Jeopardy
A Tunis fish market. Economic problems are threatening Tunisia's hard-won democracy. Page A10.

To Curb Overdoses, New York Plans to Try Safe Injection Sites

By WILLIAM NEUMAN

Mayor Bill de Blasio is championing a plan that would make New York City a pioneer in creating supervised injection sites for illegal drug users, part of a novel but contentious strategy to combat the epidemic of fatal overdoses caused by the use of heroin and other opioids.

Safe injection sites have been considered successful in cities in Canada and Europe, but do not yet exist in the United States. Leaders in San Francisco, Philadelphia and Seattle have declared their intention to create supervised sites, although none have yet done so because of daunting obstacles. Among them: The sites would seem to violate federal law.

The endorsement of the strategy by New York, the largest city in the country, which last year saw 1,441 overdose deaths, may give the movement behind it impetus.

For the sites to open, New York City must still clear some significant hurdles. At minimum, the plan calls for the support of several district attorneys, and, more critically, the State Department of Health, which answers to Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo. The city sent a letter on Thursday to the state, asserting its intention to open four

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Tariffs' Impact Hits Home in Key House Race in Boeing Country

By NATALIE KITROEFF

AUBURN, Wash. — President Trump likes to keep negotiating partners on their toes. But workers like Charles Cesmat have been just as unnerved by the president's recent moves on trade.

Mr. Cesmat is a parts manager at a Boeing plant in Renton, Wash., just south of Seattle. One of every four planes Boeing assembles is sent to China. Each time Mr. Trump attacks Beijing on Twitter, or announces a new set of tariffs, Mr. Cesmat winces.

"I'm concerned a potential trade war could affect work for our members and work for me," Mr. Cesmat said. "Thousands of people's jobs rely on a working relationship with China."

Nowhere is that truer than in Washington, which sent $18 billion in goods to China last year, more than any other state. A congressional race here has a become crucial test of whether Mr. Trump's upending of the norms of international trade will come at the expense of Republican candidates.

The spat with Beijing has rattled the state's juggernaut aerospace industry, as workers and business owners reckon with the possibility that their livelihood could be at risk. Boeing shares economic dominance with giants like Amazon and Microsoft, but trade still supports 40 percent of all jobs in Washington, according

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NATIONAL A11-16

Speaker Relents on Chaplain
The Rev. Patrick J. Conroy was restored as House chaplain after he rescinded his forced resignation. PAGE A14

Inspiration in Cold Case
Genealogy websites, used in the "Golden State Killer" investigation, played a role in a New Hampshire case. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Mummy Stirs Nostalgia in Iran
Whether or not the remains discovered last month were those of the Shah of Iran, Reza Shah Pahlavi, they drew yearnings for a strong leader. PAGE A4

Large Dose of Poison Detected
A sizable amount of nerve agent was found to have been used in an attack in Britain on an ex-Russian spy. PAGE A5

NEW YORK A17-21

Adding to Ferry Fleet
As ridership jumps, Mayor Bill de Blasio pledged $300 million to order more and bigger boats and add routes. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Teenagers Shun Fast-Food Jobs
The growth of restaurants helped the economy recover, but a shortage of workers is changing the equation that the industry has long relied on. PAGE B1

Ex-Volkswagen Chief Charged
The fraud indictment of Martin Winterkorn makes the carmaker more vulnerable to lawsuits by shareholders who say risks were concealed. PAGE B1

A Welcome Mat for I.P.O.s
Hong Kong's stock exchange loosened its rules to lure Chinese companies that are expected to publicly list in the coming months. PAGE B3

WEEKEND C1-28

Art Worth Seeking Out
Frieze New York is skewing younger and a bit squarer. There are plenty of gems, though, if you dig a little. PAGE C13

U2 on Tour, and on a Mission
On its first stop, in Tulsa, the band mixed its singalongs with pleas to save an endangered American dream. PAGE C5

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-12

They Knew It Was C.T.E.
Family members of an ex-N.H.L. player always suspected he died of the brain disease. Then they got proof. PAGE B8

Hitting From the Bass Line
Illness ended his N.B.A. dream, but music made Tucker Halpern a star in the dance pop duo Sofi Tukker. PAGE B11

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Paul Krugman PAGE A23

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, periodic rain and drizzle, high 59. **Tonight,** cloudy, a bit of rain, low 54. **Tomorrow,** mostly cloudy, warmer in the afternoon, high 72. Details in SportsSunday, Page 8.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 57,961 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MAY 13, 2018 $6.00

NEWS ANALYSIS

Aides' Divide On Iran Bares A Deeper Rift

Trump Team at Odds Over 'Rogue' Nations

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — Five days before President Trump pulled out of what he called the "horrible" Iran nuclear deal, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo told diplomats from Britain, France and Germany that he believed the pact could still be saved.

If Mr. Pompeo could win a few more days for negotiations, he told the Europeans in a conference call on May 4, there was a chance — however small — that the two sides could bridge a gap over the agreement's "sunset provisions," under which restrictions on Iran's nuclear program expire in anywhere from seven to 13 years.

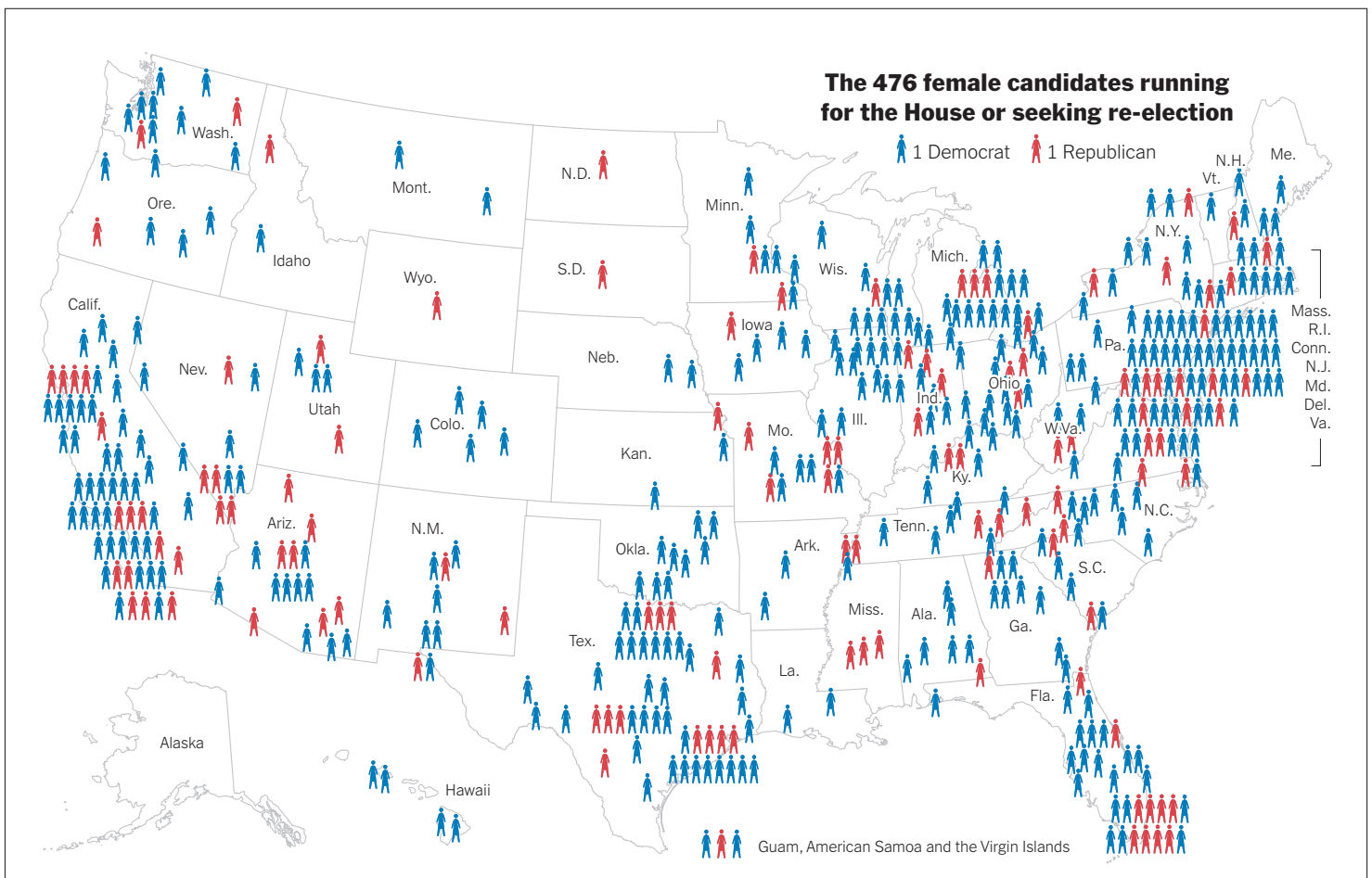
By May 7, when Britain's foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, made the rounds in Washington, that hope had vanished. Mr. Pompeo told him that not only had Mr. Trump decided to pull out of the deal brokered by his predecessor, Barack Obama, but he was also going to reimpose the harshest set of sanctions on Iran that he could.

The frantic final days before Mr. Trump's announcement demonstrate that the Iran deal remained a complicated, divisive issue inside the White House, even after the president restocked his war cabinet with more hawkish figures like Mr. Pompeo and John R. Bolton, the new national security adviser.

How that debate unfolded offers an insight into the shifting balance of power on Mr. Trump's national security team in his second year in office.

Mr. Bolton is emerging as an influential figure, with a clear channel to the president and an ability to control the voices he hears. Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, who opposed leaving the deal but did not push the case as vocally toward the end, appears

Continued on Page 11



Source: Data is from the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers, as of May 9, 2018, and includes only major party candidates. THE NEW YORK TIMES

Women Run in Droves, but Path Narrows

Incumbents and Crowded Primaries Blunt Hopes of Reshaping Congress

By KATE ZERNIKE and DENISE LU

ARDMORE, Pa. — Just as the women's marches and #MeToo helped define 2017, the surging numbers of female candidates have defined the midterm races now underway. Yet for all that, the November elections may not produce a similar surge in the number of women in Congress.

More than half the female candidates for House and Senate seats are challenging incumbents, who historically almost always win; there were far more wide-open races in 1992's so-called Year of the Woman, which doubled the number of women in Congress. A large percentage of the women now running for open seats are in districts that favor the other party. And many female candidates are clustered in the same districts, meaning many will be eliminated in this spring and summer's primaries.

Last Tuesday's primary elections in Ohio, West Virginia, Indiana and North Carolina help illustrate the steep path. Two women ran for Senate, both were long shots, and both lost. In House races, 27 women won — more than half. But 16 will challenge incumbents in November, 15 of them in districts firmly favoring their opponents.

MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ashley Lunkenheimer, right, is a Democratic candidate in Pennsylvania.

The increase in the number of female candidates tilts largely toward Democrats — at the start of this year, the number of Democratic women seeking House seats was up 146 percent from the same point in 2016; among Republicans, it was up 35 percent. And many of the women have less experience in government and politics than those who ran for Congress in the past.

"While we are encouraged by the energy and the enthusiasm and the engagement of women, I think we also at the same time have to be cognizant of the fact that many of these women, even when they win their primary, will be running very tough races in November," said Debbie Walsh, the director of the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University.

"We are not going to see, in one cycle, an end to the underrepresentation of women in American politics that we've seen for 250 years," she said. "The concern is we need

Continued on Page 24

FEDERAL TAX CUTS GIVE MANY STATES A CASH WINDFALL

DEBATE IN STATEHOUSES

Considering Whether to Spend the Money or Repay Residents

By BEN CASSELMAN

The federal tax overhaul cut taxes for millions of American families and businesses. But the law also had an unintended effect: raising the state-tax bite in nearly every state that has an income tax.

Now, governors and state legislators are contending with how to adjust their own tax codes to shield their residents from paying more or, in some cases, whether to apply any of the unexpected revenue windfall to other priorities instead.

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which President Trump signed into law in December, did not directly affect state budgets. It cut federal tax rates, but also made other changes that mean more income will be subject to taxation. Because most states use federal definitions of income and have not adjusted their own rates, the federal changes will have big consequences for both state budgets and taxpayers.

"Residents of the majority of states would experience an unlegislated tax increase," said Jared Walczak, an analyst with the Tax Foundation, a conservative think tank.

In Minnesota, the state estimates that residents could pay more than $400 million in additional state taxes in the next fiscal year because of the new federal law. That has set off a fight over how to respond. The state's Democratic governor wants to give most of that money back to Minnesotans through tax cuts aimed at low- and moderate-income families; the Republican-controlled legislature wants broader-based tax cuts. Both sides say they must

Continued on Page 17

His College Saw Despair. His Parents Didn't, Until It Was Too Late.

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

CLINTON, N.Y. — In the days after her son Graham hanged himself in his dormitory room at Hamilton College, Gina Burton went about settling his affairs in a blur of efficiency, her grief tinged with a nagging sense that something did not add up.

She fielded requests and sympathy notes from the college, promising the dean of students a copy of his obituary "so you can see how special Hamilton was to him." This was why his suicide "makes no sense," she added in a puzzled aside. The next day, Ms. Burton accepted condolences from the college president, and assured him "how right a choice Hamilton was" for her son.

But two weeks later, she read her son's journal and everything changed. Mr. Burton, a sophomore, wrote that he was flunking three of his four classes and called himself a "failure with no life prospects." He had struggled to sleep, missed classes, turned in assignments late. The college had known of his difficulty, he wrote, but had been slow to offer help and understanding.

"Would you care to shed some light on this?" Ms. Burton asked in an angry email sent at 2:53 a.m. to the academic dean, with copies to the president and the dean of students. "If this is what drove Graham, I don't think I'll be able to cope."

HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'A lot of people feel, sure, tell my parents, I just don't want to die.'

IAN LUNN, who is doing an independent study of suicide at Hamilton College, above, in upstate New York.

Every year, parents send their children to college, trusting that they will be well, or that word will come if they are not. Ms. Burton had lived every parent's nightmare: a child flunking out, sinking into despair, his parents the last to know. Her discovery set off a wave of pain and soul-searching but also a campaign to strip away some of the veils of confidentiality that colleges say protect the privacy and autonomy of students who are learning to be adults.

Suicide is the second-leading cause of death, after accidents, for college-age adults in the United States. The number of college students seeking treatment for anxi-

Continued on Page 20

What the Royal Bride-to-Be Represents to Black Londoners

By ELLEN BARRY

LONDON — In the days to come, anyone wishing to criticize Meghan Markle, the American actress set to marry into Britain's royal family, will have to contend with Tshego Lengolo, an 11-year-old black girl and newly minted monarchist.

Tshego is a child of southeast London. She has taught herself "road," the slang emanating from the city's grime music scene, but drops it the second she enters her apartment, a zone patrolled by her all-seeing South African mother. They squabble affectionately, for approximately the thousandth time, over whether she can be called Tiffany.

If Tshego (SEH-ho) is royal-crazy this summer, it is because Ms. Markle is biracial, the daughter of an African-American woman and a white man. When she looks at Ms. Markle, Tshego sees a version of herself, new to England, trying to find a place among its racial codes.

The precedent set by the wedding of Ms. Markle and Prince Harry next Saturday is often played down. White royalists, in many cases, argue that racism is no longer a serious problem in British society. ("The queen currently has an equerry," or top aide, "who is black," exclaimed the royal commentator Dickie Arbiter, by way of evidence.) Many blacks, for their part, say the royal wedding is a distraction from the rise of intolerance and anti-immigrant nativism in Brexit-era Britain.

ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tshego Lengolo, 11, sees herself in Meghan Markle.

Continued on Page 12

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Terrorist Attack in Paris Kills 1
A man stabbed five people in central Paris, killing one, before the police killed him. The Islamic State quickly claimed responsibility. PAGE 12

NATIONAL 16-24

Six Tales of Motherhood
Joy. Regret. Acceptance and denial. In an adaptation of our online video series Conception, here are first-person reflections from our readers. PAGE 22

SPORTSSUNDAY

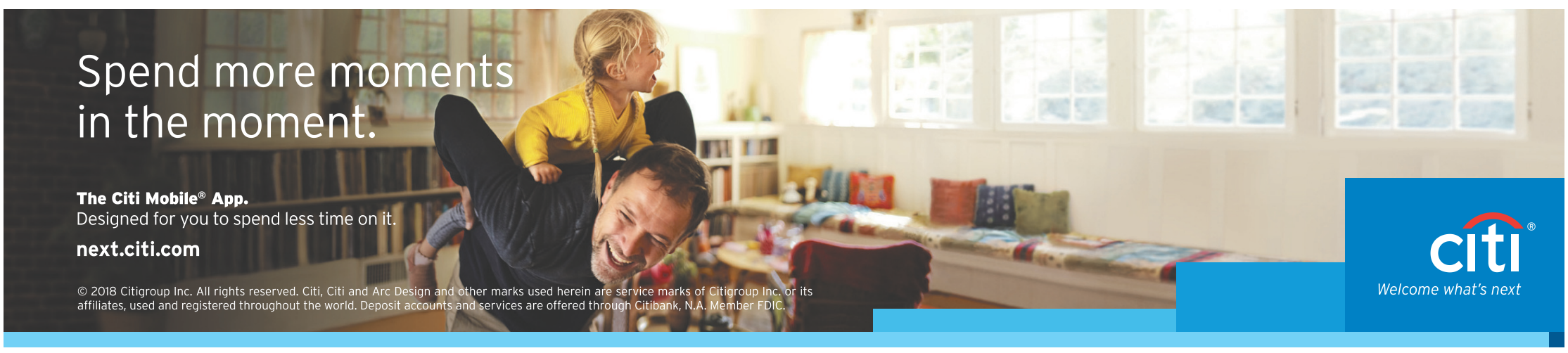
The Most Famous Rumble Pony
Tim Tebow, playing for a Mets affiliate, the Binghamton Rumble Ponies, has caused a boom in business. His performance? That's beside the point. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

95 Apartments. 6,580 Apply.
The nation's housing policy for the poor can feel like a giant lottery. With not enough subsidized housing, San Francisco actually held a lottery. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Gerard Alexander PAGE 1



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

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Today, mostly cloudy, afternoon showers, thunder, high 85. **Tonight,** cloudy, showers, thunder, flash flooding, low 62. **Tomorrow,** shower, high 65. Weather map, Page B12.

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IRAQ VOTERS BACK ALLIES OF CLERIC WHO FOUGHT U.S.

SADR COALITION LEADS

Calls Against Graft and Interference Bolster a Firebrand's Hand

By MARGARET COKER and RICK GLADSTONE

BAGHDAD — Moktada al-Sadr, a firebrand militia leader whose forces once battled American troops in Iraq and were implicated in widespread atrocities against civilians, has emerged as the surprise front-runner in the Iraqi national elections, according to Iraqi election officials.

After American forces largely withdrew from Iraq in 2011, Mr. Sadr remained vocally anti-American, though he has also been strongly critical of Iran, the other foreign power with widespread influence here.

The victory of Mr. Sadr's political coalition could complicate the American strategy in Iraq. The American military has been training, sharing intelligence and planning missions with former militias in the country, gambling that their military partnership can keep the Islamic State from making a comeback here.

Mr. Sadr has been highly critical of American airstrikes in the country against the Islamic State, though he has said little recently about his willingness to allow American troops to remain on Iraqi soil.

American officials are now uncertain — though not yet worried — about what the position of Iraq's future government may be on the issue.

Some of Mr. Sadr's political allies, even those who fought against American soldiers in the past, want the United States to stay and help shore up the country. His closest rivals in the election also support the Americans staying. And even Mr. Sadr's representatives have said that he would abide by agreements between the United States and Iraq on training Iraqi security forces.

Mr. Sadr once led the Iraqi Shiite militia known as the Mahdi Army, which fought with Ameri-

Continued on Page A9

ALAA AL-MARJANI/REUTERS

Moktada al-Sadr, a Shiite cleric.

Justices Nullify Law That Bans Sports Betting

New Jersey Case Opens Door for Other States

By ADAM LIPTAK and KEVIN DRAPER

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court struck down a 1992 federal law on Monday that effectively banned commercial sports betting in most states, opening the door to legalizing the estimated $150 billion in illegal wagers on professional and amateur sports that Americans make every year.

The decision seems certain to result in profound changes to the nation's relationship with sports wagering. Bettors will no longer be forced into the black market to use offshore wagering operations or illicit bookies. Placing bets will be done on mobile devices, fueled and endorsed by the lawmakers and sports officials who opposed it for so long. A trip to Las Vegas to wager on March Madness or the Super Bowl could soon seem quaint.

The law the decision overturned — the Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act — prohibited states from authorizing sports gambling. Among its sponsors was Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey and a former college and professional basketball star. He said the law was needed to safeguard the integrity of sports.

But the court said the law was unconstitutional. "It is as if federal officers were installed in state legislative chambers and were armed with the authority to stop legislators from voting on any offending proposals," Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. said, writing for the majority. "A more direct affront to state sovereignty is not easy to imagine."

Across the country, state officials and representatives of the casino industry greeted the ruling with something like glee, nowhere more than in New Jersey, which anticipated the decision and had been prepared to quickly take advantage of it.

In 2011, the state's voters passed a constitutional amendment in favor of legalizing sports betting, and three years later, the Legislature repealed its law against sports betting. Both were challenged in court. But now the Legislature only has to pass a law establishing the rules and regulations for sanctioned sports betting to begin at casinos and racetracks in the state.

A spokesman for Gov. Philip D. Murphy said his office sent a proposed bill to the Legislature weeks ago and has been negotiating behind the scenes in anticipation of a favorable ruling from the court. Stephen M. Sweeney, the State Senate president, said peo-

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BETS ON HOLD After a Supreme Court ruling, now what? PAGE A15

ISRAELIS KILL DOZENS IN GAZA

IBRAHEEM ABU MUSTAFA/REUTERS

Palestinian demonstrators running for cover along the Israel-Gaza border on Monday, against a backdrop of tear gas and smoke.

RONEN ZVULUN/REUTERS

The U.S. sent Ivanka Trump and Steven Mnuchin to Jerusalem.

U.S. Embassy Opens in Jerusalem, but Peace Is as Distant as Ever

By DAVID M. HALBFINGER

JERUSALEM — Across the Gaza Strip on Monday morning, loudspeakers on minarets urged Palestinians to rush the fence bordering Israel, where they were met by army snipers. At least 58 were killed and thousands injured, local officials said — the worst day of carnage there since Israel invaded Gaza in 2014.

Hours later, a beaming Ivanka Trump helped unveil a stone marker etched with her father's name on the new American Embassy in Jerusalem, keeping his campaign promise to officially acknowledge Jerusalem as Israel's capital. An audience of 800 religious conservatives and right-wing politicians from both countries sang "Hallelujah."

"What a glorious day," exulted Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

The two scenes, only an hour's drive apart, illustrated the chasm dividing Israelis and Palestinians more than at any moment in recent history.

For generations, both sides of the conflict have been locked in competing, mutually negating narratives, with only sporadic flickers of hope for peace despite the efforts of a long list of presidents and secretaries of state.

Now, with the militant Hamas movement hanging on to control of Gaza, and Mr. Netanyahu backed by President Trump, neither side is even listening to the other, and the Palestinians have lumped the United States together with Israel as an overt adversary.

Responsibility for the violence on Monday rested "squarely with Hamas," said Raj Shah, a White House spokesman, for "intentionally and cynically provoking" Israel by urging Palestinians to storm the border fence. "Israel has the right to defend itself," he said.

In Gaza, Khalil al-Hayya, deputy chief of Hamas, blamed the United States for inciting the violence by moving the embassy to Jerusalem, reversing decades of American policy and defying international consensus. "The American administration bears responsibility for all consequences following the implementation of this unjust decision," he said.

The two sides were in equally different worlds when speaking of how the embassy opening would affect the moribund peace process.

Palestinians, who hope to see

Continued on Page A11

A COMPLEX PEACE A Trump promise is met, while prospects for peace are set back. PAGE A10

A Day of Defiance and Despair At a Border Fence Under Siege

By DECLAN WALSH

GAZA — He crawled along the bumpy ground, wire-cutters in hand. People around him were felled by bullets. He choked when Israeli jeeps sped past, peppering him with tear gas. A few yards away, a man was shot in the leg. Behind him, he said, a teenage boy was shot in the head, fatally.

By the end of the day, Ismail Khaas, a 23-year-old Palestinian protester, accomplished what he had set out to do: he touched the fence separating Gaza from Israel.

"That's the priority, and we achieved it," he said.

Mr. Khaas insisted he did not have a death wish. But on Monday, the deadliest day in Gaza since the 2014 war with Israel, the risks may not have seemed commensurate with the rewards.

At least 58 protesters had been killed, Gaza's Health Ministry reported, more than the 49 killed since the protests at the border fence started on March 30.

Continued on Page A10

About-Face on Trade With China Stings White House Hard-Liners

*This article is by **Ana Swanson**, **Mark Landler** and **Keith Bradsher**.*

WASHINGTON — President Trump's recent threat to impose tariffs on as much as $150 billion worth of Chinese goods appeared to be the first volley in what looked like a full-scale trade war with the nation's greatest economic adversary. Now, suddenly, Mr. Trump seems ready to make peace.

To alleviate trade tensions, Mr. Trump is considering easing up on a major Chinese telecommunications company, ZTE, in exchange for China agreeing to buy more American products and lifting its own crippling restrictions on American agriculture, people familiar with the deliberations said.

The shift is an abrupt reversal that reflects another twist in the pitched battle inside the White House between the economic nationalists, who channel Mr. Trump's protectionist instincts, and more mainstream advisers, who worry about the effects of hard-line policies on the stock market and long-term economic growth.

While the nationalists had recently seemed ascendant — pushing Mr. Trump toward a show-

Continued on Page A7

Trump Aides Bristle as Pence Seizes Control of G.O.P. Races

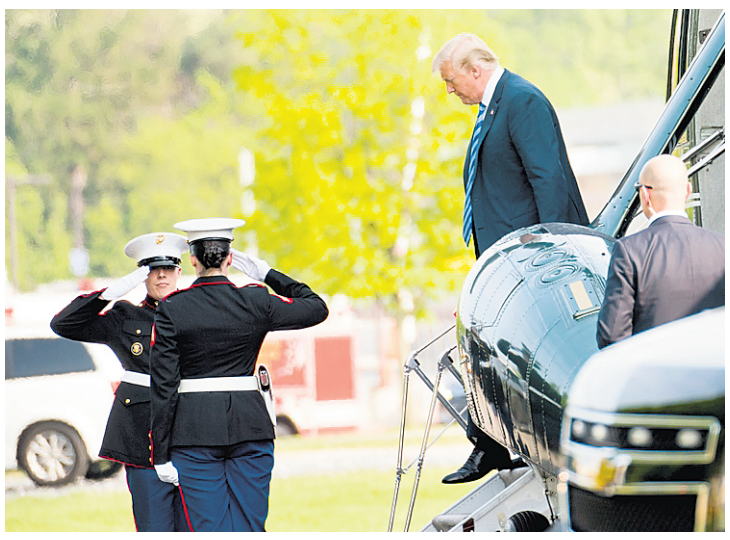
*This article is by **Alexander Burns**, **Jonathan Martin** and **Maggie Haberman**.*

Representative Jeb Hensarling of Texas needed a favor: Before retiring, he wanted to anoint a local activist as his successor. Mr. Hensarling, a veteran conservative, reached out to President Trump for help, but the White House hesitated to intervene, according to a person familiar with the overture.

Instead, Mr. Hensarling found a willing ally at Mr. Trump's right hand: Vice President Mike Pence. Mr. Pence backed the congressman's favorite, Bunni Pounds, last month in a tweet that blindsided key White House aides.

The eager assistance Mr. Pence provided a senior lawmaker reflected the outsize political portfolio that the vice president and his aides have seized for themselves as the 2018 elections approach. While Mr. Trump remains an overpowering personality in Republican politics, he is mostly uninterested in the mechanics of managing a political party. His team of advisers is riven with personal divisions, and the White House has not yet crafted a strategy for the midterms. So Mr.

Continued on Page A16



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Visiting the First Lady
President Trump traveled to visit Melania Trump in the hospital on Monday after she was treated for a kidney ailment. Page A16.

NATIONAL A12-18

Welcome at the White House
David Brody, correspondent for the Christian Broadcasting Network, has wide access to the president. PAGE A12

Puerto Rico Braces for More
Emergency managers say they have revamped plans, as a new hurricane season begins June 1. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Still in the Spy Game
Sergei V. Skripal met secretly with European intelligence officers in the years before he was poisoned. PAGE A5

NEW YORK A19-21

Marijuana Policy Change?
Two district attorneys are said to be considering a bold repudiation of marijuana prosecutions. PAGE A20

OBITUARIES A22-23

Superman's Favorite Reporter
Margot Kidder, who rocketed to fame playing Lois Lane in "Superman" and its three sequels, was 69. PAGE A23

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

'Biohacking' DNA
Geneticists sound the alarm about the genetic tinkering carried out in garages and living rooms. PAGE D1

For Healing, a Food Chain
A clinical trial will test whether daily nutritious meals can improve the well-being of chronically ill people. PAGE D3

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

India's WhatsApp Election
Unlike Facebook and Instagram, WhatsApp has received little attention for its sway on voters. But in one Indian state, the service has been crucial. PAGE B1

Faces of the Fight for Fair Pay
Four British women, armed with newly published data on the salary gap, push to change their industries. PAGE B6

SPORTSTUESDAY B8-11

Yankees Mourn With the Police
The team sends flowers to the families and colleagues of officers killed on duty anywhere in the country. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-8

Picasso Painting Is Damaged
"Le Marin" ("The Sailor"), valued at $70 million, was withdrawn from an art sale at Christie's. PAGE C5

Psychedelic Flashbacks
In "How to Change Your Mind," Michael Pollan writes about the history, science and lessons of LSD. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Margaret Renkl PAGE A25

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MAHMUD HAMS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Fighting Over a Baby's Death in Gaza
Mariam Ghandour holding her daughter, Layla, whose death after a protest became fodder for competing narratives. Page A8.

How F.B.I. Embarked, With Strictest Secrecy, On Trump Team's Trail

'Crossfire Hurricane' Review Produced Roots of Special Counsel's Inquiry

This article is by ***Matt Apuzzo****,* ***Adam Goldman*** *and* ***Nicholas Fandos****.*

WASHINGTON — Within hours of opening an investigation into the Trump campaign's ties to Russia in the summer of 2016, the F.B.I. dispatched a pair of agents to London on a mission so secretive that all but a handful of officials were kept in the dark.

Their assignment, which has not been previously reported, was to meet the Australian ambassador, who had evidence that one of Donald J. Trump's advisers knew in advance about Russian election meddling. After tense deliberations between Washington and Canberra, top Australian officials broke with diplomatic protocol and allowed the ambassador, Alexander Downer, to sit for an F.B.I. interview to describe his meeting with the campaign adviser, George Papadopoulos.

The agents summarized their highly unusual interview and sent word to Washington on Aug. 2, 2016, two days after the investigation was opened. Their report helped provide the foundation for a case that, a year ago Thursday, became the special counsel investigation. But at the time, a small group of F.B.I. officials knew it by its code name: Crossfire Hurricane.

The name, a reference to the Rolling Stones lyric "I was born in a crossfire hurricane," was an apt prediction of a political storm that continues to tear shingles off the bureau. Days after they closed their investigation into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server, agents began scrutinizing the campaign of her Republican

Continued on Page A16

NO BOMBSHELL High hopes for a meeting with Russian contacts didn't last long. PAGE A15

'NO DOUBT' A top Republican concludes that Russia favored Trump's campaign. PAGE A14

NO CHARGES President Trump's lawyers say the special counsel won't seek to indict him. PAGE A15

Michigan State Agrees to Pay $500 Million to Sex Abuse Victims

By MITCH SMITH and ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

Victims of Lawrence G. Nassar, the Michigan State University physician who sexually abused young women under the guise of medical treatment, would receive $500 million from the university in a settlement that is believed to be the largest ever reached in a sexual abuse case involving an American university.

It dwarfed the size of the settlement reached in the sex abuse scandal at Pennsylvania State University. And it was larger than many of the settlements that followed the child sex abuse crisis in the Roman Catholic Church.

"I think the number being so large sends a message that is undeniable, that something really terrible happened here and that Michigan State owns it," said John Manly, a lawyer for many of the 332 women who sued the university over abuse by Dr. Nassar. "When you pay half a billion dollars, it's an admission of responsibility."

332 Women Sued Over Conduct of Nassar

Women who say they were abused by Dr. Nassar still have lawsuits against U.S.A. Gymnastics, the United States Olympic Committee and others, and the settlement with Michigan State could add pressure in those cases. The settlement by Michigan State,

Continued on Page A18

Disclosure of Payment to Cohen Raises Questions Over Omission

This article is by ***Steve Eder****,* ***Eric Lipton*** *and* ***Ben Protess****.*

President Trump's financial disclosure, released on Wednesday, included for the first time repayment of more than $100,000 to his personal lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, in 2017, raising questions about whether Mr. Trump's sworn filing from a year ago improperly omitted the debt.

In a highly unusual letter, the Office of Government Ethics alerted the Justice Department on Wednesday to the omission, telling Rod J. Rosenstein, the deputy attorney general, that the ethics office had determined "the payment made by Mr. Cohen is required to be reported as a liability."

Mr. Trump's financial disclosure, released by the Office of Government Ethics, did not specify the purpose of the payment. However, Mr. Cohen has paid $130,000 to a pornographic film actress, Stephanie Clifford, who has said she had an affair with Mr. Trump. Mr. Cohen has said he made the payment shortly before the 2016 election as hush money for Ms. Clifford, who goes by the stage name Stormy Daniels.

Mr. Trump repaid Mr. Cohen $100,001 to $250,000 in 2017, according to a footnote in the filing.

David J. Apol, the acting director of the Office of Government Ethics, sent Mr. Rosenstein a copy of Mr. Trump's current and previous financial form, noting in his letter that "you may find the dis-

Continued on Page A14

New Governor Tilts New Jersey Hard to the Left

By NICK CORASANITI

A recently adopted equal pay law has put New Jersey at the forefront of national efforts to narrow the gender wage gap. The state's new automatic voter registration law ranks among the most sweeping in the country, while its funding of Planned Parenthood, package of gun control laws, renewable energy legislation and a measure to provide state financial aid to immigrants who came to the United States as children are all part of the progressive playbook.

In a state whose political profile has been marked by scandal and dominated most recently by a bellicose Republican governor, the first few months of Gov. Philip D. Murphy's Democratic tenure have seen an abrupt ideological makeover as New Jersey lurches to the left, joining the ranks of the most liberal states in the nation.

His aggressive steering reflects the mandate Mr. Murphy believes he was given last year by his lopsided victory.

But his policies have also left Republicans and even moderate Democrats with a case of whiplash and raised serious questions about how Mr. Murphy will pay for

Continued on Page A20

ANTONIN THUILLIER/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Women staged a rally at the Cannes Film Festival on Saturday to highlight gender inequality there.

Self-Scrutiny at Cannes After Weinstein Scandal

By FARAH NAYERI

CANNES, France — Anyone from Oscar-worthy actresses to stargazing fans can call the Cannes Film Festival's new sexual harassment hotline, where three women are on hand to field calls until 2 a.m. each day.

Tote bags come with fliers warning that misconduct can lead to prison or a hefty fine. "Let's not ruin the party," the handouts say in French. "Stop harassment!"

The main jury has more women than men and is led by the Australian actress Cate Blanchett. And on Saturday, 82 women — one for every female-directed film ever selected to compete for the main prize, or less than 5 percent of the total — took over the red carpet for a rally.

"Women are not a minority in the world, yet the current state of our industry says otherwise," Ms. Blanchett told the crowd in a message that was read out in French by the filmmaker Agnès Varda. Standing on the festival's carpeted staircase, lined with photographers and camera crews, Ms. Blanchett added, "Ladies, let's climb!"

The reverberations of #MeToo are shaking up Cannes, now in the midst of its annual 11-day jamboree, where glitter and megayachts abound. But if the world's most prestigious cinema competition is reckoning with the industry's dark past, Cannes also must deal with its own present-day deficits. Of the 21 films vying for the Palme d'Or this year, for example, programmers picked only

Continued on Page A6

Tillerson, in Swipe at President, Says 'Crisis of Ethics' Infects U.S.

By GARDINER HARRIS

WASHINGTON — In a veiled rebuke of President Trump, former Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson warned on Wednesday that American democracy was threatened by a growing "crisis of ethics and integrity."

"If our leaders seek to conceal the truth, or we as people become accepting of alternative realities that are no longer grounded in facts, then we as American citizens are on a pathway to relinquishing our freedom," he said in a commencement address at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Va.

Even small falsehoods and exaggerations are problematic, Mr. Tillerson said. He did not mention Mr. Trump by name, although the president is prone to both.

"When we as people, a free people, go wobbly on the truth even on what may seem the most trivial matters, we go wobbly on America," he said.

Mr. Tillerson arrived in Washington after running Exxon Mobil, one of the world's largest corporations, backed by business leaders and some foreign policy experts as a man who could bring experience and ballast to an untested administration.

But as the nation's top diplomat, he soon found himself at odds with

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NATIONAL A11-18

Once Sleepy College, Remade
Georgia State was for years considered a night school for white businessmen. After a data-driven transformation, it now graduates more black students than any other school. PAGE A11

Decline in Fertility Deepens
The fertility rate fell to a record low for the second consecutive year, continuing one of the longest declines in fertility in decades. Demographers are trying to figure out what is driving it. PAGE A11

Shorter Treatment for Cancer
A large study shows that a popular treatment for breast cancer, recommended as a yearlong regimen, can be just as effective at six months, reducing serious side effects and costs. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Reality Check on Korea Talks
Despite a hiccup, administration officials and outside experts expect the meeting between President Trump and Kim Jong-un to take place. PAGE A10

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Hitting Pause in Merger Fight
A judge effectively called a cease-fire in the increasingly heated battle between CBS and the Redstone family over the fate of the network. PAGE B1

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The Shark Wranglers
Stocking the new shark exhibit at the New York Aquarium involves construction gear, canvas slings and close attention to your hands and feet. PAGE A19

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An Indie-Rock Innovator at 18
The singer and guitarist Lindsey Jordan, who records as Snail Mail, has a chance to find a bigger stage. PAGE C1

THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

Me, Crying a River
Soldier homecoming videos, "This Is Us" — the internet and television shows offer easy access to emotional release, Katherine Rosman writes. PAGE D1

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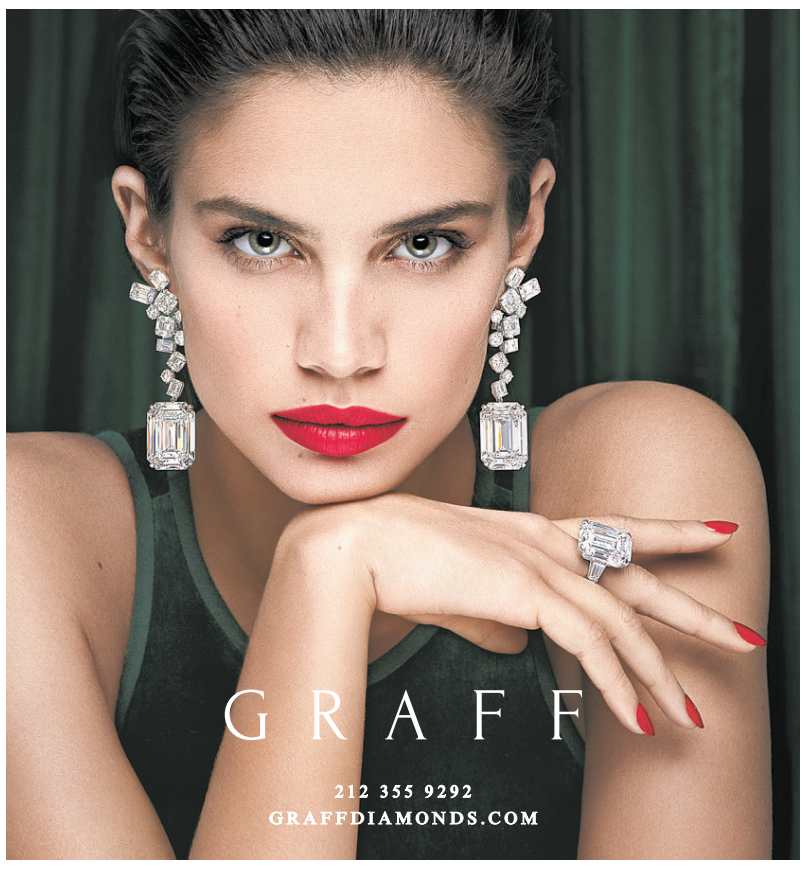
Gail Collins PAGE A23



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, rain and drizzle, high 63. **Tonight,** plenty of clouds, low 62. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sunshine, a shower or thunderstorm, warmer, high 80. Weather map, Page C8.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 57,967 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 19, 2018 $3.00

10 DEAD IN SHOOTING AT TEXAS HIGH SCHOOL

STUART VILLANUEVA/THE GALVESTON COUNTY DAILY NEWS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dakota Shrader and her mother, Susan Davidson, were reunited Friday after the deadly attack on a high school in Santa Fe, Tex.

17-Year-Old Student Used Father's Guns in the Attack, Officials Say

This article is by ***Manny Fernandez, Richard Fausset*** *and* ***Jess Bidgood****.*

SANTA FE, Tex. — A nation plagued by a wrenching loop of mass school shootings watched the latest horror play out in this small Southeast Texas town Friday morning, as a young man armed with a shotgun and a .38 revolver smuggled under his coat opened fire on his high school campus, killing 10 people, many of them his fellow students, and wounding 10 more, the authorities said.

By the end of the day, a 17-year-old suspect, Dimitrios Pagourtzis — an introvert who had given off few warning signs — had surrendered and been taken into custody. Law enforcement officials said they found two homemade explosive devices left at the school during the rampage.

It was the worst school shooting since the February assault on Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., where a young man with an AR-15 rifle left 17 people dead and prompted a wave of nationwide, student-led protests calling on lawmakers to tighten gun laws.

It was barely after 7:30 a.m. at Santa Fe High School, about 35 miles southeast of Houston, when gunfire first resounded through the halls, the opening volley of another massacre that would leave students, teachers and staff members shocked, and in some cases bloodied. But they were not necessarily surprised.

A video interview with one student, Paige Curry, spread across social media, an artifact of a moment when children have come to expect violence in their schools.

"Was there a part of you that was like, 'This isn't real, this is — this would not happen in my school?'" the reporter asked.

The young girl shook her head: "No, there wasn't."

"Why so?" the reporter asked.

"It's been happening everywhere," she said. "I felt — I've always kind of felt like eventually it was going to happen here, too."

President Trump, in the East Room of the White House, expressed his solidarity with the people of Santa Fe, and said his administration would do "everything in our power" to protect schools and keep guns away from those who should not have them.

Mr. Trump had also vowed to take action after the Parkland shooting. At the time, the president, a member of the National Rifle Association who has strong political support from gun owners, said he would look at stricter background checks and raising the minimum age for buying an assault weapon, proposals that the group opposes.

He also pressed for an N.R.A.-backed proposal to arm teachers, and said he would favor taking guns away from potentially dan-

Continued on Page A12

GALVESTON COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE

SUSPECT The authorities said Dimitrios Pagourtzis made the honor roll and played football, but had ominous posts on Facebook. Page A12.

Prayers Flood Shaken Town That Has Long Found Solace in Faith

By VIVIAN YEE and AMY HARMON

They are praying today in Santa Fe, Tex. They often are, but after Friday, the need feels bottomless. Even before the gunman stopped shooting, even before the headlines reported tragedy, even before they knew it was 10 dead at the high school in the middle of town, a plea hurried out from person to person, screen to screen.

"Please pray," began one text message sent to a mothers' prayer list. "My niece is not accounted for. Was in art when shooting took place."

"URGENT PRAYER REQUEST!!" read another. "I don't have details but was just informed that there is an active shooting going on at Santa Fe high school."

Their requests were heeded. "Prayers lifted for the Santa Fe schools right now," someone wrote.

There have been prayers sent from Nigeria and from Grapevine, Tex., from Virginia and São Paulo.

School Took Fight Over Religion to Justices

Vice President Mike Pence offered prayers from the White House. They are words that, however sincere, have come to seem routine — even cynically so, to some Americans who see in them an evasion of the gun-control debate — when American communities find themselves plunged into grief.

But in Santa Fe, where football players appeal to the Lord before Friday night games, where church on Sunday is all but a given, where the school district once went all the way to the Supreme Court to preserve the right to sponsor prayer, these expressions of faith are not mere words, but salves.

On Friday, inside the high school, the students turned to

Continued on Page A13

G.O.P. Faction Sinks Vast Bill On Farm Policy

By GLENN THRUSH and THOMAS KAPLAN

WASHINGTON — The factional rancor threatening Republicans heading into the midterm elections this fall erupted into the open on Friday when a slugfest among moderates, hard-line conservatives and House leaders over immigration and welfare policy sank the party's multiyear farm bill.

The twice-a-decade measure — which would have imposed strict new work requirements on food aid recipients while maintaining farm subsidies important to rural lawmakers — failed on a 213-to-198 vote. It was a rebuke of Speaker Paul D. Ryan by a key bloc of conservatives over his refusal to schedule an immediate vote on a restrictive immigration bill sponsored by the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

Republican moderates, for their part, were moving in the opposite direction, shrugging off the pleas of their leaders as they worked toward forcing votes on legislation to protect from deportation young immigrants brought to the country illegally as children.

The fights were striking, not only because of their intensity but also because of the participants. Capitol Hill has grown used to altercations between Republican leaders and their adamant right flank — showdowns that have shut down the government and edged the government toward defaulting on its debt. But in past fights, the party's moderates have proved compliant.

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RAMON ESPINOSA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Scores Die in Cuban Crash
A 39-year-old Boeing 737 with over 100 people aboard crashed after leaving Havana. Page A7.

Trump Distorts Role of Informant in Campaign

This article is by ***Adam Goldman, Mark Mazzetti*** *and* ***Matthew Rosenberg****.*

Advisers' Ties to Russia Led the F.B.I. to Act

WASHINGTON — President Trump accused the F.B.I. on Friday, without evidence, of sending a spy to secretly infiltrate his 2016 campaign "for political purposes" even before the bureau had any inkling of the "phony Russia hoax."

In fact, F.B.I. agents sent an informant to talk to two campaign advisers only after they received evidence that the pair had suspicious contacts linked to Russia during the campaign. The informant, an American academic who teaches in Britain, made contact late that summer with one campaign adviser, George Papadopoulos, according to people familiar with the matter. He also met repeatedly in the ensuing months with the other aide, Carter Page, who was also under F.B.I. scrutiny for his ties to Russia.

The role of the informant is at the heart of the newest battle between top law enforcement officials and Mr. Trump's congressional allies over the F.B.I.'s most politically charged investigations in decades. The lawmakers, who say they are concerned that federal investigators are abusing their authority, have demanded documents from the Justice Department about the informant.

Law enforcement officials have refused, saying that handing over the documents would imperil both the source's anonymity and safety. The New York Times has learned the source's identity but typically does not name informants to preserve their safety.

Democrats say the Republicans' real aim is to undermine the

Continued on Page A14

How a Stalker Can Be Hiding In Your Pocket

By JENNIFER VALENTINO-DeVRIES

KidGuard is a phone app that markets itself as a tool for keeping tabs on children. But it has also promoted its surveillance for other purposes and run blog posts with headlines like "How to Read Deleted Texts on Your Lover's Phone."

A similar app, mSpy, offered advice to a woman on secretly monitoring her husband. Still another, Spyzie, ran ads on Google alongside results for search terms like "catch cheating girlfriend iPhone."

As digital tools that gather cellphone data for tracking children, friends or lost phones have multiplied in recent years, so have the options for people who abuse the technology to track others without consent.

More than 200 apps and services offer would-be stalkers a variety of capabilities, from basic location tracking to harvesting texts and even secretly recording video, according to a new academic study. More than two dozen services were promoted as surveillance tools for spying on romantic partners, according to the researchers and reporting by The New York Times. Most of the spying services required access to victims' phones or knowledge of their passwords — both common in domestic relationships.

Digital monitoring of a spouse or partner can constitute illegal stalking, wiretapping or hacking. But laws and law enforcement have struggled to keep up with

Continued on Page A11

POOL PHOTO BY STEVE PARSONS

Meghan Markle with her mother, Doria Ragland.

A Royal Pull To Modernity

By ELLEN BARRY

LONDON — As a harbinger of things to come for Meghan Markle, consider a scene from her early encounter with royal protocol: After her first few visits to see her boyfriend in Kensington Palace, she began greeting the palace guards with hugs.

After this happened several times, someone informed her that, according to the social codes of the world she was entering, hugging palace guards is Not Done. Ms. Markle, 36 — born and raised in Los Angeles, the daughter of a yoga teacher — listened politely to that advice.

And ignored it.

"Someone said to her, 'People don't do that,'" her friend Bonnie Hammer recalled in an interview to NBC. "She literally said, 'I'm American. I hug.'"

In the last-minute focus on things that could go spectacularly wrong between now and Ms. Markle's wedding to Prince Harry on Saturday, it has been easy to

Continued on Page A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Toll of Protests in Gaza
With scores dead and the border still intact, many Gazans criticized Hamas, the militant group in control. PAGE A4

Populists in Italy Agree on Plan
The parties said they had a platform for governing and to advance a potentially anti-immigration agenda. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A10-15

An Uphill Race in California
A prominent Democrat in the most Democratic state is struggling for traction against Dianne Feinstein. PAGE A10

New Pick for Veterans Chief
President Trump said that he intended to nominate Robert Wilkie, the acting secretary, to lead the Department of Veterans Affairs. PAGE A14

NEW YORK A16-18

Focus on School Bus Safety
After a deadly crash in New Jersey, officials turned to how to make children safer aboard school buses. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

No Trade Tensions at This Port
In Savannah, at the nation's fourth-busiest gateway, local confidence over its potential outweighs any anxiety over the threat of tariffs. PAGE B1

Hurt by Tech, Town Turns to It
Holywell, a town in Wales with dozens of local retailers, is applying technology to try to keep its shops open. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

Tig Notaro's in a Happy Place
The comic has a new Netflix special and is relieved to be free of "such a negative person," a.k.a. Louis C.K. PAGE C1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

Preakness Favorite's Sore Spot
Justify bruised a heel on his way to winning the Kentucky Derby but appears to have recovered. PAGE D1

Saudis Exert Clout on Soccer
With big decisions on the way for FIFA, Saudi Arabia has come off the sidelines and formed a regional bloc. PAGE D2

THIS WEEKEND

Magic Carpet Rides
Inspired by cinema and literature, T's Travel issue takes a journey to places that have become cultural touchstones.

A Guide to Summer Stages
Arts alfresco: Shakespeare and other theater, classical music, dance and pop. A special section inside Arts & Leisure.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Roger Cohen PAGE A21

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds and sunshine, afternoon showers or thunderstorms, high 82. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 60. **Tomorrow,** partly sunny, high 78. Details in SportsSunday on Page 10.

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Israeli Appeal To Evangelicals Stirs Backlash

Growing Alliance Risks Polarizing U.S. Jews

This article is by ***David D. Kirkpatrick***, ***Elizabeth Dias*** *and* ***David M. Halbfinger****.*

A night after the dedication of the new United States Embassy in Jerusalem, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel convened American evangelicals to plan their next steps.

In a conference room off his office, Mr. Netanyahu thanked the small circle of prominent pastors and activists on Tuesday for pressing President Trump to open the embassy, breaking with decades of American policy that Jerusalem's status should be decided in peace talks.

Which embassy would be next? Mr. Netanyahu wanted to know, running through a list of other countries with strong evangelical churches. Guatemala, Paraguay and Honduras had already followed the United States in announcing their intention to move their embassies to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv, but what about Brazil, India or even China?

"The prime minister was very excited," recalled Mario Bramnick, the Cuban-American pastor of a Pentecostal church near Miami and a Trump supporter who attended the meeting.

The culmination of decades of lobbying, the dedication of the embassy in Jerusalem this past week doubled as the most public recognition yet of the growing importance the Netanyahu government now assigns to its conservative Christian allies, even if some have been accused of making anti-Semitic statements.

While Israel has long depended on the support of the Jewish diaspora, the Netanyahu government has made a historic and strategic shift, relying on the much larger base of evangelical Christians,

Continued on Page 7

POOL PHOTO BY DANNY LAWSON

Meghan Markle, an American actress who married Prince Harry on Saturday, in St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle, near London.

A Royal Union for the 21st Century, With an Air of Black Culture

By ELLEN BARRY

WINDSOR, England — A thousand-year-old English castle echoed with the exhortations of an African-American bishop and a gospel choir on Saturday, as Prince Harry wed Meghan Markle, an American actress, nudging the British royal family into a new era.

Ms. Markle, who has long identified herself as a feminist, entered St. George's Chapel alone rather than being given away by her father or any other man, a departure from tradition that in itself sent a message to the world. She was met halfway by Prince Charles, her future father-in-law and presumably the future king of Britain.

Prince Harry, who is sixth in line for the throne, has long called on Britain's monarchy to draw closer to the daily life of its people. But the most extraordinary thing he has done is to marry Ms. Markle, an American actress who is three years his senior, biracial, divorced and vocal about her views. Their choices at the wedding, many of them heavily influenced by black culture, made clear they plan to project a more inclusive monarchy.

In a time of tribalism and separation, it was a clear move toward an integrated modern future from the oldest of houses. Seated directly opposite Queen Elizabeth II was Ms. Markle's mother, Doria Ragland, the descendant of slaves on plantations in the American South.

In the knight's stalls supporting Ms. Markle, beneath rows of medieval swords and helmets, sat a constellation of American celebrities, among them Oprah Winfrey who, with a great gift for openness and emotional candor, has become an icon for black women.

There were the Hollywood and humanitarian megacelebrities George and Amal Clooney, and the tennis star Serena Williams. A gospel choir sang the Ben E. King song "Stand By Me," and the couple exited to the rousing civil rights anthem "This Little Light of Mine."

In short, it was not your average royal wedding. Among the throngs who filled the streets of Windsor on Saturday were black women who had flown in from Houston and Atlanta, moved, sometimes to tears, to see a woman of color so publicly adored.

"One of the children of slaves is marrying a royal whose forerunners sanctioned slavery; the lion is lying down with the lamb," said Denise Crawford, a court stenog-

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TRUMP INQUIRY GROWS TO INCLUDE CONTACTS IN GULF

PRE-ELECTION MEETINGS

An Indication Countries Other Than Russia Offered Help

This article is by ***Mark Mazzetti***, ***Ronen Bergman*** *and* ***David D. Kirkpatrick****.*

WASHINGTON — Three months before the 2016 election, a small group gathered at Trump Tower to meet with Donald Trump Jr., the president's eldest son. One was an Israeli specialist in social media manipulation. Another was an emissary for two wealthy Arab princes. The third was a Republican donor with a controversial past in the Middle East as a private security contractor.

The meeting was convened primarily to offer help to the Trump team, and it forged relationships between the men and Trump insiders that would develop over the coming months — past the election and well into President Trump's first year in office, according to several people with knowledge of their encounters.

Erik Prince, the private security contractor and the former head of Blackwater, arranged the meeting, which took place on Aug. 3, 2016. The emissary, George Nader, told Donald Trump Jr. that the princes who led Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates were eager to help his father win election as president. The social media specialist, Joel Zamel, extolled his company's ability to give an edge to a political campaign; by that time, the firm had already drawn up a multimillion-dollar proposal for a social media manipulation effort to help elect Mr. Trump.

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Scouring Hate Off Facebook In Germany

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

BERLIN — Security is tight at this brick building on the western edge of Berlin. Inside, a sign warns: "Everybody without a badge is a potential spy!"

Spread over five floors, hundreds of men and women sit in rows of six scanning their computer screens. All have signed nondisclosure agreements. Four trauma specialists are at their disposal seven days a week.

They are the agents of Facebook. And they have the power to decide what is free speech and what is hate speech.

This is a deletion center, one of Facebook's largest, with more than 1,200 content moderators. They are cleaning up content — from terrorist propaganda to Nazi symbols to child abuse — that violates the law or the company's community standards.

Germany, home to a tough new online hate speech law, has become a laboratory for one of the most pressing issues for governments today: how and whether to regulate the world's biggest social network.

Around the world, Facebook and other social networking platforms are facing a backlash over their failures to safeguard pri-

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DAVID J. PHILLIP/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Santa Fe, Tex., High's baseball team on Saturday. Other students recalled a gun rampage. Page 20.

In Math Class, Calculating Risk of Getting Shot

This article is by ***Audra D. S. Burch***, ***Amy Harmon*** *and* ***Trip Gabriel****.*

Just hours after a gunman killed 10 people at a Texas high school, two students 1,000 miles away worried about the safety of their usual seats in the school cafeteria.

Calysta Wilson and Courtney Fletcher, both juniors at Mount Pleasant Community High School in Iowa, believe their table in the cafeteria would be the first one a gunman entering the room would target.

"We sit at the table closest to the doors," Calysta, 17, said as she took in a softball game. "In the case that you came in as a shooter and you killed the first person you saw, I would die. I would not make it."

It is an unnerving, new consideration born from the grim, steady beat of mass shootings across the country — the last two 93 days apart on high school campuses in Florida and Texas. As the reality of school violence sinks in, the conversations among many high

Continued on Page 20

Is That E.R. Trip Necessary? An Insurer May Not Think So

This article is by ***Reed Abelson***, ***Margot Sanger-Katz*** *and* ***Julie Creswell****.*

Jim Burton was lifting a box in his garage last August when he felt a jolt in his back.

"It dropped me to my knees instantly," he said. He thought he'd slipped a disk. His friend, an emergency medical technician, urged him to go to the hospital.

At the emergency room, Mr. Burton, a 37-year-old resident of Lexington, Ky., was found to have a back sprain, with no signs of other serious injury, and was sent home.

He soon got another surprise. His health insurer, Anthem, refused to pay medical bills totaling $1,722, saying his care in the emergency room had not been needed "right away to avoid a serious risk to health."

To rein in emergency medicine costs, Anthem is reviving an old, contentious tactic: pushing back on patients who visit the emergency room for ailments deemed minor.

Anthem denied thousands of claims last year under its "avoidable E.R. program," according to a sample of emergency room bills analyzed by the American College of Emergency Physicians. The program, which Anthem has been rolling out in a handful of states in recent years, reviews claims based on the final diagnosis of patients.

Emergency room physicians say that, last year, the company did not routinely request medical records for denied patients, and therefore could not review the symptoms that brought them to the emergency room. Anthem says it is now reviewing such records before issuing denials.

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PATRICK SEMANSKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

2 Down, 1 to Go

Justify won the 143rd Preakness Stakes and set up a shot at the Triple Crown at the Belmont Stakes in three weeks. SportsSunday, Page 1.

INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Armenia's Tech-Fueled Revolt
A young army of app users from prosperous I.T. companies organized protests, donated money and snarled traffic to topple a governing party. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 14-21

Scorn at the Border
Francisco Cantú braced for the fury of anti-immigration figures when he wrote a Border Patrol memoir. But outrage came instead from immigrants. PAGE 14

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The Rise and Fall of Time Inc.
An oral history of how the pre-eminent media organization of the 20th century, a center of power and influence, ended up on the scrap heap. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Soccer in Football Country
Smart signings, giant crowds and a stealthy bus ride before home games have helped a soccer team win over fans deep in the Deep South. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof PAGE 1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly sunny, very warm afternoon, high 87. **Tonight,** clear, warm, low 69. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sunshine, very warm, more humid, high 88. Weather map, Page A24.

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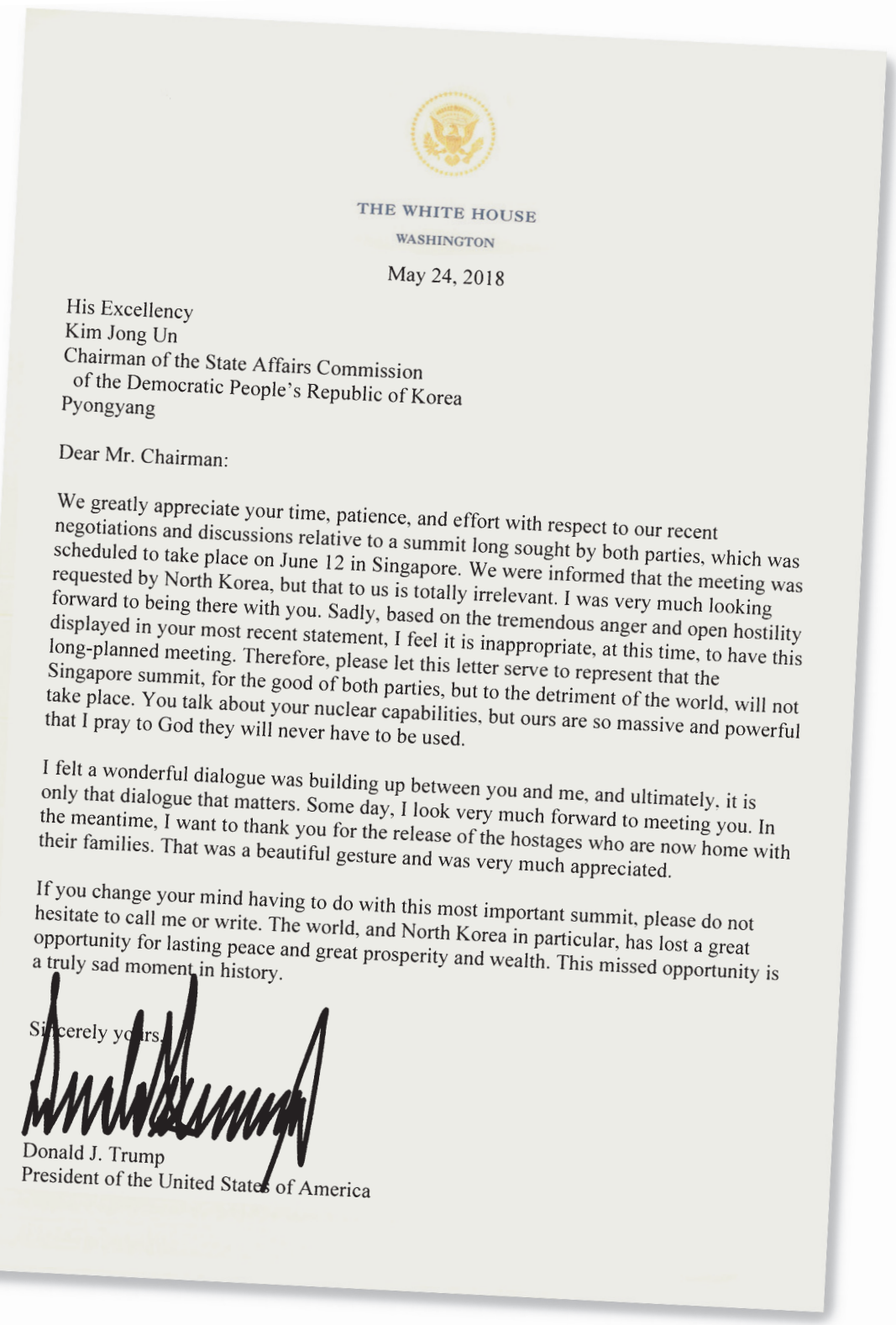
TRUMP CANCELS NORTH KOREA MEETING



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 24, 2018

His Excellency
Kim Jong Un
Chairman of the State Affairs Commission
of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
Pyongyang

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We greatly appreciate your time, patience, and effort with respect to our recent negotiations and discussions relative to a summit long sought by both parties, which was scheduled to take place on June 12 in Singapore. We were informed that the meeting was requested by North Korea, but that to us is totally irrelevant. I was very much looking forward to being there with you. Sadly, based on the tremendous anger and open hostility displayed in your most recent statement, I feel it is inappropriate, at this time, to have this long-planned meeting. Therefore, please let this letter serve to represent that the Singapore summit, for the good of both parties, but to the detriment of the world, will not take place. You talk about your nuclear capabilities, but ours are so massive and powerful that I pray to God they will never have to be used.

I felt a wonderful dialogue was building up between you and me, and ultimately, it is only that dialogue that matters. Some day, I look very much forward to meeting you. In the meantime, I want to thank you for the release of the hostages who are now home with their families. That was a beautiful gesture and was very much appreciated.

If you change your mind having to do with this most important summit, please do not hesitate to call me or write. The world, and North Korea in particular, has lost a great opportunity for lasting peace and great prosperity and wealth. This missed opportunity is a truly sad moment in history.

Sincerely yours,

Donald J. Trump
President of the United States of America

Cites Pyongyang's 'Open Hostility,' but Leaves Room for More Talk

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Thursday pulled out of a highly anticipated summit meeting with Kim Jong-un, accusing the North Koreans of bad faith and lamenting that "this missed opportunity is a truly sad moment in history."

The president made his announcement in a remarkably personal, at times mournful-sounding letter to Mr. Kim, North Korea's leader, in which he cited the North's "tremendous anger and open hostility" in recent public statements as the specific reason for canceling the meeting.

Mr. Trump said later that the meeting, which had been scheduled for June 12 in Singapore, could still happen, and North Korea issued a strikingly conciliatory response, saying it hoped Mr. Trump would reconsider.

But Mr. Trump also renewed talk of military action against the North and vowed to keep pressing economic sanctions, guaranteeing that for now, at least, his unlikely courtship of Mr. Kim will give way to a more familiar cycle of threats and tension.

The mixed messages were in keeping with a diplomatic gambit that had an air of unreality from the start, when, in early March, Mr. Trump spontaneously accepted Mr. Kim's invitation to meet — an acceptance that North Korea did not even publicly acknowledge for several days.

As the date for the meeting drew closer, American and North Korean officials staked out deeply divergent positions on how quickly the North should surrender its nuclear arsenal. North Korean officials failed to show up for a planning meeting last week in Singapore, snubbing a White House advance team led by the deputy chief of staff, Joe Hagin.

The White House, which seemed ill prepared for a long negotiation, began to have second thoughts. By Thursday, after a North Korean official labeled Vice President Mike Pence a "political dummy" and threatened a "nuclear-to-nuclear showdown," there seemed little rationale for the en-

Continued on Page A9

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump addressed Kim Jong-un in a formal letter.

WEINSTEIN FACES NEW YORK ARREST ON RAPE CHARGES

INVESTIGATION NOT OVER

Grand Jury to Look Into More Allegations and Possible Crimes

This article is by ***James C. McKinley Jr.***, ***Benjamin Mueller*** *and* ***William K. Rashbaum****.*

Harvey Weinstein, the disgraced movie mogul, is expected to surrender to the police in Manhattan on Friday on charges that he raped one woman and forced another to perform oral sex on him, law enforcement officials said.

The charges follow an avalanche of accusations against him that led women around the world, some of them famous and many of them not, to come forward with accounts of being sexually harassed and assaulted by powerful men.

Those stories spawned the global #MeToo movement, and since then, the ground has shifted beneath men who for years benefited from a code of silence around their predatory behavior.

Mr. Weinstein, 66, had until recently seemed untouchable, harnessing his wealth and his influence in the movie industry to intimidate women out of speaking publicly and, only three years ago, withstand an investigation into groping allegations.

The Manhattan district attorney's office faced an outcry over not charging Mr. Weinstein in the groping case, but the outcome this time was different.

He will be charged with first-degree rape and third-degree rape in one case, and with first-degree criminal sex act in another, law enforcement officials said, speaking on the condition of anonymity.

The criminal sex act charge stems from an encounter with Lucia Evans, who told The New Yorker and then investigators from the Manhattan district attorney's office that Mr. Weinstein forced her to perform oral sex on him during what she expected would be a casting meeting at the Miramax office in TriBeCa.

The victim in the rape case has not been publicly identified. Mr. Weinstein has been accused of sexually harassing and assaulting

Continued on Page A13

MORGAN FREEMAN The celebrated actor apologized after several women accused him of sexual harassment. PAGE A13

Trump Proxies Drop by Briefings on Russia Case

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and KATIE BENNER

WASHINGTON — President Trump's chief of staff and a White House lawyer representing the president in the Russia investigation were present at the start of two classified meetings on Thursday requested by members of Congress to review sensitive material about the F.B.I.'s use of an informant in the inquiry.

The two men left both meetings after sharing introductory remarks "to relay the president's desire for as much openness as possible under the law" and before officials began to brief the lawmakers, the White House said in a statement.

But the presence of John F. Kelly, the chief of staff, and Emmet T. Flood, the president's lawyer, infuriated Democrats, and legal experts said their visit, at the least, could give off the appearance that the White House abused its authority to gain insight into an investigation that implicates the president.

Democrats Call Visits an Abuse of Authority

The president's legal team was unapologetic. "We are certainly entitled to know" what information the government has on the F.B.I. informant, Rudolph W. Giuliani, another lawyer representing Mr. Trump in the investigation, said in an interview. The meeting "cuts off a long subpoena," he said, referring to a legal fight for the in-

Continued on Page A15

NEWS ANALYSIS

President's Gamble Hits a Reality Check

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — President Trump attempted a revolutionary approach to North Korea — a gamble that negotiating prowess and deal-making charm in a face-to-face meeting with Kim Jong-un could accomplish what no American president or diplomat had dared to attempt in the 65 years since an uneasy armistice settled over the Korean Peninsula.

It was a bold and innovative approach, and one worth trying, to take on the related goals of a peace treaty and eradicating the North's now-substantial nuclear arsenal.

The fact that it fell on Thursday before getting out of the starting gate, though, underscored how little the two men understood about each other, or how their words and maximalist demands were resonating in Washington and Pyongyang.

Mr. Trump approached Mr. Kim, the North Korean leader, as if he were a competing property developer haggling over a prized asset — and assumed that, in the end, Mr. Kim would be willing to give it all up for the promise of future prosperity. So he started with threats of "fire and fury," then turned to surprise initiatives, then gratuitous flattery of one of the world's more brutal dictators.

"He will be safe, he will be happy, his country will be rich,"

Continued on Page A8

New Privacy Law Makes Europe World's Leading Tech Watchdog

By ADAM SATARIANO

LONDON — The notices are flooding people's inboxes en masse, from large technology companies, including Facebook and Uber, and even from parent teacher associations, children's soccer clubs and yoga instructors. "Here is an update to our privacy policy," they say.

All are acting because the European Union on Friday enacts the world's toughest rules to protect people's online data. And with the internet's borderless nature, the regulations are set to have an outsize impact far beyond Europe.

In Silicon Valley, Google, Facebook and other tech companies have been working for months to comply with the new rules, known as the General Data Protection Regulation. The law, which lets people request their online data and restricts how businesses obtain and handle the information, has set off a panic among small businesses and local organizations that have an internet presence.

Brazil, Japan and South Korea are set to follow Europe's lead, with some having already passed similar data protection laws. European officials are encouraging copycats by tying data protection to some trade deals and arguing that a unified global approach is the only way to crimp Silicon Valley's power.

"We want to achieve the same level of restrictions that you have in Europe," said Luiz Fernando Martins Castro, a lawyer based in São Paulo who advises the Brazilian government on internet policy. Mr. Castro said Europe was "pushing the matter and making people realize that we have to go forward."

Continued on Page A7

Boxer's Conviction, Driven by Racism, Is Wiped From the Books

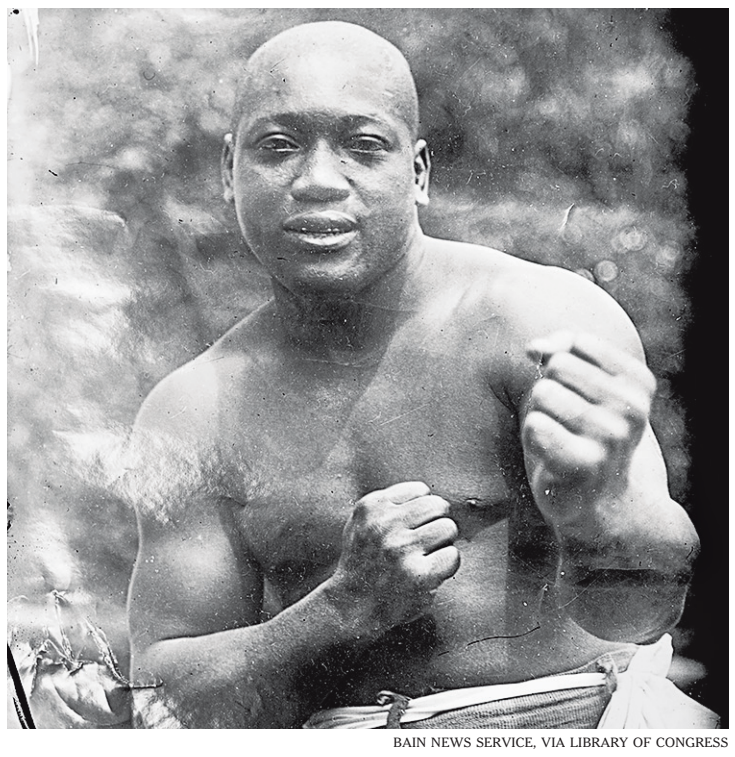
By JOHN ELIGON and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — For more than 100 years, Jack Johnson's legend as the first black heavyweight boxing champion has been undisputed, but his legacy had been tarnished by a racially tainted criminal conviction.

His battles against white opponents, in the ring and outside of it, gave rise to "The Great White Hope" play and movie and he came to be lionized as a barrier breaker.

But the criminal conviction from 1913 that most would find abhorrent today — for transporting a white woman across state lines — haunted Johnson well after his death in 1946 and motivated politicians and celebrities for years to advocate for a pardon, however symbolic.

On Thursday in the Oval Office, Johnson posthumously found an unexpected champion: President Trump.



BAIN NEWS SERVICE, VIA LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Jack Johnson was pardoned by President Trump on Thursday.

Although his own record on civil rights has come under question, often harshly, Mr. Trump, flanked by boxing champions and Sylvester Stallone, the actor who brought the case to his attention, signed an order pardoning Johnson.

The president called Johnson "a truly great fighter" who "had a tough life" but served 10 months in federal prison "for what many view as a racially motivated injustice." Mr. Trump said the conviction took place during a "period of tremendous racial tension in the United States."

Mr. Trump has often found himself in the center of fiery debates over race and sports, and civil rights in general, repeatedly admonishing N.F.L. players, a majority of them black, who have knelt during the national anthem at games to protest racism and police brutality.

Hours before he announced the pardon, he told Fox News that he agreed with the N.F.L.'s new pol-

Continued on Page A17

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Americans and Russians Battle
The Pentagon described a firefight between American commandos and Russian mercenaries in Syria. PAGE A5

Wind Farms Dot Brazil Coast
Lawmakers are debating a tax on wind- and solar-generated power as the industry grows. Galinhos Journal. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A11-17

Medal of Honor, and Scrutiny
The awarding of the honor to a former Navy SEAL for a 2002 firefight renewed controversy over the battle. PAGE A11

Culture War Rematch Is Off
A gay man denied a marriage license by a Kentucky county clerk lost a Democratic primary to oppose her. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A18-21

Subway Chief Needs Cuomo
Without the governor's backing, Andy Byford's ambitious, $19 billion transit overhaul plan has little chance of making it off the drawing board. PAGE A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Apple Teams With Volkswagen
The tech giant, rebuffed by BMW and Mercedes-Benz, scaled back its ambition and found a partner for a self-driving electric vehicle. PAGE B1

Don't Put That Mustang Down
Ford is phasing out its passenger cars except for one classic, even if it doesn't make much money, James B. Stewart writes. PAGE B1

Safety Questions for Uber
A report shed light on computer and procedural failures that led to the death of a pedestrian during the test of a self-driving car in Arizona. PAGE B1

WEEKEND ARTS C1-22

Neglected No More
A Met show on self-taught black artists "is suffused by an electrifying sense of change," Roberta Smith says. PAGE C13

A Singer's Feminist Rage
"We're still wild creatures inside," says Neko Case, whose fierceness roars through on her new album. PAGE C1

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-13

The King of the K
Max Scherzer is the perfect pitcher for modern baseball, in which strikeouts are an ever-rising tidal wave. PAGE B8

Rangers Tap a Mentor
David Quinn, the new head coach, brings his gift for developing young talent to a team in need of it. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Wilbur Ross PAGE A23

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, periodic clouds and sunshine, a warmer afternoon, high 82. **Tonight,** patchy clouds, low 66. **Tomorrow,** afternoon thunderstorms, high 80. Weather map is on Page B11.

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E.P.A. EASES WAY IT EVALUATES RISK FROM CHEMICALS

A BIG WIN FOR INDUSTRY

Agency Discounts Effects of Substances in Air, Ground or Water

By ERIC LIPTON

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration, after heavy lobbying by the chemical industry, is scaling back the way the federal government determines health and safety risks associated with the most dangerous chemicals on the market, documents from the Environmental Protection Agency show.

Under a law passed by Congress during the final year of the Obama administration, the E.P.A. was required for the first time to evaluate hundreds of potentially toxic chemicals and determine if they should face new restrictions,

JUSTIN T. GELLERSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nancy B. Beck of the E.P.A.

or even be removed from the market. The chemicals include many in everyday use, such as dry-cleaning solvents, paint strippers and substances used in health and beauty products like shampoos and cosmetics.

But as it moves forward reviewing the first batch of 10 chemicals, the E.P.A. has in most cases decided to exclude from its calculations any potential exposure caused by the substances' presence in the air, the ground or water, according to more than 1,500 pages of documents released last week by the agency.

Instead, the agency will focus

Continued on Page A16

Health Law Challenge

The Justice Department argued that provisions on pre-existing conditions were part of an unconstitutional scheme. Page A13.

U.S. and China Agree to a Deal To Revive ZTE

A Favor to Xi Before North Korea Talks

By ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — President Trump handed the Chinese telecommunications firm ZTE a lifeline on Thursday, agreeing to lift tough American sanctions over the objections of Republican lawmakers, his defense advisers and some of his own economic officials.

The deal will help defuse tensions with the Chinese president, Xi Jinping, who personally asked Mr. Trump to intervene to save ZTE and whom the president has relied on to help pave the way for next week's summit meeting with the North Korean leader.

The Commerce Department said that ZTE had agreed to pay a $1 billion fine, replace its board and senior leadership, and allow the United States to more closely inspect the company by effectively having a handpicked compliance team embedded inside the firm. The United States would then lift a seven-year ban that prevented the company from buying American products and was quickly driving it out of business.

But the settlement has inflamed lawmakers, including top Republicans, who objected to helping a Chinese company that broke American law and has been accused of posing a national security threat. It also puts the United States in an awkward position as it punishes allies like Canada, Mexico and the European Union with stiff tariffs on steel and aluminum, and insists that countries in Europe and elsewhere abide by American sanctions on Iran.

In 2016, the United States found the Chinese company guilty of violating American sanctions on Iran and North Korea. In April, the government said ZTE had failed to take the necessary actions to rectify the issue, and had lied about its efforts, prompting the Commerce Department to implement the ban. Defense officials have also repeatedly expressed concern about the risk that ZTE's equipment could pose to national security.

Lawmakers moved swiftly to try to scuttle the agreement on Thursday as a bipartisan group of senators introduced an amendment that would automatically reinstate ZTE's ban on purchasing American products until the president certified to Congress that the

Continued on Page A9

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Setting the Tone
President Trump, with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan at the White House, claimed that his decision to use hard-nosed tactics had reeled in Iran and would work on North Korea. Page A7.

Power Couple Pumps Millions to the Hard Right

By STEPHANIE SAUL and DANNY HAKIM

Little-Known Donors With Their Hands in Dozens of Races

Few political donors are as influential, yet little known, as Liz and Dick Uihlein.

The Midwestern couple has joined the upper pantheon of Republican donors alongside names like Koch, Mercer and Adelson. They have spent roughly $26 million on the current election cycle, supporting more than 60 congressional candidates, working outside the party establishment to advance a combative, hard-right conservatism, from Washington to the smallest town.

Mr. Uihlein (pronounced YOU-line), a scion of one of the founders of Schlitz beer, underwrites firebrand anti-establishment candidates who typically defend broad access to assault weapons and assail transgender rights. He has also bankrolled partisan newspapers and backed Roy Moore in Alabama even after he was accused of sexual misconduct with underage girls.

Mrs. Uihlein is the hands-on president of Uline, the packing supply giant the couple founded together nearly four decades ago. Her own views emerge in dispatches she sends out in the company catalog: about her devotion to Fox News, her love for Hall & Oates — they once performed at Uline — and her disdain for marijuana. "Have the politicians gone mad?" she once wrote about the legalization of the drug. "It's bad news."

Perhaps nothing illustrates the couple's determination to set the agenda more than their efforts in the Wisconsin town of Manitowish Waters. They have spent millions remaking the small community and buying up much of its downtown. In 2016, shortly before Mrs. Uihlein joined the Trump campaign as a major fund-raiser, she threatened to divert $300,000 in planned donations if the town didn't move a boat ramp that was near a pavilion she had built.

Continued on Page A14

ANGER FLARES UP AS THE GROUP OF 7 HEADS TO QUEBEC

TRUMP TO LEAVE EARLY

Allies Chastise American President on Steel and Aluminum Tariffs

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Trump will skip most of the second day of a summit meeting with allies this weekend, the White House said late Thursday, as he engaged in a contentious war of words over trade on the eve of a gathering that will underscore his isolation from the leaders of the world's largest economies.

Sarah Huckabee Sanders, the White House press secretary, announced that Mr. Trump will leave Canada at 10:30 a.m. Saturday, well before scheduled sessions on climate change, clean energy and oceans. He will attend an early-morning session on "women's empowerment," but he will be gone before any joint statement is issued by the other leaders.

Earlier Thursday, President Emmanuel Macron of France and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada lashed out at Mr. Trump for imposing tariffs on their steel and aluminum industries. They called it an illegal economic assault on their countries that is unanimously opposed by the other leaders of the Group of 7 who will gather Friday in a sleepy village in Quebec for their annual summit meeting.

"The American President may not mind being isolated, but neither do we mind signing a 6 country agreement if need be," Mr. Macron said Thursday in an especially acerbic tweet. "Because these 6 countries represent values, they represent an economic market which has the weight of history behind it and which is now a true international force."

Mr. Trudeau said at a news conference with Mr. Macron that "we are going to defend our industries and our workers" and "show the U.S. president that his unacceptable actions are hurting his own citizens."

Mr. Trump responded with his trademark Twitter bluntness a few hours later, signaling that he has no intention of relenting on his aggressive trade demands and cares little about the diplomatic niceties that usually constrain

Continued on Page A6

A 5-Year-Old Migrant's Heartache: 'When Will I See My Papa?'

By MIRIAM JORDAN

When he landed in Michigan in late May, all the weary little boy carried was a trash bag stuffed with dirty clothes from his days-long trek across Mexico, and two small pieces of paper — one a stick-figure drawing of his family from Honduras, the other a sketch of his father, who had been arrested and led away after they arrived at the United States border in El Paso.

An American government escort handed over the 5-year-old child, identified on his travel documents as José, to the American woman whose family was entrusted with caring for him. He refused to take her hand. He did not cry. He was silent on the ride "home."

The first few nights, he cried himself to sleep. Then it turned into "just moaning and moaning," said Janice, his foster mother. He recently slept through the night for the first time, though he still insists on tucking the family pictures under his pillow.

José's separation from his father is part of the Trump administration's latest and most widely

A drawing kept by José. His father was arrested at the U.S. border.

debated border enforcement policy. Last month, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced that the government would criminally prosecute everyone who crosses the border illegally, a directive that is already leading to the breakup of hundreds of migrant families and channeling children into shelters and foster homes across the country.

The goal, according to administration officials, is to discourage Central American families from making the perilous journey to the United States' southwest border, where they have been arriving in swelling numbers this year to claim asylum.

In just the first two weeks under President Trump's new policy, 638 parents who arrived with 658 children had been prosecuted, administration officials told Congress.

Kirstjen Nielsen, the homeland security secretary, emphasized that separating families was not the aim but merely the effect of a decision to step up prosecutions of those who cross the border illegally. "We do not have a policy to separate children from their parents. Our policy is, if you break the law we will prosecute you," she told the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee on May 15.

She said the Trump administration is doing a better job than its predecessors in assuring that migrant children are placed with

Continued on Page A17

ON THE AGENDA Republicans agreed to draft an immigration bill, setting up a showdown vote in a midterm year. PAGE A16

Former Senate Aide Is Charged; Times Reporter's Records Seized

This article is by ***Adam Goldman****,* ***Nicholas Fandos*** *and* ***Katie Benner****.*

WASHINGTON — A former Senate Intelligence Committee aide was arrested on Thursday in an investigation of classified information leaks where prosecutors also secretly seized years' worth of a New York Times reporter's phone and email records.

The former aide, James A. Wolfe, 57, was charged with lying repeatedly to investigators about his contacts with three reporters. According to the authorities, Mr. Wolfe made false statements to the F.B.I. about providing two of them with sensitive information related to the committee's work. He denied to investigators that he ever gave classified material to journalists, the indictment said.

Mr. Wolfe, the Intelligence Committee's director of security, was slated to appear before a federal judge on Friday in Washington. Reached on Thursday evening before his arrest, Mr. Wolfe declined to comment.

Mr. Wolfe's case led to the first known instance of the Justice Department going after a reporter's data under President Trump. The seizure was disclosed in a letter to the Times reporter, Ali Watkins, who had been in a three-year relationship with Mr. Wolfe. The seizure suggested that prosecutors under the Trump administration will continue the aggressive tactics employed under President Barack Obama.

In his role with the committee,

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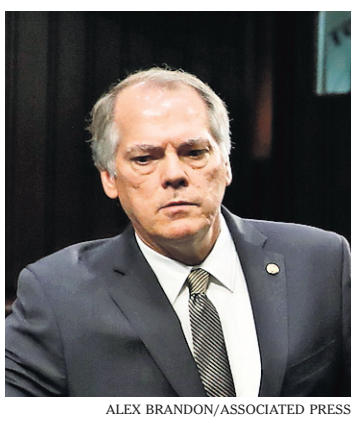

ALEX BRANDON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

James Wolfe is accused of lying to investigators.

NEW YORK A19-22

Verrazano May Get Longer
The name of the bridge, that is. A new bill aims to change the much-disputed spelling to Verrazzano. PAGE A19

Cheaper MetroCards for Some
City officials are said to have agreed to pay for half-price passes for riders below the federal poverty line. PAGE A19

NATIONAL A12-18

Steady Rise in Suicide Rate
Suicide rates have risen in almost every state since 1999, and by 25 percent nationwide. Health officials are scrambling for solutions. PAGE A17

A Piece of the Mars Puzzle
Carbon molecules used and produced by living organisms have been identified on Mars. That's not proof of life, but scientists are excited. PAGE A12

Liberals Lose Out in California
Democratic voters had a lot of choices in the primary, but for the most part they went for mainstream candidates to take on Republicans. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

2,300-Year Journey From China
The tale of an ancient document's odysseys is renewing pressure for the manuscript's return to Beijing. PAGE A4

An Afghan Pause for Holy Days
Afghanistan declared a cease-fire with the Taliban to encourage peace talks during one of the holiest periods on the Muslim calendar. PAGE A11

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Old-Style Jobs Persist
Defying forecasts, a survey of nontraditional employment shows it has become less common since 2005. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B7-15

Capitals Win First Stanley Cup
Washington scored late in the third period and defeated the Golden Knights to win the series in five games. PAGE B7

Ready to Let LeBron Fly
LeBron James seems set to leave Cleveland again, and this time, fans are O.K. with that. Sports of The Times. PAGE B7

WEEKEND ARTS C1-22

A Sculptor on the Thin Side
A show on Alberto Giacometti offers despair, and humaneness, Jason Farago says. Above, "The Nose." PAGE C13

Forecasting the Tonys
Want to know who is going to win the awards this Sunday? A Times survey offers a pretty good idea. PAGE C4

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks PAGE A27

0 354613 9

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly cloudy, cooler, high 75. **Tonight,** rather cloudy, passing showers, low 58. **Tomorrow,** more sunshine than clouds, cool, high 70. Details in SportsSunday, Page 8.

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JESCO DENZEL/GERMAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

A photo posted by Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany described a "spontaneous meeting" of the Group of 7 leaders on Saturday.

President Refuses to Sign Statement From Top Allies

A Barrage of Insults Irks the Group of 7

By PETER BAKER and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Shortly before leaving the annual meeting of major world powers on Saturday, President Trump boasted that it had been "tremendously successful" and that on a scale of 0 to 10, "the relationship is a 10."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Fewer than nine hours later, the relationship was plummeting toward a zero. With a petulant tweetstorm from Air Force One, Mr. Trump all but blew up the Group of 7 nations that the United States has led for more than four decades and essentially declared open political war on America's closest neighbor.

Whatever hopes that other leaders had of pacifying Mr. Trump and papering over their widening differences on trade, security and the world order vanished in a flurry of harsh recriminations. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada rebuffed Mr. Trump's positions in public comments, prompting Mr. Trump to refuse to sign the carefully crafted final communiqué.

The blowup left the United States alienated from its allies even more than it had been entering into the summit meeting and came as Mr. Trump flew to Singapore, earlier than originally scheduled, for a risky meeting with a nuclear-armed American enemy, Kim Jong-un, the repressive leader of North Korea.

"Trump is readier to give a pass to countries that pose a real threat to Western values and security than to America's traditional allies," said Peter Westmacott, a former British ambassador to Washington. "If there is a 'method to the madness,' to use the words of British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson, it is currently well hidden."

Continued on Page 10

Trump Calls Leader of Canada 'Weak'

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and CATHERINE PORTER

QUEBEC CITY — President Trump upended two days of global economic diplomacy late Saturday, refusing to sign a joint statement with America's allies, threatening to escalate his trade war on the country's neighbors and deriding Canada's prime minister as "very dishonest and weak."

In a remarkable pair of acrimony-laced tweets from aboard Air Force One as he flew away from the Group of 7 summit toward a meeting with North Korea's leader, Mr. Trump lashed out at Justin Trudeau. He accused the prime minister, who hosted the seven-nation gathering, of making false statements.

Literally moments after Mr. Trudeau's government proudly released the joint statement, noting it had been agreed to by all seven countries, Mr. Trump blew apart the veneer of cordiality that had prevailed throughout the two days of meetings in a resort town on the banks of the St. Lawrence River.

"Based on Justin's false statements at his news conference, and the fact that Canada is charging massive Tariffs to our U.S. farmers, workers and companies, I have instructed our U.S. Reps not to endorse the Communique as we look at Tariffs on automobiles flooding the U.S. Market!" Mr. Trump wrote.

A few hours earlier, Mr. Trudeau said the seven nations had reached broad agreements on a range of economic and foreign policy goals. But he acknowledged that deep disagreements remained between Mr. Trump and the leaders of the other nations, especially on trade.

Mr. Trudeau had sought to play down personal clashes with Mr. Trump as he wrapped up the summit, calling the meeting "very successful" and saying he was "in-

Continued on Page 10

MAKING HISTORY In his own unorthodox way, President Trump has been preparing for decades to meet North Korea's leader. PAGE 11

In the Trump Administration, Science Is Unwelcome. So Is Advice.

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — As President Trump prepares to meet Kim Jong-un of North Korea to negotiate denuclearization, a challenge that has bedeviled the world for years, he is doing so without the help of a White House science adviser or senior counselor trained in nuclear physics.

Mr. Trump is the first president since 1941 not to name a science adviser, a position created during World War II to guide the Oval Office on technical matters ranging from nuclear warfare to global pandemics. As a businessman and president, Mr. Trump has proudly been guided by his instincts. Nevertheless, people who have participated in past nuclear negotiations say the absence of such high-level expertise could put him at a tactical disadvantage in one of the weightiest diplomatic matters of his presidency.

"You need to have an empowered senior science adviser at the table," said R. Nicholas Burns, who led negotiations with India over a civilian nuclear deal during the George W. Bush administration. "You can be sure the other side will have that."

The lack of traditional scientific advisory leadership in the White House is one example of a significant change in the Trump administration: the marginalization of science in shaping United States policy.

There is no chief scientist at the State Department, where science is central to foreign policy matters such as cybersecurity and global warming. Nor is there a chief scientist at the Department of Agriculture: Mr. Trump last year nominated Sam Clovis, a former talk-show host with no scientific background, to the position, but he withdrew his name and no new nomination has been made.

These and other decisions have consequences for public health and safety and the economy. Both the Interior Department and the

Continued on Page 18

Money Primary For 2020 Starts With New York

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Senator Elizabeth Warren has come calling as recently as April. Kamala Harris, the first-term senator of California, has made repeated visits, starting as early as her third month in office. Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. is also no stranger to the big-money donor world of New York; he was here in April — his third such visit in three months.

It will be months before Mr. Biden, Ms. Harris, Ms. Warren or most potential presidential aspirants will barnstorm across the farmlands of Iowa, dig into a low-country boil in South Carolina or field questions at a town-hall meeting in New Hampshire.

But with American presidential races requiring an ever-dizzying amount of money, an early, behind-the-scenes 2020 contest is already taking place: the New York money primary.

Over passed appetizers, intimate dinners and private board room meet-and-greets, a parade of nationally ambitious Democrats have been cycling through the offices and living rooms of the Manhattan money set.

Top New York donors and Democratic fund-raisers, in more than two dozen interviews, said that their phones rarely stop buzzing as candidates blitz one of the densest concentrations of Demo-

Continued on Page 16

VICTOR J. BLUE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A New King Emerges, in a New York Minute
Justify led the Belmont Stakes throughout to secure racing's Triple Crown. SportsSunday, Page 1.

Where Police Cameras and Web Users See You

By RICK ROJAS

NEWARK — The camera perched above the bus stop sends back a continuous feed from the corner of 16th Avenue and South 18th Street in Newark's West Ward. Regular customers come and go from Max's, a convenience store, and a man without a shirt paces aimlessly on the same slice of pavement. Anyone with a fast internet connection and a desire to watch could also see Fernando Demarzino stepping out of his cousin's barbershop.

"My girlfriend called and told me what I had in my hand," Mr. Demarzino said on a recent evening as he stood within the camera's line of sight. His girlfriend had heard about official camera feeds that had recently been made available online, and she was checking out the spot where she knew she was likely to find Mr. Demarzino. He had change in his hand, and she jokingly told him the image was sharp enough for her to count out three quarters. She also spotted his Jeep parked on the street.

Surveillance cameras are an inescapable fixture of the modern city. Law enforcement agencies have deployed vast networks to guard against terrorism and combat street crime. But in Newark, the police have taken an extraordinary step that few, if any, other departments in the country have

Continued on Page 15

A Tax Scandal Is Siphoning The Lifeblood of South Africa

By SELAM GEBREKIDAN and NORIMITSU ONISHI

PRETORIA, South Africa — The nation's tax chief steeled himself. Chiding and pleading with President Jacob Zuma to get him to file his taxes — much less pay the full amount — was always an excruciating task.

And it kept getting worse. One of the president's sons, a nephew and countless business allies had serious tax problems as well, four former senior officials said, alarming investigators and leaving them wondering what to do.

South Africa's young democracy had depended on the faith — and taxes — of its people since the end of apartheid, so the risks were evident. If the leader of the African National Congress, his relatives and his influential associates could dodge their tax duties, the rest of the country might shirk them, too, hollowing out the government's ability to function at the most basic level.

The tax commissioner, Ivan Pillay, said he tried to be discreet, visiting the president several times from 2012 to 2014 to prod him to comply.

POOL PHOTO BY MARCO LONGARI

Jacob Zuma, former president of South Africa, last week.

"If I am in the way, just tell me and I'll go," Mr. Pillay said in a rare interview, recounting his conversations with Mr. Zuma. "I won't like it, but I'll go. I'm a disciplined member of the A.N.C."

Mr. Zuma demurred, insisting there was no need to resign, Mr. Pillay said. Instead, the president dealt with the issue himself a few months later: He abruptly replaced Mr. Pillay with a loyalist

Continued on Page 12

NATIONAL 14-21

Mystery of a Teenager's Death
A university campus police officer fired the shots that killed Lavar Montray Douglas. But the 18-year-old's family could get no other answers. PAGE 14

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Tech Moguls and Killer Robots
Elon Musk and Mark Zuckerberg disagree about artificial intelligence's risks, even as Silicon Valley deals with tech's unintended consequences. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

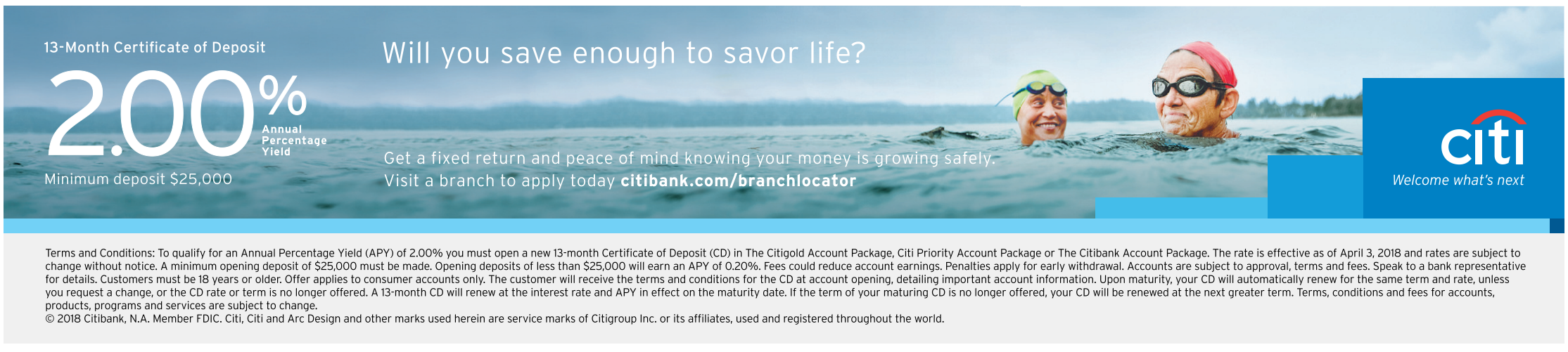
Halep Rallies to Win First Major
The world No. 1 Simona Halep, who lost her first three Grand Slam finals, came back from a first-set loss to beat Sloane Stephens at the French Open. PAGE 2

SPECIAL SECTION: WORLD CUP 2018

32 Teams With One Dream
The globe's biggest sporting event starts this week. Inside is a 12-page preview, including a country-by-country analysis of all eight groups competing in Russia.

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof PAGE 9



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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine, high 74. **Tonight,** some clouds, low 60. **Tomorrow,** more clouds than sun, humid, showers or thunderstorms, high 79. Weather map appears on Page B5.

VOL. CLXVII ... No. 57,991 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 12, 2018 $3.00

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

"I think we will have a terrific relationship, I have no doubt," President Trump said after greeting Kim Jong-un on Tuesday.

TAUNTS PUT ASIDE AS TRUMP AND KIM MEET TO END CRISIS

In Historic Face-to-Face Nuclear Talks, Handshakes and Hope for a Deal

By MARK LANDLER

SINGAPORE — President Trump shook hands with Kim Jong-un of North Korea on Tuesday and hailed the start of a "terrific relationship," a momentous step in an improbable courtship that has opened a new chapter for the world's largest nuclear power and the most reclusive one.

Brash, impulsive leaders who only a few months ago taunted each other across a nuclear abyss, Mr. Trump and Mr. Kim had set aside their threats in a gamble that for now, at least, personal diplomacy can counteract decades of enmity and distrust.

In a carefully choreographed encounter, Mr. Trump and Mr. Kim strode toward each other, arms extended, in the red-carpeted reception area of a Singapore hotel built on the site of a British colonial outpost — the first time a sitting American president and North Korean leader have ever met.

Posing before a wall of American and North Korean flags, Mr. Trump put his hand on the younger man's shoulder. Then the two, alone except for their interpreters, walked off to meet privately in an attempt to resolve the crisis over the North's nuclear program.

"I feel really great," Mr. Trump said. "It's gonna be a great discussion and I think tremendous success. I think it's gonna be really successful and I think we will have a terrific relationship, I have no doubt."

A more sober-sounding Mr. Kim said: "It was not easy to get here. The past worked as fetters on our limbs, and the old prejudices and practices worked as obstacles on our way forward. But we overcame all of them, and we are here today."

Later, as the two leaders reconvened with top aides, Mr. Trump declared of the nuclear impasse, "Working together, we will get it taken care of."

Mr. Kim responded, "There will be challenges ahead, but we will work with Trump."

Whether they will succeed is, of course, highly questionable. Their negotiators failed to make much headway in working-level meetings beforehand, leaving Mr. Trump and Mr. Kim with little common ground ahead of what could be months or even years of talks.

But this is a negotiation that follows no known playbook: Two headstrong men — one 34 years old, the other 71; products of wealth and privilege, but with lives so dissimilar that the two leaders could be from different planets — coming together to search for a deal that eluded their predecessors.

"I just think it's going to work out very nicely," Mr. Trump had

Continued on Page A11

TYRONE SIU/REUTERS

A pin worn by North Korean officers shows Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il, former leaders.

SESSIONS SHRINKS PATHS TO ASYLUM

Deciding That a Fear of Abuse Isn't Enough

By KATIE BENNER and CAITLIN DICKERSON

WASHINGTON — Attorney General Jeff Sessions on Monday made it all but impossible for asylum seekers to gain entry into the United States by citing fears of domestic abuse or gang violence, in a ruling that could have a broad effect on the flow of migrants from Central America.

Mr. Sessions's decision in a closely watched domestic violence case is the latest turn in a long-running debate over what constitutes a need for asylum. He reversed an immigration appeals court ruling that granted it to a Salvadoran woman who said she had been sexually, emotionally and physically abused by her husband.

Relatively few asylum seekers are granted permanent entry into the United States. In 2016, for every applicant who succeeded, more than 10 others also sought asylum, according to data from the Department of Homeland Security. But the process can take months or years, and tens of thousands of people live freely in the United States while their cases wend through the courts.

Mr. Sessions's decision overturns a precedent set during the Obama administration that allowed more women to claim credible fears of domestic abuse and will make it harder for such arguments to prevail in immigration courts. He said the Obama administration created "powerful incentives" for people to "come here illegally and claim a fear of return."

Asylum claims have expanded too broadly to include victims of "private violence," like domestic violence or gangs, Mr. Sessions wrote in his ruling, which narrowed the type of asylum requests allowed. The number of people who told homeland security officials that they had a credible fear of persecution jumped to 94,000 in 2016 from 5,000 in 2009, he said in a speech earlier in the day in which he signaled he would restore "sound principles of asylum and longstanding principles of immigration law."

"The prototypical refugee flees her home country because the

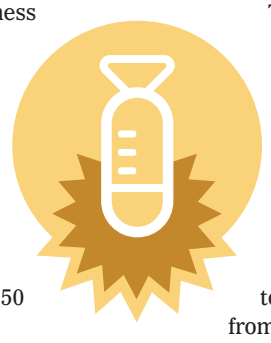
Continued on Page A16

Why Truly Disarming North Korea Is So Difficult

President Trump said he agreed to meet with Kim Jong-un in Singapore because the North Korean leader had signaled a willingness to "denuclearize," but that word means very different things in Pyongyang and Washington.

The task of "complete, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization" — the phrase that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo has been using — would be enormous because of the vast scope of the atomic program North Korea developed over the past 50 years.

North Korea has 141 sites devoted to the production and use of unconventional weapons, according to a 2014 RAND Corporation report.



The nation's main atomic complex, Yongbyon, covers more than three square miles.

The disarmament challenge is made more difficult by uncertainty about how many nuclear weapons the North possesses — estimates range from 20 to 60 — and whether tunnels deep inside the North's mountains hide plants and mobile missiles.

Given all that, nuclear experts say that even if North Korea agreed to disarm, it would take anywhere from a few years to a decade and a half to accomplish in a nation the size of Pennsylvania.

A look at the nine steps that would be required for full disarmament. **PAGE A10**

ÁNGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the Robert F. Wagner Houses in East Harlem in 2016. Such deterioration goes back decades.

Rot, Deception and Danger in Public Housing

By BENJAMIN WEISER and J. DAVID GOODMAN

The federal government on Monday delivered a withering rebuke of New York City's housing authority, accusing officials of systematic misconduct, indifference and outright lies in the management of the nation's oldest and largest stock of public housing.

Federal prosecutors in Manhattan said the authority, which houses at least 400,000 poor and working-class residents, covered up its actions, training its staff on how to mislead federal inspectors and presenting false reports to the government and to the public about its compliance with lead-paint regulations. The failures endangered tenants and workers for years, the prosecutors said, and potentially left more children than previously known poisoned by lead paint in their apartments.

The accusations were made in an 80-page civil complaint filed against the authority on Monday in federal court by the office of Geoffrey S. Berman, the United States attorney in Manhattan, after a lengthy investigation.

The problems at the authority "reflect management dysfunction and organizational failure," the prosecutors said, "including a culture where spin is often rewarded and accountability often does not exist."

Mayor Bill de Blasio said the public housing authority, known as Nycha, chose to settle rather than face a trial, a decision that the city and housing experts said appeared to mark a nadir in a dec-

Continued on Page A20

Supreme Court Upholds Purge Of Ohio Voters

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday upheld Ohio's aggressive efforts to purge its voting rolls, siding with Republicans in the latest partisan battle over how far states can go in imposing restrictions on voting.

The court ruled that states may kick people off the rolls if they skip a few elections and fail to respond to a notice from election officials. The vote was 5 to 4, with the more conservative justices in the majority.

On one level, the decision sought to make sense of tangled statutory language. But it was also a vivid reminder that measures placing obstacles between people seeking to vote and their ability to cast ballots — including cutbacks on early voting, elimination of same-day registration and tough voter ID laws — present dueling visions of democracy.

Republicans have pushed for such restrictions, arguing without evidence that they are needed to combat what they say is widespread voter fraud. Democrats have pushed back, countering that the efforts are part of an attempt to suppress voting by Democratic constituencies, particularly minorities.

The case concerned Larry Harmon, a software engineer and Navy veteran who lives near Akron, Ohio. He voted in the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections but did

Continued on Page A13

Women Run, And Hit a Wall: Men With Cash

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

LAS VEGAS — When Chris Giunchigliani told former Senator Harry Reid about her plans to run for governor of Nevada in 2018, he candidly told her that he thought her opponent, Steve Sisolak, would make a stronger candidate, Ms. Giunchigliani recently recalled.

Mr. Reid, the former Senate Democratic leader, was even blunter when he warned the president of Emily's List, Stephanie Schriock, that the Democratic women's group would be inviting disaster if they spent heavily for Ms. Giunchigliani, according to two Democrats who described the private conversation on condition of anonymity.

Were Ms. Giunchigliani, a veteran officeholder and outspoken liberal, to be nominated, Mr. Reid said, the casino executives who dominate Nevada politics would not only throw their support to Adam Laxalt, the likely Republican candidate for governor — they would also work to wrest control of the state Legislature away from Democrats.

His plea fell on deaf ears. Emily's List polled the race, found Ms. Giunchigliani could be competitive and has spent about $2 million on her candidacy, lifting her into contention. Ms. Giunchigliani now faces an uphill primary election here on Tuesday against the better-funded Mr.

Continued on Page A14

NATIONAL A12-18

Tribes Prevail in Fishing Case
The Supreme Court let stand a ruling favoring salmon-fishing rights of Native Americans in Washington. PAGE A12

DeVos Overrules Staff Report
The education secretary reinstated a college accreditor that had violated dozens of federal standards. PAGE A18

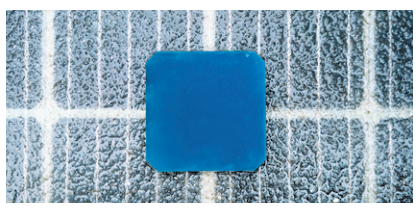
INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Small Window for Restitution
Critics say a law pending in Poland to restore property seized under Nazis and Communists excludes many Holocaust survivors. PAGE A4

Italy Rejects a Rescue Ship
Italy's new populist government refused to let a ship with more than 600 migrants dock. PAGE A6

NEW YORK A19-21

The M.T.A.'s Herculean Task
Price tag aside, the plan to install new signals on five subway lines in five years will be a challenge. PAGE A19



BUSINESS DAY B1-6

China Tests a Solar Road
If the project fares well, it could have a major impact on renewable energy, and on the driving experience. PAGE B1

One Web No Longer Fits All
Net neutrality rules requiring internet service providers to offer equal access to all web content have ended. PAGE B3

ARTS C1-8

How He Staged a Tony Coup
The producer Orin Wolf fell in love with a small Israeli film and spent years getting it to the stage. "The Band's Visit" won 10 awards on Sunday. PAGE C1

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-10

A Soccer Star and an Autocrat
Mohamed Salah and Egypt's national soccer team have been training in Chechnya, the guests of a strongman in search of an image upgrade. PAGE B7

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Paul Krugman PAGE A22

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

Lasik's Risks Are Clearer Now
Some of the patients who have undergone the eye surgery have reported a variety of side effects. They may persist for years, studies indicate. PAGE D1

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy, humid, showers or thunderstorms, high 79. **Tonight,** showers early, partly cloudy, low 68. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, high 82. Weather map appears on Page C8.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 57,992 + © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 2018 $3.00

MERGER DECISION IS A GREEN LIGHT FOR DEAL-MAKING

AT&T GETS TIME WARNER

Blow to Justice Dept. in Case Watched Closely by Companies

This article is by ***Cecilia Kang****,* ***Edmund Lee*** *and* ***Emily Cochrane****.*

WASHINGTON — A federal judge on Tuesday approved the blockbuster merger between AT&T and Time Warner, rebuffing the government's effort to stop the $85.4 billion deal, in a decision that is expected to unleash a wave of corporate takeovers.

The judge, Richard J. Leon of United States District Court in Washington, said the Justice Department had not proved that the telecom company's acquisition of Time Warner would lead to fewer choices for consumers and higher prices for television and internet services.

The merger would create a media and telecommunications powerhouse, reshaping the landscape of those industries. The combined company would have a library that includes HBO's hit "Game of Thrones" and channels like CNN, along with vast distribution reach through wireless and satellite television services across the country.

Media executives increasingly say content creation and distribution must be married to survive against technology companies like Amazon and Netflix. Those companies started producing their own shows in just the last several years. But they now spend billions of dollars a year on original programming, and users can stream video on apps in homes and on mobile devices, putting pressure on traditional media businesses.

Executives and investors of other companies had watched the six-week trial closely for signs about how it might affect their ambitions. Comcast, for example, would like to beat out the Walt Disney Company for some of 21st Century Fox's assets, but has held off from making a formal bid until the trial ended.

"If there ever were an antitrust case where the parties had a dramatically different assessment of the current state of the relevant market and a fundamentally different vision of its future develop-

Continued on Page A18

NEXT IN LINE After one deal's approval, the merger focus shifts to Comcast and Disney. PAGE B1

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kim Jong-un of North Korea and President Trump at a signing ceremony in Singapore on Tuesday.

PRESIDENT'S PITCH TO KIM YIELDS VOW WITH FEW DETAILS

NEWS ANALYSIS

Major Gamble Rests on 'Special Bond'

By DAVID E. SANGER

SINGAPORE — On paper, there is nothing President Trump extracted from North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un, in their summit meeting that Mr. Kim's father and grandfather had not already given to past American presidents.

In fact, he got less, at least for now. But as Mr. Trump made clear in a lengthy but vaguely worded reconstruction of their five hours of talks, none of that really matters to him.

Instead, he is betting everything on the "terrific relationship" and "very special bond" that he said he developed with the 34-year-old dictator, and Mr. Trump's seeming certainty that they now view the future elimination of North Korea's arsenal of atomic weapons the same way. He swatted away suggestions that the phrase "complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula" means something different in Pyongyang than it does in Washington.

Mr. Trump may yet prove that this time is different. This entire venture in the steamy summer in Singapore, the beating capitalist heart of Southeast Asia, is based on his conclusion that past presidents got it backward.

So he flew halfway around the world to meet the leader of one of the world's most repressive nations on the theory that if he could win over the country's leader with a vision of future wealth, North Korea will determine that it no longer needs its nuclear weapons. Or its missiles, its stockpiles of VX and other nerve agents or its biological weapons.

It is a huge gamble, based on

Continued on Page A11

Trump Agrees to End War Games With South Korea

By MARK LANDLER

SINGAPORE — In a day of personal diplomacy that began with a choreographed handshake and ended with a freewheeling news conference, President Trump deepened his wager on North Korea's leader on Tuesday, arguing that their rapport would bring the swift demise of that country's nuclear program.

Mr. Trump, acting more salesman than statesman, used flattery, cajolery and even a slickly produced promotional video to try to make the North Korean leader, Kim Jong-un, a partner in peace. He also gave Mr. Kim a significant concession: no more military drills between the United States and South Korea, a change that surprised South Korea and the Pentagon.

After hours of face-to-face contact, in which Mr. Trump even gave Mr. Kim a peek inside his bulletproof presidential limousine, he said he believed that Mr. Kim's desire to end North Korea's seven-decade-old confrontation with the United States was sincere.

"He was very firm in the fact that he wants to do this," Mr. Trump said at the news conference before leaving for home. While cautioning that he could not be sure, Mr. Trump said, "I think he might want to do this as much or even more than me."

Still, a joint statement signed by the two after their meeting — the first ever between a sitting American president and a North Korean leader — was as skimpy as the summit meeting was extravagant. It called for the "complete denuclearization" of the Korean Peninsula but provided neither a timeline nor any details about how the North would go about giving up its weapons.

The statement, which American officials negotiated intensely with the North Koreans and had hoped would be a road map to a nuclear deal, was a page and a half of diplomatic language recycled from statements negotiated by the North over the last two decades.

It made no mention of Mr. Trump's longstanding — suppos-

Continued on Page A11

INTREPID INVESTORS A few companies test the waters for doing business in North Korea. PAGE A10

Three Generations of Nuclear Promises

KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY, VIA A.P.

KIM IL-SUNG OCT. 22, 1994

North Korea signed an agreement with the United States to freeze nuclear activities, renounce any ambition to become a nuclear power and open two secret military sites to inspection by international experts.

RAO AIMIN/XINHUA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

KIM JONG-IL SEPT. 19, 2005

The United States, North Korea and four other nations participating in negotiations in Beijing signed a draft accord in which the North promised to abandon efforts to produce nuclear weapons and re-admit international inspectors to its nuclear facilities.

KCNA/REUTERS

KIM JONG-UN JUNE 12, 2018

Mr. Trump "committed to provide security guarantees" to North Korea, and Mr. Kim "reaffirmed his firm and unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula."

Pageantry Aside, a Summit Drama Built on Impromptu Moments

By MOTOKO RICH

SINGAPORE — The president of the United States pulled out an iPad and showed the leader of North Korea a slick, Hollywood-style trailer presenting the North's possible future.

There were images of fighter jets and missile launchings cut together with shots of dancing children, pictures of artisanal pizza and time-lapse sunrises over skyscrapers.

This was no ordinary summit meeting.

Then again, no one really thought the historic encounter between President Trump and North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un, was going to be just any encounter.

The meeting between these two figures — one a former reality television star and the other a dictator who has tortured and imprisoned thousands of citizens, and ordered executions, including of his own uncle and half brother — was expected to include lots of theatrics.

And it did.

The video came complete with an ominous voice-over and a swelling soundtrack as it described Mr. Kim's choice without mentioning nuclear weapons or sanctions relief: He could "shake the hand of peace and enjoy prosperity like he has never seen," or slide back into "more isolation."

Before the meeting, Mr. Kim posed for a selfie with Singapore's

Continued on Page A9

Voters in G.O.P. Punish Criticism Of the President

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Republican voters lashed out against traditional party leaders Tuesday, ousting Representative Mark Sanford of South Carolina and nominating a conservative firebrand for Senate in Virginia, the latest illustration that fealty to President Trump and his hard-line politics is paramount on the right.

Mr. Sanford, a former governor once seen as a possible candidate for president, lost to Katie Arrington, a state lawmaker, The Associated Press reported. Ms. Arrington had made the incumbent's frequent criticism of Mr. Trump the centerpiece of her campaign. And the president endorsed her in an unexpected, and deeply personal, broadside against Mr. Sanford just

HUNTER McRAE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Mark Sanford of South Carolina lost his race after tweets by President Trump.

three hours before the polls closed.

In Virginia, Republicans dismissed the concerns of mainstream party leaders to nominate Corey Stewart, a local official who has made his name attacking illegal immigrants and embracing emblems of the Confederacy, The A.P. reported. He will challenge Senator Tim Kaine, the former Democratic vice-presidential candidate.

Party leaders fear that Mr. Stewart, a fervent Trump supporter who has mimicked his slashing style, could drag down other Re-

Continued on Page A16

Ryan Sets Votes on Immigration As Moderates' Revolt Falls Short

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and THOMAS KAPLAN

WASHINGTON — After frenzied late-night negotiations, Speaker Paul D. Ryan defused a moderate Republican rebellion on Tuesday with a promise to hold high-stakes votes on immigration next week, thrusting the divisive issue onto center stage during a difficult election season for Republicans.

The move by Mr. Ryan, announced late Tuesday by his office, was something of a defeat for the rebellious immigration moderates, who fell two signatures short of the 218 needed to force the House to act this month on bipartisan measures aimed more directly at helping young immigrants brought to the country illegally as children.

Instead, the House is most likely to vote on one hard-line immigration measure backed by President Trump and conserva-

tives — and another more moderate compromise bill that was still being drafted, according to people familiar with the talks.

Had the rebels secured just two more signatures for their "discharge petition," they would have also gotten votes on the Dream Act, a stand-alone bill backed by Democrats that includes a path to citizenship for the young undocumented immigrants known as Dreamers and another bipartisan measure that couples a path to citizenship for Dreamers with beefed-up border security.

Mr. Ryan desperately wanted to avoid bringing those bipartisan measures to the floor. On Wednesday morning, he is expected to present a detailed plan for next week's votes to his conference.

"Members across the Republi-

Continued on Page A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

It's Strike Season in France
Unions have used strikes this spring to protest President Emmanuel Macron's reforms. Paris Dispatch. PAGE A4

A Quiet Unveiling in Taiwan
The United States opened an unofficial embassy in Taiwan, and tried to avoid upsetting China. PAGE A6

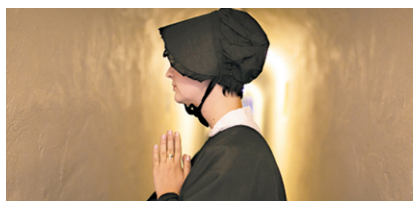
NATIONAL A12-18

Camping Out at the Border
Migrants are spending days waiting to cross from Mexico into the United States as the Trump administration tries to limit asylum applicants. PAGE A12

Trump's Bid for '26 World Cup
The president reassured FIFA that fans and teams wouldn't be kept out because of U.S. immigration policy. PAGE A13

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

A Tax Win for Amazon
Seattle officials repealed a corporate tax they had passed a month ago, after objections from Amazon. PAGE B1



NEW YORK A19-21

Ghosts of St. Vincent's Hospital
A play about the hospital roams across time, with the living and dead sharing the stage. About New York. PAGE A19

'Taxi of Tomorrow' Is History
The city rolled back the requirement to buy the Nissan NV200, easing one burden on cabdrivers. PAGE A20

ARTS C1-7

A Uniquely Australian Voice
In "The Shepherd's Hut," the novelist Tim Winton finds much to admire in his country's saltlands and in the struggles of a teenager hardened by life. PAGE C1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B10-16

Not Your Usual Contender
Tony Finau does not do things the usual way. He learned golf in his parents' garage, and he played at the Masters a day after spraining his ankle. PAGE B10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Nicholas Kristof PAGE A25

FOOD D1-8

A Thai Chef Back Home
After winning accolades in San Francisco, Pim Techamuanvivit is taking charge of Nahm, a Bangkok restaurant. Above, Nahm's petits fours. PAGE D1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine and clouds, breezy, not as warm, high 76. **Tonight,** clear, low 62. **Tomorrow,** sunny to partly cloudy, a warm afternoon, high 83. Weather map appears on Page A22.

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State Sues Trump Charity, Alleging Vast Misconduct

In Scathing Rebuke, New York Seeks Fines and the Closing of the Foundation

By DANNY HAKIM

The New York State attorney general's office filed a scathingly worded lawsuit on Thursday taking aim at the Donald J. Trump Foundation, accusing the charity and the Trump family of sweeping violations of campaign finance laws, self-dealing and illegal coordination with the presidential campaign.

The lawsuit, which seeks to dissolve the foundation and bar President Trump and three of his children from serving on nonprofit organizations, was an extraordinary rebuke of a sitting president. The attorney general also sent referral letters to the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Election Commission for possible further action, adding to Mr. Trump's extensive legal challenges.

The lawsuit, filed in State Supreme Court in Manhattan, culminated a nearly two-year investigation of Mr. Trump's charity, which became a subject of scrutiny during and after the 2016 presidential campaign. While such foundations are supposed to be devoted to charitable activities, the petition asserts that Mr. Trump's was often improperly used to settle legal claims against his various businesses, even spending $10,000 on a portrait of Mr. Trump that was hung at one of his golf clubs.

The foundation was also used to curry political favor, the lawsuit asserts. During the 2016 race, the foundation became a virtual arm of Mr. Trump's campaign, email traffic showed, with his campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, directing its expenditures, even though such foundations are explicitly prohibited from political activities.

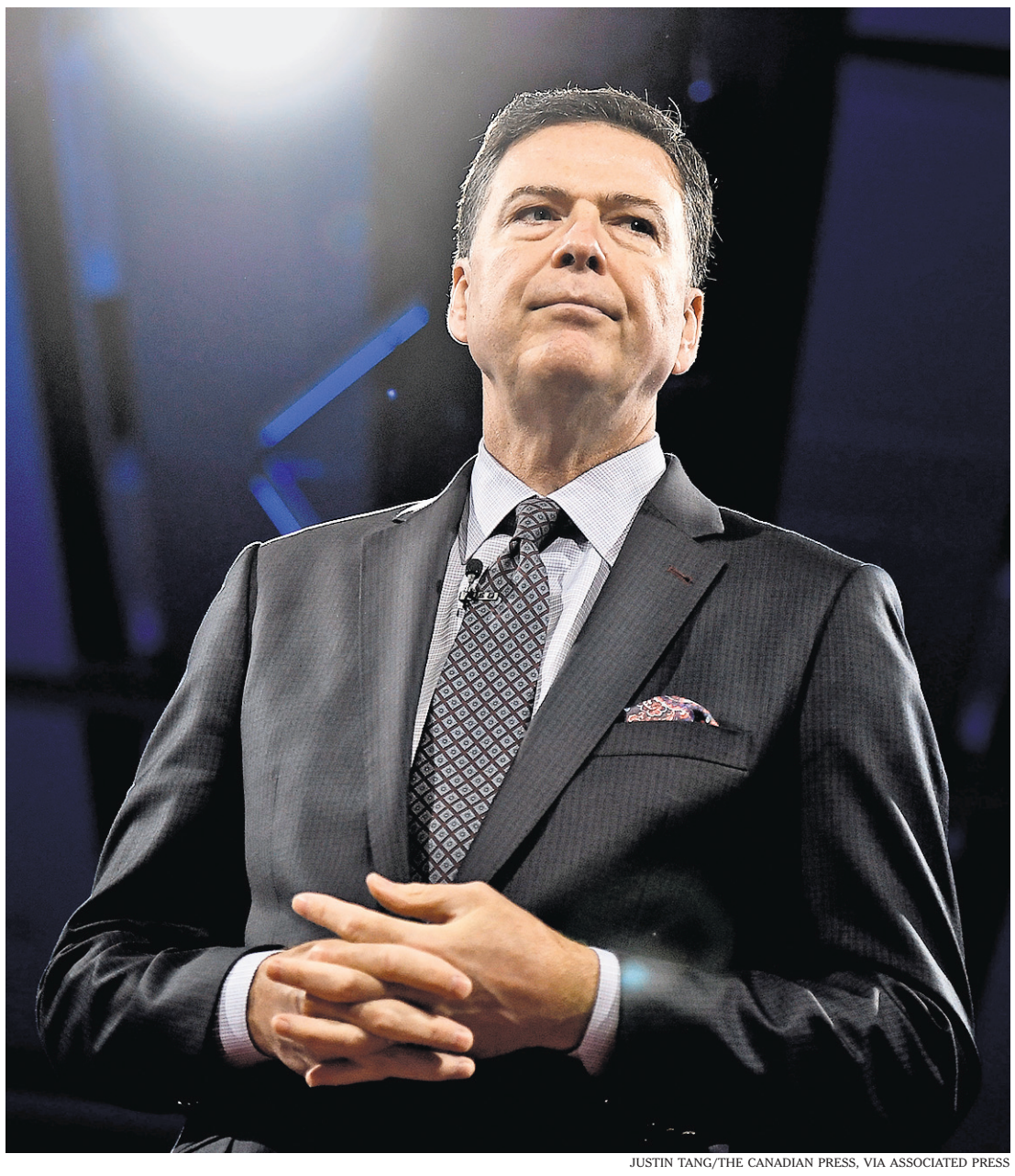
The attorney general's office is seeking to make the Trump Foundation pay $2.8 million in restitution, the amount raised for the foundation at a 2016 Iowa political fund-raiser. At the time, Mr. Trump skipped a Republican debate and set up his own event to raise money for veterans, though he used the event to skewer his opponents and celebrate his own accomplishments.

Mr. Trump immediately attacked the lawsuit, characterizing it on Twitter as an attempt by the "sleazy New York Democrats" to damage him by suing the foundation, and vowing not to settle the case — much as he did when the same office filed a lawsuit against Trump University. (Mr. Trump in 2016 paid a $25 million settlement to resolve the inquiry.)

Continued on Page A21

I.R.S. NEXT President Trump and his foundation may face bigger problems in an Internal Revenue Service inquiry. PAGE A21

F.B.I. FAULTED IN CLINTON CASE



JUSTIN TANG/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

A report found some of James B. Comey's conduct in the Clinton inquiry to be "insubordinate."

Comey Criticized — Result Held as Just

By MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department's inspector general on Thursday painted a harsh portrait of the F.B.I. during the 2016 presidential election, describing a destructive culture in which James B. Comey, the former director, was "insubordinate," senior officials privately bashed Donald J. Trump and agents came to distrust prosecutors.

The 500-page report criticized Mr. Comey for breaking with longstanding policy and publicly discussing — in a news conference and a pair of letters in the middle of the campaign — an investigation into Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server in handling classified information. The report was a firm rebuke of those actions, which Mr. Comey has tried for months to defend.

Nevertheless, the inspector general, Michael E. Horowitz, did not challenge the conclusion that Mrs. Clinton should not be prosecuted. That investigation loomed over most of the presidential campaign, and Mr. Horowitz and his investigators uncovered no proof that political opinions at the F.B.I. influenced its outcome.

"We found no evidence that the conclusions by department prosecutors were affected by bias or other improper considerations," he wrote. "Rather, we concluded that they were based on the prosecutor's assessment of facts, the law and past department practice."

But the report, begun in response to a chorus of requests from Congress and the public, was far from an exoneration. Mr. Horowitz was unsparing in his criticism of Mr. Comey and referred five F.B.I. employees for possible discipline over pro-Clinton or anti-Trump commentary in electronic messages. He said agents were far too cozy with journalists. And he described a breakdown in the chain of command, calling it "extraordinary" that the attorney general acceded to Mr. Comey during the most controversial moments of the Clinton inquiry.

The result, Mr. Horowitz said, undermined public confidence in the F.B.I. and sowed doubt about the bureau's handling of the Clinton investigation, which even two years later remains politically divisive. Mrs. Clinton's supporters blame Mr. Comey for her election loss. Mr. Trump believes that Mr. Comey and his agents conspired to clear Mrs. Clinton of wrongdo-

Continued on Page A12

Built for Jeans and Housewares, It's Now Home to Child Migrants

By MANNY FERNANDEZ

BROWNSVILLE, Tex. — In the loading docks, children sat in a darkened auditorium watching the animated movie "Moana."

Where there were once racks of clothes and aisles of appliances, there were now spotless dorm-style bedrooms with neatly made beds and Pokemon posters on the walls. The back parking lots were now makeshift soccer fields and volleyball courts. The McDonald's was now the cafeteria. All this made it difficult to visualize what the sprawling facility used to be — a former Walmart Supercenter.

The converted retail store at the southern tip of Texas has become the largest licensed migrant children's shelter in the country — a warehouse for nearly 1,500 boys ages 10 to 17 who were caught illegally crossing the border.

The teeming, 250,000-square-foot facility is a model of border life in Trump-era America, part of a growing industry of detention centers and shelters as federal authorities scramble to comply with the president's order to end "catch and release" of migrants illegally entering the country. Now that children are often being separated from their parents, this facility has had to obtain a waiver from the state to expand its capacity.

Cots are being added to sleeping areas. The staff is expanding. But even that is not enough. Fed-

Continued on Page A14

NEWS ANALYSIS

Weapon for Trump, but It Cuts Both Ways

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The report that had much of Washington buzzing on Thursday required 500 pages to outline its findings, but to President Trump, three words mattered most — "we'll stop it."

Those were the words that a senior F.B.I. agent texted in August 2016 to a colleague who was worried that Mr. Trump would win the election. For the president, that text seemed to validate his claim of a "deep state" conspiracy out to get him.

But the same inspector general report also undercut Mr. Trump's narrative. Whatever the agent, Peter Strzok, meant, the F.B.I. did not "stop" Mr. Trump, nor did the inspector general find evidence it tried. To the extent that the F.B.I. and its director at the time, James B. Comey, did anything wrong in 2016, according to the report, it was to the disadvantage of Mr. Trump's opponent, Hillary Clinton.

The sprawling report, the most comprehensive look back at the investigation into Mrs. Clinton's use of an unclassified private email server, reflected a messier reality than the simple story line promoted by the White House: An array of senior officials at the F.B.I. and the Justice Department made mistakes, the inspector general determined, but he found nothing to conclude that anyone went easy on Mrs. Clinton or tried to harm Mr. Trump out of political bias.

If anything, the report affirmed the complaints that Mrs. Clinton and her team have lodged against Mr. Comey — that he went too far by criticizing her conduct while declining to bring charges, and that he erred by disclosing days before the election that he was reopening the inquiry while never revealing an investigation into contacts between Mr. Trump's campaign and Russia.

"A fair reading of the report shows that the F.B.I. applied a double standard to the Clinton and Trump investigations that was unfair to Clinton and helped elect Trump," said John D. Podesta, who was Mrs. Clinton's campaign chairman. "That said, he'll use one random Strzok

Continued on Page A12

Women of Philharmonic Push to Erase Dress From Dress Code

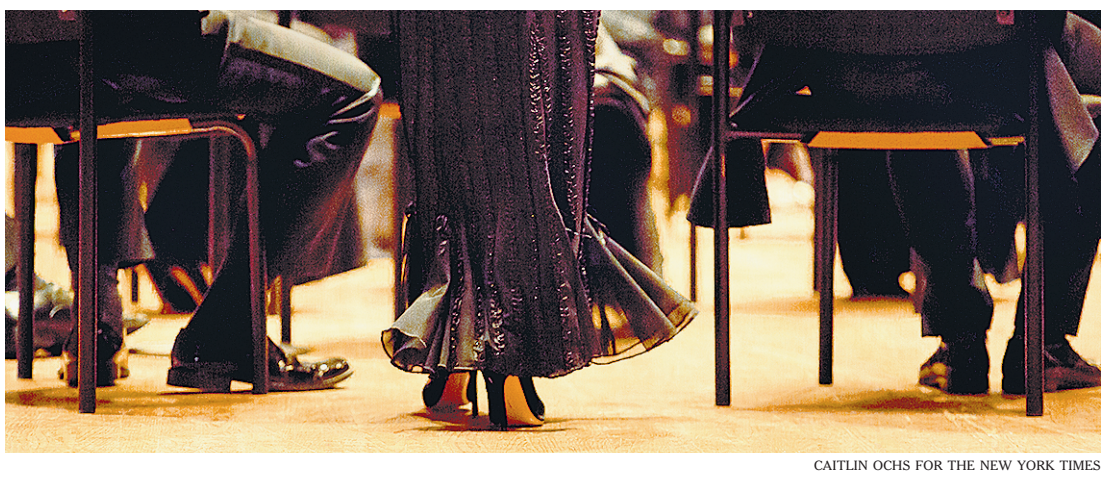
By MICHAEL COOPER

Women can wear pants at the Oscars, the Tony Awards and state dinners. They can wear pants while graduating from the Naval Academy, figure skating at the Olympics and running for president. They can wear them at just about any workplace in America.

But when the women of the New York Philharmonic walked on stage at David Geffen Hall recently to play Mozart and Tchaikovsky, they all wore floor-length black skirts or gowns. And they're required to: The Philharmonic, alone among the nations's 20 largest orchestras, does not allow women to wear pants for formal evening concerts.

That could soon change. The orchestra — the oldest in the United States, with its 176th season wrapping up — has quietly been talking about modernizing its dress code.

Bowing to pressure from women who argued that the dress restrictions were not only unfair, but could also hinder their ability to play comfortably, other major orchestras have moved in recent years to let women wear pants if they choose. But gender equality is not the only consideration at the Philharmonic. At a moment when all orchestras are struggling to attract new audiences, some in classical music worry that old-fashioned formal wear can be off-putting to newcomers. So the Philharmonic is also re-examining its rule requiring men to wear white ties and tails, to see if it still makes sense now that the top-hat era has passed.



CAITLIN OCHS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The New York Philharmonic still requires female musicians to wear floor-length gowns or skirts.

"It's a little bit strange," said Leelanee Sterrett, a 31-year-old horn player who joined the orchestra in 2013 and is one of the musicians who has been discussing modernizing the dress code with the orchestra's management. "I think we would like to see it changed, and soon. And not just changed to allow pants, but to make more of a broad statement of what it means to be dressed."

It is not merely a question of

Continued on Page A20

Job at Oil Giant Is No Longer Path to the Venezuelan Dream

By WILLIAM NEUMAN and CLIFFORD KRAUSS

EL TIGRE, Venezuela — Thousands of workers are fleeing Venezuela's state-owned oil company, abandoning once-coveted jobs made worthless by the worst inflation in the world. And now the hemorrhaging is threatening the nation's chances of overcoming its long economic collapse.

Desperate oil workers and criminals are also stripping the oil company of vital equipment, vehicles, pumps and copper wiring, carrying off whatever they can to make money. The double drain — of people and hardware — is further crippling a company that has been teetering for years yet remains the country's most important source of income.

The timing could not be worse for Venezuela's increasingly authoritarian president, Nicolás Maduro, who was re-elected last month in a vote that has been widely condemned by leaders across the hemisphere. Prominent opposition politicians were either barred from competing in the election, imprisoned or in exile.

But while Mr. Maduro has firm control over the country, Venezuela is on its knees economically, buckled by hyperinflation and a history of mismanagement. Widespread hunger, political strife, devastating shortages of medicine and an exodus of well over a million people in recent years have turned this country, once the economic envy of many of its neighbors, into a crisis that is spilling over international borders.

If Mr. Maduro is going to find a way out of the mess, the key will be oil: virtually the only source of hard currency for a nation with

Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Leading Malaysia Again at 92
Facing a financial crisis, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad has no time for apologies or mincing words. PAGE A8

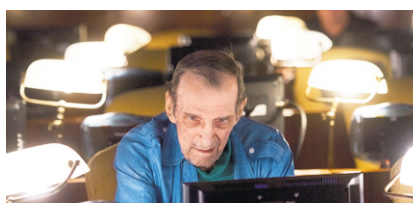
Russia Plays Nice for the Cup
Officials tried to ensure a warm welcome for World Cup fans, even teaching railroad workers how to smile. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-17

Keeping a Lid on Protests
Protests against conservative speakers at colleges have prompted new policies that penalize disruptions, in the name of free speech. PAGE A11

At Risk in San Francisco
A report by the U.S. Geological Survey includes 39 San Francisco high rises on a list of buildings that could be vulnerable to a big earthquake. PAGE A16

Georgia Candidate's Deal
Lt. Gov. Casey Cagle, a Republican running for governor, profited from the sale of an apartment he had bought from a lobbyist. PAGE A17



NEW YORK A18-23

Parting With Money, Legally
Gamblers flooded the Borgata and Monmouth Park as legal sports wagering began in New Jersey. PAGE A18

Federal Judge Scolds Top Court
Ruling against precedent on police accountability, the jurist said the Supreme Court had gone too far. PAGE A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Who Pays if Things Go Wrong?
Utilities say they must be shielded from liability in disasters or for negligence. Critics say that puts the burden on consumers, not investors. PAGE B1

WEEKEND ARTS C1-20

'Incredibles 2' Is a Fast Blast
In a sequel to the 2004 hit, Bob and Helen Parr and their superkids embark on another thoroughly enjoyable adventure, Manohla Dargis writes. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

James B. Comey PAGE A25

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-14

Seats for the Stouthearted
Temporary stands in Yekaterinburg, Russia, are either an architectural marvel or a reason to worry about windy days and bouncy fans. PAGE B10

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine, then increasing clouds, high 77. **Tonight,** cloudy, humid, showers or thunderstorms, low 69. **Tomorrow,** a few showers, thunder, high 82. Weather map, Page C8.

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JUSTICES BACK TRAVEL BAN, YIELDING TO TRUMP

MARIAN CARRASQUERO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Protests in New York on Tuesday after the Supreme Court upheld President Trump's ban on travel from five mostly Muslim nations.

5-4 Ruling Says Power Over Borders Outweighs Remarks on Muslims

By ADAM LIPTAK and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court upheld President Trump's ban on travel from several predominantly Muslim countries, delivering to the president on Tuesday a political victory and an endorsement of his power to control immigration at a time of political upheaval about the treatment of migrants at the Mexican border.

In a 5-to-4 vote, the court's conservatives said that the president's power to secure the country's borders, delegated by Congress over decades of immigration lawmaking, was not undermined by Mr. Trump's history of incendiary statements about the dangers he said Muslims pose to the United States.

Writing for the majority, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. said that Mr. Trump had ample statutory authority to make national security judgments in the realm of immigration. And the chief justice rejected a constitutional challenge to Mr. Trump's third executive order on the matter, issued in September as a proclamation.

The court's liberals denounced the decision. In a passionate and searing dissent from the bench, Justice Sonia Sotomayor said the decision was no better than Korematsu v. United States, the 1944 decision that endorsed the detention of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

She praised the court for officially overturning Korematsu in its decision on Tuesday. But by upholding the travel ban, Justice Sotomayor said, the court "merely replaces one gravely wrong decision with another."

The court's travel ban decision provides new political ammunition for the president and members of his party as they prepare to face the voters in the fall. Mr. Trump has already made clear his plans to use anti-immigrant messaging as he campaigns for Republicans, much the way he successfully deployed the issue to whip up the base of the party during the 2016 presidential campaign.

Mr. Trump, who has battled court challenges to the travel ban since the first days of his administration, hailed the decision to uphold his third version as a "tremendous victory" and promised to continue using his office to defend the country against terrorism, crime and extremism.

"This ruling is also a moment of profound vindication following months of hysterical commentary from the media and Democratic politicians who refuse to do what it takes to secure our border and our country," the president said in a statement issued by the White House soon after the decision was announced.

The vindication for Mr. Trump was also a stunning political validation of the Republican strategy

Continued on Page A16

REVERSAL Justices also overruled Korematsu v. United States, but critics said the move was more symbolic than substantive. PAGE A17

REPUDIATION A federal judge halted family separations and ruled that all migrant children must be reunited with their parents. PAGE A15

How a Revered Global Adviser Blundered Into a Corrupt Bargain

McKinsey's Reputation Is Tainted by Scandal in South Africa

By WALT BOGDANICH and MICHAEL FORSYTHE

JOHANNESBURG — The blackouts kept coming. The state-owned power company, Eskom, was on the verge of insolvency. Maintenance was being deferred. And a major boiler exploded, threatening the national grid.

McKinsey & Company, the godfather of management consulting, thought it could help, but was not sure that it should, according to people involved in the debate. The risk was huge. Could McKinsey fix the problems? Would it get paid? Would it be tainted by South Africa's rampant political corruption?

In late 2015, over objections from at least three influential McKinsey partners, the firm decided the risk was worth taking and signed on to what would become its biggest contract ever in Africa, with a potential value of $700 million.

It was also the biggest mistake in McKinsey's nine-decade history.

The contract turned out to be illegal, a violation of South African contracting law, with some of the payments channeled to an associate of an Indian-born family, the Guptas, at the center of a swirling corruption scandal. Then there was the lavish size of that payout. It did not take a Harvard Business School graduate to explain why South Africans might get angry seeing a wealthy American firm cart away so much public money in a country with the worst income inequality in the world and a youth unemployment rate over 50 percent.

And a bitter irony: While McKinsey's pay was supposed to be based entirely on its results, it is far from clear that the flailing power company is much better off than it was before.

The Eskom affair is now part of an expansive investigation by South African authorities into how the Guptas used their friendships with Jacob Zuma, then the country's president, and his son to manipulate and control state-owned enterprises for personal gain. International corruption watchdogs call it a case of "state capture." Lawmakers here call it a silent

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Anti-Abortion Health Clinics Win First Amendment Ruling

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Ruling for opponents of abortion on free speech grounds, the Supreme Court said on Tuesday that the State of California may not require religiously oriented "crisis pregnancy centers" to supply women with information about how to end their pregnancies.

The case was a clash between state efforts to provide women with facts about their medical options and First Amendment rulings that place limits on the government's ability to compel people to say things at odds with their beliefs.

Justice Clarence Thomas, writing for the five-justice conservative majority, accepted the free-speech argument, ruling that the First Amendment prohibits California from forcing the centers, which oppose abortion on religious grounds, to post notices about how to obtain the procedure. The centers seek to persuade women to choose parenting or adoption.

"Licensed clinics must provide a government-drafted script about the availability of state-sponsored services, as well as contact information for how to obtain them," Justice Thomas wrote. "One of those services is abortion — the very practice that petitioners are devoted to opposing."

California, he wrote, can use other means to tell women about the availability of abortion, including advertising. But "California cannot co-opt the licensed facilities to deliver its message for it," he wrote.

The case was the first touching on abortion since Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, who sided with the majority, joined the court. While the decision's legal analysis turned on the First Amendment, it was lost on no one that the justices most

Continued on Page A18

ZACH GIBSON/GETTY IMAGES

Activists from both sides of the abortion issue on Monday.

Conglomerate No More, G.E. Cuts to Grow

By STEVE LOHR and MICHAEL J. de la MERCED

When John L. Flannery took over as the chief executive of General Electric last August, he declared that he would not be nostalgic about the industrial giant's storied past when reshaping the company for the future.

He wasn't kidding.

General Electric said on Tuesday that it planned to spin off its health care business and sell its multibillion-dollar stake in Baker Hughes, a major producer of oil field equipment, as Mr. Flannery turns the embattled industrial titan into a much smaller company.

The company said it would retain just three major operations: jet engines, electric power generators and wind turbines. Those businesses accounted for 60 percent of the company's $122 billion in revenue last year.

G.E., once the ultimate American conglomerate and a symbol of corporate power, had endured a painful decline in recent years. Executives could not sell the struggling parts fast enough. In the past year, shares in the company have fallen by half, cutting its market value by $120 billion.

On Tuesday, in a sign of its waning influence, G.E.'s stock was officially dropped from the Dow Jones industrial average, having

Continued on Page A13

JORGE SAENZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Back From the Brink
Fans in Buenos Aires as Argentina beat Nigeria, 2-1, to squeak forward in the World Cup. Page B8.

Democratic Power Broker, Once a Possible House Leader, Loses New York Primary

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and JONATHAN MARTIN

Representative Joseph Crowley of New York, once seen as a possible successor to Nancy Pelosi as Democratic leader of the House, suffered a shocking primary defeat on Tuesday, the most significant loss for a Democratic incumbent in more than a decade, and one that will reverberate across the party and the country.

Mr. Crowley was defeated by a 28-year-old political newcomer, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a former organizer for Bernie Sanders's presidential campaign, who had declared it was time for generational, racial and ideological change.

The last time Mr. Crowley, 56, even had a primary challenger, in 2004, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez was not old enough to vote.

Mr. Crowley, the No. 4 Democrat in the House, had drastically outspent his lesser-known rival to no avail, as Ms. Ocasio-Cortez's campaign was lifted by an aggressive social media presence and fueled by attention from national progressives hoping to flex their muscle in a race against a potential future speaker.

LIFTED BY A NOD FROM TRUMP

Gov. Henry McMaster of South Carolina won his runoff after a rally with the president. Page A18.

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez had used Mr. Crowley's role in the leadership, and the fact that he was the head of the local Democratic Party machine, against him in her bid to upend the existing political class. She will face Anthony Pappas, the Republican candidate, in the November general election.

Mr. Crowley is the first House Democrat in the nation to lose a

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BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Uber Regains London License
The ride-hailing service won an appeal to regain its taxi license in London, a big win for its chief executive. PAGE B1

Trump Softens Line on China
The president signaled that he might ease a plan to impose sweeping investment restrictions on China. PAGE B3

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Call for Change Stirs in Mexico
The people of Aguascalientes have it better than a lot of Mexicans, but many still plan to vote against the governing party's presidential candidate. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A12-18

Traces of Civil Rights History
A trove of documents about the Montgomery bus boycott has turned up in a courthouse vault. PAGE A12

'Little House' Author Dropped
A library group took Laura Ingalls Wilder's name off an award, saying her books reflect dated values. PAGE A12

ARTS C1-7

Leonard Bernstein's 'Peter Pan'
The Bard festival's version is not the Mary Martin vehicle you recall. Above, Jack Ferver as Tinker Bell. PAGE C1

A Talk Show Ahead of Its Time
The stand-ups on W. Kamau Bell's "Totally Biased," canceled five years ago, are good fits for the Trump era. PAGE C1

NEW YORK A19-21

The 10-Ticket State Senator
Martin Golden, who has opposed speed cameras near schools, has been caught exceeding the limit in the special zones 10 times since 2015. PAGE A19

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-14

Mets' G.M. Steps Aside
The Mets said Sandy Alderson would take a leave of absence for a health problem as the team sank toward the bottom of the standings. PAGE B8

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A23

FOOD D1-8

Cottage Cheese's Comeback
The goal for the product, which has long languished in yogurt's shadow, is to "uncottage" it — or, as one dairy executive put it, "Chobani it." PAGE D1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy to partly sunny, showers and thunderstorms early, humid, high 84. **Tonight,** clear, low 72. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, high 90. Weather map appears on Page A22.

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TRUMP SET TO TILT COURT AS KENNEDY RETIRES

Ruling on Collective Bargaining Fees Hurts Unions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court dealt a major blow on Wednesday to organized labor. By a 5-to-4 vote, with the more conservative justices in the majority, the court ruled that government workers who choose not to join unions may not be required to help pay for collective bargaining.

Forcing those workers to finance union activity violated the First Amendment, Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. wrote for the majority. "We conclude that this arrangement violates the free speech rights of nonmembers by compelling them to subsidize private speech on matters of substantial public concern," he wrote.

The ruling means that public-sector unions across the nation, already under political pressure, could lose tens of millions of dollars and see their effectiveness diminished.

"We recognize that the loss of payments from nonmembers may cause unions to experience unpleasant transition costs in the short term, and may require unions to make adjustments in order to attract and retain members," Justice Alito wrote. "But we must weigh these disadvantages against the considerable windfall that unions have received" over the years.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justices Anthony M. Kennedy, Clarence Thomas and Neil M. Gorsuch joined the majority opinion, which overruled a four-decade-old precedent.

Justice Elena Kagan summarized her dissent from the bench, a sign of profound disagreement.

"There is no sugarcoating today's opinion," she wrote. "The majority overthrows a decision entrenched in this nation's law — and in its economic life — for over 40 years."

"As a result," she wrote, "it prevents the American people, acting through their state and local officials, from making important choices about workplace governance. And it does so by weaponizing the First Amendment, in a way that unleashes judges, now and in the future, to intervene in economic and regulatory policy."

Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Stephen G. Breyer and Sonia Sotomayor joined the dissent.

The majority based its ruling on the First Amendment, saying that requiring payments to unions that negotiate with the government forces workers to endorse poli-

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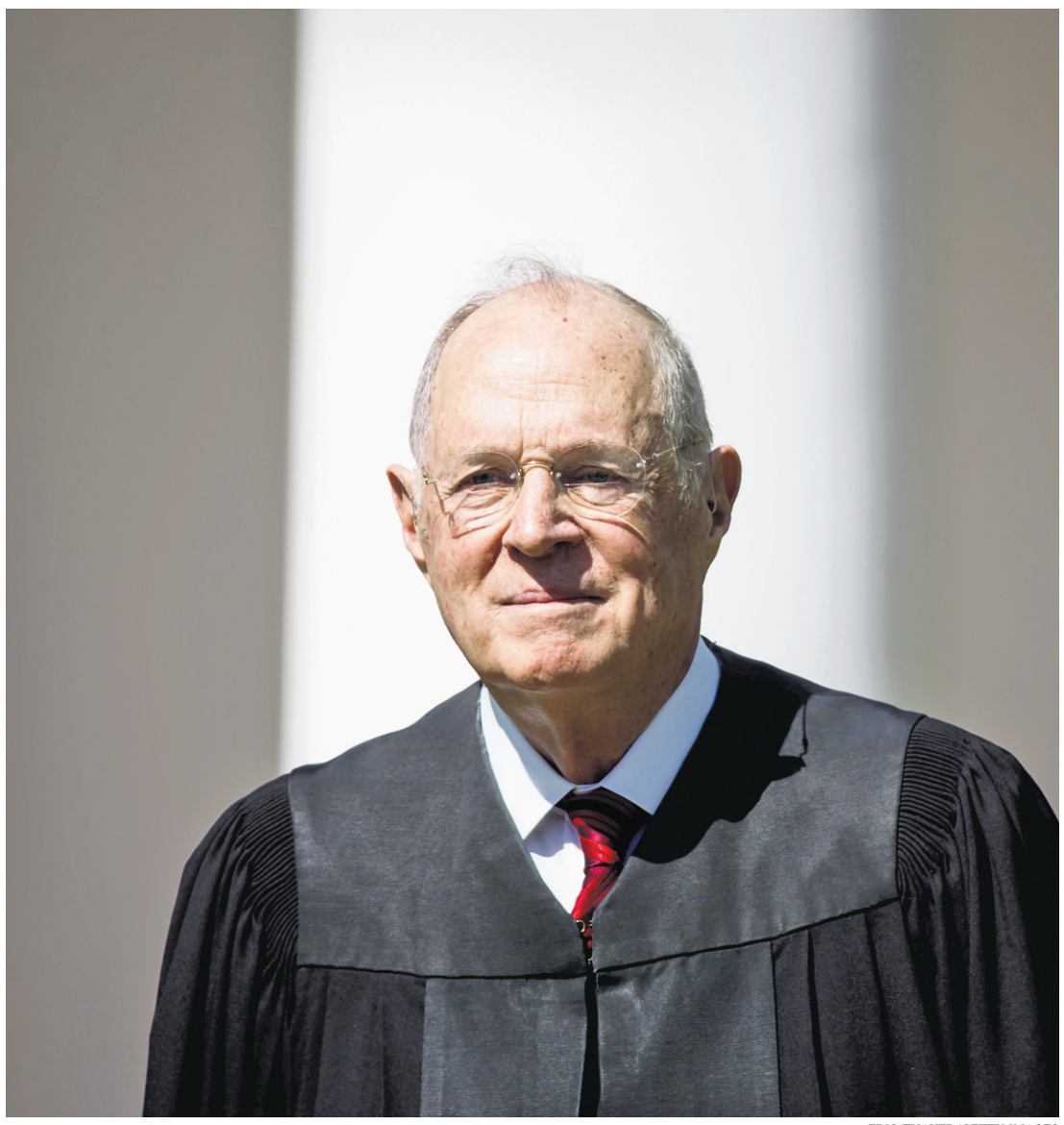

ERIC THAYER/GETTY IMAGES

The president praised Anthony M. Kennedy's "tremendous vision and tremendous heart."

A Political Clash Is Expected After a Crucial Swing Vote Departs

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Justice Anthony M. Kennedy announced on Wednesday that he would retire this summer, setting in motion a furious fight over the future of the Supreme Court and giving President Trump the chance to put a conservative stamp on the American legal system for generations.

Justice Kennedy, 81, has been a critical swing vote on the sharply polarized court for nearly three decades as he embraced liberal views on gay rights, abortion and the death penalty but helped conservatives trim voting rights, block gun control measures and unleash campaign spending by corporations.

His replacement by a conservative justice — something Mr. Trump has vowed to his supporters — could imperil a variety of landmark Supreme Court precedents on social issues where Justice Kennedy frequently sided with his liberal colleagues, particularly on abortion.

Mr. Trump and his Republican allies have hoped for months that Justice Kennedy might retire, clearing a way for a new, more conservative jurist before Democrats had an opportunity to capture the Senate and block future Republican nominees. In contrast to his frequent criticisms of Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., a generally reliable conservative, Mr. Trump has frequently heaped praise on Justice Kennedy and even has suggested that he might nominate one of his former clerks to the bench — subtle nudges the president hoped would make Justice Kennedy more comfortable with the idea of stepping down.

Justice Kennedy's departure could leave Chief Justice Roberts, who was appointed by George W. Bush, as the decisive vote on a court whose other justices may soon include four committed liberals and four equally committed conservatives.

The court's term that just ended offered a preview of what such a lineup might mean: With Justice Kennedy mostly siding with conservatives this year, the court endorsed Mr. Trump's power over immigration, dealt a blow to labor unions and backed a Republican purge of voter rolls in Ohio.

Justice Kennedy hand-delivered a short letter of resignation to Mr. Trump on Wednesday afternoon, shortly after a half-hour meeting at the White House, where the president called him a jurist with "tremendous vision and tremendous heart."

"Please permit me by this letter to express my profound gratitude for having had the privilege to

Continued on Page A16

NEWS ANALYSIS

An Exit That May Echo for Generations

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — President Trump's time in office has been tumultuous, his term dogged by the special counsel investigation, his major legislative achievements few and his political prospects clouded by the chances of a Democratic Party midterm wave.

But no matter what else happens in the Trump presidency, the retirement of Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, the Supreme Court's swing voter, set up Mr. Trump to cement a lasting legacy. Given a second Supreme Court vacancy to fill, he appears likely to go down in American history as an unusually influential president.

As the first Republican president to get his judicial nominees confirmed by a simple majority

Vacancy Hands Trump Chance to Cement a Conservative Edge

vote, thanks to the abolition of the Senate filibuster rule, Mr. Trump has already broken records in appointing young and highly conservative appellate judges. Now, Mr. Trump can create a new majority bloc on the Supreme Court — one that is far more consistently conservative, and one that can impose its influence over American life long after his presidency ends on issues as diverse as the environment and labor or abortion and civil rights.

If Mr. Trump secures that prospect, he will fulfill the deal that he struck during the 2016 campaign with traditional and movement conservatives who were skeptical of his politics and hesitant about supporting his candidacy. They feared he would pick an idiosyncratic nominee, like a celebrity lawyer he saw on television, rather than an authentic conservative.

But Mr. Trump shored up Republican turnout in the election by promising to select Supreme Court nominations from a list of conservative judges. It was shaped by his top legal adviser, Donald F. McGahn II, now the White House counsel, who worked with advisers like Leonard Leo, the executive director of the Federalist Society, the conservative legal movement network. Court-focused voters helped deliver Mr. Trump's narrow victory over Hillary Clinton,

Continued on Page A19

This Was the Kennedy Court, In His Influence if Not in Title

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Justice Anthony M. Kennedy has served for more than 30 years under two chief justices: William H. Rehnquist and John G. Roberts Jr. Courts are by tradition named for the chief justice. Since 2005, it has been the Roberts court.

But if influence were the deciding factor, it would be more accurate to speak of the period since 1988 as the Kennedy court.

Justice Kennedy has occupied a place at the court's ideological center for his entire tenure, though he shared the middle ground with Justice Sandra Day O'Connor for most of his first two decades. On her retirement in 2006, his vote became the undisputed crucial one in most of the court's closely divided cases.

There have been about 51 decisions in which Justice Kennedy joined a liberal majority in a closely divided case, while Chief Justice Roberts dissented. All of those precedents could be in jeopardy, said Lee Epstein, a law professor and political scientist at Washington University in St. Louis.

To be sure, Justice Kennedy often voted with the court's conservatives. He wrote the majority opinion in Citizens United, which allowed unlimited campaign spending by corporations and unions, and he joined the majority in Bush v. Gore, which handed the 2000 presidential election to George W. Bush. Justice Kennedy also voted with the court's conservatives in cases on the Second Amendment and voting rights.

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MAURICIO LIMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

AKOS STILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Budapest train station that was crowded by migrants in 2015, left, is quieter now. But Hungary's leader has criticized an "invasion."

Migration to Europe Is Plunging. The Far Right Still Sees a Crisis.

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

LAMPEDUSA, Italy — On the beaches of Greece, thousands of migrants landed every day. In the ports of Italy, thousands landed every week. Across the borders of Germany, Austria and Hungary, hundreds of thousands passed every month.

But that was in 2015.

Three years after the peak of Europe's migration crisis, Greek beaches are comparatively calm. Since last August, the ports of Sicily have been fairly empty. And here on the remote island of Lampedusa — the southernmost point of Italy and once the front line of the crisis — the migrant detention center has been silent for long stretches. Visitors to the camp on Monday could hear only the sound of bird song.

"It's the quietest it's been since 2011," said the island's mayor, Salvatore Martello. "The number of arrivals has dramatically reduced."

It is the paradox of Europe's migration crisis: The actual number of arriving migrants is back to its pre-2015 level, even as the politics of migration continue to shake the Continent. On Thursday, leaders of the European Union are gathering in Brussels for a fraught meeting on migration that could hasten the political demise of the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, and unravel the bloc's efforts to form a coherent migration policy.

Continued on Page A8

An Instant Political Superstar Is Born in a New York Primary

This article is by ***Andy Newman, Vivian Wang*** *and* ***Luis Ferré-Sadurní.***

At the Parkchester apartments in the Bronx, neighbors heard the news from a maintenance worker: The woman down the hall had just won a primary and was probably headed for Congress. At a popular restaurant in Union Square in Manhattan, workers struggled to comprehend that the young politician whose face was all over TV really was the same woman who had tended bar until a few months ago.

And on the streets of Midtown Manhattan Wednesday morning, the candidate herself was trying to make sense of it all. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez stood outside Rockefeller Center after appearing on MSNBC's "Morning Joe," juggling phone calls and live TV interviews and the well-wishes of doormen and office workers on their coffee breaks.

"I'm used to people kind of knowing me in the community," said Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, 28. But to have a stream of random people walk up and ask to take a selfie with her? "Insane."

Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, whose résumé up to now included waitress, children's-book publisher, community activist, member of the Democratic Socialists of America

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ANNIE TRITT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez riding to meet with reporters.

NATIONAL A13-21

Reconsidering the Accomplice
Getaway drivers and lookouts can be held as liable in deaths as the killers. California may join some other states that have stopped doing so. PAGE A13

Not in Kansas Anymore
A fugitive flamingo from Wichita is spied years later in Texas. A fine feathered friend hasn't been found. PAGE A13

NEW YORK A23-25

The Bronx Mourns a Teenager
Hundreds gathered for the funeral of Lesandro Guzman-Feliz, whose fatal stabbing was caught on video. PAGE A23

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Trump and Putin Agree to Meet
The Russian leader, left, met with John R. Bolton, the American national security adviser, to iron out details. PAGE A10

Intense Hunt for Lost Thai Boys
As a search for soccer players in a cave reached its fifth day, a governor vowed, "We won't abandon them." PAGE A4

OBITUARIES B17-18

Patriarch of a Pop Dynasty
Joe Jackson, the iron-fisted force behind the Jackson 5 and the solo careers of Michael and Janet, was 89. PAGE B18

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Disney's Fox Deal Approved
The bid for Fox's entertainment assets requires Disney to divest 22 regional sports networks. PAGE B1

THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

A Lindsay Lohan Club
At a Greek resort bearing her name, she says goodbye to the past. PAGE D1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-16

Germany Exits World Cup
South Korea stunned Germany and its fans with a 2-0 victory that knocked out the defending champion. PAGE B9

Mexico Loses, but All Isn't Lost
Despite a 3-0 defeat to Sweden, Mexico advanced at the World Cup when Germany was eliminated. PAGE B9

SPECIAL SECTION

DealBook
Blockchain, a relatively new kind of database, has become the trendy solution for storing digital information more securely. But the technology can be very confusing. We help demystify it and show you its potential. (And we'll teach you some cryptoslang!)

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Karen Korematsu PAGE A27

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, hazy sunshine, very hot, humid, high 98. **Tonight,** clear, warm, humid, low 77. **Tomorrow,** sunshine, hot but not as extreme, humid, high 91. Weather map, Page SP12.

VOL. CLXVII .. No. 58,010 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JULY 1, 2018 $6.00

'I just need to get out of here at whatever cost.'

FRED RAMOS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tracking a 'Package': The Perils, And Price, of Migrant Smuggling

By NICHOLAS KULISH

MATAMOROS, Mexico — Shortly before dawn one Sunday last August, a driver in an S.U.V. picked up Christopher Cruz at a stash house in this border city near the Gulf of Mexico. The 22-year-old from El Salvador was glad to leave the one-story building, where smugglers kept bundles of cocaine and marijuana alongside their human cargo, but he was anxious about what lay ahead.

The driver deposited Mr. Cruz at an illegal crossing point on the edge of the Rio Grande. A smuggler took a smartphone photograph to confirm his identity and sent it using WhatsApp to a driver waiting to pick him up on the other side of the frontier when — if — he made it across.

The nearly 2,000-mile trip had already cost Mr. Cruz's family more than $6,000 and brought him within sight of Brownsville, Tex. The remaining 500 miles to Houston — terrain prowled by the United States Border Patrol as well as the state and local police — would set them back another $6,500.

It was an almost inconceivable amount of money for someone who earned just a few dollars a day picking coffee beans back home. But he wasn't weighing the benefits of a higher-paying job. He was fleeing violence and what he said was near-certain death at the hands of local gangs.

Last year, a young man left El Salvador and crossed into Guatemala to begin a 2,000-mile, nearly $13,000 run for the U.S. Above, a bus ticket.

"There's no other option," Mr. Cruz said. "The first thought I had was, 'I just need to get out of here at whatever cost.' "

The stretch of southwest border where he intended to cross has become the epicenter of the raging battle over the Trump administration's immigration crackdown. One clear consequence of the tightening American border and the growing perils getting there is that more and more desperate families are turning to increasingly sophisticated smuggling operations to get relatives into the United States.

Mr. Cruz's story provides an unusually detailed anatomy of the price of the journey. The money paid for a network of drivers who concealed him in tractor-

Continued on Page 10

Internal Revolt Has Democrats At a Crossroad

Facing Reinvention as Trump Tightens Grip

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — The pitched battle looming over the Supreme Court, along with a jolt to the Democratic leadership at the ballot box last Tuesday, is threatening to shatter the already fragile architecture of the Democratic Party, as an activist rebellion on the left and a lurch to the right in Washington propels the party toward a moment of extraordinary conflict and forced reinvention.

For Democrats, the transformation could prove as consequential as President Trump's consolidation of power in his own party and the conservative movement's tightening grip on the federal government.

"The Trump presidency has changed the dynamics in our party," said Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, the second-ranking Democrat in the Senate, acknowledging that he could not call recall a similar grass-roots uprising since he was elected to Congress in 1982.

The party's traditional leaders absorbed one blow after another last week. Representative Joseph Crowley, a 20-year incumbent and potential future House speaker, was unseated by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a 28-year-old Latina political newcomer; Congress made clear it cannot pass even a limited immigration measure for the children of undocumented immigrants; and the Supreme Court handed down rulings that undermined the labor unions that are a backbone of the Democratic Party, while also limiting abortion rights advocacy and upholding President Trump's travel ban.

And then Justice Anthony M. Kennedy announced his retirement, effectively handing Mr. Trump the opportunity to cement a conservative majority on the bench.

Mr. Trump's divisive and at times demagogic presidency has ignited much of the liberal upheaval, driving many left-of-center voters on to a kind of ideological war footing. That has translated into a surge in outsider candi-

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HOW FREE SPEECH WAS WEAPONIZED BY CONSERVATIVES

RIGHT TURN FOR JUSTICES

First Amendment Cited in Cases on Abortion and Labor Unions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — On the final day of the Supreme Court term last week, Justice Elena Kagan sounded an alarm.

The court's five conservative members, citing the First Amendment, had just dealt public unions a devastating blow. The day before, the same majority had used the First Amendment to reject a California law requiring religiously oriented "crisis pregnancy centers" to provide women with information about abortion.

Conservatives, said Justice Kagan, who is part of the court's four-member liberal wing, were "weaponizing the First Amendment."

The two decisions were the latest in a stunning run of victories for a conservative agenda that has increasingly been built on the foundation of free speech. Conservative groups, borrowing and building on arguments developed by liberals, have used the First Amendment to justify unlimited campaign spending, discrimination against gay couples and attacks on the regulation of tobacco, pharmaceuticals and guns.

"The right, which had for years been hostile to and very nervous about a strong First Amendment, has rediscovered it," said Burt Neuborne, a law professor at New York University.

The Citizens United campaign finance case, for instance, was decided on free-speech grounds, with the five-justice conservative majority ruling that the First Amendment protects unlimited campaign spending by corporations. The government, the majority said, has no business regulating political speech.

The dissenters responded that the First Amendment did not require allowing corporate money

Continued on Page 24

SWING VOTE Justice Anthony M. Kennedy has voted in the majority in 76 percent of the Supreme Court's 5-to-4 rulings. PAGE 22

Mexican Voting Near, Assassins Thin the Ballot

By PAULINA VILLEGAS and KIRK SEMPLE

CHILPANCINGO, Mexico — Voters will fill more than 3,400 local, state and federal posts on Sunday, in Mexico's largest general election ever. It is also perhaps the most violent electoral season in modern Mexican history.

At least 136 politicians and political operatives have been assassinated in Mexico since last fall, according to Etellekt, a risk analysis firm in Mexico. More than a third were candidates or potential candidates — most of them running for local offices. Others included elected officials, party members and campaign workers.

In the long run-up to the vote, much of the national and international focus has been on the presidential contest. Yet for the millions of people living in the most violent parts of the country, elections for local office may have the biggest impact on their daily lives.

And organized crime groups have all but decided many of those outcomes already.

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War Robbed Him of His Family, Then His Eyes, Then His Love

By MUJIB MASHAL

KABUL, Afghanistan — The last time Zaheer Ahmad Zindani thought he could still see, he was 17 and in a hospital bed, heavily drugged and covered with shrapnel wounds from a Taliban bomb.

He asked the doctor for a mirror.

"The doctor told me, 'Son, you don't have eyes, how will you be able to see your eyes?'" Mr. Zindani recalled. "I raised my hand to feel my eyes — it was the ashes after a fire has burned, and nothing else."

That was five years ago. He remembers that even in those first moments, when the reality of his blindness made him howl with grief, another realization took his breath away: His love for his childhood sweetheart had already been difficult because the girl's family did not see him as worthy. Now, it was surely doomed.

"If I had lost my eyes and had her hand, I would still be happy," he said. "But now I neither have eyes, nor her."

Now, Mr. Zindani is one of the founders of a march for peace that reached Kabul, the Afghan capital, in June after a nearly 40-day, 400-mile slog from the south of the country through summer heat and war-torn territory.

He is protesting a war that has, so far, swallowed his father, his uncle, his sister, his eyes and his love.

Like many Afghans, especially in the countryside, he was not born with a last name. Some later pick their own, and after he lost his eyes, he chose Zindani. It means "imprisoned."

Along the way, when the march would stop at a village to rest, Mr. Zindani, now 22, tall and handsome, would find a corner and lie down for a while, losing himself in thought.

Sometimes he would stand up, feeling his way around the mosque from column to column, following the voices to get closer to the discussion. Other times he would whisper the name of the fellow traveler he is closest to, whose shoulder he would hold onto during their long march.

"Kitab? Hey, Kitab, where are you?"

Mr. Kitab, a father of three whose birth name is Inamulhaq,

Continued on Page 8

JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'Families Belong Together'
Thousands in Washington, above, and other U.S. cities protested President Trump's immigration policy on Saturday. Page 19.

Fox and Trump: It's a Friendship Without Equal

By MICHAEL M. GRYNBAUM

In 2011, Fox News announced that a new guest would appear weekly on "Fox & Friends," its chummy morning show. "Bold, brash, and never bashful," a network ad declared. "The Donald now makes his voice loud and clear, every Monday on Fox."

It was the beginning of a beautiful friendship.

Seven years later, the symbiosis between Donald J. Trump and his favorite cable network has only deepened. Fox News, whose commentators resolutely defend the president's agenda, has seen ratings and revenues rise. President Trump views the network as a convenient safe space where he can express himself with little criticism from eager-to-please hosts.

Now, the line between the network's studios and Mr. Trump's White House is blurring further. Bill Shine, a former Fox News co-president who helped create the look and feel of the channel's conservative programming, is expected to be hired as the presi-

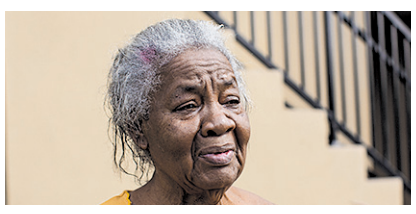
Continued on Page 20

INTERNATIONAL 4-17

Populism in Germany's Texas
Bavaria, despite its affluence, is the new angry center of Europe. Since the 2015 migration crisis, the far right has steadily gained support there. PAGE 6

Spain's Migrant Wave Grows
The new Socialist government in Madrid has waded into Europe's migration crisis, winning praise but facing pressure over a sudden influx. PAGE 13

The North Strikes Back
Canada Day coincides with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's imposition of retaliatory tariffs, as a trade war with the United States escalates. PAGE 17



NATIONAL 18-26

Aid for Puerto Ricans Ending
For thousands who left Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria, FEMA's sheltering assistance is running out. PAGE 25

Big Shift in Little Havana
Hispanics in South Florida have always voted for Hispanic candidates. That's changing, worrying the G.O.P. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Elon Musk's Big Gamble
Desperate to catch up to audacious production goals, Tesla set up a third Model 3 production line in a tent. PAGE 1

The End of a Toy Story
As Toys "R" Us closed for good, one of its New Jersey stores had price tags on folding chairs in the break room. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

A Musical Camelot
James Taylor was 22 when he bought 175 acres on Martha's Vineyard. The property is a musical camelot for his ex-wife Carly Simon and her clan. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Two Giants Exit World Cup
France eliminated Argentina and Lionel Messi. Hours later, Uruguay did the same to Portugal and Cristiano Ronaldo. PAGE 1

Wimbledon's Biggest Story
On the women's side, it's a player who has competed in three events in the past year: Serena Williams. PAGE 2

THE MAGAZINE

Spymaster vs. President
John Brennan ruled the national-security state under Barack Obama. Now, he's taking on President Trump. PAGE 34

Jonathan Franzen Is Fine
The internet has turned on him, his book sales are down, a TV deal has stalled. But the author isn't angry. PAGE 28

SUNDAY REVIEW

Michelle Goldberg PAGE 1

0 354713 8

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, partly cloudy, hot, humid, high 92. **Tonight,** evening showers or storms, partly cloudy, low 71. **Tomorrow,** low humidity, sunshine, high 86. Weather map is on Page C8.

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FORMER BUSH AIDE IS TRUMP PICK FOR COURT

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump with Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, who said Monday night that judges "must interpret the law, not make the law."

A 3-Decade Dream for Conservatives Is Within Reach

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Trump's selection of Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh for the Supreme Court on Monday culminates a three-decade project unparalleled in American history to install a reliable conservative majority on the nation's highest tribunal, one that could shape the direction of the law for years to come.

NEWS ANALYSIS

All of the years of vetting and grooming and lobbying and list-making by conservative legal figures frustrated by Republican appointees who drifted to the left arguably has come down to this moment, when they stand on the precipice of appointing a fifth justice who, they hope, will at last establish a bench firmly committed to their principles.

"They've been pushing back for 30 years, and, obviously, the announcement tonight is a big step in the right direction," said Curt Levey, the president of the Committee for Justice, a conservative activist group, who has been working toward this goal full time since 2005. "It'll be the first time we can really say we have a conservative court, really the first time since the 1930s."

This presumes that Mr. Trump can push Judge Kavanaugh's nomination through a closely divided Senate heading into a midterm election season, hardly a given. More so than any nomination in a dozen years, Mr. Trump's choice of a successor for Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, the influential swing vote retiring at the end of the month, holds the potential of changing the balance of power rather than simply replacing a like-minded justice with a younger version.

That has raised the stakes for groups on the left and the right, guaranteeing an incendiary, ideological, partisan and well-financed confirmation battle in a capital already riven by incendiary, ideological, partisan and well-financed politics. Activists

Continued on Page A15

Kavanaugh Is Facing a Bruising Battle in the Senate

By MARK LANDLER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Monday nominated Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, a politically connected member of Washington's conservative legal establishment, to fill Justice Anthony M. Kennedy's seat on the Supreme Court, setting up an epic confirmation battle and potentially cementing the court's rightward tilt for a generation.

Presenting Judge Kavanaugh at the White House, Mr. Trump described him as "one of the finest and sharpest legal minds in our time," and declared him a jurist who would set aside his political views and apply the Constitution "as written."

The nomination of Judge Kavanaugh, 53, a federal appeals court judge, former aide to President George W. Bush and onetime investigator of President Bill Clinton, was not a huge surprise, given his conservative record, elite credentials and deep ties among the Republican legal groups that have advanced conservatives for the federal bench.

But his selection will galvanize Democrats and Republicans in the months before the midterm elections. Moments after the announcement, the Senate Democratic leader, Chuck Schumer of New York, declared, "I will oppose Judge Kavanaugh's nomination with everything I have." Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, who leads the barest of Republican majorities, had expressed misgivings about his path to confirmation, but said he was a "superb choice."

Justice Kennedy, who is retiring, held the swing vote in many closely divided cases on issues like abortion, affirmative action, gay rights and the death penalty. Replacing him with a committed conservative, who could potentially serve for decades, will fundamentally alter the balance of the court and put dozens of precedents at risk.

Judge Kavanaugh's long history of legal opinions, as well as

Continued on Page A15

Moderating Force as a Lawyer, a Conservative Stalwart as a Judge

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Brett Michael Kavanaugh was just 38 when he was first nominated to a federal appeals court in Washington. But he had already participated in an extraordinary number of political controversies, attracting powerful patrons and critics along the way.

He served under Kenneth W. Starr, the independent counsel who investigated President Bill Clinton, examining the suicide of Vincent W. Foster Jr., the deputy White House counsel, and drafting parts of the report that led to Mr. Clinton's impeachment. He worked on the 2000 Florida recount litigations that ended in a Supreme Court decision handing the presidency to George W. Bush. And he served as a White House lawyer and staff secretary to Mr. Bush, working on the selection of federal judges and legal issues arising from the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

He was "the Zelig of young Republican lawyers," Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York, said at Judge Kavanaugh's first confirmation hearing, in 2004. "If there has been a partisan political fight that needed a good lawyer in the last decade, Brett Kavanaugh was probably there."

But Judge Kavanaugh, 53, has also formed lifelong friendships with liberals, many of whom praise his intellect and civility. In his professional life, before he became a judge, he was often a moderating force.

Drafted Parts of Report That Led to Clinton's Impeachment

Working for Mr. Starr, Judge Kavanaugh concluded that Mr. Foster had in fact killed himself. He opposed the public release of the narrative portions of Mr. Starr's report detailing Mr. Clinton's encounters with a White House intern. As staff secretary to Mr. Bush, he said in 2006, he strived to be "an honest broker for the president."

As a judge, though, he has been a conservative powerhouse, issuing around 300 opinions. His dissents have often led to Supreme Court appeals, and the justices have repeatedly embraced the positions set out in Judge Kavanaugh's opinions.

He has written countless decisions applauded by conservatives on topics including the Second Amendment, religious freedom and campaign finance. But they have particularly welcomed his vigorous opinions hostile to administrative agencies, a central concern of the modern conservative legal movement.

In a dissent in January from a decision upholding the structure

Continued on Page A14

Long After Vile Hate Crime, Tending Flame to Fight Racism

By AUDRA D. S. BURCH

JASPER, Tex. — Sometime after church but before dinner, Sgt. James Carter of the Jasper County Sheriff's Office knocked on the front door of James and Stella Byrd's home. He stepped into the living room, removed his white cowboy hat and bowed his head. Then, with a somber look on his face that the Byrds still remember years later, he delivered the news that their son James Byrd Jr. was dead.

The horrific circumstances surrounding his death they would learn later: Chained by his ankles to a pickup truck by three men, he had been dragged three miles, murdered before the sun rose that Sunday morning 20 years ago.

"I just knew something was terribly wrong," Betty Boatner, 63, one of Mr. Byrd's younger sisters, whispered as she sat on a picnic bench at a memorial park now named in his honor. "It's such a small town that we had already heard the rumors that a black man was found dead, but we didn't know who it was. Until the knock on our door."

The family forgave Mr. Byrd's three killers long ago and made peace with Jasper, the small East Texas town where they have lived for three generations. But as the nation faces a spread in bias crime incidents, the family wants to ensure the public remembers one of the worst hate crimes of the 20th century. In the years since Mr. Byrd's death, both state and federal hate crime laws bear his name.

As part of the 20th anniversary, the Byrd Foundation for Racial Healing has announced plans to open a museum in Jasper and dig-

Continued on Page A16

With 8 Months Till Brexit, Britain's Government Teeters on Edge

DAN KITWOOD/GETTY IMAGES

Boris Johnson's documents were taken from his residence.

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain was battling to save her government on Monday after her foreign secretary quit in protest over her approach to withdrawing from the European Union. The resignation deepened a mood of crisis just eight months before the country is due to leave the bloc.

The foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, was the second minister to leave Mrs. May's cabinet within 24 hours. He stepped down after she pushed a proposal that would keep Britain more closely tied to the European Union than hardline conservatives want.

"We are truly headed for the status of colony," Mr. Johnson said in his resignation letter.

It has been two years since Britons voted to leave the European Union in a referendum that rattled governments on the Continent and beyond. But actually severing the intricate economic ties that bind Britain to the rest of Europe has proved far more complicated than merely casting a ballot at the polls.

Many Britons remain opposed to leaving the bloc, and even among those who favor it, there are deep divisions. Some, like Mr. Johnson, advocate a clean break — or, at least, taking that stance in withdrawal negotiations with the European Union. Others, like Mrs. May, support maintaining at least some ties, including abiding by some European regulations.

That drew a sharp rebuke from Mr. Johnson, who said, "This is our opening bid." It is as though, he said, "we are sending our vanguard into battle with a white flag fluttering above them."

Just last week, Mrs. May appeared to have won the full cabinet's agreement on keeping Britain's economy closely anchored to the European Union. The resignations reopened speculation about a challenge to her leadership, something that Mrs. May's

Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Eight in Cave Are Saved
Four more of the 13 people trapped in a flooded cave in Thailand were guided to freedom along a difficult underwater course. Rescue efforts continued for the remaining five. PAGE A5

NATO Allies Brace for Trump
Some fear that instead of promoting unity, the president might play the role of agitator, sowing disagreement that would play into Russia's hands. PAGE A8

NEW YORK A17-19

No House Arrest for Weinstein
Facing charges from a third woman in Manhattan, Harvey Weinstein was released on $1 million bail. A judge denied prosecutors' plea to place him under house arrest. PAGE A17

NATIONAL A10-16

20-Day Cap for Detentions
The Trump administration lost a bid to persuade a federal court to allow long-term detention of migrant families. A judge said migrant children cannot be held longer than 20 days. PAGE A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

Facebook Is Watching You
The social media giant is aggressively spreading its facial recognition tools even as it confronts heightened scrutiny from regulators and legislators in Europe and North America. PAGE B1

China's Weak Spot on Trade
Beijing's retaliatory tariffs make American soy pricier. But the country's huge demand for oil and animal feed makes it tough to cut imports overnight. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

An Accounting for Taste
The field of "experimental aesthetics" boils down to efforts to solve two age-old enigmas: What is art, and why do we like what we like? PAGE C1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

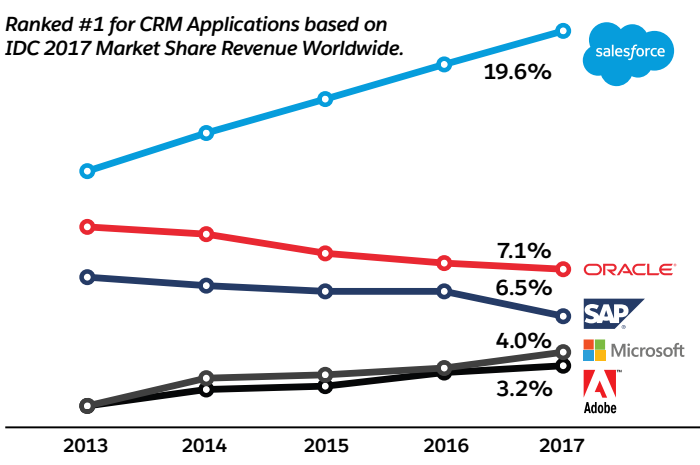
A Better Grip on Life
An unusual transplant may revive hopelessly damaged tissues, including in the heart and brain. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Roger Cohen PAGE A23

Salesforce.
#1 CRM.

Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2017 Market Share Revenue Worldwide.



Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiannual Software Tracker, April 2018.

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CRM Applications market includes the following IDC-defined functional markets: Sales, Customer Service, Contact Center, and Marketing Applications.
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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunny to partly cloudy, low humidity, high 83. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 70. **Tomorrow,** periodic clouds and sunshine, warm, high 86. Weather map appears on Page B16.

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The first lady, Melania Trump, President Trump, Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain and her husband, Philip May, on Thursday.

TRUMP UNDERCUTS LEADER OF BRITAIN AFTER NATO CLASH

In Her Country, the President Criticizes the Prime Minister's Brexit Plan

By STEPHEN CASTLE and JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

LONDON — President Trump put his brand of confrontational and disruptive diplomacy on full display Thursday, unsettling NATO allies with a blustering performance in Brussels and then, in a remarkable breach of protocol, publicly undercutting Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain in an interview published hours after landing in her country.

In the interview with The Sun, Mr. Trump second-guessed Mrs. May's handling of the main issue on her plate: how Britain should cut ties to the European Union. He cast doubt on whether he was willing to negotiate a new trade deal between Britain and the United States, and praised Mrs. May's Conservative Party rival, Boris Johnson, as a potentially great prime minister.

The interview was published as Mr. Trump and Mrs. May were wrapping up what appeared to be a chummy dinner at Blenheim Palace — earlier, they had walked inside holding hands — and a day ahead of the president's scheduled meeting with Queen Elizabeth II at Windsor Castle. There was no immediate response from the British government.

"Well I think the deal that she is striking is not what the people voted on," Mr. Trump said in the interview, speaking of the approach Mrs. May is taking to Britain's exit from the European Union, or Brexit, under which the British economy would effectively continue to be subject to many European regulations.

Speaking of Mr. Johnson, who resigned this week as foreign secretary in protest over Mrs. May's Brexit strategy and who has long been seen as likely to challenge her for her job, Mr. Trump said: "Well I am not pitting one against the other. I'm just saying I think he would be a great prime minister. I think he's got what it takes and I think he's got the right attitude to be a great prime minister."

Coming after his combative performance in Brussels with leaders of the 28 other NATO nations, the day amounted to a global disruption tour unlike anything undertaken by any other recent American president.

In Brussels on Thursday, Mr. Trump said he supported NATO but seemed to suggest that the United States could leave if the allies didn't increase defense spending. He claimed credit for pressing members to pledge increases in their military budgets, though some denied any such promises were made.

Mr. Trump did sign on to a NATO plan to improve military readiness across the Continent, and the allies agreed to take a tough stance against Russia, particularly regarding its annexation of Crimea.

But the NATO meeting created a picture of discord days before Mr. Trump was scheduled to meet with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

The Sun's interview with Mr. Trump, conducted Wednesday in Brussels, signaled a new twist on the "special relationship" between Britain and the United States. The White House went into damage control mode after it was published on Thursday night.

"The President likes and respects Prime Minister May very much," Sarah Huckabee Sanders, Mr. Trump's press secretary, said in a statement. "As he said in his interview with The Sun she 'is a very good person' and he 'never said anything bad about her.'"

The statement said Mr. Trump "is thankful for the wonderful wel-

Continued on Page A6

U.S. AGAIN FIGHTS AT&T MEGA-DEAL

Appeal of a Decision That Encouraged Mergers

By CECILIA KANG and EDMUND LEE

The federal government on Thursday mounted a new effort to unravel AT&T's deal with Time Warner, a blockbuster merger that has already started to reshape the media industry.

The deal was finalized a month ago, after a federal judge rejected the government's argument that the $85.4 billion agreement would harm competition and consumers.

The combination of the two companies has created a media and telecommunications giant with television stations, a movie studio, nearly 160 million wireless customers and a nationwide satellite television service, DirecTV. An AT&T executive is already in charge of Time Warner properties like HBO and the news network CNN.

The judge's decision had almost immediately set off a round of intense deal talks among many of the biggest names in the industry, including Comcast and 21st Century Fox. Many media executives, including those at AT&T and Time Warner, say mergers among their companies are necessary to better compete against tech giants like Netflix and Amazon.

The Department of Justice filed its notice of appeal on the same day that Netflix beat out HBO for the most Emmy nominations — ending the premium channel's 17-year run as the most-nominated outlet.

The Justice Department declined to comment. But experts say the appeal sends a clear signal that the government, despite its court loss, will be aggressive on deals between companies with complementary businesses, known as vertical mergers. Immediately after the AT&T-Time Warner merger was approved last month, Comcast entered a bidding war with the Walt Disney Company for the entertainment assets of 21st Century Fox.

"If they had not appealed it, it would have been a green light for vertical mergers to proceed apace," said Andrew J. Schwartzman of the Georgetown University Law Center.

AT&T's general counsel, David McAtee, expressed confidence

Continued on Page A16

Fire vs. Fury as F.B.I. Agent Defends His Actions

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The embattled F.B.I. agent who oversaw the opening of the Russia investigation mounted an aggressive defense of himself and the F.B.I. on Thursday, rejecting accusations that he let his private political views bias his official actions and labeling Republicans' preoccupation with him "another victory notch in Putin's belt."

"Let me be clear, unequivocally and under oath: Not once in my 26 years of defending my nation did my personal opinions impact any official action I took," the agent, Peter Strzok, told House lawmakers investigating what Republicans say is evidence of rampant bias at the top levels of the F.B.I.

But in defending himself and his agency, Mr. Strzok had to weather hours of blistering attacks by Republicans, who accused him not only of personal animus toward President Trump but also of blatant lying and moral misconduct with a senior F.B.I. lawyer, Lisa Page.

It was a remarkable day of shouting matches and personal attacks that showcased the deep partisan divide over the federal investigation into whether the Trump campaign colluded with Russia to influence the outcome of the 2016 election. The performance by Republicans, echoing Mr. Trump's own lines of attack, demonstrated just how far many in the party have moved since the days when they were seen as the party of law enforcement, deferential to its power and prerogatives.

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Peter Strzok of the F.B.I. at his heated hearing on Thursday.

Democrats, on the other side of the now-gaping divide over the F.B.I. and Justice Department, said that Republicans, by launching their own politically motivated investigation of the investigators in an attempt to bolster Mr. Trump, were ignoring an attack by a hostile foreign power on American democracy.

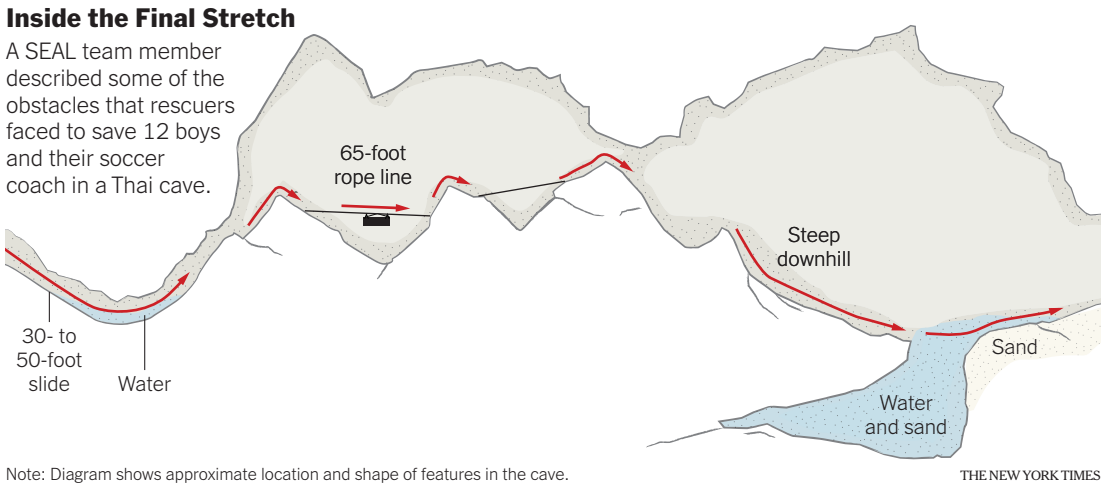
The public comments were Mr. Strzok's first since volumes of private text messages between him and Ms. Page were disclosed in a report by the Justice Department's inspector general that found no evidence that their personal views had swayed the outcome on the Hillary Clinton email case. The agent concluded his opening remarks on Thursday with a pointed broadside against his antagonizers.

"I understand we are living in a political era in which insults and insinuation often drown out honesty and integrity," Mr. Strzok said, continuing: "I have the utmost respect for Congress's oversight role, but I truly believe that today's hearing is just another victory notch in Putin's belt and another milestone in our enemies'

Continued on Page A15

Inside the Final Stretch

A SEAL team member described some of the obstacles that rescuers faced to save 12 boys and their soccer coach in a Thai cave.



Note: Diagram shows approximate location and shape of features in the cave.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Intricate Rescue: 'I Still Can't Believe It Worked'

This article is by ***Hannah Beech, Richard C. Paddock*** *and* ***Muktita Suhartono.***

MAE SAI, Thailand — Improbably enough, most of the escapes went flawlessly.

But on trip No. 11, to save one of the last soccer teammates stuck for 18 days deep inside the cave, something went dangerously wrong.

Rescuers inside an underground chamber felt a tug on the rope — the sign that one of the 12 boys or their coach would soon emerge from the flooded tunnels.

"Fish on," the rescuers signaled, recalled Maj. Charles Hodges of the United States Air Force, mission commander for the American team on site.

Fifteen minutes went by. Then 60. Then 90.

As the rescuers waited anxiously, a diver navigating the 11th teammate through the underwater maze lost hold of the guide rope. With visibility near zero, he couldn't find the line again. Slowly, he backtracked, going deeper into the cave to search for the rope, before the rescue could resume.

At last, the survivor got through, safely.

It was a frightening moment in what had been a surprisingly smooth rescue of the soccer team, the Wild Boars, who had survived the murky darkness of Thailand's Tham Luang Cave, sometimes by licking water off the cold limestone walls.

"The whole world was watch-

Continued on Page A10

As Trump Hits China, Detroit Braces for Pain

By ANA SWANSON

DETROIT — China's flag flies high above Henniges Automotive, alongside those of Germany, Mexico, Canada and other nations, reflecting the global nature of Michigan's auto industry and, increasingly, its reliance on Beijing.

Henniges, which produces sealing products for cars, was bought in 2015 by the Aviation Industry Corporation of China, a state-owned company that has snapped up other investments in the Detroit area, including the automotive supplier Nexteer, which sits just across Interstate 75 from Henniges. Over the past several years, Beijing has steadily pumped billions of dollars' worth of investment into Michigan, buying crumbling factories, building new ones and supporting more than 10,000 jobs in the state.

But where Michigan sees an economic partner, President Trump sees an "economic enemy" — one intent on overtaking America's competitive edge by stealing technology, trade secrets and jobs from domestic companies. As Mr. Trump tries to punish China with tariffs and other restrictions, Michigan is caught in the cross hairs, with its ability to remain competitive and develop emerging technologies like autonomous vehicles, robotics and artificial intelligence highly dependent on

Continued on Page A16

Ally of Cuomo Is Found Guilty In Bid Scheme

By BENJAMIN WEISER and JESSE McKINLEY

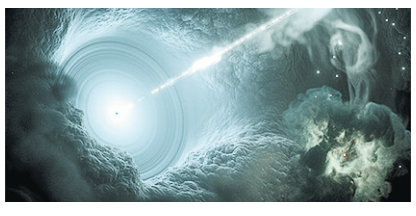
Alain E. Kaloyeros, a principal architect of Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo's signature economic development initiative, was convicted on Thursday in a bid-rigging scheme that steered hundreds of millions of dollars in state contracts to favored companies in Buffalo and Syracuse.

Dr. Kaloyeros, 62, was found guilty of wire fraud and conspiracy in the fourth week of a federal trial in Manhattan that invited harsh scrutiny of Mr. Cuomo's ambitious plan to revitalize upstate and western New York, known as the Buffalo Billion.

The verdict was immediately seized on by the governor's political rivals to criticize what they say has been a culture of corruption enabled by Mr. Cuomo; they also pointed to a conviction of one of the governor's former top aides, Joseph Percoco, who was found guilty earlier this year of accepting more than $300,000 in bribes from executives working for two companies with state business.

Mr. Cuomo, who has not been accused by prosecutors of any wrongdoing, said after the verdict that he had "no tolerance for those who seek to defraud the system to advance their own personal interests. Anyone who has committed such an egregious act should be

Continued on Page A19



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

From a Black Hole to Antarctica
Astronomers followed a subatomic particle to gather clues about where cosmic rays come from. PAGE A8

Israel and Russia Reach Deal
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said Russia's president agreed to restrain Iran in Syria. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A12-16

FEMA Outlines Its Mistakes
An assessment by the agency of its performance in the 2017 storm season finds major shortcomings in its preparations for an emergency. PAGE A14

War on Poverty 'Largely Over'
The Council of Economic Advisers makes the case for adding work requirements to programs like Medicaid and food stamps. PAGE A14

Reopening 1955 Murder Case
The death of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old boy, remains among the starkest and most searing examples of racial violence in the American South. PAGE A15

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Some Winning Mudders
Shopping for an S.U.V.? Consider the winners of Mudfest, which tests vehicles on the road and off. PAGE B3

Trade Talks Falter
Concern is growing that the president has no clear strategy to resolve a trade war with China. PAGE B5

NEW YORK A17-19

Senator's Speed Camera Push
A lawmaker with rare expertise on the topic urges a special Senate session to protect the school zone cameras. About New York. PAGE A17

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-14

Serena Williams in the Final
Ten and a half months after giving birth to her daughter, Serena Williams will play for a Grand Slam title after reaching the final of Wimbledon. PAGE B8

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Paul Krugman PAGE A21

WEEKEND ARTS C1-20

The Art of an Outsider
The work of David Wojnarowicz, who spoke out during the AIDS crisis, is in three shows this summer. Above, "Untitled (Time and Money)." PAGE C13

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine, few severe afternoon thunderstorms, high 87. **Tonight,** clearing late, low 70. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, less humid, high 86. Weather map is on Page A16.

VOL. CLXVII ... No. 58,026 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 17, 2018 $3.00

'I have great confidence in my intelligence people, but I will tell you that President Putin was extremely strong and powerful in his denial today.'

PRESIDENT TRUMP, only moments after the Russian president conceded that he had favored Mr. Trump in the election.

TRUMP, WITH PUTIN, ATTACKS 2016 INTELLIGENCE

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump, with Vladimir V. Putin on Monday, saved his sharpest criticism for the United States and the special counsel inquiry into the 2016 election.

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

HELSINKI, Finland — President Trump stood next to President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia on Monday and publicly challenged the conclusion of his own intelligence agencies that Moscow interfered in the 2016 presidential election, wrapping up what he called a "deeply productive" summit meeting with an extraordinary show of trust for a leader accused of attacking American democracy.

In a remarkable news conference, Mr. Trump did not name a single action for which Mr. Putin should be held accountable. Instead, he saved his sharpest criticism for the United States and the special counsel investigation into the election interference, calling it a "ridiculous" probe and a "witch hunt" that has kept the two countries apart.

Mr. Trump even questioned the determinations by his intelligence officials that Russia had meddled in the election.

"They said they think it's Russia," Mr. Trump said. "I have President Putin; he just said it's not Russia," the president continued, only moments after Mr. Putin conceded that he had wanted Mr. Trump to win the election because of his promises of warmer relations with Moscow.

"I will say this: I don't see any reason why it would be" Russia that was responsible for the election hacking, Mr. Trump added. "I have great confidence in my intelligence people, but I will tell you that President Putin was extremely strong and powerful in his denial today."

The 45-minute news conference offered the spectacle of the two presidents both pushing back on the notion of Moscow's election interference, with Mr. Putin demanding evidence of something he said had never been proved, and Mr. Trump appearing to agree.

When asked directly whether he believed Mr. Putin or his own intelligence agencies, Mr. Trump said there were "two thoughts" on the matter: one from American officials like Dan Coats, his director of national intelligence, asserting Russia's involvement; and one from Mr. Putin dismissing it. "I have confidence in both parties," he said.

He then changed the subject, demanding to know why the F.B.I. never examined the hacked computer servers of the Democratic National Committee, and asking about the fate of emails missing from the server of Hillary Clinton, his campaign rival. "Where are Hillary Clinton's emails?" he said.

His performance drew fierce protests from Democrats and some Republicans, prompting John O. Brennan, a C.I.A. director under President Barack Obama, to suggest that the remarks warranted Mr. Trump's impeachment.

Continued on Page A6

A WIN Vladimir Putin achieved his goal: affirmation of Russia's status as a global power. News Analysis. PAGE A7

FACT CHECK Numerous claims from President Trump's news conference with Russia's leader are disputable. PAGE A8

Russian Made Secret Push To Sway Policy, Charges Say

This article is by ***Matt Apuzzo****,* ***Katie Benner*** *and* ***Sharon LaFraniere****.*

WASHINGTON — A Russian woman who tried to broker a secret meeting between Donald J. Trump and the Russian president, Vladimir V. Putin, during the 2016 presidential campaign was charged Monday and accused of working with Americans to carry out a secret Russian effort to influence American politics.

At the behest of a senior Russian government official, the woman, Mariia Butina, made connections through the National Rifle Association, religious organizations and the National Prayer Breakfast to try to steer the Republican Party toward more pro-Russia policies, court records show. Privately comparing herself to a Soviet Cold War propagandist, she worked to infiltrate American organizations and establish "back channel" lines of communication with American politicians.

"These lines could be used by the Russian Federation to penetrate the U.S. national decision-making apparatus to advance the agenda of the Russian Federation," an F.B.I. agent wrote in court documents.

The charges were filed under seal on Saturday, the day after 12 Russian intelligence officers were indicted on a charge of hacking Democratic computers during the 2016 campaign. Ms. Butina, 29, was arrested Sun-

Continued on Page A9

Measured Condemnation But No G.O.P. Plan to Act

This article is by ***Sheryl Gay Stolberg****,* ***Nicholas Fandos*** *and* ***Thomas Kaplan****.*

WASHINGTON — For nearly two years, Republicans have watched uncomfortably, and often in silence, as President Trump has swatted away accusations that Russia interfered in the 2016 presidential race, attacked his own intelligence agencies and flattered President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia.

On Monday, even for members of his own party, Mr. Trump apparently went too far.

The president's extraordinary news conference with Mr. Putin in Helsinki, Finland, stunned Republicans across the ideological spectrum and the party's political apparatus, leaving them struggling to respond after the president undermined his national intelligence director, blamed both the United States and Russia for poor relations between the two countries and seemingly agreed to Mr. Putin's suggestion that Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel, cooperate with Russia.

Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, declared, "No prior president has ever abased himself more abjectly before a tyrant." Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker and Trump adviser, declared the news conference "the most serious mistake of his presidency." Mitt Romney, the 2012 Republican presidential

Continued on Page A9

Disdain for U.S. Institutions And Praise for an Adversary

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — President Trump, who gleefully defies the norms of presidential behavior, went somewhere in Helsinki, Finland, on Monday where none of his predecessors have ever gone: He accepted the explanation of a hostile foreign leader over the findings of his own intelligence agencies.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mr. Trump's declaration that he saw no reason not to believe President Vladimir V. Putin when he said the Russians did not try to fix the 2016 election was extraordinary enough. But it was only one of several statements the likes of which no other president has uttered while on foreign soil.

He condemned the Justice Department's investigation of his campaign's ties to Russia as a "disaster for our country." He suggested that the F.B.I. deliberately mishandled its investigation of Russia's hacking of the Democratic National Committee. And he labeled an F.B.I. agent who testified about that investigation before Congress as a "disgrace to our country."

In the fiery, disruptive, rules-breaking arc of Mr. Trump's statecraft, his assertions during a news conference with Mr. Putin marked a new milestone,

Continued on Page A6

ANDREA MORALES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kela Abernathy holding her son Kaleb, who was born two months early at 3 pounds 6 ounces.

Your Baby Is Coming. Help Is 100 Miles Away.

Obstetric Care Is Often Dangerously Distant in Rural America

By JACK HEALY

KENNETT, Mo. — A few hours after the only hospital in town shut its doors forever, Kela Abernathy bolted awake at 4:30 a.m., screaming in pain.

Oh God, she remembered thinking, it's the twins.

They were not due for another two months. But the contractions seizing Ms. Abernathy's lower back early that June morning told her that her son and daughter were coming. Now.

Ms. Abernathy, 21, staggered out of bed and yelled for her mother, Lynn, who had been lying awake on the living-room couch. They grabbed a few bags, scooped up Ms. Abernathy's 2-year-old son and were soon hurtling across this poor patch of southeast Missouri in their Pontiac Bonneville, racing for help. The old hospital used to be around the corner. Now, her new doctor and hospital were nearly 100 miles away.

Medical help is growing dangerously distant for women in rural America. At least 85 rural hospitals — about 5 percent of the country's total — have closed since 2010, and obstetric care has faced even starker cutbacks as rural hospitals calculate the hard math of survival, weighing the cost of providing 24/7 delivery services against dwindling birthrates, doctor and nursing shortages and falling revenues.

Today, researchers estimate that fewer than half of the country's rural counties still have a hospital that offers obstetric care, an absence that adds to the obstacles rural women face in getting health care. Specialists are increasingly clustered in bigger cities. Clinics that provide abortions, long-term birth control and other reproductive services have been forced to close in many smaller towns.

"It's scary," said Katie Penn, who said she was rejected by eight doctors before finding an obstetrician in Jonesboro, Ark., about an hour from Kennett. "You never know what can happen."

When obstetric services leave town, a cascade of risks follows, according to experts at the University of Minnesota Rural Health Research Center who have studied the consequences. Women go

Continued on Page A14

NATIONAL A11-16

Reluctant Bid to Host G.O.P.
The Trump factor is fueling debates in Charlotte, N.C., over seeking the Republican National Convention. PAGE A12

Combing the Desert for Bodies
Searchers, mostly immigrants, scour the southwest border for the remains of those who tried to cross it. PAGE A11

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Extremists Running for Office
Pakistani courts have cleared a number of candidates who have been included on terrorism watch lists to run in national elections this month. PAGE A4

A Visit to His Father's Land
Barack Obama went to Kenya to inaugurate a sports and training center founded by his half sister. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A17-18

Marijuana Stalls in New Jersey
Legalization was a campaign promise for Gov. Philip D. Murphy, but the Legislature is taking its time. PAGE A17

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Hints of an Ancient Migration
Stone tools found in China show that ancestors of humans left Africa earlier than previously thought. PAGE D1

Good News for Eyeballs
Trachoma, a major cause of blindness, has been eliminated as a health menace in at least seven poor nations. PAGE D1

BUSINESS DAY B1-4

How We Got to 10,000 Tariffs
The blow-by-blow account of how President Trump's tariffs ballooned from just solar panels and washing machines to a $362 billion trade war. PAGE B1

SPORTSTUESDAY B5-12

Russia, Post-World Cup
Much has changed in Russia since the 1980 Summer Olympics were held there, but critics lament that too much has not. PAGE B5

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Michelle Goldberg PAGE A21

ARTS C1-8

Art With a Warning Label
A Texas museum realized it overlooked something while preparing for a display of a panorama, below, of an imagined modern-day Klan gathering. PAGE C1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy, afternoon thunderstorms, high 83. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, thunderstorms, low 74. **Tomorrow,** a few storms, high 82. Weather map appears on Page 22.

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JOSH HANER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Climate Change Is Killing the Cedars of Lebanon

The ancient cedars of Lebanon, a symbol of the country's resilience, have outlived empires and survived modern wars. Now, global warming could finish them off by the end of the century. Above, the Shouf Biosphere Reserve. Page 12.

Brazil's Military Enters Politics, Stirring Fears of a Dictatorship

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO and MANUELA ANDREONI

RIO DE JANEIRO — Members of Brazil's armed forces, who have largely stayed out of political life since the end of the military dictatorship 30 years ago, are making their biggest incursion into politics in decades, with some even warning of a military intervention.

Retired generals and other former officers with strong ties to the military leadership are mounting a sweeping election campaign, backing about 90 military veterans running for an array of posts — including the presidency — in national elections this October. The effort is necessary, they argue, to rescue the nation from an entrenched leadership that has mismanaged the economy, failed to curb soaring violence and brazenly stolen billions of dollars through corruption.

And if the ballot box does not bring change quickly enough, some prominent former generals warn that military leaders may feel compelled to step in and reboot the political system by force.

"We are in a critical moment, walking right up to the razor's edge," said Antonio Mourão, a four-star general who recently re-

Continued on Page 10

Inquiry Focuses on Publisher's Support for Trump

By JIM RUTENBERG and BEN PROTESS

Federal authorities examining the work President Trump's former lawyer did to squelch embarrassing stories before the 2016 election have come to believe that an important ally in that effort, the tabloid company American Media Inc., at times acted more as a political supporter than as a news organization, according to people briefed on the investigation.

That determination has kept the publisher in the middle of an inquiry that could create legal and political challenges for the president as prosecutors investigate whether the lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, violated campaign finance law.

It could also spell trouble for the company, which publishes The National Enquirer, raising thorny questions about when coverage that is favorable to a candidate strays into overt political activity, and when First Amendment protections should apply.

A.M.I.'s role in the inquiry received new attention on Friday with news that federal authorities had seized a recording from Mr. Cohen in which he and Mr. Trump discussed a $150,000 deal A.M.I. struck before the election, effectively silencing a woman's claims of an affair by buying the rights to her story and not publishing it. The men also discussed whether Mr. Trump should buy the rights away from the company, which he did not ultimately do, according to a lawyer for the president, Rudolph W. Giuliani.

The recording, from early September 2016, undercuts previous statements from Mr. Trump's representatives that he did not know about the agreement between A.M.I. and the woman, the former Playboy model Karen McDougal. It also raises questions about the extent of Mr. Cohen's involvement in the deal.

From the beginning of the cam-

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LASHING OUT President Trump signaled open warfare on his longtime lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, over a secret tape. PAGE 19

RECORDS RELEASED The Trump administration disclosed secret documents related to the wiretapping of a campaign aide. PAGE 18

DEMOCRATS BRACE AS STORM BREWS FAR TO THEIR LEFT

FIERCELY LIBERAL VOICES

Young Voters Urge Party Leaders to 'Wake Up and Pay Attention'

By ALEXANDER BURNS

DETROIT — For Rachel Conner, the 2018 election season has been a moment of revelation.

A 27-year-old social worker in Michigan, Ms. Conner voted for Hillary Clinton in the 2016 primaries, spurning the more liberal Bernie Sanders, whom many of her peers backed. But Ms. Conner changed course in this year's campaign for governor, after concluding that Democrats could only win with more daring messages on issues like public health and immigration.

And so on a recent Wednesday, she enlisted two other young women to volunteer for Abdul El-Sayed, a 33-year-old advocate of single-payer health care running an uphill race to become the country's first Muslim governor.

"They need to wake up and pay attention to what people actually want," Ms. Conner said of Democratic leaders. "There are so many progressive policies that have widespread support that mainstream Democrats are not picking up on, or putting that stuff down and saying, 'That wouldn't really work.' "

Voters like Ms. Conner may not represent a controlling faction in the Democratic Party, at least not yet. But they are increasingly rattling primary elections around the country, and they promise to grow as a disruptive force in national elections as younger voters reject the traditional boundary lines of Democratic politics.

Energized to take on President Trump, these voters are also seeking to remake their own party as a ferocious — and ferociously liberal — opposition force. And many appear as focused on forcing progressive policies into the midterm debate as they are on defeating Republicans.

The impact of these activists in

Continued on Page 17

SOCIALIST STAR After her win in New York, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez hit the road to campaign for other progressives. PAGE 16

SWING LEFT A political action committee is trying to disrupt the way elections are won. SUNDAY BUSINESS, PAGE 3

Wild About Tech, China Even Loves Waiters Too Clunky to Serve

By PAUL MOZUR

SHANGHAI — The mind-reading headsets won't read minds. The fire-detecting machine has been declared a safety hazard. The robot waiter can't be trusted with the soup.

China is ready for the future, even if the future hasn't quite arrived.

China has become a global technological force in just a few short years. It is shaping the future of the internet. Its technology ambitions helped prompt the Trump administration to start a trade war. Hundreds of millions of people in China now use smartphones to shop online, pay their bills and invest their money, sometimes in ways more advanced than in the United States.

That has led many people in China to embrace technology full tilt, no matter how questionable. Robots wait on restaurant diners. Artificial intelligence marks up schoolwork. Facial recognition

YUYANG LIU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Robot Magic Restaurant in Shanghai, where a nonhuman waiter can do only so much before a human one steps in to help.

technology helps dole out everything from Kentucky Fried Chicken orders to toilet paper. China is in a competition with itself for the world record for dancing robots.

That embrace of tech for tech's sake — and the sometimes dubious results it leads to — were on display at the Global Intelligence and World Business Summit, held last month in Shanghai, which several luminaries in Chinese tech and academia were supposed to kick off with their minds.

Donning black headbands that looked like implements of electroshock therapy, the seven men and two women onstage were told to envision themselves pressing a button. The headbands would transmit their brain activity to the robotic hand sharing the stage, which would then push a button to officially start the conference.

A countdown began. A camera put the robotic hand onto a huge screen above the stage. The people onstage seemed to concentrate. And then, nothing happened. The hand remained motionless. The camera panned away.

A spokesman for Yiou, the tech consultancy that hosted the event, declined to comment except for: two emojis showing tears of joy.

All of this embarrasses some people in the Chinese tech scene. They warn that the excess exuberance is one sign of a venture

Continued on Page 14

One Year Later, Charlottesville Is in a Tug of War Over Its Soul

By FARAH STOCKMAN

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va. — In the days following the deadly white nationalist rally in Charlottesville last summer, angry residents took over a City Council meeting, screaming and weeping into the microphone. They blamed leaders for failing to stop hordes with guns, swastikas and Confederate flags from descending on the city.

"Why did you think that you could walk in here and do business as usual after what happened?" Nikuyah Walker, one of the activists there that day, bluntly asked the sitting mayor.

Today, in a sign of how much has changed since white nationalists rallied here and shocked the nation, Ms. Walker is mayor herself, the city's first black woman to serve in that role.

Since the rally, nearly every official who held power at the time has resigned or retired. The city attorney, who concluded that there was no legal way to stop the rally, took a job in another town. The police chief stepped down in the wake of a critical report accusing him of failing to protect the public on the day of the rally. The city manager, who oversaw the city's response, will leave by the end of this year.

Instead of uniting the right, the rally's purported goal, it empowered a leftist political coalition that vows to confront generations of racial and economic injustice. But despite the dramatic overhaul of the city's leadership, wholesale change has been slow to take hold.

The bronze Confederate generals that ignited the rally still sit on horseback in public parks. Activ-

Continued on Page 20

INTERNATIONAL 6-15

Behind Bars for a Can of Beer
Under a new crackdown by President Rodrigo Duterte, more than 50,000 Filipinos have been locked up for trivial offenses, like drinking in public. PAGE 6

Floating Toward a Better Life
The porousness of the Guatemala-Mexico border is in plain view on the Suchiate River, where rafts flow all day carrying people and cargo. PAGE 8

A Call for a Russian's Release
Moscow's foreign minister, in a direct appeal to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, said charges against a suspected covert agent were "fabricated." PAGE 4

NATIONAL 16-23

Change Atop Fiat Chrysler
The chief executive, Sergio Marchionne, is leaving the company ahead of schedule after falling gravely ill. PAGE 23

Survivor Faces the Unthinkable
Tia Coleman's husband and children, and other relatives, died in a tourist boat sinking in Branson, Mo. PAGE 22

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Her Grand Plans for Netflix
Shonda Rhimes, the creator of the ABC hits "Grey's Anatomy" and "Scandal," lays out her ambitions after signing a multiyear, nine-figure deal. PAGE 1

Guyana's $20 Billion Question
The South American nation is the setting for the next big oil boom. Is it ready to handle the riches? PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

A Billionaire's Political Losses
George Soros has bet big on liberal democracy. Now he fears that his political legacy is in jeopardy. PAGE 24

SUNDAY STYLES

Out of This World
At AlienCon, tales of ancient astronauts, Bigfoot and mysteries of the cosmos (and skepticism for scientific theory). PAGE 1

Baltimore's New Beat
The city's racial tensions and class uprisings have inspired a generation of young independent musicians. PAGE 4

SPORTSSUNDAY

Parents Acting Up
Youth sports is being disrupted by a rising tide of verbal and even physical abuse of game officials. PAGE 1

Woods Vaults Into Contention
With a five-under-par 66, Tiger Woods is in a tie for sixth at the British Open. "I have a chance," he said. On Golf. PAGE 2

SUNDAY REVIEW

Randall Kennedy PAGE 1

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, drenching showers and thunderstorms, mostly cloudy, high 78. **Tonight,** heavy showers, low 71. **Tomorrow,** showers and storms, high 84. Weather map is on Page C8.

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VALERIE GACHE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Wildfires raged on Tuesday in the village of Kineta, Greece, west of Athens. The government called in help from the European Union.

Cohen Releases Tape of Trump, Adding to Feud

A Talk of Hush Money to a Playboy Model

This article is by ***Michael S. Schmidt****,* ***Maggie Haberman*** *and* ***Jim Rutenberg****.*

WASHINGTON — President Trump's former personal lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, escalated his dispute with the president on Tuesday by releasing a secret recording of a conversation in which Mr. Trump appears to have knowledge about hush money payments to a Playboy model who said she had an affair with Mr. Trump.

The recording, which was broadcast by CNN, is sometimes muddled but provides details on payments to the model, Karen McDougal. However, it does not definitively answer the question about whether Mr. Trump directed Mr. Cohen to make them in cash or by check just two months before the 2016 presidential election.

Mr. Cohen is heard telling Mr. Trump that he will need to set up a company to arrange the payments.

Mr. Trump then asked, "What financing?"

"We'll have to pay," Mr. Cohen said.

Mr. Trump then appears to say, "Pay with cash."

Mr. Cohen then says, "No, no."

The word "check" is uttered, but it is not clear by whom, and the audio is then cut off.

Ms. McDougal was paid $150,000 by The National Enquirer for her story in summer 2016. The tabloid, which has often given Mr. Trump favorable coverage, then did not publish the story. According to people close to Mr. Cohen and Mr. Trump, the two men were discussing on the tape a second payment to The Enquirer that would continue to keep Ms. McDougal from speaking publicly about Mr. Trump.

On the recording, Mr. Trump shows some familiarity with a deal between Ms. McDougal and American Media Inc., the publisher of The Enquirer, and does not act as if he is only learning

Continued on Page A13

TRUMP PROMISES $12 BILLION IN AID TO PROP UP FARMS

TRADE WAR CASUALTIES

A Signal for More Tariffs — Criticism of Policy Is Widespread

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and ANA SWANSON

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration announced on Tuesday that it would provide up to $12 billion in emergency relief for farmers hurt by the president's trade war, moving to blunt the financial damage to American agriculture and the political fallout for Republicans as the consequences of President Trump's protectionist policies roll through the economy.

Unveiled two days before the president is scheduled to visit Iowa, a politically important state that is the nation's top soybean producer, the farm aid appeared calculated to show that Mr. Trump cares about farmers and is working to protect them from the worst consequences of his trade war.

But the relief money, announced by the Department of Agriculture, was also an indication that Mr. Trump — ignoring the concerns of farmers, their representatives in Congress and even some of his own aides — plans to extend his tit-for-tat tariff wars.

"The actions today are a firm statement that other nations cannot bully our agricultural producers to force the United States to cave in," Sonny Perdue, the secretary of agriculture, said during a call with reporters to unveil the program.

The move drew swift condemnation from many farm groups and lawmakers, including several in his own party, who worry about a cascade of unintended consequences that may be just beginning. One farm-group study estimates that corn, wheat and soybean farmers in the United States have already lost more — $13 billion — than the administration is proposing to pro-

Continued on Page A14

In Worst Greek Fires in a Decade, A Desperate Dash Ends in Death

By JASON HOROWITZ

MATI, Greece — They nearly reached the water.

As wind-fueled wildfires that killed at least 76 people in vacation areas outside Athens bore down on their seaside resort, 26 men, women and children gathered in the hope that they could find the narrow path leading to a small staircase down to the water.

The gated entrance stood only a dozen paces away, but with smoke blotting their vision and choking their lungs, they appear to have lost their way. Officials found their bodies the next day, Tuesday; several were still clinging to one another.

At sundown, an eyeglass case, a belt buckle, the carcasses of dogs and the shells of cellphones dotted the still-smoldering field where they fell. Amid the burned pine cones and the naked trees, leaning as if slammed by a nuclear wind, lay a large leather sandal and a small blue one with a Velcro strap.

All around were the discarded blue rubber gloves of the emergency workers who carried the bodies away.

Greece, a country that understands tragedy all too well, woke Tuesday morning to its worst one in a decade. In addition to those killed by smoke or fire, or who drowned in the sea while trying to flee, 187 people were hospitalized, more than 20 of them children. Ten people remained in serious condition, the government said Tuesday night.

The fires forced the evacuation

Continued on Page A8

Medicaid in Limbo in Maine: Voters? Yea. Governor? Nay.

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

PORTLAND, Me. — Brandy Staples, a 39-year-old breast cancer survivor, had expected to become eligible for Medicaid coverage this month after Maine voters approved an expansion of the program last fall. Instead, she found herself in a courtroom here on Wednesday, watching the latest chapter unfold in a rancorous, drawn-out battle over whether she and thousands of other poor people in the state will get free government insurance after all.

Ignoring the binding vote, Gov. Paul LePage has refused to expand the program, blasting it as a needless, budget-busting form of welfare. He vetoed five expansion bills before the issue made the ballot, plus a spending bill this month that provided about $60 million in funding for the first year. Earlier this month he went so far as to say he would go to jail "before I put the state in red ink" by adding at least 70,000 more low-income adults to the state's Medicaid population of 264,000.

The showdown is on the extreme end of tensions playing out this election year in a number of Republican-controlled states that have resisted expanding Medicaid under the Affordable Care Act. Following Maine's lead, advocacy groups in Idaho, Nebraska and Utah have gathered enough signatures to get Medicaid expansion measures on their state ballots this November, although Nebraska's have yet to be certified.

Continued on Page A15

Valley United by Open Border Is Divided Over a 3-Mile Fence

By KATRIN BENNHOLD

SPIELFELD, Austria — The border between Austria and Slovenia runs through Armin Tement's backyard. Literally.

Not that you would know it. Neat rows of vines march up and down the valley like military columns with no regard for a frontier laid down by man, why here, no one can quite remember. The Slovene wine workers speak German. The Austrians speak Slovenian, or at least try.

AUSTRIA DISPATCH

As for the wine, well, says Mr. Tement, 32, "it tastes exactly the same on both sides."

When Mr. Tement's family started making wine back in the 19th century, there was no border here. The region of Styria, straddling what is now southeastern Austria and northeastern Slovenia, was part of the Hapsburg Empire.

LENA MUCHA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Austrian troops patrolling to catch refugees, now rare.

When the empire was broken up after World War I, Upper Styria became Austrian and Lower Styria became part of Yugoslavia — until the 1990s, when that country, too, was broken up and Slovenia gained its independence.

The border, a hundred years old this year, was briefly eliminated by advancing Nazi armies, then heavily policed during the

Continued on Page A6

Gillibrand, a Newly Minted Populist, Tacks Left

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

WASHINGTON — Standing before a crowd of a thousand union members and progressive activists last month at a conference here that served as a 2020 audition for aspiring Democrats, Senator Kirsten Gillibrand was asked if she supported imposing a new tax on financial transactions in the stock market.

It once would have been unthinkable for a senator from New York, the epicenter of Wall Street money and influence, to back a tax so targeted at her own constituents. But Ms. Gillibrand did not hesitate to answer.

"I do," she said. The crowd erupted in cheers.

The unequivocal embrace of the tax proposal was just the latest in a series of policy pronouncements and political moves that have thrust Ms. Gillibrand toward the front and left of the Democratic Party in the age of President Trump.

While Ms. Gillibrand has made her name and reputation on fighting for women's issues, especially around sexual assault and harassment — "60 Minutes" favorably branded her "The #MeToo Senator" this year — she has spent recent months injecting her portfolio with a dose of the kind of economic populism that infused Senator Bernie Sanders's campaign in the 2016 presidential primary.

If that sounds like the fundamental planks of a 2020 presidential campaign, Ms. Gillibrand, who is running for re-election in November, demurred. "For me, it's all about 2018," she insisted.

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Kirsten Gillibrand talking to a Capitol Police officer as she protested family detention of suspected illegal immigrants.

Continued on Page A19

U.S. Businesses Feeling Bullish, Despite Tumult

By PATRICIA COHEN

Potential perils are in plain sight: An intense and unpredictable tariff battle is alarming businesses across the country. The annual federal deficit is heading toward $1 trillion. Credit card debt is soaring. And the synchronous wave that lifted every world economy at the year's start has dissipated.

So what?

Such risks have done little to puncture the exuberant optimism that is encouraging American businesses to ramp up hiring and consider new investment.

The confidence is rooted only partly in hard-nosed data, like the rapid pace of growth expected for the second quarter and record low jobless rates. It is also a sign of harder-to-measure sentiment. "Animal spirits are high," said Tim

Continued on Page A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Laotians Fear the Worst
The collapse of a dam washed away homes in more than a half-dozen rural villages in Laos. Several people had been confirmed killed, while hundreds were still missing. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

From Guns to Girders
For years, firearms at so-called gun melts have served as an inexpensive supply of scrap metal that can be turned into high-grade steel bound for construction, mining and more. PAGE B1

E.U. to Offer Trade Proposals
The plans may fall short of appeasing President Trump, who has expressed skepticism at past trade pacts and branded the bloc a "foe." PAGE B1

NATIONAL A10-16

Reversal of Fortune
The early days of President Trump's administration seemed to promise his allies Rick Gates and Elliott Broidy enormous clout and earning potential. But those times are over. PAGE A11

Trump Pick Wins in Georgia
Brian Kemp rode the president's incendiary politics to the Republican nomination for governor, defeating the party elite's preferred candidate. PAGE A16

NEW YORK A17-19

Pizza Delivery Man Is Freed
An undocumented immigrant detained while delivering food to an Army base can stay in the country and pursue a green card, a judge ruled. PAGE A17

ARTS C1-7

Haunted by Its Past
The new Stephen King series "Castle Rock" on Hulu may appeal to some superfans, but it is not so successful as TV, James Poniewozik says. PAGE C1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-12

'Nothing Has Changed'
Despite efforts to stop the abuse of female athletes, one champion gymnast says athletes are still afraid to speak out. Sports of The Times. PAGE B9

FOOD D1-8

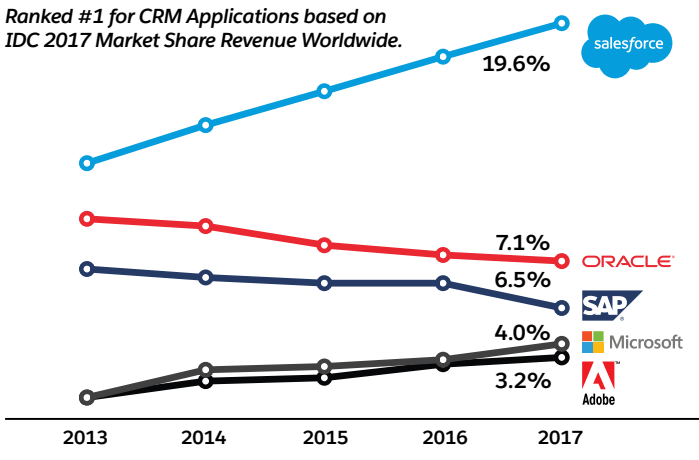
The Art of Australian Breakfast
Young expats have transplanted their bright, Instagrammable cooking and mellow lifestyle by opening a flurry of cafes in New York City. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Larry David PAGE A23

Salesforce. #1 CRM.

Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2017 Market Share Revenue Worldwide.



Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiannual Software Tracker, April 2018.

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CRM Applications market includes the following IDC-defined functional markets: Sales, Customer Service, Contact Center, and Marketing Applications.
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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly cloudy, humid, showers, thunder, high 84. **Tonight,** showers or thunderstorms, humid, low 75. **Tomorrow,** showers, storms, high 87. Weather map, Page C8.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 58,041 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1, 2018 $3.00

ANDY WONG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A professor in China wrote that policies of President Xi Jinping, right, had created "uncertainty about the direction of the country."

China Skids, And Xi Hears Rare Rebuke

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

BEIJING — China's top leader, Xi Jinping, seemed indomitable when lawmakers abolished a term limit on his power early this year. But months later, China has been struck by economic headwinds, a vaccine scandal and trade battles with Washington, emboldening critics in Beijing who are questioning Mr. Xi's sweeping control.

Censorship and punishment have muted dissent in China since Mr. Xi came to power. So Xu Zhangrun, a law professor at Tsinghua University in Beijing, took a big risk last week when he delivered the fiercest denunciation yet from a Chinese academic of Mr. Xi's hard-line policies, revival of Communist orthodoxies and adulatory propaganda image.

"People nationwide, including the entire bureaucratic elite, feel once more lost in uncertainty about the direction of the country and about their own personal security, and the rising anxiety has spread into a degree of panic throughout society," Professor Xu wrote in an essay that appeared on the website of Unirule Institute of Economics, an independent think tank in Beijing that was recently forced out of its office.

"It's very bold," Jiang Hao, a researcher at the institute, said in an interview. "Many intellectuals might be thinking the same, but they don't dare speak out."

Professor Xu urged Chinese lawmakers to reverse the vote in March that abolished a two-term limit on Mr. Xi's tenure as president. That near-unanimous vote of the party-dominated legislature opened the way for him to retain power for another decade or longer as president, Communist Party leader and chairman of the military.

The essay appeared as a burst of troubles has given a focus for criticisms of Mr. Xi's strongman ways, and it has spread through

Continued on Page A7

Judge Presses Pause on the Downloadable Gun

This article is by ***Michael D. Shear****,* ***Tiffany Hsu*** *and* ***Kirk Johnson****.*

WASHINGTON — For years, Cody Wilson, a champion of gun-rights and anarchism from Texas, has waged a battle to post on the internet the blueprints for making plastic guns on 3-D printers, claiming the First Amendment gives him the right to do it.

Plastic guns are difficult to detect, and concerned about making it easier to produce them, the Obama administration had used export laws banning the foreign distribution of firearms to prevent publication of the blueprints. But an abrupt reversal by the State Department last month appeared to finally clear the path for Mr. Wilson to usher in what his website calls "the age of the downloadable gun."

That age, he said, would start Wednesday when he would begin uploading the instructions. But faced with dire warnings about an imminent risk to public safety from alarmed public officials across the country, a federal judge in Seattle on Tuesday evening abruptly granted a temporary nationwide injunction blocking Mr. Wilson from moving forward with his plans.

Attorneys general in eight states and the District of Columbia had filed a joint lawsuit attempting to force the Trump administration to prevent Mr. Wilson's nonprofit organization, Defense Distributed, from making the technical plans for the plastic guns available online.

In a decision from the bench issued immediately after an hour-long argument by lawyers for both sides, Judge Robert S. Lasnik of United States District Court said the lawyers bringing the suit had established "a likelihood of irreparable harm" and of success on the merits.

Judge Lasnik said in his ruling that there were "serious First Amendment issues" that would

Continued on Page A12

JAY JANNER/AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Cody Wilson holding a pistol made on a 3-D printer at his home.

President Jabs Back at Kochs In Trade Feud

Brands Vital Donors to G.O.P. a 'Total Joke'

By JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — President Trump has given Republicans good reason to tolerate his unruly leadership style. His tax cuts, deregulation push and nomination of conservative judges amount to the most orthodox Republican agenda any president has pursued since Ronald Reagan.

Few had better reason to appreciate Mr. Trump's results than Charles G. Koch, a billionaire industrialist who is one of the Republican Party's biggest donors.

Yet Mr. Koch's simmering frustrations with the president over trade and immigration have now spilled over into an ugly public feud with Mr. Trump and candidates who side with him. By calling Mr. Trump's trade policies "detrimental" and denouncing divisive leadership, Mr. Koch is making a provocative political move that — be it hardball strategy or more of a ploy — threatens to complicate Republican efforts to hold on to their slim congressional majorities in the November midterm elections.

Mr. Trump hit back on Tuesday by attacking Mr. Koch; his ailing brother and business partner, David; and the powerful political network they founded as "totally overrated" and "a total joke in real Republican circles."

"I never sought their support because I don't need their money or bad ideas," Mr. Trump fumed on Twitter in an early morning series of posts. And several Republicans, including some allies of the Kochs, accused them of self-aggrandizement.

The back-and-forth between the two men began with threats from Mr. Koch and his top political aides over the weekend to withhold support for Republican candidates who do not help enact the free trade, budget-slashing, government-shrinking policies that have always been at the center of the Koch political philosophy but are of little interest to the president. The Koch network has said it plans to spend up to $400 million on politics and policy in the 2018 election cycle.

In a video released to the media during a Koch network retreat in Colorado Springs on Saturday, Mr.

Continued on Page A16

FACEBOOK BUSTS A SHADOWY PLOT TO JOLT ELECTIONS

SIGNS OF RUSSIAN HAND

32 Pages and Accounts Are Caught Pushing Divisive Issues

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and KEVIN ROOSE

WASHINGTON — Facebook said on Tuesday that it had identified a political influence campaign that was potentially built to disrupt the midterm elections, with the company detecting and removing 32 pages and fake accounts that had engaged in activity around divisive social issues.

The company did not definitively link the campaign to Russia. But Facebook officials said some of the tools and techniques used by the accounts were similar to those used by the Internet Research Agency, the Kremlin-linked group that was at the center of an indictment this year alleging interference in the 2016 presidential election.

Facebook said it had discovered coordinated activity around issues like a sequel to last year's deadly "Unite the Right" white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Va. Activity was also detected around #AbolishICE, a left-wing campaign on social media that seeks to end the Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency.

"At this point in our investigation, we do not have enough technical evidence to state definitively who is behind it," said Nathaniel Gleicher, Facebook's head of cybersecurity policy. "But we can say that these accounts engaged in some similar activity and have connected with known I.R.A. accounts."

The jolting disclosure, delivered to lawmakers in private briefings on Capitol Hill this week and in a public Facebook post on Tuesday, underscored how behind-the-scenes interference in the November elections had begun.

In recent weeks, there have been reports of other meddling, including a Daily Beast report that the office of Claire McCaskill of Missouri, one of the Senate's most vulnerable Democrats up for

Continued on Page A16

Ailing Charity Reaped Millions Shifting Care to Young Migrants

By LIZ ROBBINS

When 17-year-old Destani Williams ran away from an upstate New York residential treatment program in May 2017 and was found dead a week later, it was but the latest in a string of troubling incidents at Cayuga Centers, a 166-year-old child-welfare agency.

In the year leading up to her death, three workers were arrested on charges of abuse, and the agency was sued for negligence as a result. The police in Auburn, N.Y., complained about hundreds of emergency calls to deal with runaway residents and violent incidents on the campus, which included residents injuring police officers, throwing chairs through windows and wielding shards of glass to cut staff members.

"It seems that Cayuga Centers has evolved into a business whose priority is making money as opposed to a family service that helps youth meet the challenges of life," Officer Joseph Villano, the president of the local police union, wrote in August 2017 to the agency's board of trustees in a letter that was made public.

But by then, Cayuga Centers was far along in its transition from a modest nonprofit specializing in residential programs in the Finger Lakes region, first into an agency providing foster care serv-

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Struggling Iranians See Lifeline in Trump's Offer

By THOMAS ERDBRINK

TEHRAN — Iran's leaders cannot stand the thought of talking to the United States and say President Trump cannot be trusted. But Jamshid Moniri, a 45-year-old building contractor sweating under the Tehran summer sun, summed up what many ordinary Iranians think.

"Of course we should talk to Trump," he said on Tuesday. "What is wrong with talks? We'd be nuts not to talk to him."

The day before, Mr. Trump, who withdrew the United States from the 2015 nuclear agreement with Iran in May despite Iran's documented compliance, said he was ready to sit down with Iran's leaders "without preconditions."

"I'll meet with anybody," Mr. Trump said in Washington. "If they want to meet, I'll meet. Any-

ATTA KENARE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Trump's invitation to talk dominated the news in Iran.

time they want."

On Tuesday, in Tehran, Mr. Trump's open invitation seemed to be on everybody's mind. Increasingly desperate, many say they would welcome any option that could ease Iran's economic quagmire.

The Iranian currency, the rial, has lost 80 percent of its value during the past year — and nearly 20 percent just in the past few days. Foreign investors have left to

Continued on Page A8

NATIONAL A10-16

Trial for Manafort Begins
A lawyer for Paul Manafort, President Trump's former campaign chairman, who faces an array of bank- and tax-fraud charges, placed the blame on Mr. Manafort's associates. PAGE A14

Mueller Refers 3 Cases
The special counsel has passed along investigations into lobbying by Washington insiders to the federal prosecutors in New York. PAGE A14

NEW YORK A17-20

One Day in a $32 Billion Crisis
A reporter shadowed a superintendent in a complex with one of the worst maintenance backlogs in the city to see what it means to save the nation's largest public housing system. PAGE A17

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Israeli Law Shuns Druse, Too
The Arabic-speaking minority has long fought for Israel, but a new law has opened a rift by declaring Israel "the nation-state of the Jewish people" and omitting equality for all. PAGE A9

U.S. Critic Rises in Pakistan
The election of Imran Khan, the presumptive prime minister of Pakistan, could complicate peace talks with the Taliban in Afghanistan. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

The Free Lunch, Under Attack
Targeting a staple of the technology world, a proposed ordinance would ban employee cafeterias in new construction, encouraging tech workers to leave the office to buy their meals. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-12

Nationals 25, Mets 4 (No Typo)
The most lopsided defeat in Mets history became even more absurd when infielder Jose Reyes pitched the eighth inning. He allowed six runs. PAGE B11

ARTS C1-7

Don't Everybody Speak at Once
Did the 525 ventriloquists who gathered in Kentucky for a convention last month find the event rewarding? You'll have to ask their dummies. PAGE C1

FOOD D1-6

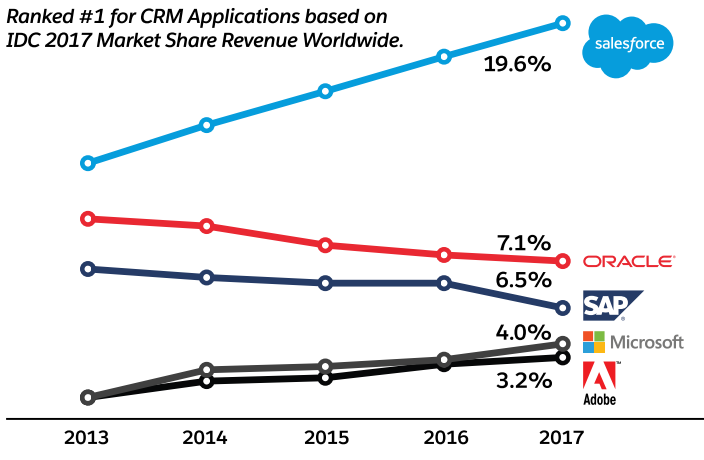
Making Small Markets Super
A new crop of local groceries is innovating to serve niche audiences and advance social causes. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Frank Bruni PAGE A23

Salesforce.
#1 CRM.

Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2017 Market Share Revenue Worldwide.



Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiannual Software Tracker, April 2018.

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly cloudy, heavy showers, humid, high 83. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 74. **Tomorrow,** times of clouds and sunshine, high 89. Weather map appears on Page C8.

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IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Women making hay beside the Euphrates in Kurdish-controlled Syria. In nearby Manbij, American troops are based across the river from Turkish-backed rebels.

ROBUST RECOVERY LIFTING LABORERS HIT THE HARDEST

AN UPBEAT JOBS REPORT

Fed Raises Its Outlook — Unemployment Ticks Down to 3.9%

By NELSON D. SCHWARTZ and BEN CASSELMAN

The least educated American workers, who took the hardest hit in the Great Recession, were also among the slowest to harvest the gains of the recovery. Now they are a striking symbol of a strong economy.

The unemployment rate for those without a high school diploma fell to 5.1 percent in July, the Labor Department reported Friday, the lowest since the government began collecting data on such workers in 1992. At the economy's nadir in the summer of 2009, the unemployment rate for high school dropouts hit 15.6 percent, more than three times the peak unemployment rate for college graduates.

Buffeted by technological change and seemingly out of place in an economy where skills and credentials are in ever more demand, this cohort struggled while more educated workers scored jobs and promotions and rose on the economic ladder.

High school dropouts make up 7.2 percent of the labor force, and some experts doubted they and other low-skilled workers would ever fully recover from the effects of the recession, said Betsey Stevenson, a professor of economics at the University of Michigan.

"As economists, we worried these workers would be shut out forever," she said. "But the long duration of the recovery has pulled them back in. As the economy adds more jobs, employers have had to dig a little deeper."

The improvement in the fortunes of less-educated workers was a highlight in a jobs report that showed continuing gains across a broad variety of sectors.

Over all in July, employers increased payrolls by 157,000, while the unemployment rate edged downward to 3.9 percent, near the 18-year low achieved in May.

The data echoed other positive economic news recently, including a report last week showing the economy grew by 4.1 percent in the second quarter.

And the headlines about President Trump's tariffs on steel and aluminum and a widening trade war with China seem to have done little to put a damper on hiring. The manufacturing sector, which is particularly sensitive to exports, was robust, adding 37,000 jobs.

Although the payroll increase in July was slightly below what Wall Street was expecting, upward revisions for May and June alleviated fears of a slowdown.

Several economists linked the shortfall to the shutdown of Toys "R" Us, and the loss of 32,000 jobs at sporting goods, book and hobby stores last month.

On Wednesday, the Federal Reserve upgraded its view of the economy's underlying condition from "solid" to "strong." The cen-

Continued on Page A15

Source of Life Has Become Hostile Front

By BEN HUBBARD

ZOUR MAGHAR, Syria — On the eastern bank of the Euphrates River, Kurdish militiamen aligned with American troops burrow into sandbagged positions and eye their foes across the water.

On the other side, Arab rebels backed by Turkey shoot at anyone who nears the river.

For millenniums, the Euphrates has given farmers in the village of Zour Maghar water to irrigate fields of wheat, eggplant and sunflowers. Generations of families have sprawled on its banks for picnics, the older children teaching the younger to swim.

But after seven years of war, the river that has fed life in Syria's parched east has become a hostile front, separating warring sides as it travels north to south. Deprived of its water, families have fled Zour Maghar, abandoning their mud-brick homes and leaving their fields idle.

"The river was everything for us," said Muhammad Bozan, 35, a farmer who can no longer work his waterfront land. "We used to live from the river and now we can't."

Syria's war has taken hundreds of thousands of lives, displaced millions and left entire cities in smoking ruins. It has also ensnared the Euphrates, an arc of the Fertile Crescent that is considered a cradle of civilization.

On a recent trip along the river, we found a wasteland dotted with

Continued on Page A8

Foreign Policy Leaves Trump And Team Split

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — In the last five days, President Trump has thanked Kim Jong-un of North Korea for his "nice letter," reminisced about his "great meeting" with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia and offered to meet Iran's president, Hassan Rouhani, without any preconditions.

NEWS ANALYSIS

During those same five days, the Treasury Department imposed sanctions on a Russian bank accused of helping North Korea with weapons-related activities. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo listed stringent preconditions for any engagement with Iran. And the administration's top intelligence and law enforcement officials vowed to combat Russian interference in the midterm elections, while Senate Republicans pushed a bill that would impose harsh new sanctions on Moscow.

There is Mr. Trump's foreign policy, and then there is the foreign policy of the rest of the Trump administration, backed by the Republican Party. This week, the two were openly at odds with each other. Be it Russia, NATO, Iran or North Korea, Mr. Trump's staff and his party projected a radically different message than the president himself.

"There is a clear dissonance between what the president says and what his administration

Continued on Page A7

Manafort's Path Back to Riches: An Unpaid Job

Seeing a Chance to 'Get Whole' by Working Free for Trump

This article is by ***Matt Apuzzo, Eileen Sullivan*** *and* ***Sharon LaFraniere****.*

WASHINGTON — Paul Manafort's services did not come cheap. His consulting work helped prop up foreign strongmen, who in turn kept him in $12,000 bespoke suits from Beverly Hills.

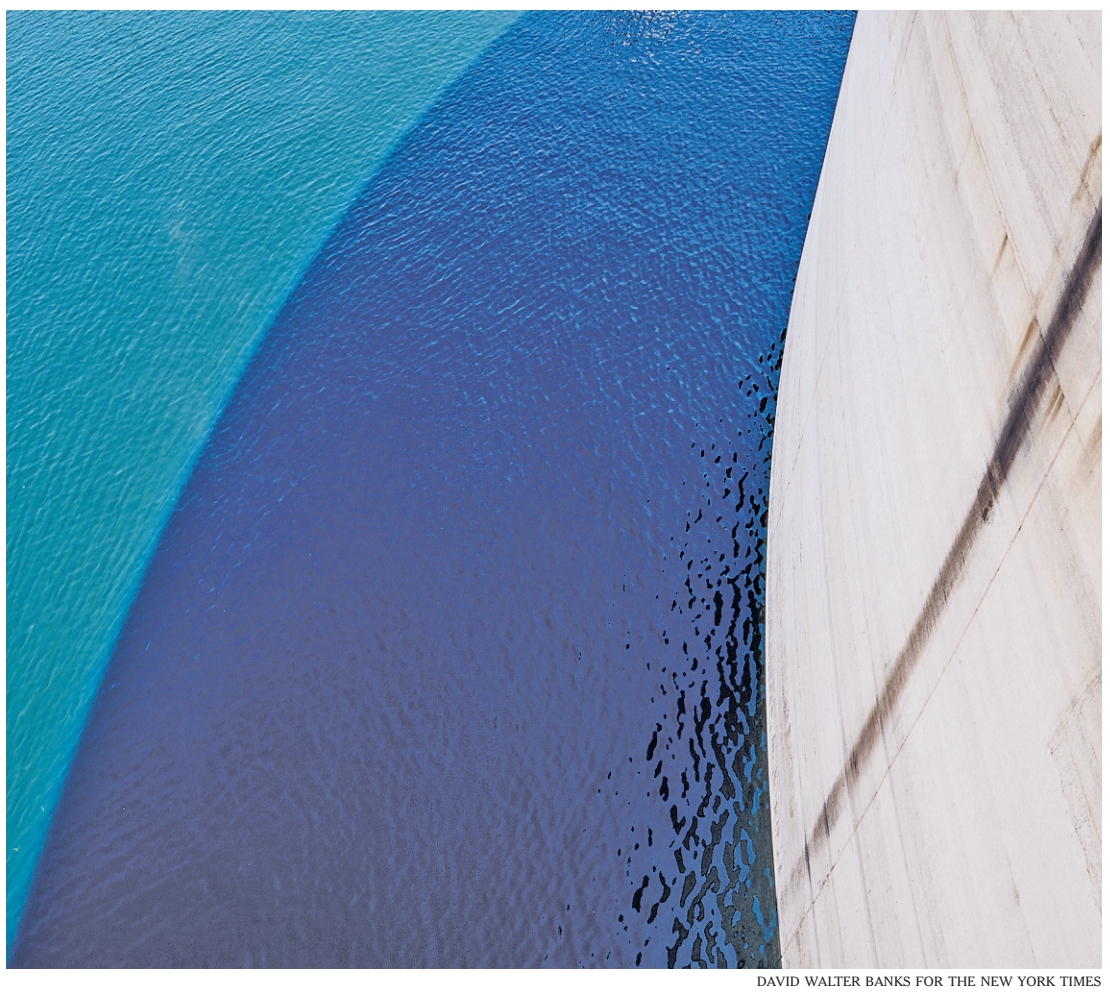
But by 2016, Mr. Manafort was broke. His longtime cash cow, the Ukrainian president Viktor F. Yanukovych, was out of office, living in exile. Mr. Manafort had $1 million in clothing debt alone, his business was hemorrhaging money and he was angling for bank loans to stay afloat.

He was in such bad shape that one of his accountants, Cynthia Laporta, who testified on Friday at Mr. Manafort's fraud trial, said she had agreed in 2015 to fraudulently lower his reported income on a tax return because she had been told he was unable to pay what he owed. She saved him about a half-million dollars in taxes. [Page A13.]

The problems did not go away by 2016, so it was a peculiar time to volunteer his services to the Trump campaign. "I am not looking for a paid job," Mr. Manafort wrote in a memo proposing he help Donald J. Trump secure the Republican nomination for president.

Mr. Manafort's work running the campaign is the backdrop to his federal bank and tax fraud trial in Northern Virginia. Prosecutors are not addressing that work. But as they present evidence that he was growing desperate for money, the question of why Mr. Manafort,

Continued on Page A13



DAVID WALTER BANKS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Power to Spare
The Hoover Dam casts a shadow on Lake Mead. It may be turned into a giant battery. Page B1.

Pope's Opposition Won't Stop An Execution Set in Nebraska

By TIMOTHY WILLIAMS

LINCOLN, Neb. — When Nebraska lawmakers defied Gov. Pete Ricketts in 2015 by repealing the death penalty over his strong objections, the governor wouldn't let the matter go. Mr. Ricketts, a Republican who is Roman Catholic, tapped his family fortune to help bankroll a referendum to reinstate capital punishment, a measure the state's Catholic leadership vehemently opposed.

After a contentious and emotional battle across this deep-red state, voters restored the death penalty the following year. Later this month, Nebraska is scheduled to execute Carey Dean Moore, who was convicted of murder, in what would be the state's first execution in 21 years.

The prospect has renewed a tense debate in a state that has wrestled with the moral and financial implications of the death penalty for years, even before the 2015 attempt to abolish it. Protesters have been holding daily vigils outside the governor's mansion to oppose Mr. Moore's execution.

Complicating matters, Pope Francis this week declared that executions are unacceptable in all cases, a shift from earlier church doctrine that had accepted the death penalty if it was "the only

Continued on Page A15

Democrats See Opening in Kansas if Trump Ally Wins Primary

By JONATHAN MARTIN

TOPEKA, Kan. — The evolution of the Kansas Republican Party mirrors that of the national party, a rightward shift from the moderation of Dwight D. Eisenhower to the mainstream conservatism of Bob Dole to the small-government absolutism of former Gov. Sam Brownback and Wichita-based Koch Industries.

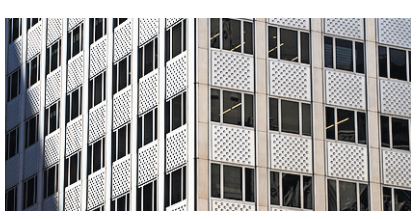
Now the party appears to be shifting once more: toward the hard-line nationalism of President Trump. And that has delighted Democrats who see an opening to make significant gains in a conservative-leaning state.

A crucial moment will come in Tuesday's primary election when Kansas' secretary of state, Kris Kobach — a Trump ally who has become a national lightning rod for his views on immigration and voting rights — could snatch the nomination for governor from the incumbent, Gov. Jeff Colyer.

If Republicans select a candidate as polarizing as Mr. Kobach, it could have profound political implications for both local and national Democrats. Not only could they take back a Great Plains state governorship — winning veto power in the next round of redistricting — but they could also pick up a pair of House seats, making Kansas as pivotal to the battle for control of the House as more traditional, and more liberal, battleground states.

The potential for such pickups, turning Bleeding Kansas several shades bluer, has alarmed Republican officials in Topeka, the state

Continued on Page A12



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Cash Relief for Kushner Tower
Brookfield Asset Management will take a long lease on 666 Fifth Avenue, easing a headache for the Kushners. PAGE A16

Nonprofits Spur Reunions
A judge says reuniting children with deported parents is the government's responsibility, not activists'. PAGE A17

NATIONAL A11-15

After Five Decades, Change
The race to succeed John Conyers Jr., first elected to Congress in 1964, has drawn a large and diverse group of candidates in Michigan. PAGE A11

Scars on Arctic's Wilderness
Heavy-equipment tracks mark land near the national wildlife refuge, which may soon look the same way. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Attack Leaves Italy on Edge
An egg attack on Daisy Osakue, a star track athlete, has Italy debating racism. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

China Threatens New Tariffs
The new $60 billion threat comes after President Trump asked for tariffs on Chinese goods to be doubled. PAGE B1

Compromise on Nafta Is Near
The United States and Mexico edged closer to a deal, but Canada still needs to be brought to the table. PAGE B1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

Backtracking at Ohio State
Coach Urban Meyer said he had followed protocol in reporting a domestic abuse claim against one of his assistants, contradicting his earlier denial that he had been aware of it. PAGE D2

The W.N.B.A.'s Dynamic Duo
Diana Taurasi and Brittney Griner have tailored their games to each other, and they are hoping that another championship for the Phoenix Mercury may be the reward. PAGE D1

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Bret Stephens PAGE A19

ARTS C1-7

The Beyoncé and Jay-Z Show
For their On the Run II tour, pop's most powerful couple perform the third act of their high-stakes play about faithfulness and disappointment. PAGE C1

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, variably cloudy, showers, thunderstorms, breezy, high 84. **Tonight,** clearing skies, low 65. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, less humid, high 78. Weather map is on Page A16.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 58,062 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 2018 $3.00

PLEADING GUILTY, COHEN IMPLICATES PRESIDENT

'In coordination with and at the direction of a candidate for federal office'

In Manafort Trial, Conviction on 8 of 18 Charges

By SHARON LaFRANIERE

ALEXANDRIA, Va. — Paul Manafort, President Trump's former campaign chairman, was convicted on Tuesday in his financial fraud trial, bringing a dramatic end to a politically charged case that riveted the capital.

The verdict was a victory for the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, whose prosecutors introduced extensive evidence that Mr. Manafort hid millions of dollars in foreign accounts to evade taxes and lied to banks repeatedly to obtain millions of dollars in loans.

Mr. Manafort was convicted of five counts of tax fraud, two counts of bank fraud and one count of failure to disclose a foreign bank account. The jury was unable to reach a verdict on the remaining 10 counts, and the judge declared a mistrial on those charges.

Kevin Downing, a lawyer for Mr. Manafort, said the defense was "disappointed" by the verdict and that his client was "evaluating all of his options at this point."

Peter Carr, a spokesman for Mr. Mueller's office, declined to comment.

The verdict was read out in United States District Court in Alexandria, Va., only minutes after Michael D. Cohen, Mr. Trump's former fixer, pleaded guilty in federal court in Manhattan to violating campaign finance law and other charges.

Mr. Manafort's trial did not touch directly on Mr. Mueller's inquiry into Russian interference in the 2016 election or on whether Mr. Trump has sought to obstruct the investigation.

But it was the first test of the special counsel's ability to prosecute a case in a federal courtroom amid intense criticism from the president and his allies that the inquiry is a biased and unjustified witch hunt. And the outcome had substantial political implications, if only in denying Mr. Trump more ammunition for his campaign to discredit Mr. Mueller.

Before and during the trial, Mr. Trump both sought to defend Mr. Manafort as a victim of prosecutorial overreach and to distance himself from him, saying that Mr. Manafort had worked for him only

Continued on Page A12

ANDRES KUDACKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael D. Cohen testified "that Donald Trump directed him to commit a crime," his lawyer said.

Former Fixer Admits Illegal Payments to 2 Women to Sway '16 Campaign

This article is by ***William K. Rashbaum***, ***Maggie Haberman***, ***Ben Protess*** *and* ***Jim Rutenberg****.*

Michael D. Cohen, President Trump's former lawyer, made the extraordinary admission in court on Tuesday that Mr. Trump had directed him to arrange payments to two women during the 2016 campaign to keep them from speaking publicly about affairs they said they had with Mr. Trump.

Mr. Cohen acknowledged the illegal payments while pleading guilty to breaking campaign finance laws and other charges, a litany of crimes that revealed both his shadowy involvement in Mr. Trump's circle and his own corrupt business dealings.

He told a judge in United States District Court in Manhattan that the payments to the women were made "in coordination with and at the direction of a candidate for federal office," implicating the president in a federal crime.

"I participated in this conduct, which on my part took place in Manhattan, for the principal purpose of influencing the election" for president in 2016, Mr. Cohen said.

The plea represented a pivotal moment in the investigation into the president, and the scene in the Manhattan courtroom was striking. Mr. Cohen, a longtime lawyer for Mr. Trump — and loyal confidant — described in plain-spoken language how Mr. Trump worked with him to cover up a potential sex scandal that Mr. Trump feared would endanger his rising candidacy.

Mr. Cohen also pleaded guilty to multiple counts of tax evasion and a single count of bank fraud, capping a monthslong investigation by Manhattan federal prosecutors who examined his personal business dealings and his role in helping to arrange the financial deals with women connected to Mr. Trump.

The plea came shortly before another blow to the president: His former campaign manager, Paul Manafort, was convicted in his financial fraud trial in Virginia. The special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, had built a case that Mr. Manafort hid millions of dollars in foreign accounts to evade taxes and lied to banks to obtain millions of dollars in loans.

Mr. Trump's lawyers have, for months, said privately that they considered Mr. Cohen's case to be potentially more problematic for the president than the investigation by the special counsel.

But Mr. Trump's lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, said in a statement after Mr. Cohen's plea, "There is no allegation of any wrongdoing against the president in the government's charges against Mr. Cohen."

In federal court in Manhattan, Mr. Cohen made the admission about Mr. Trump's role in the payments to the women — an adult film actress and a former Playboy playmate — as he pleaded guilty to two campaign finance crimes.

One of those charges stemmed from a $130,000 payment he made to the actress, Stephanie Clifford, better known as Stormy Daniels, in the run-up to the 2016 presidential election. Prosecutors said that Trump Organization executives were involved in reimbursing Mr. Cohen for that payment, accepting his phony invoices that listed it as a legal expense. The other charge concerned a complicated arrangement in which a tabloid bought the rights to the story about the former Playboy model,

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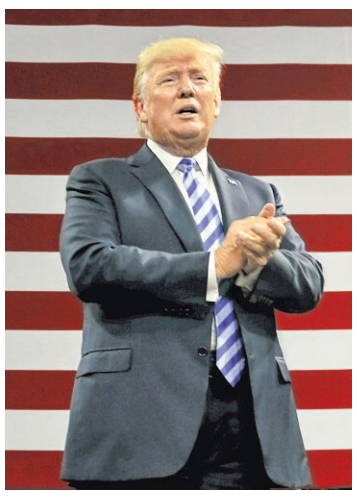

GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

RALLY In West Virginia, President Trump ignored the scandal and stoked fears. Page A10.

LEGAL CONSEQUENCES Sitting presidents are not typically subject to criminal prosecution, but that position could be tested. PAGE A13

A One-Two Punch Puts Trump Back on His Heels

This article is by ***Mark Landler***, ***Michael D. Shear*** *and* ***Maggie Haberman****.*

NEWS ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON — In two courtrooms 200 miles apart on Tuesday, President Trump's almost daily attempts to dismiss the criminal investigations that have engulfed his White House all but collapsed.

Mr. Trump has long mocked the investigations as "rigged witch hunts," pursued by Democrats and abetted by a dishonest news media. But even the president's staunchest defenders acknowledged privately that the legal setbacks he suffered within minutes of each other could open fissures among Republicans on Capitol Hill and expose Mr. Trump to the possibility of impeachment.

In Manhattan, Michael D. Cohen, the president's former lawyer, admitted in court that Mr. Trump directed him to break campaign finance laws by paying off two women who said they had sexual relationships with Mr. Trump. And in Alexandria, Va., a jury found Mr. Trump's former campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, guilty of eight counts of tax and bank fraud — the most significant victory yet for the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III.

A president who has labored under the cloud of investigations from almost the moment he took office, Mr. Trump now faces an increasingly grim legal and political landscape. Mr. Mueller is methodically investigating whether Mr. Trump and members of his campaign conspired with a foreign power to win the election — and whether the president tried to obstruct the investigation from the White House. And the president is months away from congressional

Continued on Page A13

Cost of E.P.A.'s Pollution Rules: Up to 1,400 More Deaths a Year

By LISA FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration has hailed its overhaul of federal pollution restrictions on coal-burning power plants as creating new jobs, eliminating burdensome government regulations and ending what President Trump has long described as a "war on coal."

The administration's own analysis, however, revealed on Tuesday that the new rules could also lead to as many as 1,400 premature deaths annually by 2030 from an increase in the extremely fine particulate matter that is linked to heart and lung disease, up to 15,000 new cases of upper respiratory problems, a rise in bronchitis, and tens of thousands of missed school days.

Officials at the Environmental Protection Agency, which crafted the regulation, said that other rules governing pollution could be used to reduce those numbers.

"We love clean, beautiful West Virginia coal," Mr. Trump said a political rally Tuesday evening in West Virginia, the heart of American coal country. "And you know, that's indestructible stuff. In times of war, in times of conflict, you can blow up those windmills, they fall down real quick. You can blow up pipelines, they go like this," he said, making a hand gesture. "You can do a lot of things to those solar panels, but you know what you can't hurt? Coal."

Nevertheless, Tuesday's release of the rule along with hundreds of pages of technical analysis for the first time acknowledged that the rollback of the pollution controls would also reverse the expected health gains from the tougher regulations.

A similar analysis by the E.P.A. of the existing rules, which were adopted by the Obama administration, calculated that they would prevent between 1,500 and 3,600 premature deaths per year by 2030, and would reduce the number of school days missed by 180,000 annually.

The Trump administration proposal, called the Affordable Clean Energy rule, would replace the stricter Obama-era regulations that were designed to fight global warming by forcing utilities to switch to greener power sources, but which Mr. Trump, the coal industry and electrical utilities have criticized as overly restrictive.

But the supporting documents show that the E.P.A. expects it to allow far more pollutants into the atmosphere than the regulation it would supersede, the Clean Power Plan.

The Trump administration has

Continued on Page A9

MADDIE McGARVEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cheshire, Ohio. The administration's analysis of its plan to ease pollution rules predicts a rise in disease and premature deaths.

Facebook Says New Campaigns Tried to Spread Global Discord

By SHEERA FRENKEL and NICHOLAS FANDOS

SAN FRANCISCO — Facebook said on Tuesday that it had identified multiple new influence campaigns that were aimed at misleading people around the world, with the company finding and removing 652 fake accounts, pages and groups that were trying to sow misinformation.

The activity originated in Iran and Russia, Facebook said. Unlike past influence operations on the social network, which largely targeted Americans, the fake accounts, pages and groups were this time also aimed at people in Latin America, Britain and the Middle East, the company said.

Some of the activity was still focused on Americans, but the campaigns were not specifically intended to disrupt the midterm elections in the United States, said FireEye, a cybersecurity firm that worked with Facebook on investigating the fake pages and accounts. The operations "extend well beyond U.S. audiences and U.S. politics," FireEye said in a preliminary report.

The global scale of what was uncovered far exceeded that of an influence operation that Facebook revealed last month, in which the company said it detected and removed 32 pages and fake accounts that had engaged in divisive social issues ahead of the midterms.

But the aims of the latest campaigns appeared to be similar to those of past operations on the social network: to distribute false news that might cause confusion among people, and to alter people's thinking to become more partisan or pro-government on various issues.

"We believe these pages, groups and accounts were part of two sets of campaigns," Mark

Continued on Page A11

NATIONAL A8-13

A Parkland Survivor's Future
Maddy Wilford, who was badly injured in the school shooting in February, interned this summer with a doctor who had operated on her. PAGE A8

Confederate Statue Is Toppled
"Silent Sam," a feature at the University of North Carolina for over a century, had become a focus of protests. PAGE A8

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

Coal vs. Climate in Australia
The country is especially vulnerable to climate change, so why did Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull abandon a modest effort to reduce emissions? PAGE A4

El Salvador Shuns Taiwan
China is trying to isolate Taiwan diplomatically by offering infrastructure projects to Latin America. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A14-17

Deporting the Last Nazi
Jakiw Palij, 95, the last known Nazi war crimes suspect on U.S. soil, lived quietly in New York for decades. PAGE A14

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Ripple Effect in Groceries
Since Amazon bought Whole Foods, grocers have agreed to a variety of deals and partnerships. A $110 million stake in Boxed is the latest. PAGE B1

A New Oil Patch in Utah
A Canadian company is challenging the idea that oil sands mining is unviable, but its method faces questions. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-11

Seeding Bump for New Mom
Under a new policy, the U.S.T.A. lifted Serena Williams a level in the seedings because she had given birth. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-6

A Perfectly Imperfect Star
A film about the tempestuous tennis great John McEnroe draws insight from both Mozart and Jake LaMotta. And yes, we are absolutely serious. PAGE C1

Some Further Reading, Class
We asked some writers what books they would add to a high school curriculum. Their choices may surprise you. PAGE C2

FOOD D1-8

Alaska's Missing Red Salmon
The fish are what summer tastes like in the state. But this season they have too often been no-shows. PAGE D1

Liquor With a Sense of Place
The term "terroir" might seem a little highfalutin to attach to most whiskeys. Some distillers disagree. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Frank Bruni PAGE A21

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, partly cloudy, warm, more humid, high 83. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, humid, low 72. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, warm, humid, high 89. Weather map appears on Page SP12.

VOL. CLXVII ... No. 58,066 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY, AUGUST 26, 2018 $6.00

With Mueller, Measured Past Hints at Future

Tight-Lipped, Dogged and by the Book

By MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — Long before the convictions last week of two former members of President Trump's inner circle, the political left's expectations for the Russia investigation were at a fever pitch.

Democrats predicted that the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, would break with a half-century of policy and prosecute a sitting president. One MSNBC panel considered how to arrest him if he refuses to leave the White House. (Answer: "At some point, he is going to have to come out.")

Mr. Mueller, a lifelong Republican who is an unlikely hero for the anti-Trump resistance, faces a series of crucial decisions in the coming months. Will he subpoena the president? Recommend charges? Will he write a public report? Each could help sway the midterm elections and shape the future of the presidency itself.

For insight on what he will do next, those who have known him for years say, do not look at the mythology that has built up since Mr. Mueller was appointed 15 months ago. Look instead to his four decades of government service.

As he advanced from line prosecutor to top Justice Department official to head of the F.B.I., his time was marked by aggressive prosecutions but also a deference at key moments to precedent, tradition and higher office. "He's the last guy who's going to do anything that's even slightly a departure from the bedrock principles," said Glenn Kirschner, who worked alongside Mr. Mueller as a homicide prosecutor.

Robert S. Mueller III

The special counsel investigation has followed a familiar path, colleagues said, largely because Mr. Mueller, a publicity-averse 74-year-old who is as conservative as

Continued on Page 19

JOHN S. McCAIN, 1936-2018

STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator John McCain of Arizona during his 2008 presidential run. A survivor of torture, he won six terms in the Senate.

A Symbol of Courage in Half a Century of Battles

Rising from anguish in Vietnam to power in Washington.

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

John S. McCain, the proud naval aviator who climbed from depths of despair as a prisoner of war in Vietnam to pinnacles of power as a Republican congressman and senator from Arizona and a two-time contender for the presidency, died on Saturday at his home in Arizona. He was 81.

According to a statement from his office, Mr. McCain died at 4:28 p.m. local time. He had suffered from a malignant brain tumor, called a glioblastoma, for which he had been treated periodically with radiation and chemotherapy since its discovery in 2017.

Despite his grave condition, he soon made a dramatic appearance in the Senate to cast a thumbs-down vote against his party's drive to repeal the Affordable Care Act. But while he was unable to be in the Senate for a vote on the Republican tax bill in December, his endorsement was crucial, though not decisive, in the Trump administration's lone legislative triumph of the year.

A son and grandson of four-star admirals who were his larger-than-life heroes, Mr. McCain carried his renowned name into battle and into political fights for more than a half-century. It was an odyssey driven by raw ambition, the conservative instincts of a shrewd military man, a rebelliousness evident since childhood and a temper that sometimes bordered on explosiveness.

Nowhere were those traits more manifest than in Vietnam, where he was stripped of all but his character. He boiled over in foul curses at his captors. Because his father was the commander of all American forces in the Pacific during most of his five and a half years of captivity, Mr. McCain, a Navy lieutenant commander, became the most famous prisoner of the war, a victim of horrendous torture and a tool of enemy propagandists.

Shot down over Hanoi, suffering broken arms and a shattered leg, he was subjected to solitary confinement for two years and beaten frequently. Often he was suspended by ropes lashing his arms behind him. He attempted suicide twice. His weight fell to 105 pounds. He rejected early release to keep his honor and to avoid an enemy propaganda coup or risk demoralizing his fellow prisoners.

He finally cracked under torture and signed a "confession." No one believed it, although he felt the burden of betraying his country. To millions of Americans, Mr. McCain was the embodiment of courage: a war hero who came home on crutches, psychologically scarred and broken in body, but not in spirit. He underwent long medical treatments and rehabilitation, but was left permanently disabled, unable to raise his arms over his head. Someone had to comb his hair.

His mother, Roberta McCain,

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TYING BEHEMOTHS TO STAGNANT PAY AND LOW GROWTH

'AMAZON EFFECT' IS EYED

Central Bankers Explore Outsize Influence of a Few Employers

By NEIL IRWIN

JACKSON HOLE, Wyo. — Two of the most important economic facts of the last few decades are that more industries are being dominated by a handful of extraordinarily successful companies and that wages, inflation and growth have remained stubbornly low.

Many of the world's most powerful economic policymakers are now taking seriously the possibility that the first of those facts is a cause of the second — and that the growing concentration of corporate power has confounded the efforts of central banks to keep economies healthy.

Mainstream economists are discussing questions like whether "monopsony" — the outsize power of a few consolidated employers — is part of the problem of low wage growth. They are looking at whether the "superstar firms" that dominate many leading industries are responsible for sluggish investment spending. And they're exploring whether there is an "Amazon Effect" in which fast-changing pricing algorithms by the online retailer and its rivals mean bigger swings in inflation.

If not yet fully embraced, the ideas have become prominent enough that this weekend, at an annual symposium in the Grand Tetons, leaders of the Federal Reserve and other central banks discussed whether corporate consolidation might have broad implications for economic policy.

"A few years ago, questions of monopoly power were studied by specialists in a very technical way, without linking them to the broader issues that animate economic policy," said Jason Furman, an economist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, who advanced some of these ideas in his former job as the Obama

Continued on Page 15

NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump Assails Legal System, Eroding Trust

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and KATIE BENNER

WASHINGTON — It is a once-unimaginable scenario: Sometime soon in an American courtroom, a criminal defense lawyer may argue that the prosecution of an MS-13 gang member is a politically motivated "witch hunt" built around a witness who has "flipped" and taken what the lawyer calls a plea deal of dubious legality.

He will be quoting the president of the United States.

That is potentially the gravest danger of President Trump's sustained verbal assault on the country's justice system, legal experts say. In his attempt at self-defense amid the swirl of legal cases and investigations involving himself, his aides and his associates, Mr. Trump is directly undermining the people and processes that are the foundation of the nation's administration of justice.

The result is a president at war with the law.

Continued on Page 20

Women in Politics Often Must Run a Gantlet of Vile Intimidation

By MAGGIE ASTOR

Four days before the 2016 congressional primary in her Northern California district, Erin Schrode woke up to tens of thousands of messages. They were everywhere: in her email, on her cellphone, on her Facebook and her Twitter and her Instagram.

"All would laugh with glee as they gang raped her and then bashed her bagel eating brains in," one said.

"It'd be amusing to see her take twenty or so for 8 or 10 hours," another said, again suggesting gang-rape.

It has been two years since Ms. Schrode, now 27, lost her Democratic primary and moved on. But the abuse — a toxic sludge of online trolling steeped in misogyny and anti-Semitism that also included photoshopped images of her face stretched into a Nazi lampshade and references to "preheating the ovens" — never stopped.

"She needs to stop moving her hands around like a crackhead," said one tweet this year. "Another feminazi's plans foiled!" said another.

The 2018 election cycle has brought a surge of female candidates. A record number of women ran or are running for the Senate, the House and governorships, according to the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University. Many more are running for state legislatures and local offices. And in the process, they are finding that harassment and threats, already common for women, can be amplified in political races — especially if the candidate is a member of a minority group.

CAMPAIGNING WHILE FEMALE
A Hostile Reception

Last year, sexist and anti-Semitic abuse helped drive Kim Weaver, an Iowa Democrat, out of her race against Representative Steve King.

Someone crept onto her property overnight and put up a "for sale" sign. The neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer published an article (no longer available) titled, as Ms. Weaver recalled it, "Meet the Whore Who's Running Against Steve King," increasing what was already an onslaught of

Continued on Page 14

POOL PHOTO BY STEFANO RELLANDINI

Remembering Abuse Victims in Ireland
Pope Francis, praying in Dublin on Saturday, expressed regret for a legacy of sexual abuse. Page 11.

Why Musk Lost His Thirst to Go Private at Tesla

By DAVID GELLES

When Elon Musk declared this month that he wanted to take Tesla private, his board was caught off guard. Barely three weeks later, the chief executive told the board he had changed his mind. Tesla would be staying public, after all.

The startling reversal — announced in a blog post late Friday, a day after he discussed it with directors — capped a tumultuous series of moves that drew in Wall Street's biggest investment banks, prompted an investigation by regulators and raised fresh questions about Mr. Musk's leadership.

In that time, according to five people close to the events, Mr. Musk came to realize that his thinking had been simplistic. While going private might have removed some problems, it would have introduced new ones.

Among his concerns were ceding too much control to private investors — including conventional car companies and Saudi Arabia, a symbol of big oil — and shutting out smaller investors who might be unable to retain a stake.

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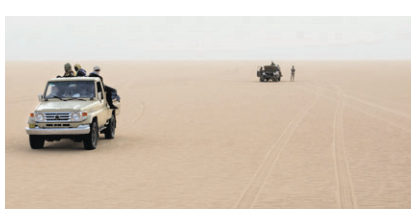
INTERNATIONAL 4-12

Cat and Mouse in Copenhagen
Danish authorities have long tolerated Freetown Christiania, an open-air drug market, but the city is changing. PAGE 8

Niger and Migrant Smuggling
The E.U. paid Niger to stem the flow of migrants to Europe. The effort has hurt Niger's economy and security. PAGE 12



INTERNATIONAL

Chinese Role in Korea Talks
Beijing is mostly abiding by the sanctions aimed at North Korea for its nuclear pursuits, analysts say. PAGE 10

NATIONAL 13-20

Judge Derails Union Curbs
A federal judge dealt a blow to Republican efforts to rein in public-sector labor unions. PAGE 13

METROPOLITAN

A New Wife, a Secret Past
A lonely older man with some money in the bank meets a younger woman. Sorry consequences ensue. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Scorning 'Secret Science'
The E.P.A. and Congress are moving to curb the role of human health studies in the regulation of pesticides. PAGE 1

A Daughter's Story
A memoir by Lisa Brennan-Jobs might be more revealing about her father, Steve Jobs, than she intended. PAGE 1

ARTS & LEISURE

The American Music Man
Leonard Bernstein would have turned 100 this month. We examine his indelible career as a composer, conductor, arranger, cult figure and so much more.

SUNDAY STYLES

A Thousand Times No
Conan O'Brien has tried everything to book Robert Caro, the esteemed L.B.J. biographer, on his late-night talk show. The answer is always the same. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Corey Robin PAGE 1

SPECIAL SECTION

50 Years of the U.S. Open

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds and sunshine, afternoon and evening thunderstorms, hot, humid, high 90. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 70. **Tomorrow,** showers, high 75. Weather map, Page A15.

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Trump Lawyer Is Ushered Out With a Tweet

White House Counsel Is Key Mueller Witness

This article is by ***Julie Hirschfeld Davis****,* ***Michael S. Schmidt*** *and* ***Maggie Haberman****.*

WASHINGTON — President Trump surprised Donald F. McGahn II, the White House counsel, on Wednesday by abruptly announcing that Mr. McGahn will be leaving his job this fall, effectively forcing the long-anticipated exit of a top adviser who has cooperated extensively in the investigation into Russian election interference.

The president made the declaration on Twitter without first informing Mr. McGahn, according to people close to both men. It came 11 days after The New York Times reported the degree to which Mr. McGahn — who was by Mr. Trump's side at major moments as the president sought to keep control of the Russia inquiry — has emerged as a key witness in the investigation. Over the past nine months Mr. McGahn has given 30 hours of testimony in at least three voluntary interviews.

Mr. McGahn's departure leaves the White House without one of the few senior advisers who have been willing to push back against Mr. Trump. It also raised the prospect of further West Wing exits, particularly in the White House Counsel's Office, where Mr. McGahn has had a loyal staff, with several people staying in their jobs out of devotion to him.

Mr. McGahn had long discussed his intention to leave at some point, but the way Mr. Trump blindsided him with a tweet underscored how dysfunctional the relationship had become, even as the Russia inquiry appears to be reaching a critical phase, and the legal scrutiny is mounting for the president.

Mr. Trump's decision did not appear to be a direct response to the disclosure that Mr. McGahn had been cooperating closely with the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III — a fact his team was aware of — though its timing inevitably led to questions about whether the president was cutting loose an aide who he believed had provided damaging information about him.

But Wednesday afternoon at the White House, Mr. Trump praised Mr. McGahn and said he had nothing to fear about what his counsel had told Mr. Mueller, even as he appeared to confirm that he was not completely aware what that was.

"I don't have to be aware," he said. "We do everything straight. We do everything by the book. And Don is an excellent guy."

Continued on Page A16

CAITLIN O'HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator John McCain's wife, Cindy, and sons John, left, and James before his body lay in state on Wednesday at the Arizona Capitol.

How McCain Got Last Word Against Trump

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — Not long after Senator John McCain learned last summer that he had terminal brain cancer, he began convening meetings every Friday in his Capitol Hill office with a group of trusted aides. The subject was his funeral.

He obsessed over the music, selecting the Irish ballad "Danny Boy" and several patriotic hymns. He choreographed the movement of his coffin from Arizona, his home state, to Washington. And in April, when he knew the end was coming, he began reaching out to Republicans, Democrats and even a Russian dissident with requests that they deliver eulogies and serve as pallbearers.

By the time he died on Saturday, Mr. McCain had carefully stage-managed a four-day celebration of his life — but what was also an unmistakable rebuke to President Trump and his agenda. For years, Mr. Trump had used Twitter and the presidential bully pulpit to mock and condemn the senator. In death, Mr. McCain found a way to have the last word, even quietly making it clear through friends that Mr. Trump was not welcome at the services.

"I think it's fair to say that they

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Underdog Won in Florida With Unlikely Voters

Now Comes Hard Part: F.B.I. Inquiry and a Trump-Backed Foe

By PATRICIA MAZZEI and JONATHAN MARTIN

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Andrew Gillum waged a quixotic Democratic primary campaign for Florida governor, defeating wealthy rivals who outspent him, dismissing moderate naysayers who questioned him and believing until the end that an unorthodox strategy of excitement generated mostly by word of mouth would propel him to victory.

He dropped in on community groups, no matter how small, to make personal connections. He cold-called would-be donors who, truth be told, sometimes hung up on him. Just a month before the election, he was so worried that few voters knew that he, the 39-year-old African-American mayor of Tallahassee, was on the ballot that his campaign spent its scarce funds on an unusual political advertising device: highway billboards.

"I did some things that nobody would ever advise a campaign," Mr. Gillum said with a laugh on Wednesday, the day after his improbable victory, which he spent making cable news appearances and fielding congratulatory phone calls.

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CHARLOTTE KESL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Andrew Gillum ran as an insurgent to claim the Democratic nomination for governor in Florida.

IN MIDTERM VOTE, FAULT LINE FORMS CONCERNING RACE

CUES FROM PRESIDENT

Diverse Democratic Slate at a Time of Appeals to Racial Anxiety

By JEREMY W. PETERS

WASHINGTON — Democratic nominees for governor include three African-Americans, two of them in the old Confederacy, a prospect that not long ago would have been unthinkable. Record numbers of women are competing in congressional races. Elsewhere, Muslims, gays, lesbians and transgender people will be on the ballot for high-profile offices.

That diverse cast is teeing up a striking contrast for voters in November at a time when some in the Republican Party, taking their cues from President Trump, are embracing messages with explicit appeals to racial anxieties and resentment. The result is making racial and ethnic issues and conflicts central in the November elections in a way that's far more explicit than the recent past.

Mr. Trump and his Republican allies have made crime, violence, gangs and societal unrest a centerpiece of their attacks against Democrats in this election, often linking them to causes that have a common racial thread — the policies of liberal leaders in heavily minority cities, illegal immigration and Mr. Trump's continuing campaign impugning the patriotism of professional athletes, many of whom are black.

A possible preview played out Wednesday barely 12 hours after Andrew Gillum, the African-American mayor of Tallahassee, won a surprising victory in Florida's Democratic primary for governor.

Mr. Gillum's opponent, Ron DeSantis, described Mr. Gillum in an interview on Fox News as an "articulate spokesman" for far-left views and said voters should not take a gamble on him because he would "monkey up" the progress made under Florida's current Republican governor, Rick Scott.

Democrats immediately denounced Mr. DeSantis's words, which are freighted with a condescending and racist meaning for many black people. Fox News issued a rare statement disavowing the remarks. Mr. DeSantis, who paid homage to the president in a campaign ad showing him teaching his daughter to read by sounding out "Make America Great Again" from a Trump placard, insisted that he was being purposely taken out of context.

Continued on Page A14

DeVos Plans to Reshape Sexual Misconduct Rules

By ERICA L. GREEN

WASHINGTON — Education Secretary Betsy DeVos is preparing new policies on campus sexual misconduct that would bolster the rights of students accused of assault, harassment or rape, reduce liability for institutions of higher education and encourage schools to provide more support for victims.

The proposed rules, obtained by The New York Times, narrow the definition of sexual harassment, holding schools accountable only for formal complaints filed through proper authorities and for conduct said to have occurred on their campuses. They would also establish a higher legal standard to determine whether schools improperly addressed complaints.

The new rules would come at a particularly sensitive time, as major institutions such as Ohio State University, the University of Southern California and Michigan State University deal with explosive charges that members of their faculty and staff have perpetrated serious sexual misconduct. But for several years, higher education administrators have maintained that sexual misconduct rules pressed by the Obama administration unnecessarily burdened them with bureaucratic mandates that had little to do with assault or harassment, and men's rights groups have said the accused have had little recourse.

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Nixon Blasts Cuomo. He Blasts the President.

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. — After months of shadowboxing from afar, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo and Cynthia Nixon clashed up close in a heated debate on Wednesday that featured sharp attacks, flashes of frustration and two competing visions for the Democratic Party and New York.

They fought over standing up to President Trump, the subways, releasing their tax returns, health care policy and corruption convictions in the Cuomo administration. For much of the hour, they jabbed and counterpunched, talking over each other repeatedly and accusing each other of distortions, as Mr. Cuomo said Ms. Nixon lives in "the world of fiction."

"Can you stop interrupting?" Mr. Cuomo said to her at one point.

"Can you stop lying?" Ms. Nixon snapped back.

Mr. Cuomo paused. "As soon as you do," he answered.

The attacks and contours of the debate echoed some of the same tensions that are gripping the Democratic Party nationally in the age of Trump: namely, whether the path back to power and success must be led by seasoned political veterans or to-the-barricades outside agitators.

For Ms. Nixon, the actress and activist undertaking a long-shot challenge against a two-term incumbent, the debate offered her biggest stage yet in the race, and

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

China Busts a Pigeon Race
An elaborate scheme to claim $160,000 in a Chinese bird race fell apart after accidentally smashing the speed record thanks to cheating with a trip on a so-called bullet train. PAGE A4

English Channel 'Scallop War'
Around 35 French fishing boats tried to chase five larger British vessels away from waters off the coast of Normandy, where France does not allow fishing for scallops to begin until Oct. 1. PAGE A10

SPORTSTHURSDAY B7-11

A Test for a Culture of Sports
A coach's mishandling of a domestic abuse case and claims of sexual abuse against an ex-team doctor have raised tough questions at Ohio State. PAGE B7

NATIONAL A11-17

Glass Is Still Half Full
A study on drinking that led some people to fear there was no safe amount of alcohol consumption was based on observational data and had some limitations. The Upshot. PAGE A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

'Overtourism' and Technology
A rising chorus blames Airbnb, Uber and other internet-enabled travel conveniences for a boom that threatens a sustainable balance between residents and tourists in Europe. PAGE B1

Advances in Unmanned Flight
SkyRyse, a Silicon Valley start-up, is testing small helicopters outfitted with technology that could eventually let them fly without pilots. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

Ariana Grande, Joyful Again
On the pop singer's first album after the Manchester attack, she returns to her persona of cheerful female empowerment, Jon Pareles writes. PAGE C1

THURSDAY STYLES D1-10

Eggs, and Hopes, Put on Ice
Egg-freezing at fertility clinics once resonated mostly with women in their late 30s. But new marketing is helping to skew the market younger. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins PAGE A23

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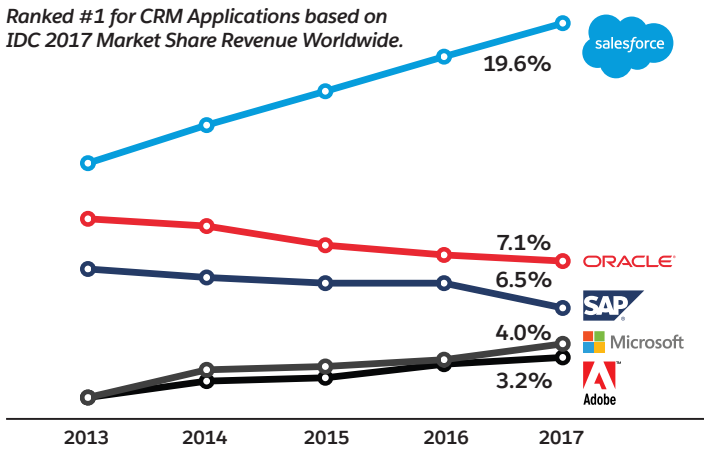
Salesforce. #1 CRM.

Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2017 Market Share Revenue Worldwide.



Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiannual Software Tracker, April 2018.

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CRM Applications market includes the following IDC-defined functional markets: Sales, Customer Service, Contact Center, and Marketing Applications.
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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, plenty of sunshine, hot, humid, high 92. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, very warm, humid, low 77. **Tomorrow,** abundant sunshine, humid, high 87. Weather map, Page B12.

VOL. CLXVII . . . No. 58,075 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 2018 $3.00

Amazon Model Gives Retailers Path to Vitality

Sales Balloon at Stores That Ease Shopping

By MICHAEL CORKERY

Malls are being hollowed out. Shops are closing by the thousands. Retailers are going bankrupt.

But it may be too early to declare the death of retail. Americans have started shopping more — in stores.

From the garden section at Walmart to the diamond counters at Tiffany & Company, old-school retailers are experiencing some of their best sales growth in years.

The strong revenues start with a roaring economy and an optimistic consumer. With more cash in their wallets from the tax cuts, Americans have been spending more.

The boom also reflects a broad reordering of the $3.5 trillion industry, with fewer retailers capturing more of the gains. Stores that have learned how to match the ease and instant gratification of e-commerce shopping are flourishing, while those that have failed to evolve are in bankruptcy or on the brink.

"The retailers that get it recognize that Amazon has forever changed consumer behavior," said Barbara Kahn, a marketing professor and former director of the retailing center at the Wharton School. "I shouldn't have to work to shop."

Many successful stores are now a cross between a fast-food drive-through and a hotel concierge.

Target's shoppers can order sunscreen or a Tokidoki Unicorno T-shirt on their phone, pull up to the parking lot and have the items brought to their car.

Nordstrom lets customers in some stores make returns by dropping their items into a box and walking out — no human interaction required.

Walmart is employing 25,000 "personal shoppers" to select and package groceries for curbside pickup.

In recent weeks, all three retailers reported stronger-than-expected sales growth for the quarter. Traffic to Target's stores and online sites grew at its fastest pace since the company began keeping a record a decade ago.

Doomsayers have predicted that online shopping, led by Amazon, would one day conquer all of retail, rendering brick and mortar obsolete. As store closings set a record last year, no class of retailer was spared — with the carnage hitting Madison Avenue boutiques, shopping malls and big-box stores. In New York and elsewhere, many shops, big and small, continue to struggle.

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BUDA MENDES/GETTY IMAGES

A fire consumed the National Museum of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro on Sunday. The museum did not have a fire-suppression system.

Two Portraits Of Kavanaugh Before Senate

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — Two wildly different portraits of Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh are set to emerge on Tuesday when he appears on Capitol Hill for the opening of his Supreme Court confirmation hearings. One is a champion for women; the other a threat to women's rights.

Republicans will present Judge Kavanaugh to the nation as an experienced, independent-minded jurist with a sparkling résumé, and as an advocate and mentor for women in the judiciary. Among the cases they will cite: his 2009 ruling in favor of Emily's List, the group that backs Democratic women who support abortion rights.

Democrats will tell an entirely different story, painting Judge Kavanaugh as a far-right extremist who would roll back abortion rights, deny health coverage to people with pre-existing conditions, protect President Trump from the threat of subpoena — and as someone who may have misled Congress when he testified during his appeals court confirmation

Continued on Page A13

Double Blow to a Treasure: Neglect, Then Flames

Brazilians Mourn Loss of a Museum, and a Nation's Decline

This article is by ***Manuela Andreoni****,* ***Ernesto Londoño*** *and* ***Lis Moriconi****.*

RIO DE JANEIRO — The stately national museum, once home to Brazil's royal family, was still smoldering at sunrise on Monday when scores of researchers, museum workers and anthropologists began gathering outside, dressed in black.

Some sobbed as they began taking stock of the irreplaceable losses: Thousands, perhaps millions, of significant artifacts had been reduced to ashes Sunday night in a devastating fire. The hall that held a 12,000-year-old skeleton known as Luzia, the oldest human remains discovered in the Americas, was destroyed.

Hundreds of residents joined them beneath an overcast sky that matched the national mood. They had come not only to mourn but also to protest Brazil's near-abandonment of museums and other basic public services. Many saw the fire as a symbol for a city, and nation, in distress.

"It's a moment of intense pain," Maurilio Oliveira, who has worked as a paleoartist at the National Museum of Brazil for 19 years, said as he stood in front of the ravaged building. "We can only hope to recover our history from the ashes. Now, we cry and

Continued on Page A7

JOSH HANER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Why Are Puffins Vanishing?
The birds near Svarthamar, Iceland. Climate change poses a major threat. Science Times, Page D1.

LIBYAN FIGHTERS WIELD FACEBOOK LIKE A WEAPON

TOOL FOR MANIPULATION

A Platform Used to Buy Arms, Locate Foes and Kill Them

By DECLAN WALSH and SULIMAN ALI ZWAY

CAIRO — When a new bout of fighting between rival militias engulfed the Libyan capital in recent days, badly shaking the fragile United Nations-backed government, some combatants picked up rifles and rocket launchers and headed into the streets.

Others logged on to Facebook.

As rockets rained on parts of Tripoli, hitting a hotel popular with foreigners and forcing the airport to close, and 400 prisoners escaped from a jail, a parallel battle unfolded online. On their Facebook pages, rival groups issued boasts, taunts and chilling threats — one vowing to "purify" Libya of its opponents.

Some "keyboard warriors," as Facebook partisans are known in Libya, posted fake news or hateful comments. Others offered battlefield guidance. On one discussion page on Thursday, a user posted maps and coordinates to help target her side's bombs at a rival's air base.

"From the traffic light at Wadi al Rabi, it is exactly 18 kilometers to the runway, which means it can be targeted by a 130 mm artillery," the user, who went by the handle Narjis Ly, wrote on Facebook. "The coordinates are attached in the photo below."

Social media enjoys outsize influence in Libya, a sparsely populated yet violently fractured country that is torn by a plethora of armed groups vying for territory and legitimacy. They battle for dominance on the streets and on smartphones.

But Facebook, by far the most popular platform, doesn't just mirror the chaos — it can act as a force multiplier.

Armed groups use Facebook to find opponents and critics, some of whom have later been detained, killed or forced into exile, according to human rights groups and Libyan activists. Swaggering commanders boast of their battlefield exploits and fancy vacations, or rally supporters by sowing division and ethnic hatred. Forged documents circulate widely, often with the goal of undermining Libya's few surviving national institutions, notably its Central Bank.

Facebook is coming under scrutiny globally for how its platform amplifies political manipulation and violence.

In July, the company began culling misinformation from its pages in response to episodes in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and India where online rumors led to real-

Continued on Page A10

FACEBOOK'S FRINGE Private groups reviewed by The Times appeared to violate the social media giant's rules. PAGE B1

In a Tale of 2 American Cities, Trump Voters Keep Believing

This article is by ***Campbell Robertson****,* ***Jim Tankersley*** *and* ***Whitten Sabbatini****.*

ST. CHARLES, Mo. — The prosperity is apparent on the way into town: the 21-floor casino resort and spa on one side of the interstate, and on the other a freshly built retail quarter of boutiques, a brand-new Hilton hotel and a P.F. Chang's. It unfolds from there along the highways heading west with more gleaming office parks and multiplying subdivisions.

This is not the Trump country of the popular imagination, the land of shuttered plants and the economically left behind. St. Charles County, in the suburbs northwest of St. Louis, has had the highest median household income in Missouri for several years.

But in 2016, Donald J. Trump won the county by 26 points, and he is still popular among people like Tom Hughes, a homebuilder whose business was rebounding from the recession before Mr. Trump took office.

But, Mr. Hughes said, "Now there's an optimism that I haven't seen, maybe ever."

Mr. Trump rode to office in part by promising economic revival to sputtering towns across America. Economic growth has accelerated since he took office, from the final year of President Barack Obama's administration, and Mr. Trump frequently claims credit for it.

But the growth under Mr. Trump has not helped everywhere. It has lifted wealthy areas, like St. Charles County, which were already growing before he

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New Leader Looks Hard at Schools' Racial Divide

A Focus on Segregation in New York's System

By DANA GOLDSTEIN

Richard Carranza is eager to talk about segregation.

New York's new schools chancellor wants to talk about how the nation's largest school system is clustering the poorest children (mostly black and brown) in one set of classrooms, and the richest children (mostly white) in another set — and failing to live up to its progressive ideals.

He wants to talk about how school zones contribute to segregation and whether "gifted and talented" classes, where white and Asian students tend to cluster, ought to exist.

He says his ideas go further than finding ways to admit more black and Hispanic students to the city's most elite high schools, a proposal he and Mayor Bill de Blasio unveiled in June.

But, as the first full school year of Mr. Carranza's tenure begins, the question is whether he will venture beyond what he calls "a values conversation" to effect large-scale citywide change.

If Mr. Carranza lives up to his vow to take on segregation, he will go up against powerful forces that have kept alive the historic paradox of New York City education: In one of the nation's most diverse

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MARIAN CARRASQUERO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Richard Carranza was hired as schools chancellor this year.

NATIONAL A11-14

Troubles on a California River
As salmon runs decline and opioids grip the region, three Indian tribes connect a river's struggles to their own. PAGE A11

Civil Rights in the Trump Era
Under Attorney General Jeff Sessions, the Justice Department has redefined whose civil rights to protect. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Extremism Grows in Sweden
An anti-immigrant party may gain in elections, throwing the country's "moral superpower" image into doubt. PAGE A4

Bathroom Spy Hunt Is On
The South Korean capital is promising a large-scale campaign to combat cameras hidden in public toilets. PAGE A9

NEW YORK A15-19

New Yorker Disinvites Bannon
The New Yorker Festival rescinded its invitation to Stephen K. Bannon, President Trump's former chief strategist, after rebukes and dropouts. PAGE A16

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

A Danger of Disliking Trump
An aversion to the president has pushed tech away from government contracts. That may be bad for the country, Andrew Ross Sorkin writes. PAGE B1

Books, Diapers and More Ads
Amazon is moving aggressively into digital advertising, emerging as a major competitor to Facebook and Google for a piece of an $88 billion pie. PAGE B1

NBC Rebuts Producer's Claim
The chairman of NBC News fired back at accusations the network obstructed a reporter's investigation into the movie mogul Harvey Weinstein. PAGE B4

ARTS C1-8

At Telluride, an Unsafe Past
This year's festival had a backward-looking feel, A.O. Scott says. Above, Ryan Gosling in "First Man." PAGE C1

More Star-Crossed Gangsters
The new show "Mayans M.C." is sort of a "Son of Sons of Anarchy," with more plot than character. PAGE C1

SPORTSTUESDAY B6-10

Getting a Call to Make the Call
A minor league announcer had hoped to get a break with the big leagues. He finally did, for one game. PAGE B6

Making a Name at the Open
Naomi Osaka, part of a rising generation, ousted a fellow 20-year-old to reach the quarterfinals. On Tennis. PAGE B6

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Paul Krugman PAGE A21

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, periodic clouds and sunshine, high 74. **Tonight,** partly to mostly cloudy, low 61. **Tomorrow,** cloudy, some afternoon rain, breezy, cool, high 68. Weather map, Page C8.

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES, LEFT; DANIEL ACKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump labeled an anonymous Op-Ed a matter of national security, while former President Barack Obama offered a stinging indictment of his successor.

GROWTH FOR JOBS AND WAGES AS U.S. STAYS ON UPSWING

STRONG AUGUST REPORT

Manufacturing Industry May Feel Tariffs' Toll, Labor Dept. Hints

By PATRICIA COHEN

The American economy's stamina was showcased Friday as the government reported that wages in August sprinted forward at their fastest pace since the recession ended and that the job creation streak extended to 95 months.

But the Labor Department's latest bulletin also hinted that President Trump's tariffs could be starting to take a toll on manufacturing jobs.

"What's worth noting is that even though there still remains a lot of headline noise around politics and protectionism, underneath that, the U.S. economy — and that includes labor markets — is doing quite fine," said Michael Gapen, chief United States economist at Barclays.

Employers fattened payrolls by 201,000 jobs; the jobless rate remained under 4 percent, near territory not seen since the 1960s; and average hourly earnings rose by 10 cents, up 2.9 percent from a year earlier.

The manufacturing sector, however, which Mr. Trump has made a centerpiece of his economic and trade policies, registered fewer gains than had been previously thought. The combined addition of 93,000 jobs that the government originally reported for May, June and July was revised down to 62,000. And in August, the sector shed 3,000 jobs. The auto industry, which is particularly exposed to trade, eliminated 4,900 jobs last month after cutting 3,500 in July.

"You could tell the story that protectionism is taking some toll here," Mr. Gapen said. "In most of

Continued on Page A17

G.O.P. Quietly Sticking With Agenda

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — On one end of Pennsylvania Avenue this week, President Trump and his closest advisers labored to beat back perceptions, fueled by an anonymous essay in The New York Times and a bruising new book by Bob Woodward, that he had all but lost control of the presidency from within. He lashed out anew at his attorney general, shouted "TREASON" and demanded investigations of his detractors.

But as he raged, Republicans in the Senate were pressing steadily through angry liberal protests and Democratic perjury traps toward perhaps the most lasting impact of the Trump era: a conservative shift in the balance of the Supreme Court capable of shaping the country for a generation.

The dueling images of a president on the edge and a conservative Congress soldiering forward explain succinctly why almost all elected Republicans here have quietly supported Mr. Trump through his travails — or at least not chastised him too loudly. The payoffs for what Senator Jeff Flake, Republican of Arizona, called the party's "Faustian bargain" have been rich and long awaited: deep cuts in corporate and personal tax rates, confirmation of a wave of conservative judges for the lower courts, and soon an ideological shift in the highest

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ANONYMOUS OP-ED The president said he wanted an inquiry into its source. PAGE A16

SENTENCED An ex-Trump aide gets 14 days for lying about Russian contacts. PAGE A15

As Races Heat Up, Obama Speaks Out

By PETER BAKER

URBANA, Ill. — Former President Barack Obama re-entered the national political debate on Friday with a scathing indictment of President Trump, assailing his successor as a "threat to our democracy" and a demagogue practicing the "politics of fear and resentment."

In a dramatic break from the normal deference former presidents usually show to incumbents, Mr. Obama ended a long period of public reticence with a lacerating assessment of Mr. Trump. Sometimes by name, sometimes by inference, he accused him of cozying up to Russia, emboldening white supremacists and polarizing the nation.

"None of this is conservative," Mr. Obama told an auditorium of students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. "I don't mean to pretend I'm channeling Abraham Lincoln now, but that's not what he had in mind, I think, when he helped form the Republican Party. It's not conservative. It sure isn't normal. It's radical. It's a vision that says the protection of our power and those who back us is all that matters even when it hurts the country."

Mr. Trump wasted no time in responding. Speaking to supporters at a fund-raiser in Fargo, N.D., he dismissed Mr. Obama's speech. "I'm sorry, I watched it, but I fell asleep," he said. "I found he's very good, very good for sleeping." At a later stop in Sioux Falls, S.D., he said Mr. Obama's reemergence would motivate his base. "Now if that doesn't get you out to vote for the

Continued on Page A11

In 2017, Cuomo Took 195 Flights Funded by State

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

On a hot July day in 2017, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo visited a country club on Long Island to address business leaders about the future of rail lines that are the lifeblood of commerce and suburban commuters.

"Today, we're talking about transforming the Long Island Rail Road," Mr. Cuomo told the crowd, and "bringing it into the next century."

The governor left the same way he came: via helicopter. He had flown from a helipad near his Manhattan office to an airport nine miles from the Crest Hollow Country Club in Woodbury, instead of driving the roughly 30 miles, or taking the train system he was promising to transform.

Taxpayer-paid flights are commonplace for Mr. Cuomo, who took 195 trips in state planes and helicopters in 2017, according to an examination of state records. His travels reflect an active governor in a big state who has used aircraft liberally — as many as four flights a day, for distances long and short — and who is entitled, like previous governors, to fly the fleet by law.

The New York Times examined travel records and policies in the nation's 10 most populous states for comparison. Mr. Cuomo flew taxpayer-funded aircraft more frequently than any other gover-

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VIA YOUTUBE

Tesla Stock Dips As Musk Puffs On . . . What?

By NEAL E. BOUDETTE

For a moment, it looked as if Elon Musk and Tesla had put a summer of turbulence behind them. The moment was very brief.

Two weeks after the collapse of a plan to buy out the company's public shareholders, the electric-car maker has again been plunged into turmoil. Its chief accounting officer suddenly resigned — after a month on the job — and Mr. Musk, its chief executive, appeared on a late-night webcast taking a deep drag on what his interviewer said was marijuana.

The developments, which brought new scrutiny of Mr. Musk's behavior and managerial fitness, rattled investors who have lately endured many challenges to their faith. Tesla shares ended the day off 6 percent and are at their lowest level since April. But while the decline was sharp, it was not sudden.

In the month since Mr. Musk an-

Continued on Page A17

Reckoning Imperils Infowars Founder's Soapbox, and His Empire

By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON and EMILY STEEL

AUSTIN, Tex. — More than ever before in his two-decade career built on baseless conspiracy theories, angry nativist rants and end-of-days fearmongering, Alex Jones is being called to account.

In a Texas courthouse, his lawyers are battling defamation claims resulting from one of his most infamous acts: spreading false reports that the Sandy Hook massacre of 20 first graders and six adults was an elaborate hoax.

In Silicon Valley, Facebook, YouTube and, as of Thursday, Twitter, under pressure to better curb hate speech and incendiary misinformation, have largely cut him off. On Friday, Apple removed the Infowars app from its App Store, eliminating one of the final avenues for Mr. Jones to reach a mainstream audience.

Mr. Jones's latest stunt — turning up on Capitol Hill this week to call attention to his claim that he is being unfairly silenced on ideological grounds — led to an embarrassing rebuff by a conservative Republican senator.

The big question for him now is whether his bluster — and the implicit support he has received from President Trump, who has channeled bogus or misleading claims promoted by Mr. Jones and echoed his complaints of anticonservatism by technology companies — will be sufficient to see him past his current peril. He is facing a legal, public opinion and social media reckoning that poses the most serious threat yet not just to his ability to inject the outlandish into the mainstream, but also to the lucrative business he has built.

ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alex Jones says Infowars is a media outlet, but it is also a store that netted $5 million in 2014.

Mr. Jones likes to portray his digital channel, Infowars, as a media outlet, and he is quick to wrap himself in the First Amendment. But in business terms, it is more accurate to describe Infowars as an online store that uses Mr. Jones's commentary to move merchandise. Its revenue comes primarily from the sale of a grab-bag of health-enhancement and survivalist products that Mr. Jones hawks constantly.

A close look at his career shows that he has been as much a canny if unconventional entrepreneur as an ideological agitator. He has adapted to — and profited from — changes in both the political climate and the media business even as he has tested, and regularly crossed, the boundaries of acceptable public discourse.

For more than two decades, Mr. Jones, who is 44, has built a substantial following appealing to an angry, largely white, majority male audience that can choose to be entertained or to internalize his rendering of their worst fears: that the government and other big institutions are out to get them, that some form of apocalypse is frighteningly close and that they must become more virile, and better-armed, to survive.

"I'm not a business guy, I'm a revolutionary," he said in an interview in August.

If it is a revolution, it is one that he has skillfully monetized. His fundamental insight was that his

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Rare Flawed Stamp Surfaces
An Inverted Jenny, misprinted in 1918 with an upside-down biplane, was locked away for generations. PAGE A18

Battle in Immigration Courts
New government policies to shrink a case backlog are seen as an effort to control how the judges rule. PAGE A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Far-Right Tirades in Germany
A researcher found that YouTube's recommendation system had steered viewers to fringe videos on a neo-Nazi demonstration in Chemnitz. PAGE A4

A Diplomat Who Took a Stand
The American ambassador to Vietnam clashed with the Trump administration over immigration policy. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A10-17

High-Profile California Contest
A former Republican is the Democrats' best chance to unseat the veteran congressman Dana Rohrabacher. PAGE A10

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Founder of Alibaba to Retire
Jack Ma said he would focus on philanthropy in education, calling it "the beginning of an era." PAGE B1

OBITUARIES D8

Rapper of Dark Themes
Mac Miller, a producer and musician who wrestled with fame and addiction, was 26.

ARTS C1-7

Burt Reynolds, Hot-Rod Hero
A. O. Scott offers an appraisal of an actor with a broad range who captured the essence of a workingman era. PAGE C1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-7

A Recognizable Enigma
Tiger Woods has returned from surgery and scandal, renewed and as reserved as ever. PAGE D1

Del Potro Will Face Djokovic
Juan Martín del Potro and Novak Djokovic will compete for the U.S. Open men's title. PAGE D2

THIS WEEKEND

'The Outsiders' Lives On
S.E. Hinton's 1967 dissection of class and masculinity has never been more relevant. T Magazine

Sunday in the Park
On a hot Sunday, we spoke to everyone in Central Park's Sheep Meadow. Here's what they had to say. Special section.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Gail Collins PAGE A20

0 354613 9

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy, rain developing, breezy, cooler, high 64. **Tonight,** periodic rain and drizzle, breezy, low 59. **Tomorrow,** periodic rain, breezy, high 71. Weather map, Page 22.

VOL. CLXVII .. No. 58,080 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 2018 $6.00

A Top Doctor Didn't Disclose Corporate Ties

Sloan Kettering Chief Was Paid Millions

By CHARLES ORNSTEIN and KATIE THOMAS

One of the world's top breast cancer doctors failed to disclose millions of dollars in payments from drug and health care companies in recent years, omitting his financial ties from dozens of research articles in prestigious publications like The New England Journal of Medicine and The Lancet.

The researcher, Dr. José Baselga, a towering figure in the cancer world, is the chief medical officer at Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center in New York. He has held board memberships or advisory roles with Roche and Bristol-Myers Squibb, among other corporations, has had a stake in start-ups testing cancer therapies, and played a key role in the development of breakthrough drugs that have revolutionized treatments for breast cancer.

According to an analysis by The New York Times and ProPublica, Dr. Baselga did not follow financial disclosure rules set by the American Association for Cancer Research when he was president of the group. He also left out payments he received from companies connected to cancer research in his articles published in the group's journal, Cancer Discovery. At the same time, he has been one of the journal's two editors in chief.

At a conference this year and before analysts in 2017, he put a positive spin on the results of two Roche-sponsored clinical trials that many others considered disappointments, without disclosing his relationship to the company. Since 2014, he has received more than $3 million from Roche in consulting fees and for his stake in a

Continued on Page 19

An indoctrination camp in Hotan, China. Below, Abdusalam Muhemet, 41, was detained for two months in one such camp.

Anti-Islam Detention Camps in China

Minority Swept Up in Biggest Internment Program Since Mao Era

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

HOTAN, China — On the edge of a desert in far western China, an imposing building sits behind a fence topped with barbed wire. Large red characters on the facade urge people to learn Chinese, study law and acquire job skills. Guards make clear that visitors are not welcome.

Inside, hundreds of ethnic Uighur Muslims spend their days in a high-pressure indoctrination program, where they are forced to listen to lectures, sing hymns praising the Chinese Communist Party and write "self-criticism" essays, according to detainees who have been released.

The goal is to rid them of devotion to Islam.

Abdusalam Muhemet, 41, said the police detained him for reciting a verse of the Quran at a funeral. After two months in a nearby camp, he and more than 30 others were ordered to renounce their past lives. Mr. Muhemet said he went along but quietly seethed.

"That was not a place for getting rid of extremism," he recalled. "That was a place that will breed vengeful feelings and erase Uighur identity."

ERIN TRIEB FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

This camp outside Hotan, an ancient oasis town in the Taklamakan Desert, is one of hundreds that China has built in the past few years. It is part of a campaign of breathtaking scale and ferocity that has swept up hundreds of thousands of Chinese Muslims for weeks or months of what critics describe as brainwashing, usually without criminal charges.

Though limited to China's western region of Xinjiang, it is the country's most sweeping internment program since the Mao era — and the focus of a growing chorus of international criticism.

China has sought for decades to restrict the practice of Islam and maintain an iron grip in Xinjiang, a region almost as big as Alaska where more than half the population of 24 million belongs to Muslim ethnic minority groups. Most are Uighurs, whose religion, language and culture, along with a history of independence movements and resistance to Chinese rule, have long unnerved Beijing.

After a succession of violent antigovernment attacks reached a peak in 2014, the Communist Party chief, Xi Jinping, sharply escalated the crackdown, orchestrating an unforgiving drive to turn ethnic Uighurs and other Muslim minorities into loyal citizens and supporters of the party.

"Xinjiang is in an active period of terrorist activities, intense struggle against separatism and painful intervention to treat this," Mr. Xi told officials, according to reports in the state news media last year.

In addition to the mass detentions, the authorities have intensified the use of in-

Continued on Page 12

U.S. MET REBELS FROM VENEZUELA ABOUT COUP PLOT

A RISK FOR WASHINGTON

Dissidents' Secret Plans to Overthrow Maduro Eventually Stalled

By ERNESTO LONDOÑO and NICHOLAS CASEY

The Trump administration held secret meetings with rebellious military officers from Venezuela over the last year to discuss their plans to overthrow President Nicolás Maduro, according to American officials and a former Venezuelan military commander who participated in the talks.

Establishing a clandestine channel with coup plotters in Venezuela was a big gamble for Washington, given its long history of covert intervention across Latin America. Many in the region still deeply resent the United States for backing previous rebellions, coups and plots in countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, Brazil and Chile, and for turning a blind eye to the abuses military regimes committed during the Cold War.

The White House, which declined to answer detailed questions about the talks, said in a statement that it was important to engage in "dialogue with all Venezuelans who demonstrate a desire for democracy" in order to "bring positive change to a country that has suffered so much under Maduro."

But one of the Venezuelan military commanders involved in the secret talks was hardly an ideal figure to help restore democracy: He is on the American government's own sanctions list of corrupt officials in Venezuela.

He and other members of the Venezuelan security apparatus

Continued on Page 10

Manchin Gains In West Virginia On Health Care

By TRIP GABRIEL

MARMET, W.Va. — There were the beauty queens, ages 6 to 60, riding in style in the Labor Day Parade, including Teen Miss West Virginia Coal. There was the man driving a pickup truck memorial to 29 workers killed in a 2010 mine disaster, each victim's portrait airbrushed on metal.

And there was Senator Joe Manchin, in a sky-blue shirt with the state's craggy outline on its crest, walking the route and greeting voters who brought up his favorite issue themselves.

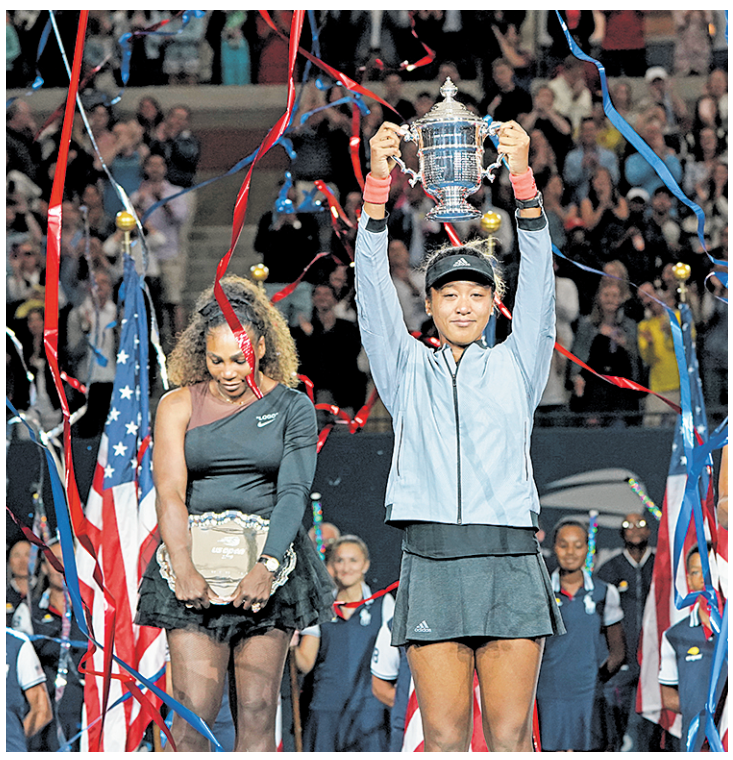
"Save our health care!" Barbara Miller shouted.

Mr. Manchin stopped to give her a hug. After he passed, she said she feared that Republicans in Washington will continue to try to repeal President Barack Obama's health care law. "If they can't overturn that, then they hope they can at least favor their big-insurance buddies by allowing them to block pre-existing conditions," said Ms. Miller, a nurse educator. "I have a pre-existing condition."

"We all do," chimed in four other women seated with her on a porch.

In a state where approval of President Trump is near the country's highest, Mr. Manchin, a Dem-

Continued on Page 20



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

TITLE NO. 1 Naomi Osaka beat Serena Williams, becoming the first Japanese player to win a Grand Slam. SportsSunday.

Williams, Seeking 24th Major, Is Undone in a Swirl of Emotion

By BEN ROTHENBERG

In the middle of her United States Open final against Naomi Osaka at Arthur Ashe Stadium on Saturday, with a record-tying 24th Grand Slam singles title on the line, Serena Williams was standing on the court calling the chair umpire a thief.

This is not the way it was supposed to go for Williams, 36, perhaps the greatest player her sport has seen, on a night that was supposed to be a celebration of her career and her comeback to the top of tennis a year after giving birth.

After Osaka dominated the first set, another sign that this would not be a coronation for Williams came early in the second, when she received a warning for receiving help from her coach in the stands.

A few games later, Williams slammed her racket and broke it. That garnered a penalty point in Osaka's favor. Still steaming from the previous warning, Williams fumed at the chair umpire and, as tensions rose on the court and in the crowd, she received a game penalty that gave Osaka a 5-3 lead, one game from the title.

Within minutes, instead of trading blazing ground strokes with Osaka, a 20-year-old born in Japan who grew up idolizing her, Williams was having a heated conversation with the tournament referee. "There are men out here that do a lot worse," she said, "but because I'm a woman, because I'm a woman, you're going to take this away from me? That is not right."

For Williams, this was all too familiar. She has had a series of run-

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Trump Officials See Weaknesses In the Midterms

By ALEXANDER BURNS and KENNETH P. VOGEL

A pair of top Republicans acknowledged in a private meeting on Saturday that the party was battling serious vulnerabilities in the midterm elections, including what one described as widespread "hate" for President Trump, and raised the prospect that Senator Ted Cruz of Texas could lose his bid for re-election because he is not seen as "likable" enough.

The two Republican leaders, Mick Mulvaney, the federal budget director, and Ronna McDaniel, the Republican National Committee chairwoman, assured party officials and donors at a closed-door event in New York City that the right would ultimately turn back a purported "blue wave" in November. Mr. Mulvaney also questioned whether Democrats could marshal support from outside the left, criticizing them as a party defined solely by opposition to Mr. Trump.

But Mr. Mulvaney and Ms. McDaniel also offered an unusually raw assessment of their own party's strengths and weaknesses in the midterm elections. They pointed to the burning energy among Democratic voters and the dozens of open House seats, where Republican incumbents de-

Continued on Page 20

NATIONAL 16-23

The Judicial Master of Elusion
Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh evaded questions with a mild affect in his confirmation hearings, revealing little of himself. Washington Memo. PAGE 21

SPORTSSUNDAY

Confusion on New N.F.L. Rule
Players and coaches are puzzling over a rule intended to make the game safer by minimizing the helmet's use as a weapon during tackles. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Amazon's Antitrust Antagonist
With a single scholarly article, Lina Khan reframed decades of monopoly law, taking aim at one of the most admired companies of our era. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

Rebirth of the Bunny
A new Playboy Club finds a home in Midtown Manhattan. No expense has been spared in plans for the defiant time capsule. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Carol Anderson PAGE 1

BE THE GENERATION TO TAKE ACTION.
NYC | 9.29.18
CENTRAL PARK GREAT LAWN
citi | GLOBAL CITIZEN FESTIVAL

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, cloudy, breezy, rain, high 72. **Tonight,** cloudy, warm, showers or thunderstorms, low 70. **Tomorrow,** showers or thunderstorms, high 81. Weather map appears on Page D8.

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DRONE MISSIONS CURBED BY OBAMA EXPAND IN AFRICA

C.I.A. SET FOR STRIKES

Targeting Insurgents in Libya From a Remote Air Base in Niger

This article is by ***Joe Penney, Eric Schmitt, Rukmini Callimachi*** *and* ***Christoph Koettl.***

DIRKOU, Niger — The C.I.A. is poised to conduct secret drone strikes against Qaeda and Islamic State insurgents from a newly expanded air base deep in the Sahara, making aggressive use of powers that were scaled back during the Obama administration and restored by President Trump.

Late in his presidency, Barack Obama sought to put the military in charge of drone attacks after a backlash arose over a series of highly visible strikes, some of which killed civilians. The move was intended, in part, to bring greater transparency to attacks that the United States often refused to acknowledge its role in.

But now the C.I.A. is broadening its drone operations, moving aircraft to northeastern Niger to hunt Islamist militants in southern Libya. The expansion adds to the agency's limited covert missions in eastern Afghanistan for strikes in Pakistan, and in southern Saudi Arabia for attacks in Yemen.

Nigerien and American officials said the C.I.A. had been flying drones on surveillance missions for several months from a corner of a small commercial airport in Dirkou. Satellite imagery shows that the airport has grown significantly since February to include a new taxiway, walls and security

Continued on Page A11

New Strategy To Save Lives: Bullet Control

By IAN URBINA

SACRAMENTO — Sold from vending machines in Pennsylvania, feed depots in Nevada, pharmacies in Georgia and jewelry stores in Texas, ammunition is in many states easier to buy than cold medicine. But in California, which already enforces some of the nation's most restrictive gun laws, there is a movement underway against the unfettered sale of bullets.

Gun control advocates here have pushed to limit internet sales, ban large-capacity magazines, require sellers to have licenses, raise taxes on bullets, and mandate serial numbers or other traceable markings on ammunition so that the police can more easily track them.

Such regulations, several of which have been enacted and take effect this year and next, are inspired by the view that the best way to limit gun violence is to approach it as a "bullet control" problem. As Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat from New York, told the Senate 25 years ago, when he introduced legislation that would have imposed a 10,000-percent tax on hollow-tip ammunition, "guns don't kill people; bullets do."

Across the country, bullets remain subject to far fewer federal restrictions than the weapons that fire them. Buying ammunition typically requires no form of identification, is handed over with no questions asked and, in most of the country, can be ordered online and delivered to doorsteps. In con-

Continued on Page A13

A Turncoat Spy Went Free. Putin Never Forgave Him.

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and ELLEN BARRY

MOSCOW — Sergei V. Skripal was a little fish.

This is how British officials now describe Mr. Skripal, a Russian intelligence officer they recruited as a spy in the mid-1990s. When the Russians caught Mr. Skripal, they saw him that way, too, granting him a reduced sentence. So did the Americans: The intelligence chief who orchestrated his release to the West in 2010 had never heard of him when he was included in a spy swap with Moscow.

But Mr. Skripal was significant in the eyes of one man — Vladimir V. Putin, an intelligence officer of the same age and training.

The two men had dedicated their lives to an intelligence war between the Soviet Union and the West. When that war was suspended, both struggled to adapt.

One rose, and one fell. While Mr. Skripal was trying to reinvent himself, Mr. Putin and his allies, former intelligence officers, were gathering together the strands of the old Soviet system. Gaining power, Mr. Putin began settling scores, reserving special hatred for those who had betrayed the intelligence tribe when it was most vulnerable.

Six months ago, Mr. Skripal was found beside his daughter, Yulia, slumped on a bench in an English city, hallucinating and foaming at the mouth. His poisoning led to a Cold War-style confrontation between Russia and the West, with both sides expelling diplomats and wrangling over who tried to kill him and why.

Last Wednesday, British officials offered specifics, accusing Russia of sending two hit men to smear Mr. Skripal's front door handle with a nerve agent, an accusation vigorously denied by Moscow. British intelligence chiefs claim they have identified the men as members of the same Russian military intelligence unit, the G.R.U., or Main Intelligence Directorate, where Mr. Skripal once worked.

It is unclear if Mr. Putin played a role in the poisoning of Mr. Skripal, who survived and has gone into hiding. But dozens of interviews conducted in Britain, Russia, Spain, Estonia, the United States and the Czech Republic, as well as a review of Russian court documents, show how their lives intersected at key moments.

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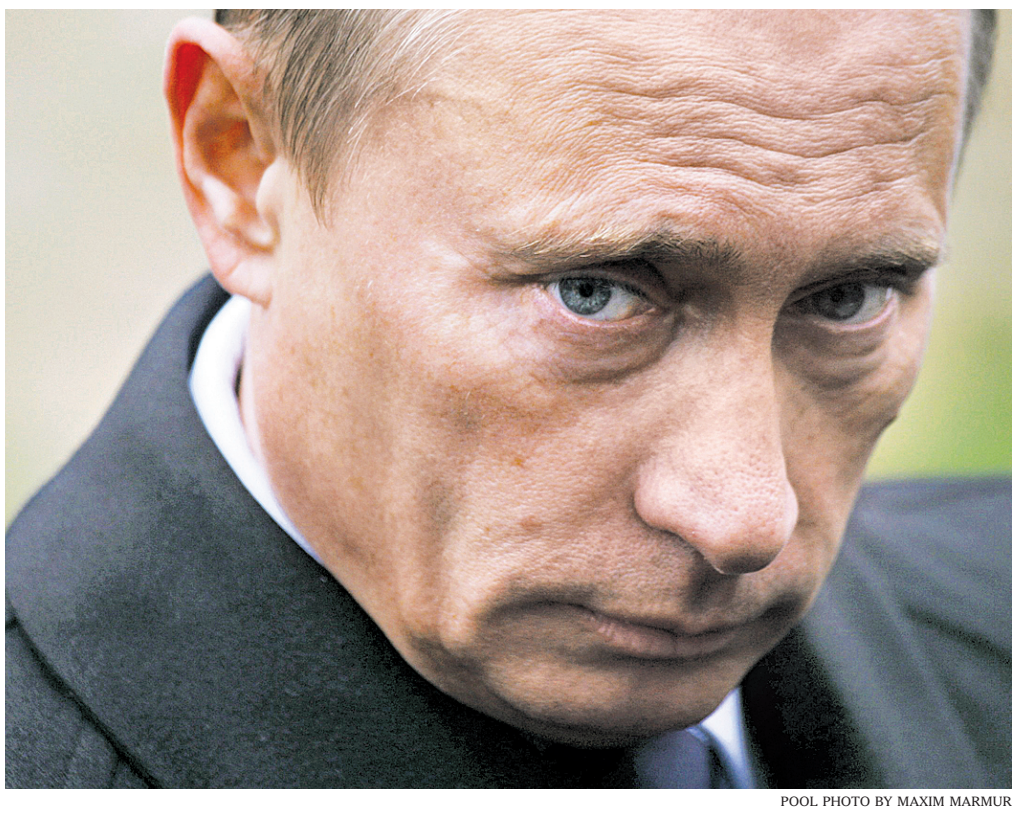
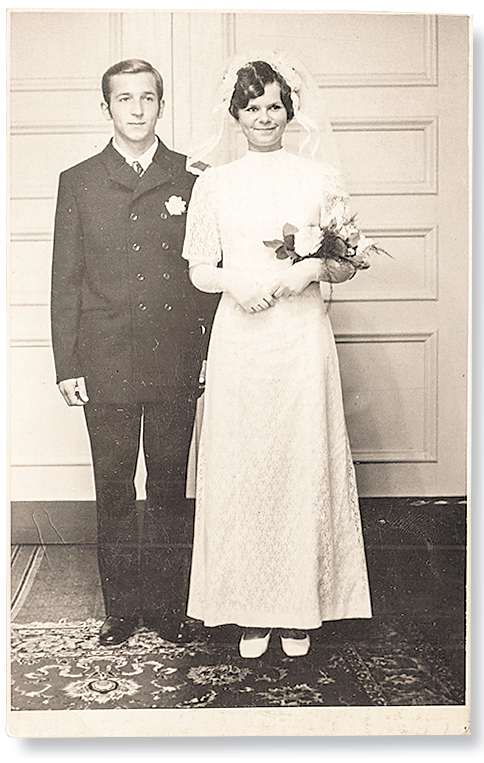


POOL PHOTO BY MAXIM MARMUR

Both raised to fight against the West, they went opposite ways as the Soviet Union collapsed.



Family photos of the former Russian spy Sergei V. Skripal with his wife, Lyudmila, in 1972 and his daughter, Yulia, in the late 1980s. Mr. Skripal and Vladimir V. Putin, top, were both intelligence officers for the former Soviet Union.

CBS CHIEF IS OUT AS MORE WOMEN CITE MISCONDUCT

EXECUTIVE'S STEEP FALL

Severance Package From Network Could Top $120 Million

By EDMUND LEE

Leslie Moonves, the longtime chief executive of the CBS Corporation, stepped down on Sunday night from the company he led for 15 years. His fall from Hollywood's highest echelon was all but sealed after the publication earlier in the day of new sexual harassment allegations against him.

The CBS board announced his departure, effective immediately. As part of the agreement, the network said it would donate $20 million to one or more organizations that support equality for women in the workplace. The donation will be deducted from a potential severance benefit to Mr. Moonves, although he could still walk away with more than $120 million, according to two people familiar with the settlement agreement.

Mr. Moonves, however, will not receive any severance payment, until the completion of an independent investigation into the allegations, the board said. He could also receive nothing, based on the investigation's results.

Joseph Ianniello, the chief operating officer of CBS and one of Mr. Moonves's closest advisers, was named the interim chief executive.

The departure of Mr. Moonves marks a stunning reversal for an executive who is credited with turning CBS into television's most-watched network. But he has been under intense pressure since July, when The New Yorker published an article by the investigative journalist Ronan Farrow in which six women accused Mr. Moonves of sexual harassment. On Sunday, the magazine published another article by Mr. Farrow in which six more women detailed claims against Mr. Moonves.

Mr. Moonves is the latest high-powered entertainment figure to be ousted from his perch in the #MeToo era. The movie producer Harvey Weinstein has been accused by scores of women of sexu-

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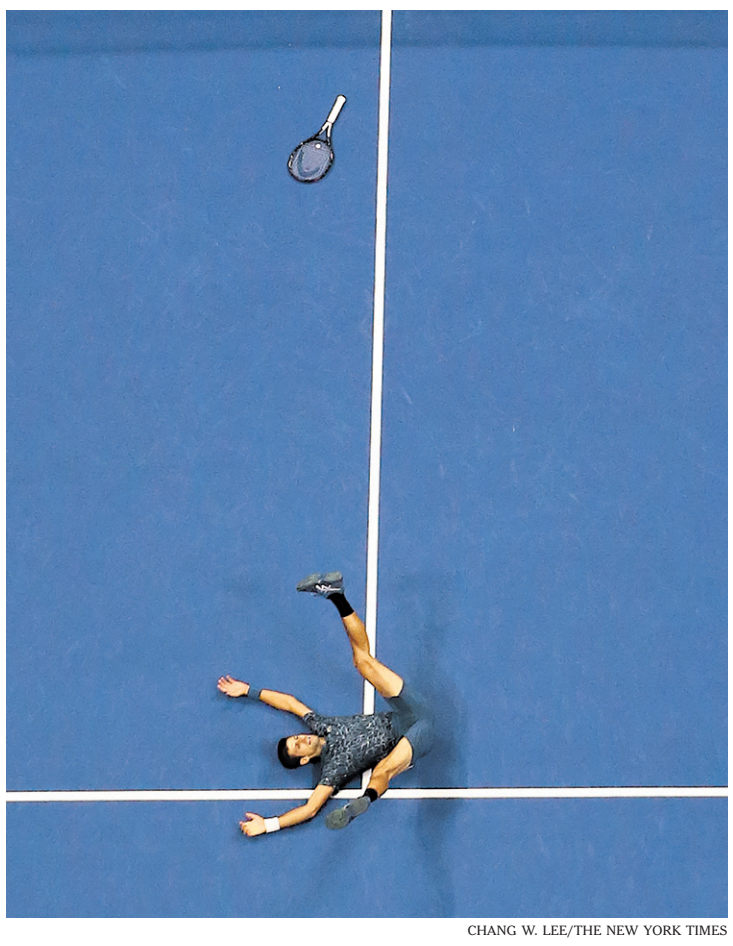

CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Last Man Standing, Kind Of

Novak Djokovic claimed the men's singles title at the U.S. Open on Sunday, adding to his triumph at Wimbledon in July. Page D1.

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Whose Surging Economy Is It? 2 Presidents Joust Over Credit

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — The economy is doing quite well, thank you very much, and the president would naturally like to take credit. Both of them.

Barely a day passes without President Trump boasting about the growing economy, claiming with a mix of hyperbole and fact that it is "booming like never before." But former President Barack Obama finds all the Trumpian chest-thumping more than a little grating, given that the "booming" started on his watch.

The economic contest between the 44th and 45th presidents went public in recent days when Mr. Obama expressed his irritation and Mr. Trump fired back. At stake are more than ordinary political bragging rights. Central to Mr. Obama's historical legacy is the economy's recovery after its plummet to the brink of a new Great Depression. And central to Mr. Trump's current political standing is its further expansion.

Never mind that the nation's economic fortunes depend on more than the occupant of the Oval Office and his policies, driven as well by interest rates, technological innovation and the health of the global economy — trends beyond the control of any president. Voters and historians nonetheless assign credit and blame to presidents for the state of the economy. When it comes to economics, presidents would rather be remembered as Ronald Reagan or Bill Clinton than Herbert Hoover.

With midterm elections coming, the economy is Mr. Trump's trump card, the most unalloyed note of success in an otherwise herky-jerky presidency. Plagued by scandal, investigations, dysfunction in the West Wing and stalemate on Capitol Hill, Mr. Trump is making the surge of new jobs and business activity his most powerful argument for keeping Congress in Republican hands. Even with his own popu-

Continued on Page A15

Foe of Abortion Changes Focus For Senate Bid

By ELIZABETH DIAS

KINGSPORT, Tenn. — Inside the Kingsport Chamber of Commerce one morning last month, a few dozen voters sipped coffee and listened for 45 minutes to Representative Marsha Blackburn tick off all the reasons that this traditionally Republican stronghold in northeastern Tennessee should support her in one of the most high-stakes Senate races this year.

She praised President Trump. She warned of an invasion of liberal policies and a Democratic takeover of committees if Republicans lose the Senate. She stressed securing the border, fighting MS-13 and lowering taxes. She highlighted her work as a Republican House member to "get government off your back."

But one issue was entirely absent — the one that had made Ms. Blackburn famous in Washington, and infamous in Democratic circles: abortion.

Even as the Supreme Court confirmation hearings for Judge

Continued on Page A16

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Sharing a Bit of America
In rural areas of Guatemala that have sent a steady stream of migrants north, the U.S. looms large. PAGE A4

Muddle in Swedish Vote
Elections put a center-right bloc and the ruling center-left coalition neck and neck, and a far-right party rose. PAGE A8

NEW YORK A18-21

Cuomo on the Defensive
Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo said a bridge named for his father was not rushed, and he sought to distance himself from an attack aimed at his rival. PAGE A18

SPORTSMONDAY D1-10

Giants Fall in Coach's Debut
Flubs and missed opportunities doomed Coach Pat Shurmur's team in a 20-15 home loss to the Jaguars. PAGE D1

A Tarnished U.S. Open Final
Serena Williams's tirade during the title match made the right point at the wrong time, Juliet Macur writes. PAGE D1

NATIONAL A12-17

A Giant Trap for Ocean Trash
Organizers hope their system will collect 150,000 pounds of plastic from the Great Pacific Garbage Patch. PAGE A12

Anger at California's D.M.V.
A state that embraces expansive government is fumbling a basic service, as lines extend down sidewalks. PAGE A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

VW Goes to Trial
A hedge fund is financing a lawsuit by shareholders who want the automaker to reimburse them for losses caused by the diesel scandal. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

Netflix's Comedy Takeover
The streaming service neutralized Comedy Central and HBO by relying on "taste clusters" and by signing big stars and creating new ones. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

David Leonhardt PAGE A25

FASHION C8

Celebrating Ralph Lauren
A star-studded crowd, including Hillary Clinton and Oprah Winfrey, gathered at Central Park during Fashion Week to honor the designer's 50-year career.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, morning fog, clouds and sunshine, not as warm, high 71. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, low 63. **Tomorrow,** partial sunshine, more humid, high 76. Weather map is on Page B12.

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TRUMP LEAVES U.S. AND CHINA ON TIP OF NEW COLD WAR

PROTRACTED TIT-FOR-TAT

'This Thing Will Last Long,' Alibaba Chief Says of Trade Fight

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — President Trump is confident that the United States is winning its trade war with China. But on both sides of the Pacific, a bleaker recognition is taking hold: The world's two largest economies are in the opening stages of a new economic Cold War, one that could persist well after Mr. Trump is out of office.

"This thing will last long," Jack Ma, the billionaire chairman of Alibaba Group, warned a meeting of investors on Tuesday in Hangzhou, China. "If you want a short-term solution, there is no solution."

Mr. Trump intensified his trade fight this week, imposing tariffs on $200 billion worth of Chinese goods and threatening to tax nearly all imports from China if it dared to retaliate. His position has bewildered, frustrated and provoked Beijing, which has responded with its own levies on American goods.

The diplomatic stalemate has many in the business and policy communities considering the possibility that the United States may be in a protracted and economically damaging trade fight for years to come and wondering what, if anything, America will gain.

Kevin Rudd, a former prime minister of Australia and an expert on China, said in an interview that 2018 signaled "the beginnings of a war of a different type: a trade war, an investment war and a technology war between the two great powers of the 21st century, with an uncertain landing point."

Signs of fallout were already apparent: Mr. Ma backed off a pledge he had made in a meeting with Mr. Trump last year to create one million jobs in the United

Continued on Page A8

Editor Is Out After an Essay On #MeToo

By CARA BUCKLEY

Ian Buruma, the editor of The New York Review of Books, left his position on Wednesday amid an uproar over the magazine's publication of an essay by a disgraced Canadian radio broadcaster who had been accused of sexually assaulting women.

"Ian Buruma is no longer the editor of The New York Review of Books," Nicholas During, a publicist for the magazine, wrote in an email.

The essay's author, Jian Ghomeshi, who was acquitted of sexual assault charges in 2016, lamented his status as a pariah, "constantly competing with a villainous version of myself online."

It caused immediate furor, with some criticizing what they saw as a self-pitying tone, and soft pedaling of the accusations, which included slapping and choking, and had come from more than 20 women, rather than "several," as Mr. Ghomeshi wrote. Mr. Buruma drew further censure by giving an interview that many interpreted as showing a lack of interest in the accusations against Mr. Ghomeshi.

The upheaval at the publication shows the raw emotion still sur-

Continued on Page A20

SPECIAL REPORT

ILLUSTRATION BY MATTHIEU BOUREL; PHOTOGRAPH BY THE KREMLIN

The Plot to Subvert an Election: Unraveling the Russia Story So Far

FOR TWO YEARS, Americans have tried to absorb report after report on the details of Russia's intervention in the 2016 election: hacked and leaked emails, widespread social media fraud, overtures from suspected Kremlin spies and allegations of conspiracy. The clamor of partisan politics has taken a toll on public comprehension, as has President Trump's frequent claim that it is all a "hoax." In a special report and multipage timeline, The New York Times explores what we know and what it means, untangling the threads of the most effective foreign campaign in history to disrupt and influence an American election.

SECTION F

A Bomb Killed Afghan Wrestlers. They Live On.

By ROD NORDLAND and FATIMA FAIZI

KABUL, Afghanistan — There is a saying here: "A wrestler never dies." It's a commentary on how the sport's champions hold a special place in Afghan hearts, and over the years, no place has produced more winners than the Maiwand Wrestling Club in Kabul.

On Sept. 5, an Islamic State suicide bomber looking for Shiites to kill burst in and took the lives of as many as 30 people at the club. But as the adage suggests, the wrestlers' stories will outlive death.

On the club's CCTV monitors that day, Gula Reza Ahmadi, a 20-year-old wrestler, saw a young man get out of a car, take a last drag on a cigarette and walk up to the gym's front door. A security guard, Mujtaba Sakhizada, 18, asked to see the visitor's membership card.

The man reached into his gym bag as if to get it and pulled out a pistol instead.

Mr. Ahmadi immediately shouted an alarm across the crowded gym floor as the attacker shot the guard in the forehead. "Suicider!" he yelled. In Afghanistan, "suicide bomber" now has its own one-word term.

Maalim Abbas sprang to action. An accomplished wrestler in his youth, the 52-year-old Mr. Abbas was a coach now; his name means "Teacher Abbas." He was close to the steel-plated entry door when he heard Mr. Ahmadi's warning shout and the gunshot.

Mr. Abbas charged the door as the bomber pushed his way past the dead guard. Mr. Abbas tried to slam it closed, but the attacker had a foot in the door. Mr. Abbas's arm held him back in the half-open doorway.

The bomber apparently decided to detonate his gym bag right then, rather than trying to get past the stubborn coach. "If he got in he would have killed every-

Continued on Page A11

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Finding the Sunny Side
At a Baptist church in New Bern, N.C., while touring storm damage on Wednesday, President Trump displayed sardonic humor, pep-rally enthusiasm and an eye for a silver lining. Page A18.

A Drastic Turn To a Quiet Life In Academia

Kavanaugh Letter Puts Focus on Researcher

This article is by ***Elizabeth Williamson, Rebecca R. Ruiz, Emily Steel, Grace Ashford*** *and* ***Steve Eder****.*

The text message from Christine Blasey Ford this summer worried her college best friend, Catherine Piwowarski.

Over their years of friendship — as roommates, bridesmaids and parents on opposite coasts — Dr. Blasey wanted to know, had she ever confided that she had been sexually assaulted in high school?

No, Ms. Piwowarski said she texted back, she would have remembered that, and was everything O.K.? Dr. Blasey didn't want to speak in detail quite yet, her friend recalled her responding. "I don't know why she was asking that or what it ultimately meant or didn't mean," Ms. Piwowarski said in an interview, but she remembers thinking that the question betrayed deep turmoil.

That was about a month before Dr. Blasey, a research psychologist, came forward with her allegation that Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, President Trump's Supreme Court nominee, sexually assaulted her more than three decades ago when they were high school students in the Washington suburbs.

Just days ago, both Dr. Blasey and Judge Kavanaugh — who has denied sexually assaulting her, or anyone — had been expected to testify on Monday before the Senate Judiciary Committee about the allegation, setting up a contest of credibility reminiscent of 1991, when Anita Hill leveled accusations of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas, then a Supreme Court nominee. But it is increasingly uncertain whether that will happen. Dr. Blasey's lawyers on Tuesday called for an F.B.I. investigation of her allegation before she testifies, but the Senate Republican leadership has rejected the idea and said that a vote on the Kavanaugh nomination will go forward if she does not appear.

Dr. Blasey's allegation has divided not just the Senate and the country, but also the overlapping social circles of the judge and the researcher, as former classmates, colleagues, friends and others have written warring letters of support in recent days. Dr. Blasey's lawyers, Debra Katz and Lisa Banks, say that since she went public with her story last weekend, she has been subjected to death threats, had her email hacked and had to leave her home. Speculation has arisen in the capi-

Continued on Page A16

PAUSE BY ACCUSER MAY OPEN A PATH TO CONFIRMATION

WAVERERS FALL IN LINE

Both Parties Try to Frame Stalemate for Voters as Midterms Near

By PETER BAKER and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The confrontation between Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh and his accuser devolved into a polarizing stalemate on Wednesday as Democrats and Republicans advanced competing narratives to convince voters that the other side has been unfair in the Supreme Court confirmation battle.

Christine Blasey Ford, the professor who alleged that Judge Kavanaugh sexually assaulted her when they were teenagers,

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh

said a Senate hearing set for Monday to hear her allegation would not be fair and Democrats insisted that an F.B.I. investigation take place first. Backed by President Trump, Senate Republicans rejected any F.B.I. inquiry, and said that Monday was her chance to be heard.

Dr. Blasey's resistance to appearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Monday seemed to galvanize Republicans and drew wavering Republican senators back into Judge Kavanaugh's camp. Barring new information or an agreement by Dr. Blasey to testify after all, Judge Kavanaugh may now have enough momentum to be confirmed as early as next week. Republicans set a committee meeting for Wednesday for a possible vote to move the nomination to the floor.

Hanging over the impasse were the midterm elections, now less than seven weeks away. Republicans were determined to confirm Judge Kavanaugh before then, knowing that if Democrats managed to win control of the Senate, it would be exponentially harder to approve any nominees sent by Mr. Trump. Conversely, for Democrats, a delay in voting on Judge

Continued on Page A14

They Trusted Their State to Help, Then Drowned in a Sheriff's Van

This article is by ***Tyler Pager, Campbell Robertson*** *and* ***Chris Dixon****.*

MULLINS, S.C. — Nicolette Green had decided to get better. The medication she was taking to treat her schizophrenia had calmed her and cleared her head. On Tuesday morning, her oldest daughter, Rose, with whom she had spent the weekend waiting out Hurricane Florence, drove her to her regular counseling session.

A new therapist saw Ms. Green, 43, that day. And within a half-hour of evaluating her, he wanted her committed, said Donnela Green-Johnson, Ms. Green's sister.

After hours of filling out paperwork, Ms. Green said goodbye to her daughter. She told Rose that this was a good thing, that she would be O.K., that they would soon all be a happy family again watching movies together at home.

Then Rose watched, troubled, as sheriff's deputies patted her mother down and put her in a van to take her to a hospital almost two hours away. Rose, 19, recalled the deputies having handcuffs out when they frisked her mother, though she did not know if they put them on.

Sometime that evening, the van, carrying Ms. Green and Wendy Newton, another woman being transported to a mental health facility, was overtaken by the flooding waters of the Pee Dee River. The two sheriff's deputies in the van managed to get out, said Sheriff Phillip E. Thompson of Horry County in a Wednesday afternoon news conference. The

Continued on Page A17

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

New Promises From Kim
Offers from Kim Jong-un of North Korea to the South's president, Moon Jae-in, fell short of American demands for total nuclear disarmament. PAGE A9

Poland Ponders Fort Trump
A flattering proposal from the Polish leader for an American military base drew criticism in Warsaw. PAGE A4

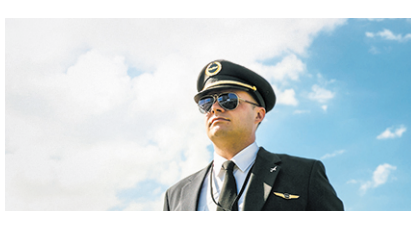
NEW YORK A19-21

Making Bail on Rikers
The Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights group will spend up to $5 million to bail out 500 women and teenagers. PAGE A20

NATIONAL A12-18

Golfer's Killing Shocks Campus
Iowa State University is rocked by the stabbing of a student-athlete on a course near the school. PAGE A13

Seeking Grounds for Dismissal
Pavel Astashkin is among potential recruits the Army flagged as risks to keep immigrants out. PAGE A12



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Inside Facebook's 'War Room'
Seven weeks before the midterms, the social network is setting up a central hub to root out disinformation. We visited the operation. PAGE B1

THURSDAY STYLES D1-10

Gender-Fluid Marketing
Brands are now racing to capture the business of young people who strive to live gender identities that fit. PAGE D1

A Chain That Restored Itself
Restoration Hardware seemed doomed. Now, it's a vast and booming brick-and-mortar empire. What gives? PAGE D1

OBITUARIES B14-15

A Superbly Eccentric Architect
Robert Venturi, who rejected modernism's "less is more" with the argument "less is a bore," was 93. PAGE B15

Trailblazer for Black Dancers
Arthur Mitchell, one of ballet's first black stars, founded the Dance Theater of Harlem. He was 84. PAGE B14

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-13

Penalty for Mavericks' Owner
Mark Cuban agreed with the N.B.A. to give $10 million to women's groups for a lack of workplace supervision. PAGE B9

No Letup From Boston
Despite a 10-1 loss to the Yankees, the Red Sox still have a comfortable lead, and no plans of easing up now. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Gail Collins PAGE A23

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, morning rain, some late-day sunshine, cooler, high 66. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 58. **Tomorrow,** sunny to partly cloudy, warmer, high 74. Weather map is on Page B14.

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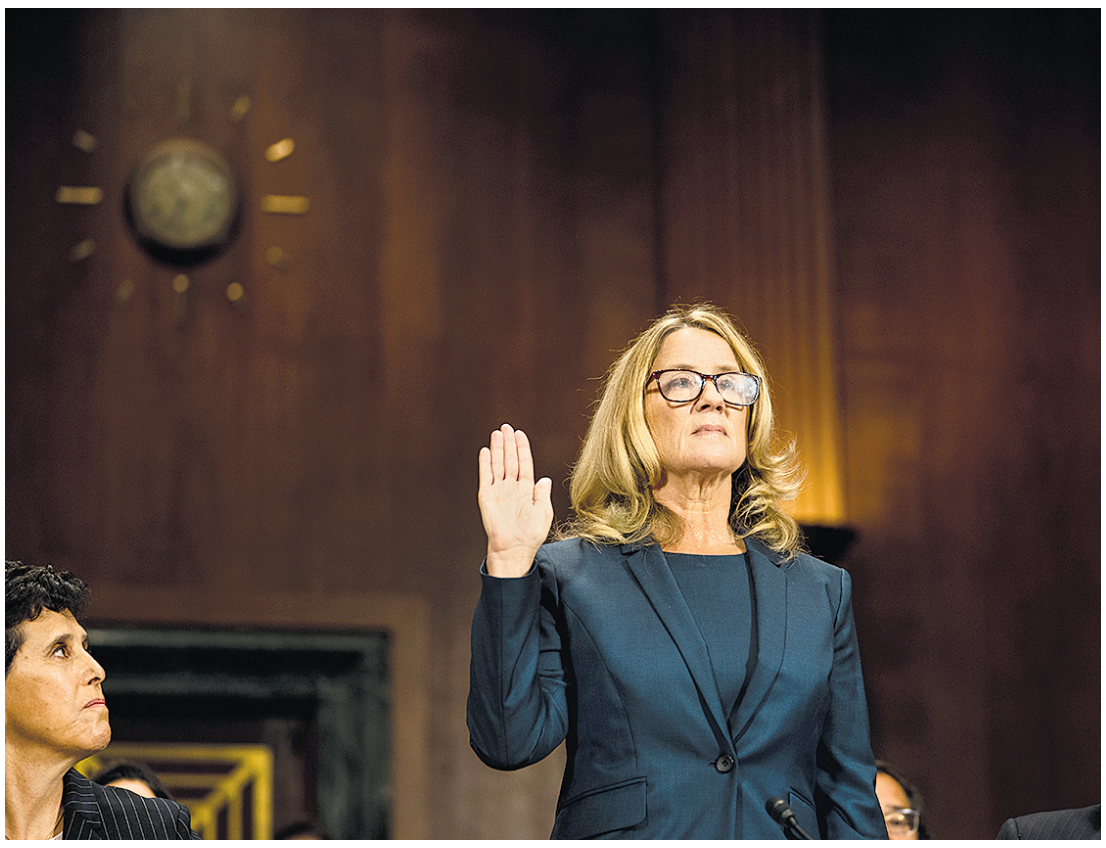
'With what degree of certainty do you believe Brett Kavanaugh assaulted you?'

'100 percent.'

'None of these allegations are true?' 'Correct.' 'No doubt in your mind?'

'Zero. I'm 100 percent certain.'



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

She Said. Then He Said. Now What Will Senators Say?

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — At the beginning of the day, she was asked if she was sure that he was the one who sexually assaulted her 36 years ago. "One hundred percent," she said. At the end of the day, he was asked if he was certain he had not. "One hundred percent," he said.

One after the other, Christine Blasey Ford and Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh sat in the same chair before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Thursday, separated by less than an hour but a reality gulf so wide that their conflicting accounts of what happened when they were teenagers cannot be reconciled.

With millions of Americans alternately riveted and horrified by the televised drama, Dr. Blasey and Judge Kavanaugh left no room for compromise, no possibility of confusion, no chance that they remembered something differently. In effect, they asked senators to choose which one they believed. And in that moment, these two 100-percent realities came to embody a society divided into broader realities so disparate and so incompatible that it feels as if two countries are living in the borders of one.

NEWS ANALYSIS

It has become something of a cliché to say that the United States has become increasingly tribal in the era of President Trump, with each side in its own corner, believing what it chooses to believe and looking for reinforcement in the media and politics. But the battle over Judge Kavanaugh's Supreme Court nomination has reinforced those divisions at the intersection of sex, politics, power and the law.

Senators emerged from Thursday's hearing bitterly split into those tribes, with Democrats persuaded by Dr. Blasey's calm and unflustered account of being shoved onto a bed, pawed, nearly stripped and prevented from screaming for help, while Republicans were moved by Judge Kavanaugh, who bristled with red-faced outrage and grievance at what he called an orchestrated campaign to destroy his life.

By Thursday night, only a few of the 100 who will decide Judge Kavanaugh's fate remained undecided, searching for answers where none were readily available. "There is doubt," said Senator Jeff Flake, Republican of

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ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Outside the hearing, Blasey supporters, left, gathered on one side of the building, with Kavanaugh supporters on the other.

HIGH-STAKES DUEL OF TEARS AND FURY UNFOLDS IN SENATE

Blasey Praised for Her Courage — Trump Applauds Kavanaugh's Rebuttal

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh and his accuser faced off Thursday in an extraordinary, emotional day of testimony that ricocheted from a woman's tremulous account of sexual assault to a man's angry, outraged denial, all of which played out for hours before a riveted nation and a riven Senate.

The two very different versions of the truth, unfolding in the heated atmosphere of gender divides, #MeToo and the Trump presidency, could not be reconciled. The testimony skittered from cringe-worthy sexual details to accusations and denials of drunken debauchery to one juvenile exchange over flatulence.

Washington has not seen anything like it in a generation. For people not used to watching government in action, it was a spectacle of tantrums, tears, preening and political ambition — what Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, called, "Sadly one of the most shameful chapters in the history of the United States Senate."

Senators must ultimately take sides, and their decisions in the coming days will determine not only the fate of Judge Kavanaugh, President Trump's second nominee to the Supreme Court, but also the ideological balance of the court for decades. In the end, the judge's future most likely rests with a handful of undecided Republican senators — Susan Collins of Maine, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Jeff Flake of Arizona — and one Democrat, Joe Manchin III of West Virginia.

At least Mr. Flake, who sits on the Judiciary Committee, will have to render a decision in short order: Republican senators emerged Thursday evening from a closed-door meeting, pledging to push ahead with a committee vote scheduled for Friday morning. Alone among the Republicans, the Arizona senator seemed to be wrestling with how to reconcile the competing accounts.

"There is doubt," he said. "We'll never move beyond that."

Mr. Trump watched the testimony of Judge Kavanaugh's accuser, Christine Blasey Ford, on Air Force One as he flew back from New York, where he had been attending the United Nations General Assembly. Immediately after the hearing adjourned, he praised Judge Kavanaugh's testimony on Twitter, saying that the judge had "showed America exactly why I nominated him."

"His testimony was powerful, honest, and riveting," the president tweeted. "Democrats' search and destroy strategy is disgraceful and this process has been a total sham and effort to delay, obstruct, and resist. The Senate must vote!"

On Thursday morning, with her voice cracking but her composure intact, Dr. Blasey told a rapt Senate panel about the terror she felt

Continued on Page A14

On Planes, in Bars, Around Phones, a Nation Is Transfixed

By JACK HEALY and FARAH STOCKMAN

COLORADO SPRINGS — Travelers on airplanes cried as they watched it on their seatback televisions. College students holed up all day at library computers and streamed it on their phones, drowning out their lectures. Friends sat together, stunned and still, on living room couches. Television screens at nail salons, sports bars and hotel lobbies were tuned to nothing else.

All day on Thursday, through eight hours of tears, anger and exasperation, it seemed like the country could not look away.

On the New York subway, people huddled around their phones to listen. They sat in parking lots with testimony wafting out of their car windows. They listened to it on their commutes home, transfixed by the high-stakes spectacle unfolding in a cramped Washington hearing room as Christine Blasey Ford and Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, President Trump's nominee to the Supreme Court, gave emotional and irreconcilable accounts of a night 36 years ago that has indelibly changed their lives while splintering Washington and much of the country.

Some felt they had to bear witness to history unfolding. They compared it to watching the Challenger space shuttle explode or the O.J. Simpson police chase. Only now, it was a battle for control of the Supreme Court tangled with questions about justice, gender equality and how America's political system treats claims of sexual assault against members of its ruling class.

Raw, unfiltered pain was on dis-

Continued on Page A17

Fraud Suit by Regulator Could Oust Tesla's Chief

By MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN and EMILY FLITTER

Elon Musk, Tesla's chief executive, was accused by federal regulators on Thursday of misleading investors with false public statements, a move that could force him out of the company's leadership.

At issue is Mr. Musk's declaration on Twitter last month that he had "funding secured" to buy out the stock of the electric-car maker. The prospect created a firestorm on social media and in the markets that sent Tesla's shares soaring.

In a lawsuit filed in federal court in New York, the Securities and Exchange Commission accused Mr. Musk of committing fraud by making false public statements with the potential to hurt investors.

The suit seeks to bar Mr. Musk, who is also Tesla's chairman, from serving as an executive or director of publicly traded companies like Tesla. Such a punishment is one of the most serious remedies the S.E.C. can impose against a corporate executive.

The case is likely to send shock waves across corporate America and could lead to a re-evaluation of how companies use Twitter to communicate with the investing public.

The S.E.C. said Mr. Musk "knew or was reckless in not knowing"

Continued on Page A20

New York Airport Workers to Get $19 Base Wage

By PATRICK McGEEHAN

For years, the three main airports that serve New York City have been the site of one of the country's biggest fights over the minimum wage. A Republican governor and airline companies were pitted against Democratic officials and labor leaders over how much to pay workers who clean planes, load luggage and perform many other duties.

On Thursday, the campaign ended in victory for as many as 40,000 airport workers who are now on a path to earning at least $19 an hour, the highest minimum wage target set by any public agency in the country. The pay increase, which was approved unanimously by the commissioners of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, will raise the wages of tens of thousands of workers over the next five years.

It will go well beyond the $15 minimum hourly wage that several cities have enacted and that New York State will adopt as the base wage for many workers at the end of the year. And it may add impetus to union-led campaigns to reverse the widening gap in incomes between rich and poor Americans even amid a robust economy.

The vote by the Port Authority board came after several months of deliberation and years of pleading and pressure from unionized

Continued on Page A22

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Deep Mideast Divide at U.N.
The Palestinian and Israeli leaders were at odds. Above, Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority. PAGE A8

New Leader for Italy's State TV
The appointment of Marcello Foa, 55, has raised alarms and is a victory for populist parties. PAGE A4

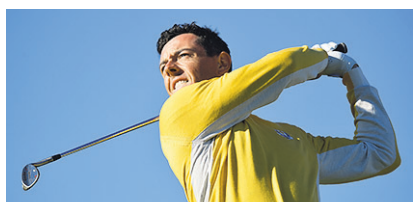
NATIONAL A12-20

A Low-Risk Campaign
Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, has a lot to say. But little of it has to do with the fact that he is running for governor of California. PAGE A12

NEW YORK A21-24

Confession in a 2014 Murder
A man was arrested in a cold case in Connecticut after telling his pastors he had stabbed a female jogger. PAGE A21

'Male,' 'Female' or 'X'?
New York City is the latest place to offer gender-neutral birth certificates, but Option 3 isn't that simple. PAGE A21



SPORTSFRIDAY B8-13

More to Life Than Golf
At 29, Rory McIlroy is trying to avoid being defined solely by his golf career. He seems to be succeeding. PAGE B8

HBO Leaving the Boxing Ring
A fixture in the sport for decades, HBO has concluded that its audience no longer tunes in for big fights. PAGE B8

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

She's Building Your Ford Truck
Debbie Manzano is the first woman to oversee production of the F-150, the best-selling truck in America. But women still make up less than 30 percent of manufacturing employees. PAGE B1

Milk Could Sink Nafta
Canada's dairy protections have become a key sticking point for President Trump and a potential roadblock to a trilateral trade deal with the United States and Mexico. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Randi Weingarten PAGE A27

WEEKEND C1-22

Time for Common Ground
Two shows bridge a rift in El Museo del Barrio's mission. Above, Liliana Porter's "To fix it three thirty." PAGE C13

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, patchy morning fog, partly sunny, high 76. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 63. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sunshine, warmer, humid, high 80. Weather map is on Page B12.

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TRUMP TOOK PART IN SUSPECT SCHEMES TO EVADE TAX BILLS

Behind the Myth of a Self-Made Billionaire, a Vast Inheritance From His Father

This article is by ***David Barstow****,* ***Susanne Craig*** *and* ***Russ Buettner****.*

President Trump participated in dubious tax schemes during the 1990s, including instances of outright fraud, that greatly increased the fortune he received from his parents, an investigation by The New York Times has found.

Mr. Trump won the presidency proclaiming himself a self-made billionaire, and he has long insisted that his father, the legendary New York City builder Fred C. Trump, provided almost no financial help.

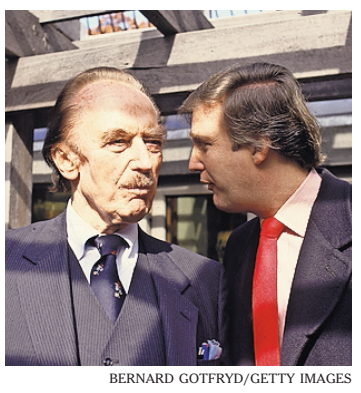
But The Times's investigation, based on a vast trove of confidential tax returns and financial records, reveals that Mr. Trump received the equivalent today of at least $413 million from his father's real estate empire, starting when he was a toddler and continuing to this day.

Much of this money came to Mr. Trump because he helped his parents dodge taxes. He and his siblings set up a sham corporation to disguise millions of dollars in gifts from their parents, records and interviews show. Records indicate that Mr. Trump helped his father take improper tax deductions worth millions more. He also helped formulate a strategy to undervalue his parents' real estate holdings by hundreds of millions of dollars on tax returns, sharply reducing the tax bill when those properties were transferred to him and his siblings.

These maneuvers met with little resistance from the Internal Revenue Service, The Times found. The president's parents, Fred and Mary Trump, transferred well over $1 billion in wealth to their children, which could have produced a tax bill of at least $550 million under the 55 percent tax rate then imposed on gifts and inheritances.

The Trumps paid a total of $52.2 million, or about 5 percent, tax records show.

The president declined repeated requests over several weeks to comment for this article. But a lawyer for Mr. Trump, Charles J. Harder, provided a written statement on Monday, one day after The Times sent a detailed description of its findings. "The New York Times's allegations of fraud and tax evasion are 100 percent false, and highly defamatory," Mr. Harder said. "There was no fraud or tax evasion by anyone. The facts upon which The Times bases its false allegations are extremely inaccurate."



BERNARD GOTFRYD/GETTY IMAGES

Fred C. Trump's real estate empire provided Donald J. Trump with today's equivalent of at least $413 million.

Mr. Harder sought to distance Mr. Trump from the tax strategies used by his family, saying the president had delegated those tasks to relatives and tax professionals. "President Trump had virtually no involvement whatsoever with these matters," he said. "The affairs were handled by other Trump family members who were not experts themselves and therefore relied entirely upon the aforementioned licensed professionals to ensure full compliance with the law."

The president's brother, Robert

Continued on Page A10

A review of over 100,000 pages of records, including confidential tax returns, shows the wealth the president reaped from his father.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

G.O.P. Presses To Vote in Days On Kavanaugh

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Senate Republican leaders pressed on Tuesday to wrap up the confirmation of Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, seizing on word from the F.B.I. that it would complete its investigation into allegations of sexual assault and sexual misconduct as early as Wednesday.

"We'll have an F.B.I. report this week, and we'll have a vote this week," an emphatic Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, told reporters after the Republicans' weekly policy luncheon.

But Mr. McConnell's promise was as much about bluffing as it was about confidence, giving the nomination an air of inevitability even as five undecided senators will determine Judge Kavanaugh's fate. Those five — the Republicans Susan Collins of Maine, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Jeff Flake of Arizona, and the Democrats Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota and Joe Manchin III of West Virginia — are refusing to tip their hands.

The push for a quick vote on Judge Kavanaugh came as the Senate and the White House waited for the F.B.I. to finish its

Continued on Page A19

Amazon Raises Minimum Pay To $15 an Hour

By KAREN WEISE

SEATTLE — Amazon said on Tuesday that it would raise the minimum wage to $15 an hour for its United States employees, a rare acknowledgment that it was feeling squeezed by political pressure and a tight labor market. The raises apply for part-time workers and those hired through temporary agencies.

The company said it would also lobby Washington to raise the federal minimum wage, which has been set at $7.25 for almost a decade.

The wages will apply to more than 250,000 Amazon employees, including those at the grocery chain Whole Foods, as well as the more than 100,000 seasonal employees it plans to hire for the holiday season. The change will not apply to contract workers. It goes into effect on Nov. 1.

"We listened to our critics, thought hard about what we wanted to do, and decided we want to lead," Amazon's chief executive, Jeff Bezos, said in a statement. "We're excited about this change and encourage our competitors and other large employers to join us."

Employment has become one of Amazon's most potent political vulnerabilities as well as its most

Continued on Page A18

'Better to Drown': A Greek Refugee Camp's Epidemic of Despair

A Festering Symbol of Europe's Hardening View of Migration

By PATRICK KINGSLEY

MORIA, Greece — He survived torture in Congo, and a perilous boat journey from Turkey. But Michael Tamba, a former Congolese political prisoner, came closest to death only after he had supposedly found sanctuary at Europe's biggest refugee camp.

Stuck for months at the camp on the Greek island of Lesbos, Mr. Tamba, 31, tried to end his life by drinking a bottle of bleach. The trigger: Camp Moria itself.

"Eleven months in Moria, Moria, Moria," said Mr. Tamba, who survived after being rushed to hospital. "It's very traumatic."

Mr. Tamba's experience has become a common one at Moria, a camp of around 9,000 people living in a space designed for just 3,100, where squalid conditions and an inscrutable asylum process have led to what aid groups describe as a mental health crisis.

The overcrowding is so extreme that asylum seekers spend as much as 12 hours a day waiting in line for food that is sometimes moldy. Last week, there were about 80 people for each shower, and around 70 per toilet, with aid workers complaining about raw sewage leaking into tents where children are living. Sexual assaults, knife attacks and suicide attempts are common.

The conditions have fueled accusations that the camp has been left to fester in order to deter migration and that European Union funds provided to help Greece deal with asylum seekers are being misused. In late September, the European Union's anti-fraud agency announced an investigation.

At the height of the European migrant crisis in 2015, Moria was merely a way station as tens of thousands of asylum seekers — many fleeing wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan — poured through the region on their way to northern Europe. Then, the numbers were so great, the migrants were effectively waved through.

Gradually, European Union countries tried to gain control over the situation by closing internal borders and building camps at the bloc's periphery in places like Lesbos, where so many of the refugees arrived. Now they are stuck here.

Today, Moria is the most visible symbol of the hardening European stance toward migrants — one that has drastically reduced unauthorized migration, but at what critics see as a deep moral and humanitarian cost.

Outside Europe, the European Union has courted authoritarian governments in Turkey, Sudan and Egypt, while Italy has negotiated with warlords in Libya, in a successful effort to stem the flow of migrants toward the Mediterranean.

Inside Europe itself, those who still make it to the Greek islands — about 23,000 have arrived this

Continued on Page A7

MAURICIO LIMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Afghan refugees last week at a spillover camp outside Camp Moria on the Greek island of Lesbos.

NATIONAL A8-23

4 Charged in Virginia Violence
Prosecutors said "serial rioters" attacked protesters at a 2017 white nationalist rally in Charlottesville. PAGE A9

Still Soaked by Monster Storm
Hannah Fox, 9, slept in a car as neighborhoods remained cut off and submerged by Hurricane Florence. PAGE A8

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

Tourists Behaving Badly
Amsterdam is filled with cultural riches, but some visitors come for less high-minded pursuits. New measures are aimed at curbing misconduct. PAGE A4

U.S. Change on Gay Envoys
Domestic partners of diplomats will be denied visas, even those from nations that ban same-sex marriage. PAGE A6

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Suicides Get Cabbies Talking
After six of their colleagues committed suicide, taxi drivers are opening up more about depression. PAGE A24

ARTS C1-8

'Boy Erased' Is Her Story, Too
The mother of a boy whose time in gay conversion therapy led to a film had an emotional night at the premiere. PAGE C1

Diluting Bach's Dancing Spirit
Dancers in a piece at the Park Avenue Armory were like musical notes against the stage, Gia Kourlas writes. PAGE C2

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

A Facebook Hack Ripples
Ten years ago, the company introduced a password system that connected to a broad swath of the internet. Now other sites may be at risk. PAGE B1

Try Saying It Five Times Fast
Reviews are still out on the new trade deal, but its name, U.S.M.C.A. for short, is getting two thumbs down. PAGE B2

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B7-10, 12

Who's Pitching First?
Yankees Manager Aaron Boone chose Luis Severino to start the wild-card game. Second-guessing began. PAGE B7

FOOD D1-10

Fall's Best Cookbooks
Our writers and editors cooked their way through this season's new books to come up with a list of favorites. PAGE D4

A Life Well Seasoned
"Mine is the story of a gay immigrant, told through food," says Nik Sharma, author of a new cookbook. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A26

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, considerably cloudy, high 69. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, low 63. **Tomorrow,** clouds and fog, then some sunshine, more humid, high 80. Weather map appears on Page C8.

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VOTES SECURED TO CONFIRM KAVANAUGH

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Susan Collins delivered a 45-minute speech Friday, explaining her decision to support Judge Brett Kavanaugh's confirmation.

Bitter Tenor of Senate Reflects A Country at Odds With Itself

By ALEXANDER BURNS

POLITICAL MEMO

As he helped speed Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh's embattled nomination toward a vote this week, Senator Charles E. Grassley of Iowa, the Republican chairman of the Judiciary Committee, declared that the Senate was approaching "rock bottom" and needed to right itself.

Mr. Grassley, 85 and a senator for nearly four decades, said it was time for "mending things so we can do things in a collegial way, that the United States Senate ought to do."

That sentiment, from a lawmaker who fiercely defended Judge Kavanaugh and helped block President Obama's nominee to the Supreme Court, Judge Merrick B. Garland, drew skepticism or scorn from many in the political world. It also felt like a glaring understatement: Brute partisanship in the Senate is a symptom of a much larger national contagion.

To the right and left alike, Judge Kavanaugh's nomination appears less like a final spasm of division — a sobering trauma, followed by calm resolution — than an event that deepens the national mood of turbulence. The country is gripped by a climate of division and distrust rivaled by few other moments in the recent past.

T.J. KIRKPATRICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A protester in September.

This time, historic grievances around race and gender are coming to a boil under the eye of a president who is dismissive of the concept of national unity. His political base passionately celebrates the combative way in which he has upended Washington, seeing it as a deserved rebuke of elite sensibilities. President Trump campaigned as a rough-speaking warrior against the political establishment and its consensus economic policies,

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With Her Regular Ally Absent, Collins Tells How She Got to Yes

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senator Susan Collins was on her own.

Her usually reliable Republican ally, Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, had just broken with the party against the confirmation of Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court. That left Ms. Collins as the sole Republican supporter of abortion rights who could derail a man seen as a serious threat to Roe v. Wade — not to mention that he had been accused of sexual misconduct.

Ms. Collins did not derail him.

Instead, she took to the Senate floor Friday afternoon and delivered a reasoned, carefully researched, 45-minute point-by-point defense of her support for Judge Kavanaugh.

"We've heard a lot of charges and countercharges about Judge Kavanaugh," Ms. Collins said. "But as those who have known him best have attested, he has been an exemplary public servant, judge, teacher, coach, husband and father."

As for the accusations against him, she said, "In evaluating any given claim of misconduct, we will be ill-served in the long run if we abandon the presumption of innocence and fairness, tempting though it may be."

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Lisa Murkowski

She made perhaps the best Republican case so far for the embattled judge, one that essentially sealed his promotion to the high court, even though her vote will haunt her politically for the remainder of her career, and quickly drew the fury of the left as a betrayal of the #MeToo movement. It was Ms. Collins on display as a studious former staff member, marshaling information gleaned in extensive conversations with Judge Kavanaugh and legal experts to show how she had arrived at the conclusion that he was fit to serve and posed no danger to access to abortion.

Continued on Page A15

NEWS ANALYSIS

After Lots of Bluster, Reasons to Brag

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — He promised so much success that everyone would be tired of all the winning. But after 20 months that proved more arduous than President Trump once imagined, this may be the best week of his presidency so far.

The imminent confirmation of Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court will cap a week that also saw the president seal an ambitious and elusive new trade agreement with Canada and Mexico, one of his top campaign promises. And the latest jobs report out on Friday put unemployment at its lowest since 1969.

None of this necessarily changes the fundamentals of an often-chaotic presidency that has defied norms and struggled with scandal, but it gives Mr. Trump a fresh narrative to take on the campaign trail just a month before critical midterm elections that will determine control of Congress. With the investigation by the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, turning quiet during campaign season, Mr. Trump has an opportunity to redirect the conversation onto more favorable territory.

"From his standpoint, it's been a good week after many bad ones," said David Axelrod, who was a senior adviser to President Barack Obama. "For a self-proclaimed perpetual 'winner,' he will have had some big wins to tout. The jobs figure, other than wages, and the after-Nafta agreement are positive."

Still, in Mr. Trump's scorched-earth presidency, even victories come at a cost. The relationship with Canada was deeply scarred by his brutal negotiating tactics, while America has been ripped apart by the battle over Judge Kavanaugh's nomination, fraught as it was with gender politics that Mr. Trump seemed eager to encourage and anger on the left and the right.

"The impact of Kavanaugh is more of a mixed bag, further inflaming both sides, which could help him retain or even expand his Senate margin but further imperil the House," Mr. Axelrod said.

Mr. Trump is the first presi-

Continued on Page A14

A Jobs Milestone

With eight years of job gains, the unemployment rate fell to 3.7 percent last month, the lowest since December 1969. Page B1.

Collins and Manchin Say They'll Back Him for Court

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, whose Supreme Court hearings ripped apart the Senate and roiled the nation, headed for final confirmation to the court after two key undecided senators announced on Friday that they would back him, despite allegations of sexual assault and deep-seated Democratic opposition.

The last-minute announcements by Senator Susan Collins, Republican of Maine, and Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia, capped an emotional and deeply divisive confirmation process that, in the end, turned as much on questions about Judge Kavanaugh's honesty, temperament and treatment of women as it did on his jurisprudence. A final vote is expected late Saturday afternoon.

Judge Kavanaugh's ascent to the nation's highest court is a huge victory for President Trump, Senate Republicans and their conservative allies, who have mounted a decades-long campaign to remake the Supreme Court in their image. He will replace the court's swing vote, the retired Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, with a committed conservative who is likely to push the court to the right for decades.

ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh

But his path there has been a brutal one, leaving in its wake a nation caught in what Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, described on Friday as the "crosswinds of anger and fear and partisanship."

While conservatives savored victory, many women and survivors of sexual assault were left feeling that once again, their stories did not matter, that nothing had changed since 1991, when Judge Clarence Thomas was confirmed to the Supreme Court after being accused of sexual harassment by the law professor Anita F. Hill. Then, as now, women were energized to become a poli-

Continued on Page A15

Nobel Peace Prize Is Awarded To Two Who Fight Rape in War

This article is by ***Rukmini Callimachi, Jeffrey Gettleman, Nicholas Kulish*** *and* ***Benjamin Mueller****.*

In the midst of a global reckoning over sexual violence, a woman who was forced into sexual slavery by the Islamic State and a Congolese gynecological surgeon were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on Friday for their campaigns to end the use of mass rape as a weapon of war.

The award went to Nadia Murad, 25, who became the voice and face of women who survived sexual violence by the Islamic State, and to Dr. Denis Mukwege, 63, who has treated thousands of women in a country once called the rape capital of the world.

They have worked through grave risks to their own lives to help survivors and to bring their stories to the world.

Berit Reiss-Andersen, the chairwoman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, said, "We want to send out a message of awareness that women, who constitute half of the population in most communities, actually are used as a weapon of war, and that they need protection and that the perpetrators have to be prosecuted and held responsible for their actions."

In a year when women have turned the world's attention to an epidemic of sexual abuse in the home and in the workplace, the award cast a spotlight on two global regions where women have paid a devastating price for years of armed conflict and was a rebuke to what Ms. Reiss-Andersen described as the failure of the global community to prosecute perpetrators of wartime sexual violence.

When the Islamic State overran

Continued on Page A10

Guilty Verdict Brings Relief to City on Edge Over Police Relations

This article is by ***Mitch Smith, Timothy Williams*** *and* ***Monica Davey****.*

CHICAGO — For three years, Chicago was racked by the political, legal and emotional impact of a chilling video that lasted only seconds: A black teenager could be seen collapsing onto a street as a white police officer shot him over and over, 16 times in the end.

On Friday, the officer, Jason Van Dyke, was found guilty of second-degree murder, a decision this city had anxiously awaited for months. Officer Van Dyke, who silently folded his arms behind his back as he was taken into custody, was also convicted of 16 counts of aggravated battery with a firearm — each count read aloud in the packed courtroom, one for each bullet that struck the teenager, Laquan McDonald.

No Chicago police officer had been convicted of murder in an on-duty shooting in nearly 50 years,

ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Celebrating the murder conviction of a Chicago officer on Friday.

and this city had braced for the possibility of an acquittal and a furious response that seemed certain to follow. But when the verdict came, protesters who had gathered outside the courthouse suddenly broke into cheers. Others wept, calling out: "Justice for Laquan! Justice for Laquan!"

For some residents, the trial became a proxy for years of anger over police mistreatment of black Chicagoans and over decades-old doubts about police accountability and transparency. They said they were relieved at the outcome and hopeful that it might force changes in policing and relations with city residents.

Dashboard-camera video from a police car gave a clear view of the shooting, though the city for months resisted releasing the images and Chicagoans only saw it 13 months after it happened, on a judge's orders. The fallout was significant: The police superintendent was fired, the local prosecutor lost her re-election bid, and Mayor Rahm Emanuel announced shortly before the trial began that he would not seek re-election next year.

"That video had a profound effect upon this city, not just on policing but on politics, and not just in black and brown neighborhoods — it rippled across every neighborhood," said Lori Lightfoot, a former president of the Chicago Police Board, an oversight agency, who is now running for

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Leader of Interpol Is Missing
Meng Hongwei of the international police agency, above, has not contacted his wife since going to China. PAGE A7

Populist Leads in Brazil Election
Jair Bolsonaro's far-right candidacy for president has defied the country's laws of political gravity. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-15

Odds Change in Nevada Race
The Supreme Court fight was expected to aid a Democrat running for Senate. Now the impact is uncertain. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A16-17

'Hey Babe, Give Us Good Luck'
Babe Ruth's grave has long been a pilgrimage spot for Yankees fans — especially during the playoffs, especially against the Red Sox. PAGE A16

Reputed Mobster Is Killed
An associate of the Bonanno crime family was shot at a fast-food drive-through window in the Bronx. PAGE A16

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Ford Plans Job Cuts in a Shuffle
With stock drooping, the company plans to trim its salaried payroll and is exploring a tie to Volkswagen. PAGE B1

China's Small Farms Fade
Plots of land are becoming parts of bigger operations, eroding a way of life but enriching local residents. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

The Nazi Downstairs
A search for a lost masterpiece painted by Egon Schiele uncovered a Jewish woman's harrowing account of living in hiding in her Vienna home. PAGE C1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-5

Red Sox Top the Yankees
Boston, on its home turf, took the first game of the American League division series from the Yankees. PAGE D1

Marathon's Elite Oddity
Yuki Kawauchi is about to compete in his ninth marathon of the year. Most top runners do two. PAGE D1

THIS WEEKEND

The Trump Taxes
In a special section, The Times is reprinting two investigative reports on President Trump's tax history.

A Star Is Reborn
Lady Gaga wants to live out every type of stardom. Her latest reinvention: movie actress. The Magazine.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Gail Collins PAGE A19

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds and fog, then some sunshine, more humid, high 80. **Tonight,** mostly cloudy, passing showers late, low 66. **Tomorrow,** cloudy, high 72. Weather map, Page 18.

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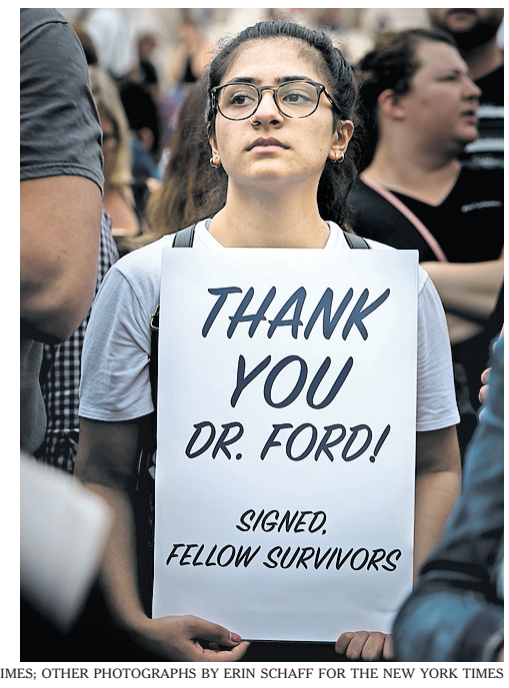

TOP RIGHT, GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; OTHER PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Key figures in a historic confirmation fight included, clockwise from bottom left, Mitch McConnell, the Senate majority leader; Christine Blasey Ford; and Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh. Protests of the nomination continued on Saturday in Washington and elsewhere.

SENATE VOTES 50-48 TO PUT KAVANAUGH ON SUPREME COURT

Confirmation Battle May Have Eroded the Public Trust

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — For President Trump and for Senate Republicans, confirming Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh as a Supreme Court justice was a hard-won political victory. But for the conservative legal movement, it is a signal triumph, the culmination of a decades-long project that began in the Reagan era with the heady goal of capturing a solid majority on the nation's highest court.

With Judge Kavanaugh's swearing-in, that goal has been accomplished, and the Supreme Court will be more conservative than at any other time in modern history. By some measures, "we might be heading into the most conservative era since at least 1937," said Lee Epstein, a law professor and political scientist at Washington University in St. Louis.

The new majority is sure to move the law to the right on countless deeply contested issues, including abortion, affirmative action, voting and gun rights. And the victory will very likely be a lasting one. Judge Kavanaugh, now 53, could serve for decades, and the other conservative justices are young by Supreme Court standards. The court's senior liberals are not. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg is 85, and Justice Stephen G. Breyer is 80.

There will be no swing justice in the mold of Anthony M. Kennedy, Sandra Day O'Connor or Lewis F. Powell Jr., who forged alliances with both liberals and conservatives. Instead, the court will consist of two distinct blocs — five conservatives and four liberals. The court, in other words, will perfectly reflect the deep polarization of the American public and political system.

The fight to put Judge Kavanaugh on the court only widened that division. The confirmation process was a bare-knuckle brawl, and the nomination was muscled through by sheer force of political will. All of this inflicted collateral

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Judge Is Sworn In, Tilting Ideological Balance to Right

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh was confirmed to the Supreme Court on Saturday by one of the slimmest margins in American history, locking in a solid conservative majority on the court and capping a rancorous battle that began as a debate over judicial ideology and concluded with a national reckoning over sexual misconduct.

As a chorus of women in the Senate's public galleries repeatedly interrupted the proceedings with cries of "Shame!," somber-looking senators voted 50 to 48 — almost entirely along party lines — to elevate Judge Kavanaugh. He was promptly sworn in by both Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and the retired Justice Anthony M. Kennedy — the court's longtime swing vote, whom he will replace — in a private ceremony.

For President Trump and Senate Republican leaders, who have made stocking the federal judiciary with conservative judges a signature issue, the Senate vote was a validation of a hard-edge strategy to stick with Judge Kavanaugh, even after his nomination was gravely imperiled by allegations by Christine Blasey Ford that he had tried to rape her when they were teenagers.

The president was exultant. "He's going to go down as a totally brilliant Supreme Court justice for many years," he told reporters, whom he had invited to join him in watching the vote on television aboard Air Force One.

But Mr. Trump also derided the sizable protests against Judge Kavanaugh on the steps of the Supreme Court and the Capitol as "phony stuff," and said it was a misnomer to imply that women were upset at his confirmation.

"Women, I feel, were in many ways stronger than the men in this fight," the president said. "Women were outraged at what happened to Brett Kavanaugh. Outraged."

The Kavanaugh confirmation,

Continued on Page 20

A Nomination Is Rescued by a Display of Rage and Resentment

Showdown Reflects the U.S. Struggle With Sex and Power

By PETER BAKER and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh sat in the anteroom of Room 216 in the Hart Senate Office Building, a sterile, living-room-like space with a couch and a couple of armchairs and a large television on the wall. His chances of joining the Supreme Court seemed to be vanishing. "Disaster," read the text message from one Republican.

Christine Blasey Ford had just finished testifying that he had tried to force himself on her as a teenager, and nearly everyone in both camps found her credible, sincere and sympathetic. President Trump called Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, and they agreed she was impressive. "We're only at halftime," Mr. McConnell said, trying to be reassuring.

Mr. Trump thought it was time to bring in the F.B.I. to investigate, as many opponents of Judge Kavanaugh had urged, but when he called the Hart Building, Donald F. McGahn II, his White House counsel, refused to take the call. Instead, Mr. McGahn cleared the room and sat down with Judge Kavanaugh and his wife, Ashley Kavanaugh. The only way to save his nomination, Mr. McGahn said, was to show the senators how he really felt, to channel his outrage and indignation at the charges he had denied.

Judge Kavanaugh did not need convincing. He was brimming with rage and resentment, so when he went before the Senate Judiciary Committee, he did not hold back. His fire-and-fury performance — "you have replaced 'advice and consent' with search and destroy" — suddenly turned the tables. While Democrats thought he went too far, demoralized Republicans were emboldened again. In their war room, White House aides watching on television cheered and pumped

Continued on Page 21

On This Island, Disaster Strikes Time and Again

By HANNAH BEECH and MUKTITA SUHARTONO

SIGI, Indonesia — The sun was setting on the mosque in Sigi, and Randi Renaldi, 7, knelt and reached his fingers out in supplication. Then the ground beneath him wobbled and swayed.

The mosque crumpled, the dome came crashing down, and a concrete slab slammed down on Randi's outstretched hands.

At the same moment in the same district on the central coast of Sulawesi Island, Priska Susanto, 15, had just finished praying on her first day of 10th-grade Bible camp. She was snacking on fried bananas at the Patmos church compound.

Here, the ground did not tremble as much as churn, melting into a terrifying sludge that heaved and dragged the church for a mile, and, finally, swallowed the building up to its roof and spire.

The starfish-shaped island of Sulawesi in Eastern Indonesia, which just a week ago suffered a 7.5-magnitude earthquake followed by a tsunami that crested over electricity poles, is a place of

ADAM DEAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sulawesi Island in Indonesia suffered a 7.5-magnitude earthquake followed by a tsunami last month.

divided faiths. It is also a place where catastrophe after catastrophe, both natural and man-made, have been inflicted on Muslims and Christians alike.

In little more than half a century, Sulawesi has endured dozens of earthquakes, landslides, floods, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions; anti-Communist pogroms that claimed at least half a million lives nationwide; and sectarian strife that culminated in the heads of schoolgirls deposited near a church and police station.

At least 1,649 people have been confirmed killed by the twin natural disasters on Sept. 28. Many more are believed to have died, been buried under soil, swept away by waves or trapped in a tangle of crushed buildings that will take months, if not years, to clear.

Each day, dozens of corpses are stuffed into body bags and in-

Continued on Page 12

U.S. Commander Moved to Place Nuclear Arms in South Vietnam

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — In one of the darkest moments of the Vietnam War, the top American military commander in Saigon activated a plan in 1968 to move nuclear weapons to South Vietnam until he was overruled by President Lyndon B. Johnson, according to recently declassified documents cited in a new history of wartime presidential decisions.

The documents reveal a long-secret set of preparations by the commander, Gen. William C. Westmoreland, to have nuclear weapons at hand should American forces find themselves on the brink of defeat at Khe Sanh, one of the fiercest battles of the war.

With the approval of the American commander in the Pacific, General Westmoreland had put together a secret operation, codenamed Fracture Jaw, that included moving nuclear weapons into South Vietnam so that they could be used on short notice against North Vietnamese troops.

Johnson's national security adviser, Walt W. Rostow, alerted the president in a memorandum on White House stationery.

The president rejected the plan,

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Lyndon B. Johnson rejected Gen. William C. Westmoreland's 1968 plan.

and ordered a turnaround, according to Tom Johnson, then a young special assistant to the president and note-taker at the meetings on the issue, which were held in the family dining room on the second floor of the White House.

"When he learned that the planning had been set in motion, he was extraordinarily upset and

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INTERNATIONAL 4-13

Visiting Warhol's 'Nowhere'
A tiny village in Slovakia claims the Pop Art idol as its native son, though he said, "I come from nowhere." PAGE 6

Saudi Critic Believed to Be Dead
Turkish investigators believe a Saudi dissident was killed inside the Saudi consulate in Istanbul. PAGE 9

NATIONAL 14-23

Trade Pacts Unveil a Strategy
The Trump administration's tough stance with allies seems to be a warm-up for isolating China. The Upshot. PAGE 16

Officer's Testimony Rejected
Jurors who convicted a white Chicago policeman of murder were swayed by the dashboard camera footage. PAGE 17

SPECIAL SECTION

Trump's Self-Made Myth
A reprint of The Times's investigation into the suspect tax schemes used by Donald J. Trump as he reaped riches from his father.

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Hollywood Is the Curriculum
As the entertainment industry clamors for diversity, the small Ghetto Film School is cultivating new talent. PAGE 1

The $2 Billion Danish Swindle
Danes say a London-born financier who moved to Dubai executed the fraud. They want the money back. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Sanchez Powers the Yankees
Catcher Gary Sanchez, whose season has been largely forgettable, found his stride at Fenway Park, hitting two homers in a 6-2 win as the Yankees evened their A.L. division series. PAGE 1

Static in the Huddle
The N.F.L.'s reliance on wireless communication between coordinators and players on the field is littered with the potential for disruption. PAGE 6

SUNDAY REVIEW

Jodi Kantor and Megan Twohey PAGE 1

OBITUARIES 23-25

Prima Donna in a Golden Era
Montserrat Caballé, the Spanish soprano known for her voice's transcendent purity, her wide repertory and her fans' wild adulation, was 85. PAGE 23

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, partly sunny, morning and early-afternoon showers, breezy, high 57. **Tonight,** clear, low 46. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, high 58. Weather map appears on Page C8.

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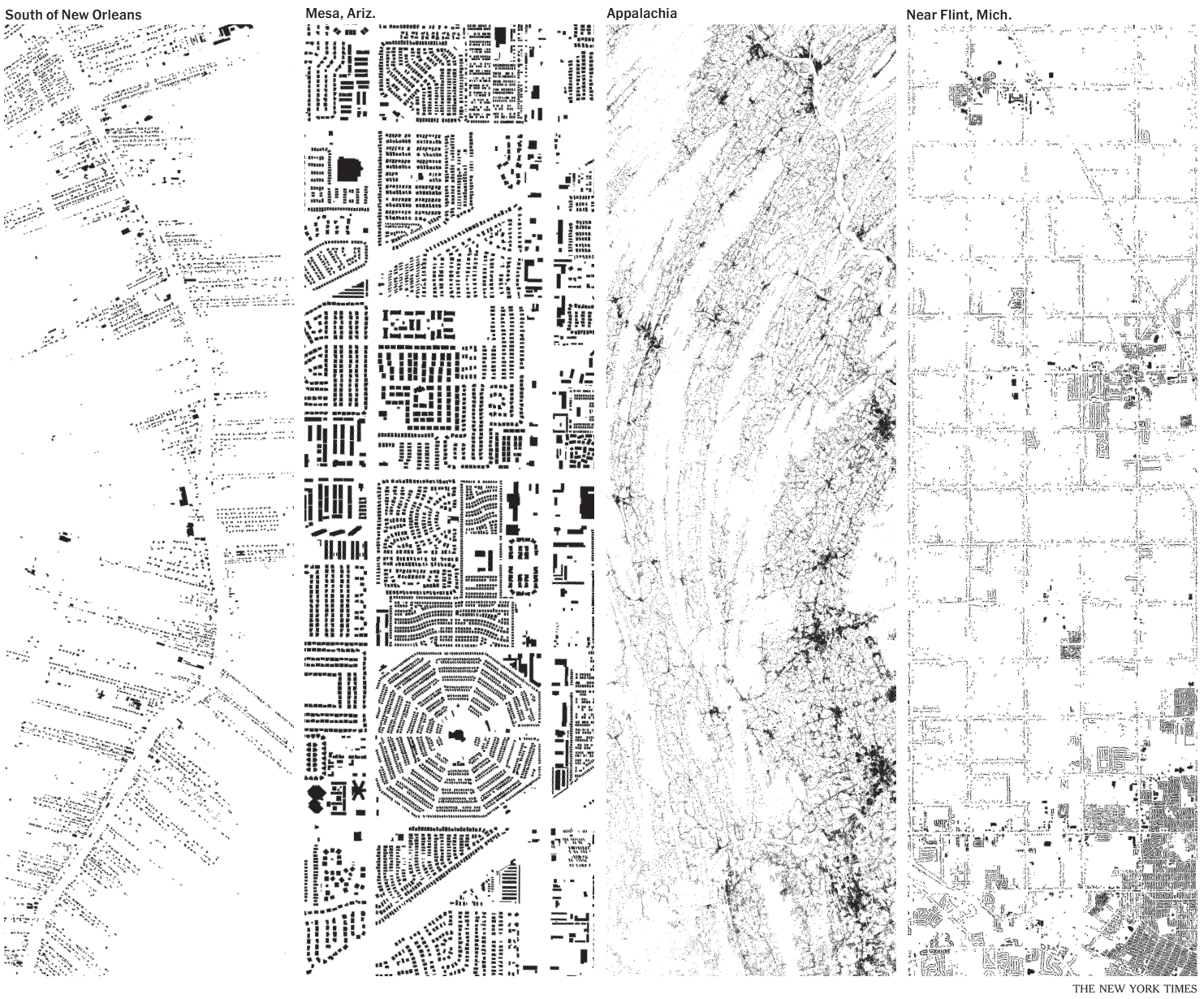

THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Map of Every Building in the United States

The buildings we construct make the places we live feel distinct, but we can lose sight of the broad patterns of the built environment. This weekend, The New York Times invites you to take a step back and explore those patterns with a detailed map of every building in the United States. The maps are included in the Sunday newspaper in a special section, including a poster-size view of one of six major cities, depending on where you live.

In Storm-Stricken Florida, Desperate for Necessities

FEMA Chief Urges Patience as Residents Clamor for Food, Water and Gas

This article is by ***Richard Fausset****,* ***Audra D. S. Burch*** *and* ***Alan Blinder****.*

PANAMA CITY, Fla. — It was two days after Hurricane Michael, and Eddie Foster was pushing his mother in a wheelchair down a thoroughly smashed street, his face creased with a concentrated dose of the frustration and fear that has afflicted much of the Florida Panhandle since the brutal storm turned its coast to rubble.

He was in a working-class neighborhood called Millville, where many residents said they were becoming desperate for even basic necessities. Mr. Foster, 60, and his 99-year-old mother had no car, no electricity. The food had spoiled in his refrigerator. The storm had ripped off large sections of his roof. He had no working plumbing to flush with. No water to drink. And as of Friday afternoon, he had seen no sign of government help.

"What can I do?" he said. "I'm not angry. I just want some help."

This was the problem that government officials were racing to solve on Friday, as desperation grew in and around Panama City under a burning sun. Long lines formed for gas and food, and across the battered coastline, those who were poor, trapped and isolated sent out pleas for help.

It would take time to reach everyone. Yet the Panama City area, one of those hit hardest by Hurricane Michael, grew into a whirring hive of activity on Friday, as box trucks, military personnel, and rescue and aid workers flowed in from surrounding counties and states, struggling to fix communications and electrical systems that officials said were almost totally demolished.

The death toll from the Category 4 storm rose to 16, stretching as far north as Virginia, where five people died, and it was expected to climb higher as search-and-rescue crews fanned out through rubble that in some cases spanned entire blocks. The toll also included the potential of millions of dollars in damage to aircraft, which were left behind during the storm at Tyndall Air Force Base.

For those waiting for relief supplies or the ability to return to their homes, Brock Long, the Federal Emergency Management Agency administrator, counseled patience. "Bottom line, it was one of the most powerful storms the country has seen since 1851," he said. "It's going to be a long time before they can get back."

In Panama City, locals pitched in when they could. Some even opened stores that lacked electricity: A Sonny's barbecue restaurant fired up its smokers in the parking lot, feeding residents who gathered in the late morning in a line that was at least 100 grateful residents long.

But in a city of unusable toilets

Continued on Page A12

Democrats Debate if High Road in Politics Is Leading Anywhere

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

WASHINGTON — In 2016, Michelle Obama's words became the Democrats' defining creed to counter Donald J. Trump's battering ram of a presidential campaign: "When they go low, we go high."

Two years later, the appeal of "high" seems low.

As much as any policy tensions or messaging debate within the party, this question of tone — of how to combat Mr. Trump effectively without slipping into a pale imitation — is perhaps the central divide of this Democratic moment (and the next one, with the 2020 campaign looming).

How will Democrats choose to revise Mrs. Obama's sentence, with Mr. Trump heaving insults from the White House and the rally stage — his pre-midterm bully pulpit?

"When they go low, we kick them," Eric H. Holder Jr., the former Obama administration attorney general and a possible 2020 candidate, said this week.

Party of 'We Go High' Is Just Getting Angry

"When they go low, I say hit back harder," Michael Avenatti, the cable-ubiquitous lawyer flirting with his own presidential run as a Trump-style brawler, told a crowd in Iowa over the summer.

Few but Mrs. Obama seemed inclined to defend the original refrain. "Fear," Mrs. Obama told NBC on Thursday, "is not a proper motivator. Hope wins out."

But for many Democrats, it does not seem to be winning out, at least for now.

It is one thing for Mr. Avenatti, the telegenic anti-Trump id, to seize this kind of rhetorical real estate. But increasingly, much of

Continued on Page A17

Saudi Dollars And Misdeeds Test Museums

By ROBIN POGREBIN and SOPAN DEB

On Saturday, the Brooklyn Museum is opening an exhibition of art and artifacts from Syria meant to recount the country's refugee history. Days later, the Guggenheim will host a conversation with a Palestinian artist, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art will hold a seminar on how museums curate art from the Middle East.

These programs — along with similar ones at the Museum of Modern Art, Asia Society and other New York institutions — are part of a coordinated effort to display artwork from the Middle East and "build greater understanding between the United States and the Arab world." They also happen to be coordinated by organizations closely tied to or generously funded by the Saudi government, which is now accused of the gruesome killing of a dissident journalist.

For years, nonprofits from museums to major universities have been strengthening ties with the oil kingdoms of the Middle East as a way to broaden their offerings, foster cross-cultural dialogue and obtain access to those countries' considerable riches.

Now they are having to answer the same question as the one confronting the American government: whether the possible assassination of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi is a reason to shun Saudi Arabia, or if the country is simply too wealthy and important to walk away from.

"As a global cultural institution, a core activity of our museum is to engage with representatives from museums and governments around the world," said Daniel Weiss, the Met's president and chief executive. Asked about Turkey's accusation that the Saudis killed Mr. Khashoggi at their consulate in Istanbul, Mr. Weiss said, "We are in process of learning

Continued on Page A9

BULENT KILIC/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

Andrew Brunson

Turkey Releases A U.S. Preacher Held 24 Months

By CARLOTTA GALL

SAKRAN, Turkey — A Turkish court on Friday ordered the release of the American pastor Andrew Brunson, ending his 24-month detention and allowing him to fly home, signaling a truce of sorts in a heated diplomatic dispute between Turkey and the United States.

Mr. Brunson, who was accused of spying and aiding terrorists, had been sentenced to 3 years 1 month 15 days in prison. The judge, citing time served, allowed him to leave the country immediately.

Mr. Brunson's prolonged detention and trial had worsened tensions between the United States and Turkey. President Trump and Vice President Mike Pence personally raised his case several times with President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey. The United States government imposed financial sanctions. And members of Congress traveled to Turkey to attend his trial.

American officials said Mr. Brunson's detention, along with that of about 20 other Turkish-Americans held after a coup attempt in 2016, was an attempt by Ankara to gain leverage in its various disputes with Washington.

After the pastor's release, Mr.

Continued on Page A8

Pope Applauds Cleric Resigning Post Under Fire

This article is by ***Jason Horowitz****,* ***Elizabeth Dias*** *and* ***Laurie Goodstein****.*

VATICAN CITY — Pope Francis on Friday accepted the resignation of Cardinal Donald Wuerl, the archbishop of Washington, a moment many victims of clerical abuse had hoped would demonstrate his commitment to holding bishops accountable for mismanaging cases of sexual misconduct.

But instead of making an example of Cardinal Wuerl, who was named in a recent Pennsylvania grand jury report that accused church leaders of covering up abuse, Francis held him up as a model for the future unity of the Roman Catholic Church. The pope cited Cardinal Wuerl's "nobility" in volunteering to resign and announced that the 77-year-old prelate would stay on as the archdiocese's caretaker until the appointment of a successor.

In an interview, Cardinal Wuerl said that he would continue to live in Washington and that he expected to keep his position in Vatican offices that exert great influence, including one that advises the pope on the appointment of bishops.

Continued on Page A6

MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Kensington neighborhood of Philadelphia, where a housing boom has led to rent increases.

Market Hot, Section 8 Tenants Are Shown Door

By GLENN THRUSH

PHILADELPHIA — One morning last year, Michele Carter woke up to find an eviction notice slipped under her apartment door. She had to move, she was later told, to make way for the renovation of her high-rise and the higher-paying tenants it would bring.

Ms. Carter, 66, an Air Force veteran who lives on a small monthly disability check, did not panic, at least not at first. She considered herself one of the lucky handful of her building's tenants who had what they called a "golden lottery ticket" — a voucher from the federal government's Section 8 housing program that would allow them to move anywhere in Philadelphia with a guaranteed subsidy paying 70 percent of the rent.

But she quickly discovered that her Section 8 voucher, for decades an essential way of providing low-income people with affordable housing, had diminishing value.

"I saw this flier for an apartment up on the wall in the building. It looked perfect. Then I get to the bottom, and in big black letters was written, 'No Vouchers,'" said Ms. Carter, who ended up moving in with relatives for 13 months before being placed in a senior supportive living complex earlier this year. "That kind of thing happened over and over. I wore my eyes out looking at ads."

For most of its existence, the main shortcoming of the Section 8 program, created in 1974 as an al-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Still Speaking Out in Uganda
The ragga singer Bobi Wine survived a savage beating and remains intent on ousting Uganda's president. PAGE A6

Veering to Germany's Extremes
Migration and far-right parties have changed Europe. A vote in Bavaria on Sunday may show how much. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-17

Researchers Correct Records
Memorial Sloan Kettering researchers have filed revisions with medical journals, divulging financial ties to health care companies. PAGE A11

Election Tests a Wary Flint
Angry at Michigan officials after the city water crisis, voters view candidates for governor skeptically. PAGE A10

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Unusual G.O.P. Nominee
The Republican nominee for attorney general backs Trump, and some Democrats. Can he win? PAGE A19

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Rehab for the Dying
Nursing home residents near death are increasingly being given costly rehabilitative services, a study found. PAGE B1

Russian Data Scrapers Purged
Facebook removed 66 accounts linked to firms that build facial-recognition software for Russia. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-7

Women's Ambitions Thwarted
The timely plays "The True," "Bernhardt/Hamlet" and "What the Constitution Means to Me" represent three eras. But the same enraging double standard prevails. A Critic's Notebook. PAGE C1

A Long, Uncomfortable Trip
'Camping,' HBO's cringe comedy about a weekend getaway run by a control freak played by Jennifer Garner, has insight, but it's more harsh than funny. A review by James Poniewozik. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Loudon Wainwright III PAGE A21

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Brewers Hold Off Dodgers
Milwaukee captured Game 1 of the National League Championship Series as Los Angeles rallied for three runs in the eighth but fell short, 6-5. PAGE D2

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly cloudy, some brief showers, breezy, high 68. **Tonight,** clearing, evening showers, low 49. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, cool, high 57. Weather map is on Page A17.

VOL. CLXVIII ... No. 58,116 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2018 $3.00

As Debt Grows, Sears Is Facing A Big Overhaul

Looking to Bankruptcy, and to the Holidays

By MICHAEL CORKERY

More than a century ago, Sears pioneered the strategy of selling everything to everyone.

But it has long since given up that mantle as a retail innovator. It was overtaken first by big box retailers like Walmart and Home Depot and then by Amazon as the go-to shopping destination for clothing, tools and appliances.

Now, the retailer is preparing to use a Chapter 11 bankruptcy filing to cut its debts and keep operating at least through the holidays, according to two people briefed on the matter who spoke on condition of anonymity to discuss the company's plans.

As part of the reorganization plan, which was expected to be filed overnight, Sears is to receive a loan of more than $500 million to help keep its shelves stocked and employees paid, these people said. The company is also planning to close as many as 150 additional stores as it tries to reduce costs and find some way forward.

In the last decade, Sears had been run by a hedge fund manager, Edward S. Lampert, who sold off many of the company's valuable properties and brands, but failed to develop a winning strategy to entice consumers who increasingly shop online.

The result has been a long painful decline. A decade ago, the company employed 302,000. Today, there are about 68,000 people still working at Sears and Kmart, which Mr. Lampert also runs.

"It's a sad day for American retail," said Craig Johnson, president of Customer Growth Partners, a retail research and consulting firm. "There are generations of people who grew up on Sears and now it's not relevant. When you are in the retail business, it's all about newness. But Sears stopped innovating."

Founded shortly after the Civil War, the original Sears, Roebuck & Company built a catalog business that sold Americans the latest dresses, toys, build-it-yourself houses and even tombstones. In their heyday, the company's stores, which began to spread across the country in the early 20th century, were showcases for

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PETROS GIANNAKOURIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

CCTV VIA HURRIYET, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

OZAN KOSE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

EMRAH GUREL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The journalist Jamal Khashoggi, above center, was last seen on Oct. 2 entering the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul, according to surveillance video, above left. The Saudi government has offered no explanation of his whereabouts. Top, the consulate on Sunday.

For Khashoggi, a Mix of Royal Service and Islamist Sympathies

A Career of Close Ties, Cut by the Saudi Crown Prince

By BEN HUBBARD and DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Jamal Khashoggi landed in Washington last fall, leaving behind a long list of bad news back home.

After a successful career as an adviser to and unofficial spokesman for the royal family of Saudi Arabia, he had been barred from writing in the kingdom, even on Twitter, by the new crown prince. His column in a Saudi-owned Arab newspaper was canceled. His marriage was collapsing. His relatives had been forbidden to travel to pressure him to stop criticizing the kingdom's rulers.

Then, after he arrived in the United States, a wave of arrests put a number of his Saudi friends behind bars, and he made his difficult decision: It was too dangerous to return home anytime soon — and maybe forever.

So in the United States, he reinvented himself as a critic, contributing columns to The Washington Post and believing he had found safety in the West.

But as it turned out, the West's protection extended only so far.

Mr. Khashoggi was last seen on Oct. 2 entering the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul, where he needed to pick up a document for his wedding. There, Turkish officials say, a team of Saudi agents killed and dismembered him.

Saudi officials have denied harming Mr. Khashoggi, but nearly two weeks after his disappearance, they have failed to provide evidence that he left the consulate and have offered no credible account of what happened to him.

His disappearance has opened a rift between Washington and Saudi Arabia, the chief Arab ally of the Trump administration. And it has badly damaged the reputation of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the 33-year-old power behind the Saudi throne, who this time may have gone too far for even for his staunchest supporters in the West.

The possibility that the young prince ordered a hit on a dissident poses challenges for President

Continued on Page A8

NEWS ANALYSIS

Bottom Line Steers Trump With Saudis

Realpolitik Calculation That Is Out in the Open

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — When President Trump made Saudi Arabia his first foreign destination after taking office last year, he struck what amounted to a fundamental bargain with the royal family: He would not lecture them about human rights, and they would buy plenty of American weapons and military hardware.

So as the world recoils at reports that the Saudis sent agents to Turkey to kill and dismember a Saudi dissident journalist with a bone saw, Mr. Trump faces the most profound test of that tradeoff. For days, he has rebuffed pressure to punish the Saudis by canceling arms sales that he secured during his visit, arguing that it would cost Americans money and jobs.

That he would prioritize potentially tens of billions of dollars for the United States over moral outrage about the apparent death of a single dissident may not be a major surprise. Other presidents have tempered concerns about human rights overseas with what they perceived to be America's own security or economic interests. What is different is how open Mr. Trump has been in expressing that realpolitik calculation no matter how crass or cynical it might appear.

"Any president's going to be stuck in this awkward place," said Steven A. Cook, a specialist on the region at the Council on Foreign Relations. "The one thing about Trump is he's basically willing to say: 'I don't really care. He's not an American citizen. Yes, it's terrible, but we've got all this business with them.' He doesn't shy away from saying that."

But that approach could put Mr. Trump on a collision course

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SHIFTING NARRATIVE The portrait of the modern Saudi crown prince has begun to crack, writes Jim Rutenberg. PAGE B1

Among Storm's Ruins Stands One House, Built 'for the Big One'

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

MEXICO BEACH, Fla. — As they built their dream house last year on the shimmering sands of the Gulf of Mexico, Russell King and his nephew, Dr. Lebron Lackey, painstakingly documented every detail of the elevated construction, from the 40-foot pilings buried into the ground to the types of screws drilled into the walls. They picked gleaming paints from a palette of shore colors, chose salt-tolerant species to plant in the beach dunes and christened their creation the Sand Palace of Mexico Beach.

They also installed an outdoor security camera. Its video footage became the only view of their property as Hurricane Michael thundered ashore last week, the most intense storm recorded in the history of the Florida Panhandle.

The camera showed a horrifying tunnel of gray fury worsening by the hour as Dr. Lackey, a 54-year-old radiologist, stared helplessly from more than 400 miles away at the corner of his roof.

"It would buck like an airplane wing," he said from his residence in Cleveland, Tenn. "I kept expecting to see it tear off."

But it didn't. When The New York Times published an analysis of aerial images showing a mile-long stretch of Mexico Beach where at least three-quarters of the buildings were damaged, Dr. Lackey saw his sand palace still standing, majestic amid the apocalyptic wreckage, the last surviving beachfront house on his block.

JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hurricane Michael left a house called the Sand Palace in Mexico Beach, Fla., almost unscathed.

"We wanted to build it for the big one," he said. "We just never knew we'd find the big one so fast."

The story of how the sand palace made it through Michael while most of its neighbors collapsed is one about building in hurricane-prone Florida, and how construction regulations failed to imagine the Category 4 monster's catastrophic destruction.

Florida's building code, put into effect in 2002, is famously strin-

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Democrats Circle in Wisconsin. Strong Economy Is an Obstacle.

By MONICA DAVEY and NELSON D. SCHWARTZ

RACINE, Wis. — This city's downtown was all but empty on a recent Sunday afternoon, but one storefront office was so packed with Democrats that people had to wait outside.

One by one, the party's top Wisconsin candidates took a microphone and fixated on a single villain — a Republican who drew jeers from the campaign volunteers preparing to make phone calls and walk door to door with clipboards and pleas for votes.

The target? Not President Trump, who drew only passing mention. It was Scott Walker, the state's governor. His eight years in office are the Democrats' greatest weapon this fall, even as his economic record has become their greatest complication.

"Forty days is not enough to talk about all the awful things Scott Walker's done," Mandela Barnes, the Democrats' nominee for lieutenant governor, called out.

Randy Bryce, a mustachioed former ironworker who hopes to seize the seat that House Speaker Paul Ryan is leaving, mocked the "Scott-holes" that he said plague Wisconsin's roads.

REBOUND
Driving to Topple a Governor

And Tony Evers, a grandfatherly-looking state schools superintendent who is running against Mr. Walker, said that it was high time they hold the governor accountable for cuts to schools, rising health care costs and a state economy that may look dazzling in headlines but, Mr. Evers says, doesn't always feel that way to residents.

Wisconsin, which had not picked a Republican for president since 1984, shocked the country in 2016 by backing Mr. Trump. In hindsight, it shouldn't have been such a surprise: Mr. Walker and the Republican-controlled Legislature were re-elected in 2014 after slashing taxes, and many Republicans, independents and even some fiscally-minded Democrats saw benefit in a firmer line on the size and costs of government, not to mention lower tax bills.

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IMMIGRATION Republicans have recast the issue and are deploying a fear-based appeal. PAGE A15

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A Mexican Man's Fatal Journey
When Adrián Luna was deported, he died trying to return to his life in Idaho. Above, his prayer book. PAGE A11

Rifts Among Asian-Americans
On the eve of the start of a Harvard bias trial, dueling rallies revealed deep divisions on the case. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Canadians Embrace Pot
More than 40 percent of Canadians say they have tried marijuana. How will the legalization of pot on Wednesday change the nation's culture? PAGE A6

Merkel's Allies Slide in Bavaria
A key to the chancellor's coalition lost the absolute majority it had held in the German state since the 1960s. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A18-21

Would-Be Informant Arrested
Ali Kourani says he was an agent for Hezbollah. After telling the F.B.I., he faces terrorism charges. PAGE A18

BUSINESS DAY B1-4

A Reversal on Foreign Aid
President Trump agreed to a $60 billion soft-power move aimed at blocking Beijing's ambitions. PAGE B1

A New Look at Brain Function
Jeff Hawkins created two tech companies, but for decades his passion has been neuroscience. PAGE B1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

Red Sox Tie Series With Astros
After taking a gamble by starting David Price on the mound, Boston rallied past Houston, 7-5, and evened the American League Championship Series at one game each. PAGE D4

Jets Avoid a Collapse
The Jets built a large lead against the Colts and held on for a victory that Coach Todd Bowles said would have been a loss last season. The win returned the Jets to .500. PAGE D2

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Hatice Cengiz PAGE A23

ARTS C1-8

A Hemispheric Treasure Chest
Holland Cotter calls a São Paulo show on Afro-Atlantic history "enthralling." Above, "Portrait of an African." PAGE C1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds and sunshine, breezy, high 55. **Tonight,** cloudy, periodic rain and drizzle late, low 48. **Tomorrow,** morning showers, high 57. Weather map appears on Page 24.

VOL. CLXVIII .. No. 58,129 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28, 2018 $6.00

Rampage Kills 11 at a Synagogue in Pittsburgh

JEFF SWENSEN/GETTY IMAGES

Tammy Hepps, Kate Rothstein and her daughter, Simone Rothstein, prayed on Saturday near Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Congregation.

Torrent of Gunshots Shifts Reality: 'I Am a Different Jew Today'

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

PITTSBURGH — Saturday morning in Squirrel Hill has for more than 100 years meant certain familiar rituals. The handing out of prayer books as latecomers quietly arrive at temple, the genial shouts of 'Shabbat shalom' across neighborhood streets as friends spot old friends after services.

This is the heart of Jewish Pittsburgh, one of the most deeply rooted Jewish neighborhoods in America. And on this Saturday morning, it was the site of what one of the city's chief federal law enforcement officers called "the most horrific crime scene I have seen."

Tree of Life Congregation, an understated temple on a rising street of brick houses and pumpkin-decorated front porches, was a revered and historic Jewish institution in a neighborhood full of them.

After Saturday's massacre, this meant a grief deep and wide. Everyone knew someone, or someone who did. The Jewish Community Center, a few blocks away from Tree of Life, became a command post of sorts, with grief counselors, law enforcement officials, Red Cross volunteers, extended families, members of various synagogues and food, lots and lots of food.

Down the street from the temple, a woman who belonged to Tree of Life was sobbing, surrounded by other women. A SWAT truck pulled down the street.

"It definitely brought everybody together in the way that really awful things do," said Jess Nock, 38, a lawyer who has worshiped at Tree of Life for eight years.

She spent the morning at the center, where information was difficult to follow. People arrived looking for others — sometimes successfully, sometimes not. One family learned of the shooting from their son, who was in Israel and saw it on the news. Some Orthodox Jews in the community, who do not use phones on the Sabbath, would surely not know about it for hours.

"Every time somebody would say 'Do you know where . . . '" Ms. Nock trailed off. She had heard the

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'FILLED WITH GRIEF' President Trump called for unity at a rally on Saturday night, then resumed his familiar attacks. PAGE 18

Bomb Suspect Found Identity In Resentment

Political Rage Grew in South Florida Loner

This article is by ***Jack Healy****,* ***Julie Turkewitz*** *and* ***Richard A. Oppel Jr.***

AVENTURA, Fla. — Cesar Sayoc Jr. was a volatile nobody desperate to become a somebody.

He styled himself as a bodybuilder, entrepreneur, member of the Seminole tribe and exotic-dance promoter in the status-hungry beachfront world of South Florida. In reality, Mr. Sayoc, a fervent supporter of President Trump who has been charged with mailing pipe bombs to prominent Democrats, was a bankrupt loner who spewed anger and spent years living in and out of a van, according to court documents and interviews with people who knew him.

He went on racist, anti-gay tirades at the Fort Lauderdale pizza shop where he worked as a night-shift deliveryman in 2017, telling his manager, a lesbian, that she and other gay people along with Democrats should all be put onto an island and then "nuked." At a reunion event in 2015 with his college soccer team, he browbeat former team members with racist, sexist conspiracy theories.

And when Mr. Sayoc's mother and sisters urged him to seek mental-health treatment, he furiously repelled their efforts and told his mother he hated her, said Ronald Lowy, a lawyer for the family who also represented Mr. Sayoc in a 2002 case in which he threatened to bomb an electric company during a dispute over a bill. He refused to even listen when his mother reminded Mr. Sayoc that he was Filipino and Italian, not Seminole, Mr. Lowy said.

"He had tremendous anger slowly boiling up, and resentment,

Continued on Page 20

LIFE ON SOCIAL MEDIA Cesar Sayoc Jr. seemed to fit the profile of a modern extremist, radicalized online by a partisan furor. PAGE 20

Suspect in Custody Has a History of Anti-Semitism

This article is by ***Campbell Robertson****,* ***Christopher Mele*** *and* ***Sabrina Tavernise****.*

PITTSBURGH — Armed with an AR-15-style assault rifle and at least three handguns, a man shouting anti-Semitic slurs opened fire inside a Pittsburgh synagogue Saturday morning, killing at least 11 congregants and wounding four police officers and two others, the authorities said.

In a rampage described as among the deadliest against the Jewish community in the United States, the assailant stormed into the Tree of Life Congregation, where worshipers had gathered in separate rooms to celebrate their faith, and shot indiscriminately into the crowd, shattering what had otherwise been a peaceful morning.

Robert Bowers

The assailant, identified by law enforcement officials as Robert D. Bowers, fired for several minutes and was leaving the synagogue when officers, dressed in tactical gear and armed with rifles, met him at the door. According to the police, Mr. Bowers exchanged gunfire with officers before retreating back inside and barricading himself inside a third-floor room. He eventually surrendered.

Mr. Bowers, 46, was injured by gunfire, although the authorities said it was unclear whether those wounds were self-inflicted or whether the police had shot him. He was in stable condition Saturday at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center.

Federal officials charged Mr. Bowers with 29 criminal counts. They include obstructing the free exercise of religious beliefs — a hate crime — and using a firearm to commit murder. He also faces state charges, including 11 counts

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Saudi War Pushes Yemenis to the Brink of Starvation

By DECLAN WALSH

HAJJAH, Yemen — Chest heaving and eyes fluttering, the 3-year-old boy lay silently on a hospital bed in the highland town of Hajjah, a bag of bones fighting for breath.

His father, Ali al-Hajaji, stood anxiously over him. Mr. Hajaji had already lost one son three weeks earlier to the epidemic of hunger sweeping across Yemen. Now he feared that a second was slipping away.

It wasn't for a lack of food in the area: The stores outside the hospital gate were filled with goods and the markets were bustling. But Mr. Hajaji couldn't afford any of it because prices were rising too fast.

"I can barely buy a piece of stale bread," he said. "That's why my children are dying before my eyes."

The devastating war in Yemen has gotten more attention recently as outrage over the killing of a Saudi dissident in Istanbul has turned a spotlight on Saudi actions elsewhere. The harshest criticism of the Saudi-led war has focused on the airstrikes that have killed thousands of civilians at weddings, funerals and on school buses, aided by American-supplied bombs and intelligence.

But aid experts and United Nations officials say a more insidious form of warfare is also being waged in Yemen, an economic war that is exacting a far greater toll on civilians and now risks tipping the country into a famine of catastrophic proportions.

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Amal Hussain, 7, who has acute malnutrition, at a Unicef-run mobile clinic in Aslam, Yemen.

Under the leadership of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the Saudi-led coalition and its Yemeni allies have imposed a raft of punitive economic measures aimed at undercutting the Houthi rebels who control northern Yemen. But these actions — including periodic blockades, stringent import restrictions and withholding the salaries of about a million civil servants — have landed on the backs of civilians, laying the economy to waste and driving millions deeper into poverty.

Those measures have inflicted a slow-burn toll: infrastructure destroyed, jobs lost, a weakening currency and soaring prices. But in recent weeks the economic collapse has gathered pace at alarming speed, causing top United Nations officials to revise their predictions of famine.

"There is now a clear and present danger of an imminent and great, big famine engulfing Yemen," Mark Lowcock, the under secretary for humanitarian affairs, told the Security Council on Tuesday. Eight million Yemenis already depend on emergency food aid to survive, he said, a figure that could soon rise to 14 million, or half Yemen's population.

"People think famine is just a lack of food," said Alex de Waal,

Continued on Page 12

Trump Fracking Boom Imperils Landscape of American West

By ERIC LIPTON and HIROKO TABUCHI

CONVERSE COUNTY, Wyo. — The parade of trailer trucks rolling through Jay Butler's dusty ranch is a precursor to a new fracking boom on the vast federal lands of Wyoming and across the West.

Reversing a trend in the final years of the Obama presidency, the Trump administration is auctioning off millions of acres of drilling rights to oil and gas developers, a central component of the White House's plan to work hand in glove with the industry to promote more domestic energy production.

Seeing growth and profit opportunities at a time of rising oil prices and a pro-business administration, big energy companies like Chesapeake Energy, Chevron, and Anschutz Exploration are seizing on the federal lands free-for-all, as they collectively buy up tens of thousands of acres of new leases and apply for thousands of permits to drill.

More than 12.8 million acres of federally controlled oil and gas parcels were offered for lease in the fiscal year that ended on Sept. 30, triple the average offered during President Barack Obama's second term, according to an analysis by The New York Times of Interior Department data compiled by Taxpayers for Common Sense, a nonpartisan group that advocates budget discipline.

KRISTINA BARKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Chesapeake Energy site in Wyoming. The company is expecting production increases.

Likewise, the acreage actually leased by energy companies on federal lands hit its highest level last year since 2012, the height of the nation's initial fracking boom. After 2012, a combination of Obama administration policy decisions and lower oil prices slowed demand for new drilling rights.

The reversal under President Trump has been propelled in part by the Interior Department's willingness to go along with industry pressure to weaken rules that govern how these federal lands can be used, as regulators follow detailed industry scripts for roll-

Continued on Page 22

INTERNATIONAL 4-15

Austerity and the Sex Trade
An industry that has seen most everything is suffering rock-bottom prices after a financial crisis in Greece. PAGE 6

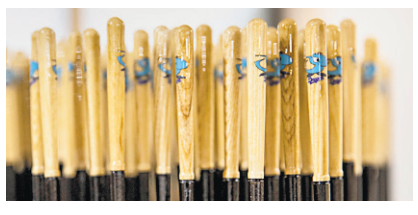
Uighurs' Uncertain Asylum
A family's struggle to stay in Sweden illustrates the plight of Muslims who have escaped from China. PAGE 10

NATIONAL 16-23

Education to Fore in Arizona
A teachers' walkout has helped make school funding a focal point in midterm races up and down the ballot, starting with the governor's race. PAGE 16

G.O.P. Pours In Election Cash
House Republicans are rushing to fortify their defenses in conservative-leaning districts they thought were secure. PAGE 21

Insurance-Market Labyrinth
There will be no shortage of health care options when enrollment opens, but there will be a cutback on navigation counselors to explain them. PAGE 25



SPORTSSUNDAY

The Fate of Japan's Broken Bats
In a nation that is meticulous about recycling, damaged bats are reprocessed into reusable chopsticks. PAGE 1

Red Sox on Verge of a Title
Boston rallied for a 9-6 win over the Los Angeles Dodgers, taking a three-games-to-one lead in the World Series. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Human Touch at Apple News
While Google, Facebook and Twitter face scrutiny for spreading misinformation, Apple has avoided scandal by using people to pick its news. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

New Duty for Nanny
Silicon Valley parents are asking nannies to become the screen police for their children's phone usage. PAGE 1

A Cure for the 21st Century?
The marijuana derivative CBD is being touted as a magical elixir. Maybe it's just a fix for our anxious times. PAGE 1

SPECIAL SECTION

Fine Arts & Exhibits

0 354713 8

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunny, breezy, mild, high 60. **Tonight,** partly cloudy skies, cooler, low 45. **Tomorrow,** sunshine and some clouds, breezy, cooler, high 55. Weather map appears on Page A10.

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DEMOCRATS SECURE CONTROL OF THE HOUSE; REPUBLICANS BUILD ON MAJORITY IN SENATE

Partisan War Awaits Trump. That Just Might Suit Him.

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — President Trump will wake up on Wednesday morning to a radically new political environment as he confronts the prospect of a two-year partisan war with a Democratic-run House armed with subpoena power and empowered to block his legislative agenda.

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Combative by nature, happier in a fight, the president may now have to choose between escalating the pitched conflict that has torn Washington apart in recent years and trying the sort of reach-across-the-aisle conciliation that has rarely marked his presidency so far.

After waging a divisive and racially charged campaign, Mr. Trump signaled in the days leading up to Tuesday's vote that he may soften his tone going forward, although past nods toward bipartisanship have never lasted long. With his party no longer holding all the levers of power in Washington, he cannot bypass the opposition if he hopes to transform his priorities into law.

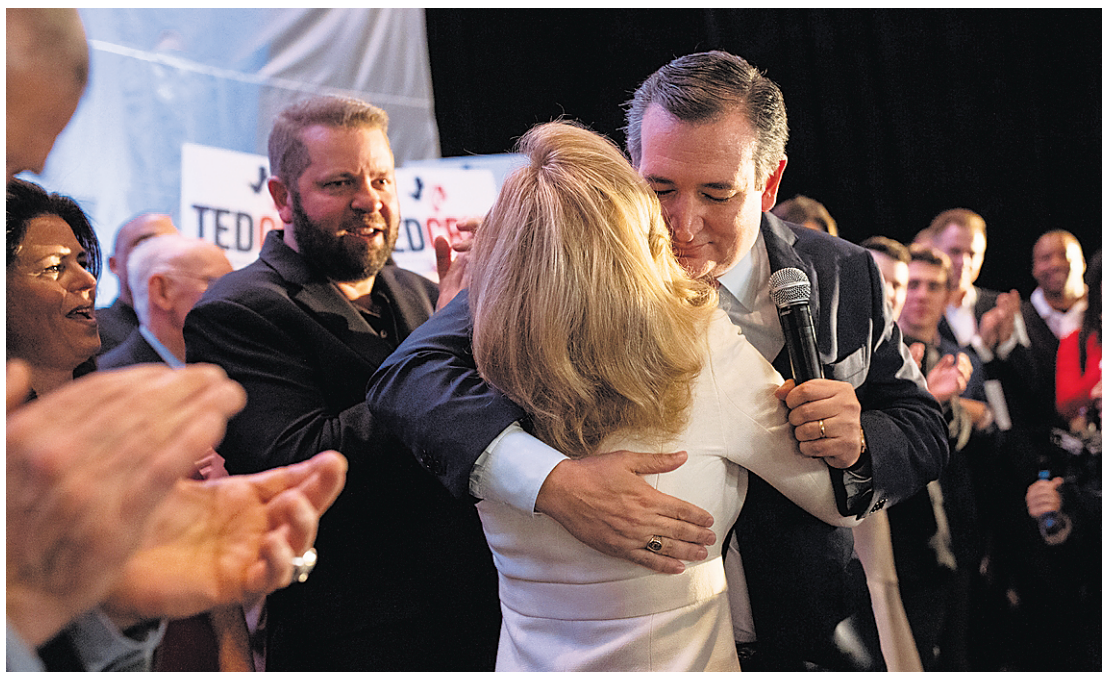
Perhaps just as important, he will no longer have Republican majorities to guard his flank against investigations into all manner of issues that Democrats are eager to examine. The new House may press far more deeply into his personal and political affairs, demanding the tax returns he has kept secret, delving deeper into any ties with Russia and exploring any conflicts of interest.

At its most extreme, a Democratic House could even potentially pose an impeachment threat against the president depending on the results of the investigation by the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III,

Continued on Page A24

SARAH SILBIGER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Democrats in Washington after hearing on Tuesday night that their party had captured the House.



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, with his wife, Heidi, beat his Democratic challenger, Beto O'Rourke.

SCOTT McINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Republican Ron DeSantis, with his wife, Casey, narrowly won the race for Florida governor.

DEMETRIUS FREEMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mikie Sherrill, a New Jersey Democrat, is among the many newcomers who will join the House.

Rebuke for Trump as Lower Chamber Shifts — Cruz Wins in Texas

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Democrats harnessed voter fury toward President Trump to win control of the House and capture pivotal governorships Tuesday night as liberals and moderates banded together to deliver a forceful rebuke of Mr. Trump, even as Republicans added to their Senate majority by claiming a handful of conservative-leaning states.

Propelled by an unusually high turnout that illustrated the intensity of the backlash against Mr. Trump, Democrats claimed at least 25 House seats on the strength of their support in suburban and metropolitan districts that were once bulwarks of Republican power but where voters have recoiled from the president's demagoguery on race.

From the suburbs of Richmond to the subdivisions of Chicago and even Oklahoma City, an array of diverse candidates — many of them women, first-time contenders or both — stormed to victory and ended the Republicans' eight-year grip on the House majority.

But in an indication that the political and cultural divisions that lifted Mr. Trump two years ago may only be deepening, the Democratic gains did not extend to the Senate, where many of the most competitive races were in heavily rural states. Republicans built on their one-seat majority in the chamber by winning Democratic seats in Indiana, North Dakota and Missouri while turning back Representative Beto O'Rourke's spirited challenge of Senator Ted Cruz in Texas.

And in the South, two progressive African-American candidates for governor who captured the imagination of liberals across the country fell to defeat at the hands of Trump acolytes — a sign that steady demographic change across the region was proceeding too gradually to lift Democrats to victory. Secretary of State Brian Kemp of Georgia was leading Stacey Abrams, who was seeking to become the first black woman to lead a state, while former Rep-

Continued on Page A18

JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Turnout soared in a vote seen as a Trump referendum.

Trump Ally Is Elected Governor Of Florida, a Key State in 2020

*This article is by **Adam Nagourney**, **Sydney Ember** and **Patricia Mazzei**.*

Republicans fended off strong Democratic challenges Tuesday to hold on to the governorships of Florida, Ohio and Iowa, maintaining their control of three states likely to be critical in the 2020 presidential elections.

But Democrats seized governorships in three states now controlled by Republicans: Illinois, Michigan and, in a surprise outcome in a Republican stronghold, Kansas.

The results, reported by The Associated Press, expanded the number of states with Democratic chief executives — an important consideration as Legislatures begin the process of drawing congressional district lines. But they fell short of what many party leaders were hoping for, and reflected a night of mixed tidings for the party out of power.

The victory in Florida by Ron DeSantis, a Republican supporter of President Trump, turned back the historic effort by Andrew Gillum, the Tallahassee mayor, seeking to become the first African-American governor of his state.

Republicans took another crucial battleground state with a victory by Mike DeWine, the attorney general, who defeated Rich-

Continued on Page A20

BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Democrat Gretchen Whitmer, Michigan's next governor.

Voters Choose To Tap Brakes On an Agenda

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

The vaunted blue wave that Democrats had hoped for failed to fully materialize on Tuesday night, but the days of one-party control in Washington are now over. President Trump's strength in rural areas kept the Senate in Republican control, but voters in urban and suburban districts across the country sent the White House a clear message: They want a check on the president.

NEWS ANALYSIS

When the new Congress is sworn in this January, Democrats will be able to curb Mr. Trump's legislative ambitions and, armed with subpoena power, flex their oversight muscles to initiate investigations into allegations of misconduct by the president and his administration. If the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, finds substantial evidence of illegal conduct during the 2016 election, he now will have a receptive wing of government to pursue his findings.

"Tonight, the American people have demanded accountability from their government and sent a clear message of what they want from Congress," Representative Jerrold Nadler, Democrat of New York and the new chairman of the House Judiciary Committee,

Continued on Page A26

Women Lead Parade, and Party

By SUSAN CHIRA and KATE ZERNIKE

They marched, they ran, and on Election Day, they won.

Women led a parade of victories and unexpected upsets Tuesday to win control of the House for the Democrats.

It was the culmination of two years of anger, frustration and activism driven by women appalled by Donald J. Trump's election and presidency. Women poured into grass-roots groups determined to regain Democratic control of Congress and flooded organizations that trained them to run for office. As candidates, women broke the rules and upended conventional political wisdom. As activists, they expanded the definition of women's issues beyond education and reproductive rights to include health care, immigration, gun violence and the environment.

It was a litany of historic firsts, most of them by Democrats: In Massachusetts, Ayanna Pressley became the first woman of color in her state's congressional delegation. Rashida Tlaib in Michigan and Ilhan Omar in Minnesota will be the first Muslim women in Congress. Sharice Davids toppled a Republican man in Kansas and

Continued on Page A22

ELIZABETH D. HERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez won her House race in New York.

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Rejecting Tech's Individualism
A global protest by Google workers could be a sign the industry's workers are embracing collective action. PAGE B1

Landing Amazon Is Step 1
How the company and local officials flesh out plans for new hubs will be key to the economic lift they bring. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-11

A Basketball Odyssey
Alfonzo McKinnie's professional journey wound through Luxembourg and Mexico before he landed with the Golden State Warriors. PAGE B8

NEW YORK A30-31

Right Time, Wrong Place
The message, "vote," was no problem, but the medium, a banner unfurled on a bridge, led to three arrests. PAGE A30

The Amazon Effect, in Queens
Public transit would face even greater strain, but a Long Island City headquarters could have upsides, too. PAGE A31

INTERNATIONAL A6-13

Fighting Escalates in Yemen
Saudi-led forces stepped up attacks after the United States called for talks. The United Nations warned that millions are at risk of starvation. PAGE A6

Trial of Ex-Guard at Nazi Camp
A 94-year-old is being tried in juvenile court because he worked for the SS when he was a teenager. PAGE A13

NATIONAL A14-29

Execution Case for New Court
Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh is likely to play a pivotal role as he considers his first death-penalty case. PAGE A29

ARTS C1-8

Not-So-Sexist 'Love Island'
There is more gender equality in versions of the lusty British TV show now airing in Nordic countries. PAGE C1

Behind Freddie Mercury's Teeth
The man who gave Rami Malek, below, his look for a star turn in "Bohemian Rhapsody" discusses his craft. PAGE C1

FOOD D1-10

Handy Thanksgiving Recipes
Melissa Clark says that the holiday isn't just about food, but also about connecting with family in the kitchen. Still, she is sharing some of her best recipes, including roast turkey and ginger-spiced pumpkin pie. PAGE D2

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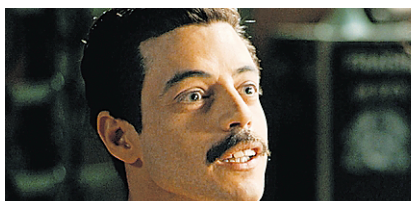
James Comey PAGE A33



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, plenty of clouds, rain late afternoon, high 50. **Tonight,** evening rain, heavy at times, fog late, low 46. **Tomorrow,** some sunshine, high 55. Weather map appears on Page C8.

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NOAH BERGER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BRANDON THIBODEAUX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Clockwise from top: A home in the path of a wildfire in Paradise, Calif.; steam from a refinery in Port Arthur, Tex.; a volunteer helping flood victims in Wilmington, N.C. A new report cited climate change's heavy toll on the environment, health and the economy.

U.S. CLIMATE STUDY HAS GRIM WARNING OF ECONOMIC RISKS

Reduction of Up to 10 Percent in G.D.P. — Findings Are at Odds With Policies

By CORAL DAVENPORT and KENDRA PIERRE-LOUIS

WASHINGTON — A major scientific report issued by 13 federal agencies on Friday presents the starkest warnings to date of the consequences of climate change for the United States, predicting that if significant steps are not taken to rein in global warming, the damage will knock as much as 10 percent off the size of the American economy by century's end.

The report, which was mandated by Congress and made public by the White House, is notable not only for the precision of its calculations and bluntness of its conclusions, but also because its findings are directly at odds with President Trump's agenda of environmental deregulation, which he asserts will spur economic growth.

Mr. Trump has taken aggressive steps to allow more planet-warming pollution from vehicle tailpipes and power plant smokestacks, and has vowed to pull the United States out of the Paris Agreement, under which nearly every country in the world pledged to cut carbon emissions. Just this week, he mocked the science of climate change because of a cold snap in the Northeast, tweeting, "Whatever happened to Global Warming?"

But in direct language, the 1,656-page assessment lays out the devastating effects of a changing climate on the economy, health and environment, including record wildfires in California, crop failures in the Midwest and crumbling infrastructure in the South. Going forward, American exports and supply chains could be disrupted, agricultural yields could fall to 1980s levels by midcentury and fire season could spread to the Southeast, the report finds.

"There is a bizarre contrast between this report, which is being released by this administration, and this administration's own policies," said Philip B. Duffy, president of the Woods Hole Research Center.

All told, the report says, climate change could slash up to a tenth of gross domestic product by 2100, more than double the losses of the Great Recession a decade ago.

Scientists who worked on the report said it did not appear that administration officials had tried to alter or suppress its findings. However, several noted that the timing of its release, at 2 p.m. the day after Thanksgiving, appeared designed to minimize its public impact.

Still, the report could become a powerful legal tool for opponents of Mr. Trump's efforts to dismantle climate change policy, experts said.

"This report will weaken the Trump administration's legal case for undoing climate change regulations, and it strengthens the hands of those who go to court to fight them," said Michael Oppenheimer, a professor of geosciences

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Getting Rich As Venezuela Goes on Skid

By NICHOLAS CASEY

The opulent lifestyle of the Andrade family was as spectacular as the economic collapse of the country they left behind.

Venezuelan immigrants, the family lived in a mansion in Florida surrounded by show horses, as neighbors peeked over the property line in awe. The family patriarch, Alejandro Andrade, had been a bodyguard of President Hugo Chávez before rising to powerful positions in his government.

This month, Mr. Andrade will be known for something else: On Nov. 27, he is expected to be sentenced for taking bribes as Venezuela's treasurer, in a money-laundering scheme that made him a billionaire.

Venezuela is facing its worst economic crisis in modern history. Inflation and devastating shortages of food and medicine have forced more than three million people to flee the country, according to the United Nations.

But among those who have left Venezuela is a small clique that made untold fortunes, including government officials, well-connected businessmen and military leaders who siphoned off billions of dollars. Many argue that this deep-rooted corruption laid the groundwork for the collapse of Venezuela today.

The beneficiaries even have a name: The "boligarchs," a term often used for the new oligarchy that emerged under Mr. Chávez's Socialist-inspired "Bolivarian Revolution."

"How could it be that a government employee had 60 horses?" said Franklin Hoet-Linares, a

Continued on Page A6

A Brexit No One Likes, but Many Can Live With

Britons Grumble While Warming Up to May's Maligned Plan

By ELLEN BARRY

LONDON — With the sputtering of the hard-line Conservative coup against Prime Minister Theresa May over her Brexit plan this week, the British Parliament seemed to be turning, slowly and with a great grinding of gears, in the direction of something quintessentially English: a compromise that satisfies no one.

There are historical precedents for this type of solution. Take the English Civil War, which pitted the monarchy against Parliament. What did England get? A little of both, followed by several centuries of grumbling on either side.

The national split over fox hunting, another deep social division, ended in a "masterly British compromise," as former Prime Minister Tony Blair phrased it, that left hunting "banned and not quite banned at the same time." And consider the creation of the National Health Service, which the Conservative Party opposed tooth and nail — and then accepted, sometimes grudgingly, for 70 years and counting.

"It's part of the English DNA, it is in our culture, to find a compromise, usually one we are not happy with," said the social anthropologist Kate Fox, the author of "Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behavior."

"It doesn't mean we compromise graciously," she said. "We compromise in an Eeyorish, grumpy, vaguely stoical way. And we complain, constantly. But only to each other. We rarely address our complaints to anyone who might be in a position to resolve them. That's kind of what I was expecting with Brexit."

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DAVID DEE DELGADO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

What Would You Like?
Black Friday lured shoppers with deals. Above, the Atlantic Center mall in Brooklyn. Pages B5-7.

Why Big Law Fights Trump On Migrants

By ANNIE CORREAL

Corporate lawyers at Paul Weiss, a prestigious Manhattan law firm, often spend their days scouring the fine print of client documents and government regulations. But for the past few months, they have been on a different search.

In the firm's Midtown offices, about 75 lawyers have been trying to find more than 400 parents who were separated from their families at the southern border this year and then deported without their children.

Paul Weiss, where partners charge more than $1,000 an hour and clients include the National Football League and Citigroup, is looking for these parents, pro bono, as part of a federal American Civil Liberties Union lawsuit against the Trump administration over its family separation policy.

Big Law — a nexus of power where partners are often plucked for top government posts — has emerged as a fierce, and perhaps unexpected, antagonist to President Trump's immigration agenda. While pro bono work is nothing new, over the past two years, major law firms have become more vocal and visible in pushing back against the administration's policies.

Top firms have a well-earned reputation as cautious defenders of the establishment, and immigration is generally considered a safe area for pro bono work because it rarely conflicts with corporate clients. Still, both supporters and critics of the president's agenda have noticed that large firms have been behind several of the biggest court battles.

Continued on Page A22

Retailer Takes Chill Off Cold, And Off Tariffs

By JIM TANKERSLEY

PORTLAND, Ore. — Columbia Sportswear has spent years designing ski jackets and hiking boots to withstand the elements: wind, rain, snow and, increasingly, tariffs.

Located on a sprawling campus adorned with hanging canoes, the 80-year-old retailer has long protected its outdoor gear from the whims of Washington by engaging in what the company calls "tariff engineering" — adjusting its products to lessen import taxes on materials from outside the United States like rubber soles, zippers and waterproof nylon.

But now Columbia worries that its approach is under threat from a president whose trade strategy leaves little room for American companies that make and sell products globally.

Mr. Trump's use of tariffs as a cudgel to revitalize manufacturing in the United States is forcing changes across large multinational companies, though they may not always be the changes the president seeks. Harley-Davidson and Micron are moving production to factories in Europe or parts of Asia, while other companies have put off expansion plans amid trade uncertainty.

At Columbia, the response is to lean heavily on the company's long experience in navigating the thicket of trade restrictions it has faced in the United States and abroad. Every fleece vest and waterproof glove stamped with the Columbia logo is manufactured abroad, and the company has come to rely on a system of pairing its designers with its team of trade experts, who recommend

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INTERNATIONAL A4-14

Attack on a Chinese Consulate
A separatist group in Pakistan claimed the strike in Karachi. Above, one of the attackers in an ambulance. PAGE A4

Australia Ventures Into Space
In leading the nation's first space agency, Megan Clark is set for a challenge. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A9

BUSINESS B1-8

Upstart Banks Get Their Day
High fees and low interest rates give a new generation of finance start-ups a chance to take on big banks. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A21-22

Setback for Trump Charity
A state lawsuit accusing the organization of misusing funds and self-dealing can proceed, a judge ruled. PAGE A21

Taking Up the L Train Slack
Once the subway line shutdown begins in April, many displaced riders will use the Williamsburg Bridge to go between Manhattan and Brooklyn. PAGE A21

NATIONAL A15-20

Robots in the Field
As farms deal with a shrinking labor force, robots are replacing humans and attracting young workers. PAGE A15

Not the Only Lion on the Left
As other Democrats adopt his message, Bernie Sanders is no longer a singular liberal figure as he eyes 2020. PAGE A19

ARTS C1-7

A Cathartic Coming-Out Story
In "The Bisexual," a new TV series, Desiree Akhavan, the show's creative force, explores expectations surrounding female sexuality and the discomfort that can greet bisexuality. PAGE C1

PG? R? NC-17? It Was Her Call
Joan Graves, retiring as chairwoman of the Motion Picture Association's ratings system, talks about evaluating films as a guide for parents and about images she wishes she could unsee. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Timothy Egan PAGE A24

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

An Unmatched Soccer Match
When the Buenos Aires rivals River Plate and Boca Juniors meet in Saturday's Copa Libertadores final, all of Argentina will be watching. PAGE D1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, partial sunshine, mild, high 54. **Tonight,** cloudy much of the time, low 42. **Tomorrow,** considerable clouds, some rain, seasonable, high 51. Details in SportsSunday, Page 8.

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BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

THE PULL OF THE PAST China today would be barely recognizable to its Communist founders, but "red tourism" outings remain highly popular.

中國規則

CHINA RULES

A SPECIAL SECTION

It was the country that should have failed — at least if you listened to the experts in the West.

But China didn't listen. And it didn't fail.

Now, it is the newest superpower, a rival challenging American interests both commercial and political, on track to replace the United States as the world's largest economy.

The story begins in the anxious years after Mao's death four decades ago, when the country was impoverished and a group of young economists gathered at a mountain retreat with a basic question: What now?

Western economists said China's mix of state control and free enterprise was unworkable. They were wrong.

Playing by its own rules, China now leads the world in homeowners, college graduates and, by some counts, billionaires. It has become a global lender, flexing its muscles in Asia and beyond as it builds dams, power plants and ports, though growing debt and a trade war with Washington may yet derail it.

Experts were wrong about something else, too.

China's citizens enjoy prosperity but have not won the political freedoms that were supposed to come with it. An unspoken pact has prevailed: A good life is possible for anyone — but don't make waves.

Reporters for The New York Times chronicle the transformation that followed — and examine why an era of friendly American relations with China may be ending. A special report by The Times, called China Rules, tries to explain the unlikely success of the People's Republic of China, which outlasted the Soviet Union and celebrated a record 69 years of Communist rule this fall.

COAL ENDANGERS A PLANET UNABLE TO STOP USING IT

POLLUTANT WITH POWER

Profits and Politics Blunt Nations' Vows to Fight Climate Change

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

HANOI, Vietnam — Coal, the fuel that powered the industrial age, has led the planet to the brink of catastrophic climate change.

Scientists have repeatedly warned of its looming dangers, most recently on Friday, when a major scientific report issued by 13 United States government agencies concluded that the damage from climate change could knock as much as 10 percent off the size of the American economy by century's end if significant steps aren't taken to rein in warming.

Internationally, an October report from the United Nations' scientific panel on global warming found that avoiding the worst devastation would require a radical transformation of the world economy in just a few years.

Central to that transformation: getting out of coal, and fast.

And yet three years after the Paris Agreement, when world leaders promised action, coal shows no sign of disappearing. While coal use is certain to eventually wane worldwide, it is not on track to happen anywhere fast enough to avert the worst effects of climate change, according to the latest assessment by the International Energy Agency. Last year, in fact, global production and consumption increased after two years of decline.

Cheap, plentiful and the most polluting of fossil fuels, coal remains the single largest source of energy to generate electricity worldwide. This, even as renewables like solar and wind power are rapidly becoming more affordable. Soon, coal could make no financial sense for its backers.

So, why is coal so hard to quit?

Because coal is a powerful incumbent. It's there by the millions of tons under the ground. Power-

Continued on Page 14

Weed Is Legal, Spot. Give Us Your Badge.

By STACY COWLEY

Officer Tulo will turn in his badge in January, forced into early retirement by the country's waning war on weed.

In his eight years with the Police Department of Rifle, Colo., Tulo, a yellow Labrador retriever, has helped with more than 170 arrests in the town of 9,000. But one of his old-fashioned skills hasn't just fallen out of demand since the state legalized marijuana, it has become a liability: State court rulings mean that Tulo's keen nose for pot imperils his work on other drug cases.

As states and cities loosen their drug laws, the highly trained dogs their police departments use to sniff out narcotics can't always be counted on to smell the right thing.

"A dog can't tell you, 'Hey, I smell marijuana' or 'I smell meth,'" said Tommy Klein, Rifle's police chief. "They have the same

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RYAN DAVID BROWN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Officers can't secure probable cause using older dogs like Tulo.

The Southern Democrats' White, Rural Problem

By JONATHAN MARTIN

JACKSON, Miss. — When Mike Espy, the Democrat challenging Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith of Mississippi, faced his opponent at a debate ahead of this Tuesday's runoff election, he had to make a choice: confront Ms. Hyde-Smith over her comments about attending "a public hanging," which evoked the state's racist history, or take a milder approach to avoid alienating the conservative-leaning white voters who will most likely decide the election.

He chose the latter.

"The world knows what she said, the world knows that those comments were harmful and hurtful," Mr. Espy said afterward, sounding not entirely convinced.

In a state where politics has long been cleaved by race, Mr. Espy was reckoning with a conundrum that Democrats face across the South — from Mississippi and Alabama, which have been hostile to the party for years, to states like Florida and Georgia that are more hospitable in cities but still challenging in many predominantly white areas. Even as they made gains in the 2018 elections in the suburbs that were once Republican pillars, Democrats are seeing their already weak standing in rural America erode even further.

Now, as Democrats mount a last-minute and decidedly against-the-odds campaign to snatch a Senate seat in this most unlikely of states, they are facing

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Hungarian Site Shows How a Free Press Can Die

By PATRICK KINGSLEY and BENJAMIN NOVAK

BUDAPEST — Hungary's leading news website, Origo, had a juicy scoop: A top aide to the far-right prime minister, Viktor Orban, had used state money to pay for sizable but unexplained expenses during secret foreign trips. The story embarrassed Mr. Orban and was a reminder that his country still had an independent press.

But that was in 2014. Today, Origo is one of the prime minister's most dutiful media boosters, parroting his attacks on migrants and on George Soros, the Hungarian-American philanthropist demonized by the far right on both sides of the Atlantic.

And if Origo once dug into Mr. Orban's government, it now pounces on his political opponents.

"Let's look at the affairs of Laszlo Botka!" a headline blared this month in a salacious take on the only mayor of a major Hungarian city not aligned with Mr. Orban's party, Fidesz. "Serious scandals, mysteries surround the socialist mayor of Szeged."

If little known outside Hungary, Origo is now a cautionary tale for an age in which democratic norms and freedom of expression are being challenged globally — and

Continued on Page 10

NATIONAL 18-24

Mexico Weighs Migrant Plan
The country is in talks with American officials to allow migrants applying for asylum in the United States to remain in Mexico during the process. PAGE 22

SPORTSSUNDAY

Ohio State Routs Michigan
With a 62-39 win, the No. 10 Buckeyes beat the No. 4 Wolverines for the 14th time in their last 15 meetings to earn a spot in the Big Ten title game. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

How Guy Raz Built an Empire
The astonishment-prone host of "How I Built This" and other podcasts describes how he turned his zeal for business into a juggernaut. PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

Nancy Pelosi's Last Battle
As House speaker again, the most powerful Democrat in Washington will have to navigate between a mercurial president and an angry left. PAGE 36

SUNDAY REVIEW

Ruth Whippman PAGE 1

that feeling when we make a difference together

Citi will match donations to No Kid Hungry on Giving Tuesday, up to $100k.

Stop by any Citibank® branch or text CITI to 877-877 on Tuesday, November 27.

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine, then clouds, late-afternoon rain, high 44. **Tonight,** rain, patchy fog late, low 42. **Tomorrow,** periodic morning rain, fog, high 60. Weather map is on Page A26.

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GEORGE H. W. BUSH, 1924-2018

JOSE R. LOPEZ/THE NEW YORK TIMES

George H.W. Bush was sworn in as president in January 1989 after serving as vice president under Ronald Reagan.

41st U.S. President, and Father of the 43rd

BY ADAM NAGOURNEY

George H. W. Bush, the 41st president of the United States and the father of the 43rd, who steered the nation through a tumultuous period in world affairs but who was denied a second term after support for his presidency collapsed under the weight of an economic downturn and his seeming inattention to domestic affairs, died on Friday. He was 94.

His death, which was announced by his office, came less than eight months after that of his wife of 73 years, Barbara Bush.

Mr. Bush entered the White House with one of the most impressive résumés of any American president. He had been a two-term congressman from Texas, ambassador to the United Nations, chairman of the Republican National Committee during Watergate, United States envoy to China, director of the Central Intelligence Agency and vice president under Ronald Reagan.

And he achieved what no one had since Martin Van Buren in 1836: winning election to the presidency while serving as vice president. (Van Buren did so in the footsteps of Andrew Jackson.)

A son of wealth and a graduate of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., and of Yale, Mr. Bush was schooled in the good manners and graciousness of New England privilege and civic responsibility. He liked to frame his public service as an answer to the call to duty, like the one that had sent him over the Pacific and into enemy fire as a 20-year-old.

Mr. Bush's postpresidency brought talk of a political dynasty. The son of a United States senator, Mr. Bush saw two of his own sons forge political careers that brought him a measure of redemption after he was ousted as commander in chief. George W. Bush became the first son of a president since John Quincy Adams to follow his father to the White House, but unlike his father, he won re-election. Another son, Jeb Bush, was twice elected governor of Florida and ran unsuccessfully for the presidency in 2016.

As the elder Mr. Bush watched troubles envelop the eight-year presidency of his son, however, what had been a source of pride, friends said, became a cause of distress. The contrast between the two President Bushes — 41 and 43, as they came to call each other — served to burnish the father's reputation in later years. As the younger Mr. Bush's popularity fell, the elder Mr. Bush's public standing rose.

It was a subject the elder Mr. Bush avoided discussing in public but one he finally addressed in conversations with Jon Meacham, his biographer, in a book re-

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Trump Signs Trade Deal With Canada and Mexico

Dodging Allies While Dogged by Woes on Global Stage

By MARK LANDLER and PETER BAKER

BUENOS AIRES — He didn't sit down with two of his favorite strongmen. He downgraded a meeting with one ally and postponed one with another. He exchanged icy smiles with the prime minister of Canada, who had threatened to skip the signing of a new trade agreement with the United States and Mexico because of lingering bitterness over steel tariffs.

And President Trump was preoccupied by legal clouds back home, tweeting angrily that there was nothing illicit about his business ventures in Russia, a day after his former lawyer Michael D. Cohen pleaded guilty to lying to Congress about the extent and duration of those dealings.

For Mr. Trump, his first day at the summit meeting of the Group of 20 industrialized nations in Buenos Aires was a window into his idiosyncratic statecraft after nearly two years in office. His "America First" foreign policy has not become "America Alone" exactly, but it has left him with a strange patchwork of partners at these global gatherings.

Mr. Trump canceled a meeting with President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, citing the country's recent naval clash with Ukraine. Nor did he meet with Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman of Saudi Arabia, though he did exchange pleasantries with the prince, whom he has pulled close despite charges that the prince had a role in the killing of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

The president did meet with the leaders of two Pacific allies, Australia and Japan, as well as with the prime minister of India. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan, one of Mr. Trump's most eager courtiers among foreign leaders, congratulated him on his "historic victory in the midterm election" — an election in which Democrats

Continued on Page A10

President Faces Task of Getting Congress to Approve

By PETER BAKER

BUENOS AIRES — President Trump and his Mexican and Canadian counterparts sought to put the acrimony of the past two years behind them on Friday as they signed a new trade agreement governing hundreds of billions of dollars in commerce that underpins their mutually dependent economies.

Meeting for the first time since the revised North American Free Trade Agreement was sealed, Mr. Trump, President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada hailed the results as a boon for workers, businesses and the environment, even as they alluded to the harsh talks that had preceded this day.

But Mr. Trump faces a daunting challenge at home, where Congress must approve the deal before it can take effect.

The complicated politics of trade would have made the task formidable enough even before the midterm elections, but it will grow only more so once Democrats assume control of the House in January.

Some pro-trade lawmakers complain that the revised agreement puts too many limits on the free flow of goods and services across borders, while trade skeptics maintain that it does not do enough to safeguard American jobs, encourage higher wages and protect the environment.

Submission to Congress will open a frenzy of fresh negotiations over legislation to enact the agreement, potentially unraveling the careful balance achieved with Mexico and Canada.

In signing the agreement on Friday, Mr. Trump sought to ratchet up the pressure on President Xi Jinping of China, with whom he will meet on Saturday amid an escalating trade war.

Mr. Trump has already imposed tariffs of 10 percent on many Chi-

Continued on Page A11

A Reality Far Harsher Than He Was Prepared For

This article is by ***Jeffrey Gettleman****,* ***Kai Schultz****,* ***Ayesha Venkataraman*** *and* ***Hari Kumar****.*

Just months before undertaking the most forbidding journey in his life as a young missionary to a remote Indian Ocean island, John Allen Chau was blindfolded and dropped off on a dirt road in a remote part of Kansas.

After a long walk, he found a mock village in the woods inhabited by missionaries dressed in odd thrift-store clothes, pretending not to understand a word he said. His role was to preach the gospel. The others were supposed to be physically aggressive. Some came at him with fake spears, speaking gibberish.

It was part of an intensive and somewhat secretive three-week missionary training camp. Mary Ho, the international executive leader for All Nations, the organization that ran the training, said, "John was one of the best participants in this experience that we have ever had."

For Mr. Chau, 26, the boot camp was the culmination of years of meticulous planning that involved linguistics training and studying to become an emergency medical technician, as well as forgoing full-time jobs so he could travel and toughen himself up.

He did it all with the single-minded goal of breaking through to the people of North Sentinel Island, a remote outpost of hunters and gatherers in the Andaman

John Chau, in an Instagram post Oct. 21, was killed by an isolated tribe on an Indian Ocean island as he tried to spread Christianity.

Sea who had shown tremendous hostility to outsiders.

It was an obsession. Ever since Mr. Chau had learned in high school through a missionary website, the Joshua Project, that the North Sentinel people were perhaps the most isolated in the world, he was hooked. Much of what he did the rest of his short life was directed toward this mission.

He would pull up Google Maps and point to a green speck in a place no one had ever heard of — the Andaman Islands, far off the coast of India — and tell his friends with a buoyant smile: "I'm going there."

In the 21st century, it is a marvel that a place like North Sentinel even exists.

A tropical island, it is home to a few dozen people living a lifestyle thousands of years old and speaking a language no outsiders understand. Visitors have been driven back and killed by islanders armed with bows and arrows. Mr. Chau knew this.

A review of hundreds of pages of his journals and blog postings, as well as interviews with two dozen people from around the world — fellow missionaries, family

Continued on Page A6

When a New Hire at Justice Shocked the F.T.C.

Top Law Officer's Ties to Shifty Firm Were Under Scrutiny

This article is by ***Charlie Savage****,* ***Adam Goldman*** *and* ***Katie Benner****.*

WASHINGTON — As Federal Trade Commission lawyers investigated a Miami company accused of defrauding thousands of customers, they were stunned to learn last year about a new job for a figure in their inquiry, Matthew G. Whitaker: He had been named chief of staff to Attorney General Jeff Sessions.

"You're not going to believe this... Matt Whitaker is now chief of staff to the Attorney General. Of the United States," James Evans, an F.T.C. lawyer, wrote to colleagues in an email on Oct. 24, 2017.

The emails were part of a trove of files the trade commission made public on Friday in response to Freedom of Information Act requests for documents about its investigation into the company, World Patent Marketing. Mr. Whitaker sat on its advisory board.

In early November, President Trump fired Mr. Sessions and installed Mr. Whitaker as the acting attorney general. His appointment immediately prompted outcry in part because Mr. Whitaker had sharply criticized the special counsel investigation into Russia's election interference and possible ties to Trump associates, which he now oversees as the nation's top law enforcement officer. Democrats have expressed alarm and vowed to investigate Mr. Whitaker when they take over the House of Representatives in January.

Long before most Americans had heard of Mr. Whitaker, the Federal Trade Commission had been scrutinizing his connections to World Patent Marketing. The company had promised investors lucrative patent agreements but instead brazenly ripped them off, according to the agency. Its investigation prompted a federal judge to shut down the firm in March 2017, and it was later fined nearly $26 million.

Mr. Whitaker served on the company's advisory board from

Continued on Page A19

Marriott Breach Puts Data of 500 Million at Risk

This article is by ***Nicole Perlroth****,* ***Amie Tsang*** *and* ***Adam Satariano****.*

The hotel chain asked guests checking in for a treasure trove of personal information: credit cards, addresses and sometimes passport numbers.

On Friday, consumers learned the risk. Marriott International revealed that hackers had breached its Starwood reservation system and had stolen the personal data of up to 500 million guests.

The assault started as far back as 2014, and was one of the largest known thefts of personal records, second only to a 2013 breach of Yahoo that affected three billion user accounts and larger than a 2017 episode involving the credit bureau Equifax.

The intrusion was a reminder that after years of headline-grabbing attacks, the computer networks of big companies are still vulnerable.

The Starwood attack happened at roughly the same time as a number of other breaches at American health insurers and government agencies, including the United States Office of Personnel Management, in what security research firms and government officials described as an effort to compile a vast database of personal information on potential espio-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Rains Flood Migrant Camp
At the border in Tijuana, Mexico, tents, blankets and stuffed animals were reduced to a soggy mess. PAGE A8

Science Clashes With Morality
He Jiankui's claim to have edited the genes of babies has led to calls for more ethical supervision in China. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A14-21

Shake-Up at Mobster's Prison?
Officials might replace the chief of the facility where the mobster Whitey Bulger was beaten to death. PAGE A15

Stronger Than a Blue Wave
Gerrymandered congressional maps played a big role in holding back gains by the Democrats. PAGE A14

NEW YORK A22-23

Uber's Friendly Persuasion
Sarfraz Maredia, the man who runs Uber in New York, is working to win public support in one of the company's largest markets. PAGE A22

ARTS C1-8

What Made 'Thrones' Possible
George R.R. Martin on Syfy's "Nightflyers," whitewashing of his work, future "sexing" and ideas for other "Game of Thrones" prequels. PAGE C1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

Hockey Enforcer Had C.T.E.
A posthumous analysis found that Todd Ewen had the degenerative disease, despite what doctors once said. PAGE D1

Chiefs Drop Hunt Over Attack
Kansas City released Kareem Hunt after a video emerged showing him shoving and kicking a woman. PAGE D1

BUSINESS B1-6

Accusations of Racism at Tesla
African-American workers have reported threats, humiliation and barriers to promotion at an electric-car plant in California. The automaker says there is no pattern of bias. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Gail Collins PAGE A24

THIS WEEKEND

A World Without Insects?
Scientists are sounding the alarm about the decline of insects, those vital pollinators and recyclers of ecosystems. If they were to disappear entirely, it could be Armageddon. The Magazine.

Black Male Writers of Now
Celebrating a diverse group of Americans who are producing novels, poems and plays of great import and dazzling artistry in a time of crisis — and drawing mainstream attention. T Magazine.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly cloudy, morning rain and fog, milder, high 60. **Tonight,** partly cloudy, low 51. **Tomorrow,** clouds and sunshine, breezy, mild, high 58. Weather map, Page 24.

VOL. CLXVIII .. No. 58,164 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2, 2018 $6.00

Migrant Youths Get Detention. He Gets Richer.

The Dubious Dealings of a Shelter Empire

This article is by ***Kim Barker****,* ***Nicholas Kulish*** *and* ***Rebecca R. Ruiz****.*

Juan Sanchez grew up along the Mexican border in a two-bedroom house so crowded with children that he didn't have a bed. But he fought his way to another life. He earned three degrees, including a doctorate in education from Harvard, before starting a nonprofit in his Texas hometown.

Mr. Sanchez has built an empire on the back of a crisis. His organization, Southwest Key Programs, now houses more migrant children than any other in the nation. Casting himself as a social-justice warrior, he calls himself El Presidente, a title inscribed outside his office and on the government contracts that helped make him rich.

Southwest Key has collected $1.7 billion in federal grants in the past decade, including $626 million in the past year alone. But as it has grown, tripling its revenue in three years, the organization has left a record of sloppy management and possible financial improprieties, according to dozens of interviews and an examination of documents. It has stockpiled tens of millions of taxpayer dollars with little government oversight and engaged in potential self-dealing with top executives.

Showing the ambition that brought him from the barrio to the Ivy League, Mr. Sanchez seized the chance to expand his nonprofit when thousands more unaccompanied children began crossing the border during the Obama era. When the Trump administration needed to house migrant children it had separated from their parents, Mr. Sanchez took them in.

As immigration intensifies as a flash point of the Trump presidency, with tear gas being fired at a migrant caravan and the price tag for separating families continuing to rise, Mr. Sanchez is central to the administration's plans. Southwest Key can now house up to 5,000 children in its 24 shelters, including a converted Walmart Supercenter that has drawn criticism as a warehouse for youths. The system is nearing a breaking point, with a record 14,000 minors

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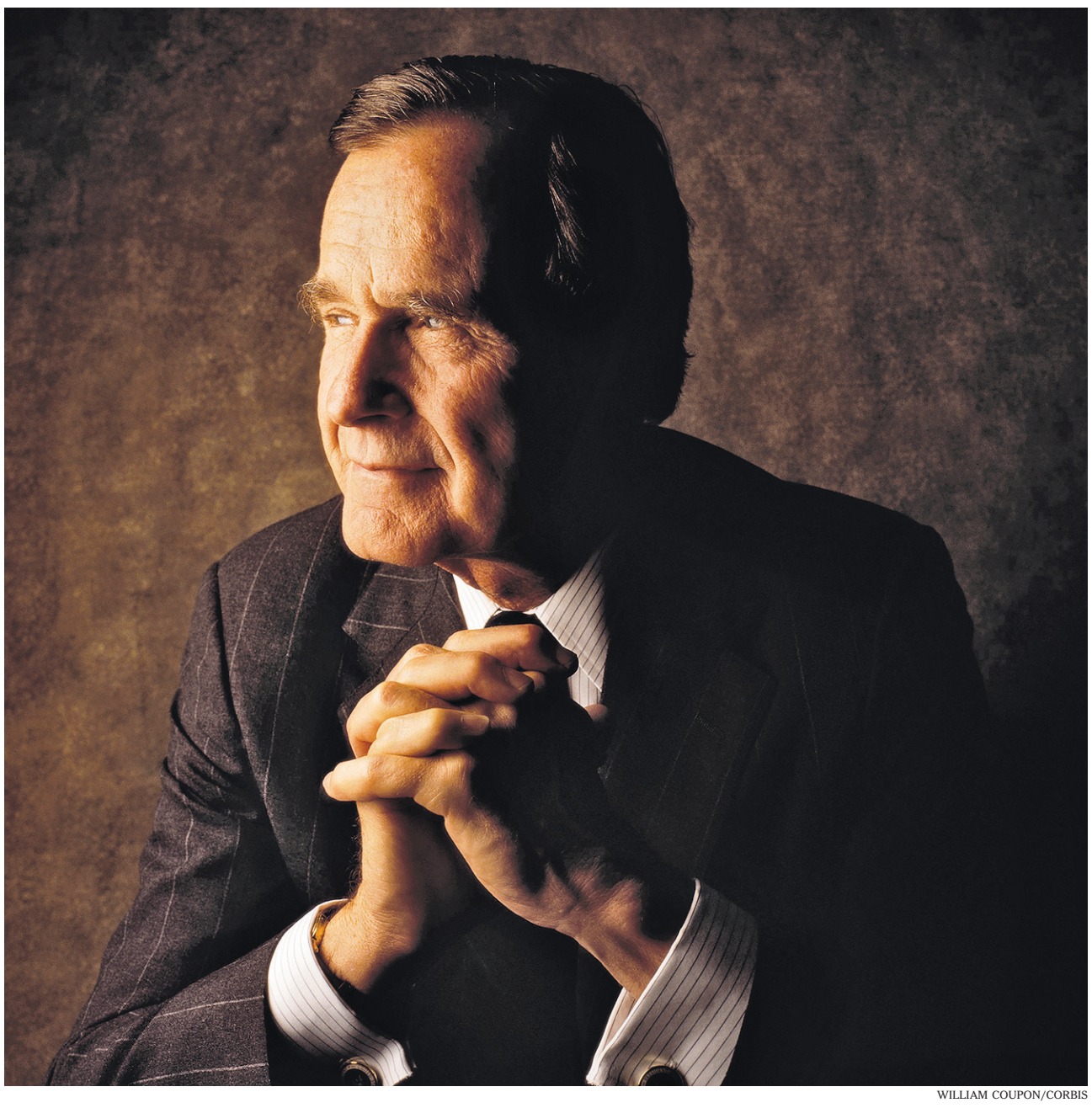
GEORGE BUSH, 1924-2018



WILLIAM COUPON/CORBIS

George Bush in 1990. James A. Baker III described him as "the best one-term president the country has ever had."

A Genial Force in American Politics

George Bush, the 41st president of the United States, the father of the 43rd, and the last of the World War II generation to occupy the Oval Office, died at his home in Houston on Friday at age 94.

His wife of 73 years, Barbara Bush, had died only eight months earlier.

Mr. Bush, a Republican, was a transitional figure in the White House, where he served from 1989 to 1993 — the culmination of more than 40 years in public service. As president, he steered the nation through a tumultuous period in world affairs but was defeated in his reelection bid by Bill Clinton under the weight of an economic downturn.

In his later years, Mr. Bush joined Mr. Clinton in good-will trips around the globe, raising funds for the victims of the tsunami that ravaged Asia in 2004 and of Hurricane Katrina the next year.

His son George W. Bush went on to serve two terms as president. Another son, Jeb Bush, ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 2016, when the party chose Donald J. Trump.

■ President Trump said he would participate in the funeral Wednesday. Mr. Trump's America may have supplanted Mr. Bush's, but the 41st president's influence endures, Peter Baker writes in a News Analysis. **Page 26.**

■ Houston paid tribute to its most senior booster, who helped give the city an international gravitas. **Page 27.**

A full obituary by ***Adam Nagourney*** *appears today as a special report in Section F.*

U.S. AND CHINA TAKE A STEP BACK FROM TRADE WAR

STICKING POINTS REMAIN

Trump to Delay Increase in Tariffs and Xi Says He Will Buy More

By MARK LANDLER

BUENOS AIRES — The United States and China called a truce in their trade war on Saturday after President Trump agreed to hold off on new tariffs and President Xi Jinping pledged to increase Chinese purchases of American products. The two also set the stage for more painstaking negotiations to resolve deeply rooted differences over trade.

The compromise, struck over a steak dinner at the Group of 20 meeting here and announced in a White House statement, was less a breakthrough than a breakdown averted. The two leaders remain far apart on basic issues of market access and trade policy, and there was no sign that either planned to back down on those.

Still, the handshake deal between Mr. Trump and Mr. Xi, after what the White House called a "highly successful meeting," pauses what was becoming a headlong race toward economic conflict. It will reassure jittery financial markets, as well as American farmers, who worried about the fallout from a prolonged trade battle.

In a significant concession, Mr. Trump will postpone a plan to raise tariffs on $200 billion worth of Chinese goods to 25 percent, from 10 percent, on Jan. 1. The Chinese agreed to an unspecified increase in their purchases of American industrial, energy and agricultural products, which were hit with retaliatory tariffs after Mr. Trump targeted everything from steel to consumer electronics.

The countries set an ambitious

Continued on Page 10

FINANCIAL SCARS As the global economy slows, millions still hurt from the 2008 recession. PAGE 8

NAFTA A day after signing the trade deal, President Trump says he intends to withdraw. PAGE 10

Afghanistan's Long, Brutal War Forges a Generation of Widows

By MUJIB MASHAL and FATIMA FAIZI

KABUL, Afghanistan — As evening takes over Kabul, daylight fading to gray, 3-year-old Benyamin senses that his father should be coming home from work about now.

But it's been months since a bombing killed his "Aba," Sabawoon Kakar, and eight other Afghan journalists. Benyamin cries and nags his mother, Mashal Sadat Kakar: Where is Aba? When is Aba coming home?

How do you explain death to a 3-year-old? Mrs. Kakar, her baby, Sarfarz, in her arms, tries to distract him with toys. But when Benyamin keeps crying, she takes him to the balcony and points to the brightest star shining through Kabul's polluted sky.

"Aba is there," she says.

The war in Afghanistan is disproportionately killing young men, and it is leaving behind a generation defined by that loss. Children like Benyamin will have only early memories of their fathers, and the deaths will shape their lives even as true recollections fade. Babies like Sarfarz will have even less, with death taking fathers they will never know.

Carrying it all are the tens of thousands of widows the war has created since 2001. Like Mrs. Kakar, they are left to raise families in a country with a dearth of economic opportunity and plagued by a war that kills 50 people a day.

And more, the women are made painfully aware that their society sees them as possessions. A new widow often must rely completely on her husband's family, which is

Continued on Page 13

KIANA HAYERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

After her husband was killed, a pregnant Rahila Shams awaited contractions in Kabul.

Seeking Truth, Mueller Exposes Culture of Lies Around Trump

By SHARON LaFRANIERE

NEWS ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON — When Michael D. Cohen admitted this past week to lying to Congress about a Russian business deal, he said he had testified falsely out of loyalty to President Trump. When he admitted this summer to lying on campaign finance records about payments to cover up a sex scandal during the campaign, he said it was at Mr. Trump's direction.

Paul Manafort and Rick Gates, former senior Trump campaign officials, lied to cover up financial fraud. George Papadopoulos, a former Trump campaign aide, lied in hopes of landing an administration job. And Michael T. Flynn, another adviser, lied about his interactions with a Russian official and about other matters for reasons that remain unclear.

If the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, has proved anything in his 18-month-long investigation — besides how intensely Russia meddled in an American presidential election — it is that Mr. Trump surrounded himself throughout 2016 and early 2017 with people to whom lying seemed to be second nature.

They lied to federal authorities even when they had lawyers advising them, even when the risk of getting caught was high and even when the consequences for them were dire.

Even more Trump associates are under investigation for the same offense. They are part of a group of people surrounding Mr. Trump — including some White House and cabinet officials — who contribute to a culture of bending, if not outright breaking, the truth, and whose leading exemplar is Mr. Trump himself.

Mr. Trump looks for people

Continued on Page 17

INTERNATIONAL 4-14

Rage Erupts on Paris Streets
A third week of protests against the government intensified as demonstrators burned cars, smashed windows and confronted the riot police. PAGE 10

NATIONAL 15-27

Alaska Was Prepared for Quake
Strict building requirements in Anchorage that were adopted after a devastating 1964 earthquake helped mitigate the recent damage done to the city. PAGE 24

BOOK REVIEW

Holiday Books Guide
Looking for gifts for readers? Photography, romances, cookbooks, eclectic nonfiction, the great outdoors: We have them all, and more.

SPORTSSUNDAY

Racing Across Antarctica
Two men are in the middle of a unique race across the coldest continent, and their daily tasks range from the mundane to the death defying. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Ana Raquel Minian PAGE 1

Open a Citi® Savings Account

2.15% Promotional Interest Rate[1] with a qualifying deposit | 0.60% Annual Percentage Yield[2] with a minimum $25,000 balance

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunshine and patchy clouds, a chilly day, high 40. **Tonight,** clear, cold, low 28. **Tomorrow,** plenty of sunshine, a cold day, high 39. Weather map appears on Page A22.

VOL. CLXVIII ... No. 58,172 © 2018 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 2018 $3.00

Markets Swing To Erratic Beat Of News Cycle

Signs Pointing to More Volatile Days Ahead

By MATT PHILLIPS

When a trade war broke out between the world's two largest economies in June, investors barely blinked. After the Federal Reserve raised interest rates — often a reason for investors to sell stocks — the markets kept climbing. As some of the world's largest economies began to slow down, American markets largely shrugged it off.

Not anymore.

Last week, elements of all of those combined to drive the S&P 500-stock index down by 4.6 percent, its worst weekly drop since March and one marked by stomach-churning price swings. Stocks are now down 1.5 percent this year.

More volatility could be in store, as investors assess the allegations by prosecutors that President Trump directed illegal payments to ward off a potential sex scandal, and the possibility that he sought to secretly do business in Russia during his 2016 campaign for the White House.

The arrest of a prominent Chinese technology executive, meanwhile, has added new strains to the relationship between Washington and Beijing, which face a March deadline to reach a trade deal. On Sunday, China summoned the American ambassador in Beijing to protest the arrest, while Robert Lighthizer, who is leading the trade talks with China, said he considered March 1 to be a "a hard deadline" for the negotiations.

"Every eye is going to be focused on every piece of commentary on this trade deal," said Rick Rieder, chief investment officer of global fixed income at BlackRock, which manages over $6 trillion in assets. "Because the impact on growth is so significant."

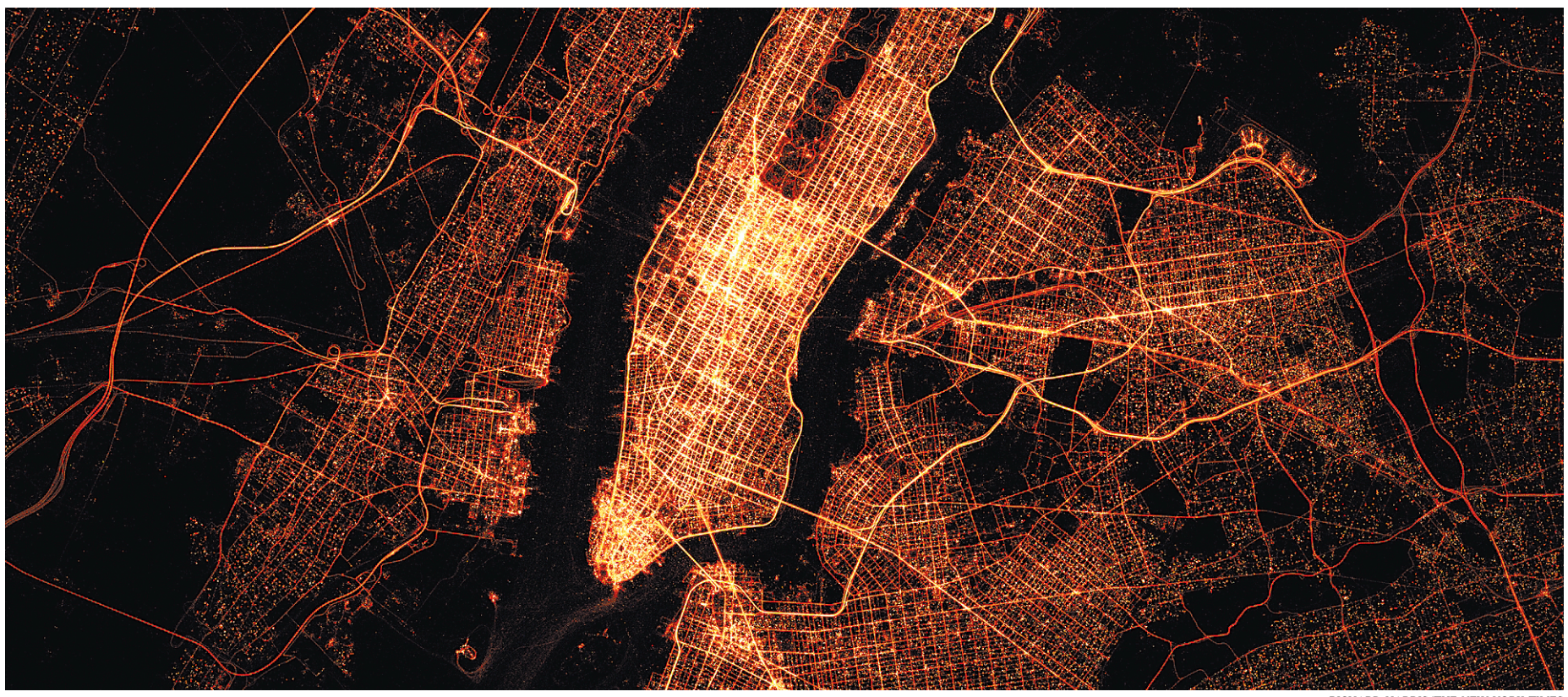
While the large market swings on trade-related news underscore some investors' view that a resolution to the impasse between the United States and China will be crucial to the survival of the economic expansion, there are other political and economic risks as well. They include the fallout from the special counsel's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election, the relentless staff churn in the Trump administration, the efforts to negotiate Britain's withdrawal from the European Union, and social unrest in France.

"The fact is that politics is driving the economy to an extent that is very atypical," said Julian Emanuel, chief equity and derivatives strategist at BTIG, an institutional brokerage firm. "We would say probably to the great-

Continued on Page A23

BALANCING ACT China, angry over the arrest of a top tech executive in Canada, is trying to maintain its thaw with the U.S. PAGE B1

TRUTH IN TABLOIDS Lurid scandals involving the president may just have won a victory for transparency. Mediator. PAGE B1



RICHARD HARRIS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Data from a location database reviewed by The Times shows over 235 million points gathered from more than 1.2 million smartphones during a three-day period in 2017.

Your Apps Know Where You've Been, and Can't Keep a Secret

Snooping on Users' Habits Fuels a $21 Billion Industry

This article is by ***Jennifer Valentino-DeVries, Natasha Singer, Michael H. Keller*** *and* ***Aaron Krolik.***

The millions of dots on the map trace highways, side streets and bike trails — each one following the path of an anonymous cellphone user.

One path tracks someone from a home outside Newark to a nearby Planned Parenthood, remaining there for more than an hour. Another represents a person who travels with the mayor of New York during the day and returns to Long Island at night.

Yet another leaves a house in upstate New York at 7 a.m. and travels to a school 14 miles away, staying until late afternoon each school day. Only one person makes that trip: Lisa Magrin, a 46-year-old math teacher. Her smartphone goes with her.

An app on the device gathered her location information, which was then sold without her knowledge. It recorded her whereabouts as often as every two seconds, according to a database of more than a million phones in the New York area that was reviewed by The New York Times. While Ms. Magrin's identity was not disclosed in those records, The Times was able to easily connect her to that dot.

The app tracked her as she went to a Weight Watchers meeting and to her dermatologist's office for a minor procedure. It followed her hiking with her dog and staying at her ex-boyfriend's home, information she found disturbing.

"It's the thought of people finding out those intimate details that you don't want people to know," said Ms. Magrin, who let The Times review her location data.

Like many consumers, Ms. Magrin knew that apps could track people's movements. But as smartphones have become ubiquitous and technology more accurate, an industry of snooping on people's daily habits has spread and grown more intrusive.

Continued on Page A20

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Beto O'Rourke of Texas is increasingly serious about running for the presidency.

Wild Card of 2020 Democratic Race: O'Rourke

Grass-Roots Popularity and Donor Appeal

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and JONATHAN MARTIN

WASHINGTON — The 2020 Democratic presidential primary, already expected to be the party's most wide open in decades, has been jostled on the eve of many long-plotted campaign announcements by a political threat that few contenders bothered considering until recently:

Will a soon-to-be-former congressman, with an unremarkable legislative record and a Senate campaign loss, upend their best-laid plans?

Representative Beto O'Rourke of Texas has emerged as the great wild card of the presidential campaign-in-waiting for a Democratic Party that lacks a clear 2020 frontrunner. After a star-making turn in his close race that he lost against Senator Ted Cruz, Mr. O'Rourke is increasingly serious about a 2020 run — a development that is rousing activists in early-voting states, leading veterans of former President Barack Obama's political operation (and Mr. Obama himself) to offer their counsel and hampering would-be rivals who are scrambling to lock down influential supporters and

Continued on Page A18

Done With Cohen, U.S. Inquiry Digs Deeper Into Trump Business

This article is by ***Ben Protess, William K. Rashbaum*** *and* ***Maggie Haberman.***

When federal prosecutors recommended a substantial prison term for President Trump's former lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, they linked Mr. Trump to the crimes Mr. Cohen had committed in connection with the 2016 presidential campaign.

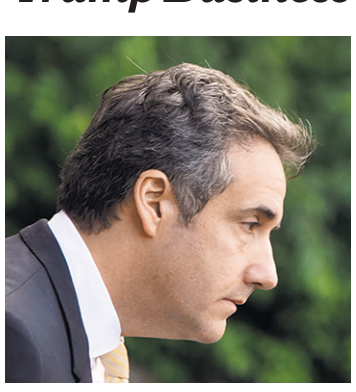
What the prosecutors did not say in Mr. Cohen's sentencing memorandum filed on Friday, however, is that they have continued to scrutinize what other executives in the president's family business may have known about those crimes, which involved hush-money payments to two women who had said they had affairs with Mr. Trump.

After Mr. Cohen pleaded guilty in August to breaking campaign finance laws and other crimes — he will be sentenced on Wednesday — the federal prosecutors in Manhattan shifted their attention to what role, if any, Trump Organization executives played in the campaign finance violations, according to people briefed on the matter.

Mr. Cohen, Mr. Trump's self-described fixer, has provided assistance in that inquiry, which is separate from the investigation by the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III.

In addition to implicating Mr. Trump in the payments to the two women, Mr. Cohen has told prosecutors that the company's chief financial officer was involved in discussions about them, a claim that is now a focus of the inquiry, according to the people, who spoke on the condition of ano-

Continued on Page A17



DON EMMERT/AFP — GETTY IMAGES

'SELECTIVE' Michael D. Cohen didn't want to cooperate fully, prosecutors say. Page A17.

Trump Scrambles as His Choice To Run the White House Says No

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

As President Trump heads into the fight of his political life, the man he had hoped would help guide him through it has now turned him down, and he finds himself in the unaccustomed position of having no obvious second option.

Nick Ayers, the main focus of President Trump's search to replace John F. Kelly as chief of staff in recent weeks, said on Sunday that he was leaving the administration at the end of the year. Mr. Ayers, 36, the chief of staff to Vice President Mike Pence, is returning to Georgia with his wife and three young children, according to people familiar with his plans.

The decision leaves Mr. Trump to contend with fresh uncertainty as he enters the 2020 campaign amid growing danger from the Russia investigation and from Democrats who have vowed tougher oversight, and could even pursue impeachment, after they take over the House next month.

As the president hastily restarted the search process, speculation focused on a group that was

Continued on Page A18

ROSANELL EATON, 1921-2018

A Witness to History Who Fought for Voting Rights for 7 Decades

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Rosanell Eaton, a resolute African-American woman who was hailed by President Barack Obama as a beacon of civil rights for her role as a lead plaintiff in a lawsuit against a restrictive North Carolina voting law that reached the Supreme Court in 2016, died on Saturday in Louisburg, N.C. She was 97.

Ms. Eaton's daughter, Armenta Eaton, said she died in hospice care at the home they had shared in recent years.

Caught up as a witness to history in one of the nation's major controversies, Ms. Eaton, an obscure civil rights pioneer in her younger years, became a cause célèbre after Mr. Obama cited her courage in his response to a 2015 article in The New York Times Magazine about growing efforts to dismantle the protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

"I was inspired to read about unsung American heroes like Rosanell Eaton in Jim Rutenberg's 'A Dream Undone: Inside the 50-year campaign to roll back the Voting Rights Act,'" Mr. Obama wrote in a letter to the editor. "I am where I am today only because men and women like Rosanell Eaton refused to accept anything less than a full measure of equality."

A year after the president's letter, the Supreme Court, in a 4-4 vote, let stand a federal appeals court judgment upholding the lawsuit spearheaded by Ms. Eaton and other plaintiffs. The ruling struck down a North Carolina

Continued on Page A23

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

A City Defined by Migrants
Life in Tijuana, Mexico, is affected less by the border wall than by the ebb and flow of movement across it. PAGE A8

Addressing an Angry Nation
As France's president prepares to speak out, the country's loud opposition force shows little sign of waning. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A24-25

Albany's Six-Figure Push
A final report by a special panel could give state lawmakers bigger paychecks by 2021. News Analysis. PAGE A25

BUSINESS B1-8

A Desert Town Bets on Pot
Nearly every block in Needles, Calif., has a run-down building being renovated by a cannabis business. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B9-11

Russian Defender of Rights
Lyudmila Alexeyeva challenged the governmental abuses of the Soviet and Putin eras. She was 91. PAGE B10

NATIONAL A16-23

Winter Storm Batters South
As much as a foot of snow fell in North Texas, and more than 1,300 flights were canceled in the Carolinas. PAGE A23

Blaming Citizens for Brutality
Other cities try to build trust, but in Phoenix, even a blind man is accused of assaulting a police officer. PAGE A16

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

Did That Really Just Happen?
An unthinkable last-second touchdown gave the Dolphins a 34-33 victory over the Patriots and helped the Chiefs stay in position for the A.F.C.'s top playoff seed. On Pro Football. PAGE D2

Flattering the Football Gods
Some players always put on their left sock first. Some tap good-luck charms. At least one believes he has to munch on Twizzlers. In the N.F.L., pregame superstitions abound. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Leonhardt PAGE A27

ARTS C1-8

A Triumph for the City
A renovation plan for the former AT&T Building drew protests, but the architectural firm has found a better approach, Michael Kimmelman writes. PAGE C1

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, mostly sunny, chilly, high 40. **Tonight,** partly to mostly cloudy, low 31. **Tomorrow,** mostly cloudy, morning flurries, afternoon showers, high 38. Weather map is on Page A19.

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A private negotiation became a public feud as President Trump met with the Democratic leaders Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi on Tuesday at the White House.

CLASH ON CAMERA AS TRUMP WARNS OF A SHUTDOWN

PUSH FOR BORDER WALL

Insisting That Democrats Fund Security Plan or Shoulder Blame

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Tuesday transformed what was to be a private negotiating session with Democratic congressional leaders into a bitter televised altercation over his long-promised border wall, vowing to force a year-end government shutdown if they refused to fund his signature campaign promise.

During an extraordinary public airing of hostilities that underscored a new, more confrontational dynamic in Washington, Mr. Trump vowed to block full funding for the government if Democrats refused to allocate money for the wall on the southwestern border, saying he was "proud to shut down the government for border security."

Senator Chuck Schumer of New York and Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, the Democratic leaders, seated on couches flanking Mr. Trump in the Oval Office, took issue with the president's position and his false assertions about the wall in front of a phalanx of news cameras, imploring him repeatedly to continue the tense conversation without reporters present. But Mr. Trump insisted on a conspicuous clash that undercut Republican congressional leaders and his own staff working to avoid a shutdown at all costs, or at least to ensure that Democrats would shoulder the blame for such a result.

"If we don't have border security, we'll shut down the government — this country needs border security," Mr. Trump declared as the testy back and forth unfolded, and Mr. Schumer reminded the president repeatedly that he had called several times for a shutdown, appearing to goad him into taking responsibility.

"You want to know something?" Mr. Trump finally said, exasperated. "I'll tell you what: I am proud to shut down the government for border security, Chuck."

"I will take the mantle," Mr. Trump went on. "I will be the one to shut it down — I'm not going to blame you for it."

The scene raised fresh ques-

Continued on Page A17

Fractured E.U. Is Rudderless Amid Turmoil

By STEVEN ERLANGER

BRUSSELS — This was supposed to be the year Europe put its house in order. It would finally ratify a deal with Britain on its departure from the bloc. The French president, Emmanuel Macron, with his grand plans to revitalize the Continent, would succeed Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany as the union's de facto leader. Democratic backsliding in Hungary and Poland would be curbed. Populism would be contained.

NEWS ANALYSIS

If only.

Turmoil is now business as usual. The difference as another angry year comes to an end is that the European Union no longer has a strong leader to guide it through the crises that keep upending its agenda. Ms. Merkel played that role but is now a lame duck, her voice quieter on European affairs. Mr. Macron is confronted with violent protests and a widespread

Continued on Page A12

SYLVAIN THOMAS/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

Yellow Vest demonstrations have roiled France for weeks.

G.O.P. Scorns Judges' Rating By Bar Group

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — The Senate narrowly confirmed Jonathan Kobes as a federal appeals court judge on Tuesday even as the American Bar Association questioned his understanding of "complex legal analysis" and "knowledge of the law."

Mr. Kobes, a 44-year-old aide to Senator Mike Rounds, Republican of South Dakota, is the second of President Trump's judicial nominees to be confirmed whom the bar association had deemed unqualified.

A number of other Trump nominees have raised concerns, including five who also received the unqualified rating. Others were rated as qualified but carried with them politically or racially insensitive remarks from their past that resurfaced during their confirmations. One wrote in an online forum that the nation's commitment to diversity was tantamount to accepting "lower standards."

To the chagrin of even some Republicans, their confirmation hearings have thrust politically sensitive topics into the spotlight at a time when the party is wrestling with issues of race and governing competence. Despite the controversies, they have all won the backing of most Republican senators, revealing how far they are willing to push the boundaries in their drive to reshape the judiciary as a conservative bastion.

The judicial renaissance, led by Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, has energized a party wowed by the

Continued on Page A18

Marriott Data Breach Traced to Chinese Hackers

This article is by ***David E. Sanger, Nicole Perlroth, Glenn Thrush*** *and* ***Alan Rappeport****.*

WASHINGTON — The cyberattack on the Marriott hotel chain that collected personal details of roughly 500 million guests was part of a Chinese intelligence-gathering effort that also hacked health insurers and the security clearance files of millions more Americans, according to two people briefed on the investigation.

The hackers, they said, are suspected of working on behalf of the Ministry of State Security, the country's Communist-controlled civilian spy agency. The discovery comes as the Trump administration is planning actions targeting China's trade, cyber and economic policies, perhaps within days.

U.S. Prepares to Target Economy of Beijing and Indict Agents

Those moves include indictments against Chinese hackers working for the intelligence services and the military, according to four government officials who spoke on the condition of anonymity. The Trump administration also plans to declassify intelligence reports to reveal Chinese efforts dating to at least 2014 to build a database containing names of executives and American government officials with security clearances.

Other options include an executive order intended to make it harder for Chinese companies to obtain critical components for telecommunications equipment, a senior American official with knowledge of the plans said.

The moves stem from a growing concern within the administration that the 90-day trade truce negotiated two weeks ago by President Trump and President Xi Jinping in Buenos Aires might do little to change China's behavior — in-

Continued on Page A11

JOE MacGREGOR/NASA ICEBRIDGE

A Troubling Thaw
The Arctic is entering "uncharted territory" as it warms, U.S. climate scientists warned. Page A10.

SEEKING LENIENCY Michael Flynn asked a judge to spare him prison time for lying to the F.B.I. PAGE A20

McCONNELL RELENTS The majority leader said senators would vote on a criminal justice bill. PAGE A18

Addicts Pick Up the Pieces After Online Shaming

HOOKED IN AMERICA
When an Overdose Goes Viral

This article is by ***Katharine Q. Seelye, Julie Turkewitz, Jack Healy*** *and* ***Alan Blinder****.*

The first time Kelmae Hemphill watched herself overdose, she sobbed. There she was in a shaky video filmed by her own heroin dealer, sprawled out on a New Jersey road while a stranger pounded on her chest. "Come on, girl," someone pleaded.

Ms. Hemphill's 11-year drug addiction, her criminal record, her struggles as a mother — they were now everybody's business, splashed across the news and social media with a new genre of American horror film: the overdose video.

As opioid deaths have soared in recent years, police departments and strangers with cameras have started posting raw, uncensored images of drug users passed out with needles in their arms and ba-

Continued on Page A22

Unlimited Money Tempts Wary 2020 Democrats

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

It is one of the most potent and feared weapons in the arsenal of modern American politics: the super PAC.

But as three dozen Democrats ponder presidential runs in 2020 and begin to design their campaign infrastructures, some leading names beyond Senator Bernie Sanders are expected to forgo or disavow these fund-raising committees that allow allies to haul unlimited sums from wealthy backers. The hope of these potential candidates is that grass-roots donors and progressive activists would reward them more handsomely in the primary for rejecting such funds.

If she runs, Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts is likely to reject the assistance of a super PAC, according to two people familiar with her thinking. And the former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. revealed in a little-noticed passage in his 2017 book that he would have gone without one if he had run in 2016, making it more

Continued on Page A21

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Christmas Market Attacked
A gunman killed at least three and wounded a dozen in Strasbourg, home to France's biggest Christmas market, before eluding officers. Officials warned residents to stay home. PAGE A13

NATIONAL A14-22

Shaken, but Back to School
Students in Anchorage, Alaska, returned to class this week for the first time since last month's earthquake. Even before the quake, the school system had wrestled with tumult. PAGE A14

Age of the Chicken
What will the archaeologists of the distant future find? Given the preponderance of chickens, dead and alive, it's bound to be a lot of leftovers. PAGE A19

ARTS C1-8

The 'Deal' in a #MeToo Era
The game show "Deal or No Deal" has been revived, but with questions about the message being sent by its bevy of 26 high-heeled models. PAGE C1

NEW YORK A23-25

Why Your Deli May Be Signless
After a spike in anonymous complaints about store signs, some Brooklyn merchants, facing hefty fines, have taken theirs down as a precaution. PAGE A24

BUSINESS B1-7

Late-Night Literary Stars
TV coverage of literary fiction has dwindled, but Trevor Noah and Seth Meyers are still offering a seat on their shows to rising authors. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-11

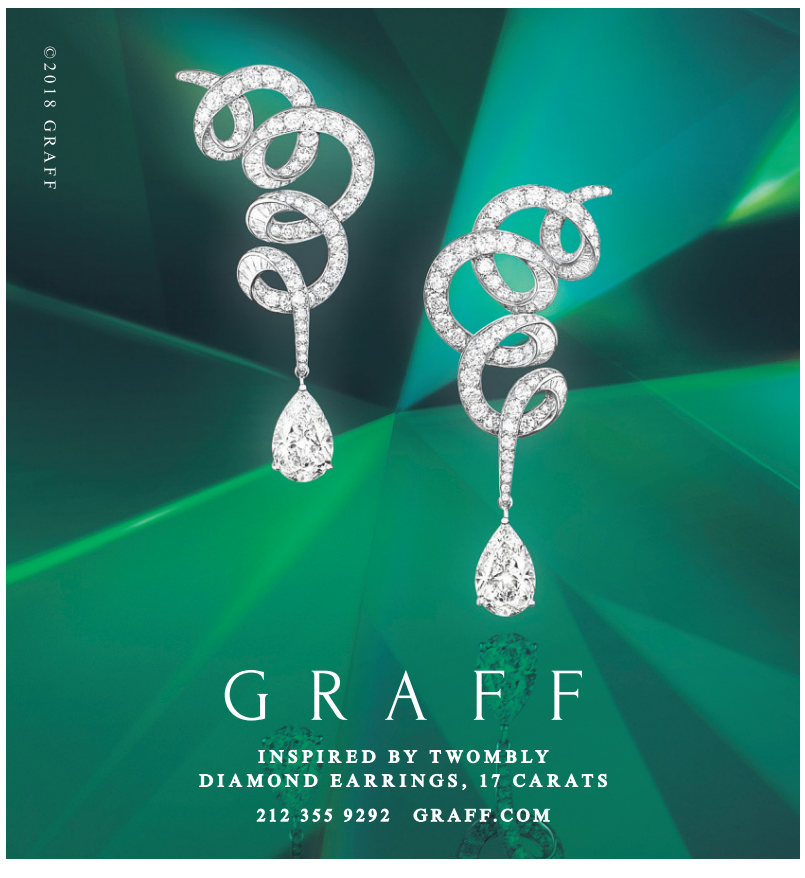
Talking Soccer, Not Sexism
Ada Hegerberg discusses her career, her crowning achievement and the controversy that overshadowed her receiving a top award. PAGE B8

DINING D1-12

The Year's Best in Food
We've compiled a list of some of the top destinations, meals and drinks of 2018. Julia Moskin's recipe for chicken francese, below, drew applause.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Frank Bruni PAGE A27



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, periodic heavy rain, windy, mild, high 61. **Tonight,** a few showers, windy, low 48. **Tomorrow,** clouds giving way to sunshine, breezy, high 51. Weather map is on Page A24.

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'You have the right to have a Secretary of Defense whose views are better aligned with yours'

MATTIS RESIGNS AFTER TRUMP'S SYRIA PULLOUT

TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Defense Secretary Jim Mattis with President Trump on Dec. 8. The men have disagreed on several issues, including NATO policy.

Clash of Views Led to a Split That Stunned a Government in Turmoil

By HELENE COOPER

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, whose experience and stability were widely seen as a balance to an unpredictable president, resigned Thursday in protest of President Trump's decision to withdraw American forces from Syria and his rejection of international alliances.

Mr. Mattis had repeatedly told friends and aides over recent months that he viewed his responsibility to protect the United States' 1.3 million active-duty troops as worth the concessions necessary as defense secretary to a mercurial president. But on Thursday, in an extraordinary rebuke of the president, he decided that Mr. Trump's decision to withdraw roughly 2,000 American troops from Syria was a step too far.

Officials said Mr. Mattis went to the White House with his resignation letter already written, but nonetheless made a last attempt at persuading the president to reverse his decision about Syria, which Mr. Trump announced on Wednesday over the objections of his senior advisers.

Mr. Mattis, a retired four-star Marine general, was rebuffed. Returning to the Pentagon, he asked aides to print out 50 copies of his resignation letter and distribute them around the building.

"My views on treating allies with respect and also being clear-eyed about both malign actors and strategic competitors are strongly held," Mr. Mattis wrote. "Because you have the right to have a Secretary of Defense whose views are better aligned with yours on these and other subjects, I believe it is right for me to step down from my position."

His resignation came as Congress appeared to be hurtling toward a government shutdown and as a deep market slump became even worse over fears of continuing government turmoil.

With the ousting this month of John F. Kelly as White House chief of staff, Mr. Mattis was the last of Mr. Trump's old-guard national security team — leaving policy in the hands of Mike Pompeo, the president's second secretary of state, and John R. Bolton, the third White House national security adviser.

Mr. Trump said that Mr. Mattis, 68, will leave at the end of February, and that Mr. Mattis "was a

Continued on Page A10

PRESIDENT BALKS AT SPENDING DEAL

Shutdown Looms as Wall Funding Poisons Bill

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — President Trump on Thursday torpedoed a spending deal and sent the government careening toward a Christmastime shutdown over his demand of $5 billion for a wall on the southwestern border, refusing to sign a stopgap measure to keep funds flowing past midnight Friday.

With Mr. Trump unwilling to admit defeat on his signature campaign promise despite a clear lack of votes to get it through Congress, House Republican leaders scrambled for a way out of the year-end morass. On a dizzying day in the Capitol, House Republicans pushed through legislation to add $5.7 billion for the wall to a measure to extend government funding into February, making a last stand in the final hours of their majority to back the president's hard-line immigration promises.

The bill is almost certain to die in the Senate, where it would need bipartisan support. Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, told senators scattered around the country to return Friday for another vote. The House approved it on a nearly party-line vote of 217 to 185.

As uncertainty reigned, stock prices tumbled, economic worries rose, and to cap off the chaos, the secretary of defense, Jim Mattis, resigned in protest of the president's policies.

"It is a shame that this president, who is plunging the nation into chaos, is throwing another temper tantrum and going to hurt lots of innocent people," Senator

Continued on Page A16

An Exit, a Leader Unbound and a Jittery Capital

By MARK LANDLER

NEWS ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON — For most of his tumultuous 23 months in office, President Trump has tried to shake off anyone who would restrain his insurgent style of leadership. With the resignation of Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, Mr. Trump is at last a president unbound.

Even for some Republicans, this was a deeply unsettling prospect, especially after a week in which Mr. Trump rejected a deal to keep the government running, openly criticized the Federal Reserve for raising interest rates, and announced that the United States would pull 2,000 troops out of Syria, without consulting allies or warning Congress.

That last decision prompted Mr. Mattis to quit after he could not persuade Mr. Trump to reverse course, and the defense secretary left little doubt in his resignation letter that he viewed the president as a threat to the world order the United States helped construct.

And it all played out at a moment Mr. Trump is awash in investigations of possible collusion between Russia and his campaign, inquiries into his business and his family foundation, and allegations that he directed his former lawyer to pay hush money to two women with whom he is alleged to have had affairs.

If there was a common thread in Mr. Trump's actions, it was his unswerving conviction that his political survival depends on securing his conservative base.

Continued on Page A10

In Abrupt Shift, Trump Halves Size of U.S. Force in Afghanistan

By THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF and MUJIB MASHAL

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration has ordered the military to start withdrawing roughly 7,000 troops from Afghanistan in the coming months, two defense officials said Thursday, an abrupt shift in the 17-year-old war there and a decision that stunned Afghan officials, who said they had not been briefed on the plans.

President Trump made the decision to pull the troops — about half the number the United States has in Afghanistan now — at the same time he decided to pull American forces out of Syria, one official said.

The announcement came hours after Jim Mattis, the secretary of defense, said that he would resign from his position at the end of February after disagreeing with the president over his approach to policy in the Middle East. The Wall Street Journal was the first to report the decision to pull troops from Afghanistan.

The whirlwind of troop withdrawals and the resignation of Mr.

Continued on Page A12

ANDREW RENNEISEN/GETTY IMAGES

The United States has about 14,000 troops in Afghanistan.

They Help the Pregnant. No One Helped Them.

By NATALIE KITROEFF and JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG

As a medical assistant at Planned Parenthood, Ta'Lisa Hairston urged pregnant women to take rest breaks at work, stay hydrated and, please, eat regular meals.

Then she got pregnant and couldn't follow her own advice.

Last winter, Ms. Hairston told the human-resources department for Planned Parenthood's clinic in White Plains that her high blood pressure was threatening her pregnancy. She sent the department multiple notes from her nurse recommending that she take frequent breaks.

Managers ignored the notes. They rarely gave her time to rest or to take a lunch break, Ms. Hairston said.

"I had to hold back tears talking to pregnant women, telling them to take care of their pregnancies when I couldn't take care of mine," she said. "It made me jealous."

Discrimination against pregnant women and new mothers remains widespread in the American workplace. It is so pervasive

Continued on Page A19

CAITLIN OCHS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ta'Lisa Hairston says Planned Parenthood denied work breaks.

At a Busy Airport in Britain, Only Pesky Drones Are Flying

By BENJAMIN MUELLER and AMIE TSANG

LONDON — It is one of the busiest airports in Europe. It survived World War II, when it served as a base for R.A.F. night fighters flying missions against Nazi Germany. It has just been brought to a standstill by the humble drone.

Gatwick Airport was closed to air traffic for more than 24 hours — at the peak of the holiday season, no less — amid repeated incursions by flying gizmos of the sort that might be found in a box in a hobbyist shop.

"This hasn't happened anywhere in the world before," said Richard Gill, the founder and chief executive of Drone Defence, which helps institutions guard their perimeters against drones.

The Gatwick shutdown scrambled hundreds of flights, stranded tens of thousands of passengers and reduced the British government to playing cat-and-mouse with the drones. Controlled, perhaps, by little more than an iPad, they were repeatedly sent over

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Mueller Inquiry's New Threats
A memo by William P. Barr, the president's pick for attorney general, and a decision by Matthew G. Whitaker, the acting attorney general, pose new risks to the investigation. PAGE A15

A Step Closer to Arctic Drilling
The Interior Department put forth four possible plans toward allowing oil and gas drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, above. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Asylum Seekers, Wait Outside
The Trump administration said asylum seekers must wait in Mexico while their cases are considered in a court in the United States. PAGE A9

NEW YORK A20-25

After Abuse Cases, Priest Stays
The Archdiocese of New York paid two sexual abuse settlements against the Rev. Donald G. Timone. The priest continues to work. PAGE A21

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Ghosn Staying Behind Bars
The former Nissan Motor chairman Carlos Ghosn was rearrested Friday on charges of breach of trust, making it increasingly unlikely that he would soon be freed from a Tokyo jail. PAGE B6

Tobacco Giant Gets Juul Stake
Altria is paying $12.8 billion to acquire a 35 percent stake of the popular vaping start-up. Public health advocates criticized the union. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B7-10

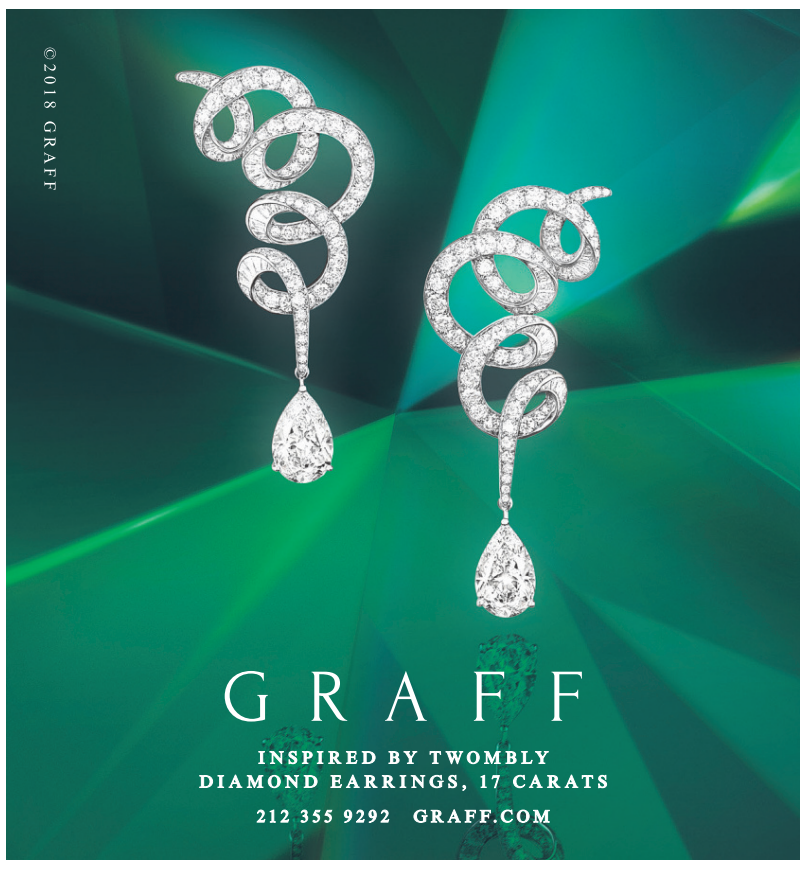
Soccer Club Squeezed Out
Queen's Park, an amateur team that has shaped Scottish soccer, is being forced to leave the stadium it has called home for over 100 years. On Soccer. PAGE B7

WEEKEND ARTS C1-24

A Marine Mythologist
Even Jason Momoa, above, can't save the lackluster "Aquaman" from sinking, Wesley Morris says. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks PAGE A27



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, clouds giving way to sunshine, breezy, colder, high 49 early. **Tonight,** patchy clouds, breezy, colder, low 34. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny, high 44. Weather map, Page C8.

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IMPASSE OVER WALL SHUTS DOWN GOVERNMENT

TOM BRENNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump signed two bills, related to criminal justice, on Friday afternoon. But there would be no ceremony on Friday night.

Affecting 800,000 Workers Across Nine Cabinet-Level Departments

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — The federal government shut down early Saturday after congressional and White House officials failed to find a compromise on a spending bill that hinged on President Trump's demands for $5.7 billion for a border wall.

It is the third shutdown in two years of unified Republican rule in Washington, and it will stop work at nine federal departments and several other agencies. Hundreds of thousands of government employees are affected.

Any hope of a compromise ended about 8:30 p.m. Friday, when both the House and the Senate had adjourned with no solution in sight. Talks are expected to begin again on Saturday.

A burst of late-afternoon activity could not break the deadlock, even as Vice President Mike Pence met with Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, and senior House Republicans, searching for a solution to a logjam that Mr. Trump has shown little interest in breaking.

While the president has been unwilling to consider dropping his demand to fund his signature campaign promise, Mr. Pence and other White House officials were discussing a number of potential compromises that would force him to do just that, omitting spending on a wall and instead adding money for other security measures at the border, according to several officials with knowledge of the talks.

Late Friday, as his budget director ordered the carrying out of shutdown plans, President Trump told the country in a video on Twitter that "we're going to have a shutdown."

"There's nothing we can do about that because we need the Democrats to give us their votes," he said in the video.

As in previous government shutdowns, it will not affect core government functions like the Postal Service, the military, the Department of Veterans Affairs and entitlement programs, including Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare and food stamps.

But about 380,000 workers would be sent home and would not be paid. Another 420,000 considered too essential to be furloughed would be forced, like the Border Patrol officers, to work without pay.

The Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Homeland Security, Housing and Urban Development, Interior — which includes national parks — Justice, State, Transportation and Treasury would all be affected. NASA would

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ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mitch McConnell

President Is Left to Carry Out His Promise of 'America First'

By DAVID E. SANGER

NEWS ANALYSIS

WASHINGTON — With the angry departure of Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, the United States and its shaken allies are about to discover the true meaning of "America First."

Mr. Mattis, a retired four-star general, prided himself on spending four decades preparing for war while nurturing the alliances needed to prevent conflict. He was more than the competent grown-up in the Situation Room, quelling talk of unilateral strikes against North Korea. In fact, he was the last senior official in the administration deeply invested in the world order that the United States has led for the 73 years since World War II, and the global footprint needed to keep that order together.

The breaking point was Syria, where Mr. Trump decided over his defense secretary's objections to pull all Americans troops, and Afghanistan, where the president seems determined to reduce the American presence by half in the next few months. By the time Mr. Trump made clear he would delay those actions no longer, Mr. Mattis was isolated.

He was not alone: Most of the advisers Mr. Trump once called "my generals" also believed in the worldview that Mr. Trump has long rejected. And now, headed into his third year in office and more convinced than ever that his initial gut instincts about retreating from a complex world of civil wars and abstract threats was right, Mr. Trump has rid himself of the aides who

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With Mattis Gone, Allies Brace For U.S. Exit From World Stage

By STEVEN ERLANGER and JANE PERLEZ

BRUSSELS — America's allies in Europe and Asia thought they had learned to digest and compensate for the instinctive unpredictability of President Trump. But the bitter resignation of Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and the abrupt announcement of plans to withdraw troops from Syria and Afghanistan are being viewed as watershed moments for Washington's relations with the world.

Many countries were already trying to recalibrate their relations with Mr. Trump, who views traditional allies as competitors. From South Korea to Japan, France to Germany and other countries in the NATO alliance, senior officials have been talking about how to do more on their own and ways to be less reliant on a Washington focused on "America First."

But they also had faith in Mr. Mattis, who presented himself as a man of continuity and of traditional alliances, and who worked to strengthen them considerably, regardless of the views held in the White House. He was also regarded by traditional allies as their most sympathetic and effective conduit to Mr. Trump, and as the "adult" of last resort able to restrain, balance or ignore the whims of an unpredictable president.

This is "a morning of alarm in Europe," Carl Bildt, a former prime minister of Sweden, said on Twitter on Friday. He added that Mr. Mattis was seen as the last "strong bond across the Atlantic in the Trump Administration," since "all the others are fragile at best or broken at worst."

For François Heisbourg, a former French defense official, it was

Continued on Page A5

Justices Refuse To Let Trump Limit Asylum

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court refused on Friday to allow the Trump administration to immediately enforce its new policy of denying asylum to migrants who illegally cross the Mexican border.

The Supreme Court's two-sentence order revealed a new dynamic at the court, with Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. joining the four-member liberal wing in refusing to immediately reinstate the administration's asylum policy.

The chief justice, appointed to the court by President George W. Bush in 2005, is now plainly at the court's ideological center, a spot that had long belonged to Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, who retired in July and was replaced in October by Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh.

The court's ruling thwarted, at least for now, President Trump's proclamation last month that only migrants who arrived in the United States legally or applied at a port of entry would be eligible for asylum. And it is likely to only heighten tensions between Chief Justice Roberts and Mr. Trump, for whom limiting immigration is a central concern and who has been quick to criticize judges who rule against his immigration programs.

After a lower court blocked the new asylum rules last month, Mr. Trump dismissed the ruling as the work of an "Obama judge," a reference to Judge Jon S. Tigar of the United States District Court in San Francisco, who issued the ruling blocking the program. Chief Justice Roberts issued a statement a few days later rebuking Mr. Trump.

Continued on Page A19

Policy Swings Further Strain Fragile G.O.P.

This article is by ***Jonathan Martin, Sheryl Gay Stolberg*** *and* ***Alexander Burns.***

WASHINGTON — President Trump's near-simultaneous decisions this week to force a government shutdown over his demand to fund a border wall and withdraw American troops from Syria and Afghanistan have imperiled the fragile Republican coalition, exacerbating the party's fears about what may become of his presidency — and its own electoral prospects in 2020.

By placating the far right on immigration, embracing his instincts on foreign policy and unnerving investors with his trade wars and policy gyrations, Mr. Trump is elevating the nativist and noninterventionist elements of his party. In doing so, he is deeply straining his most important links to mainstream Republican governance, and the national security hawks and conservative business executives who have long been pillars of the right.

And by disregarding the counsel of seasoned advisers, Mr. Trump demonstrated that he does not grasp how damaging his impulsive behavior was to his party in last month's elections, when his party lost 40 seats in the House, senior Republicans said Friday.

"I don't think we've fixed the problems that caused the midterm losses yet, and I don't know if we're on a trajectory to do so," said Representative Kevin Yoder, a Kansas Republican who lost his re-election bid because of the suburban backlash.

Choosing to shut down the government after conservative media personalities belittled him for caving on his demand for border funding, the president proved that

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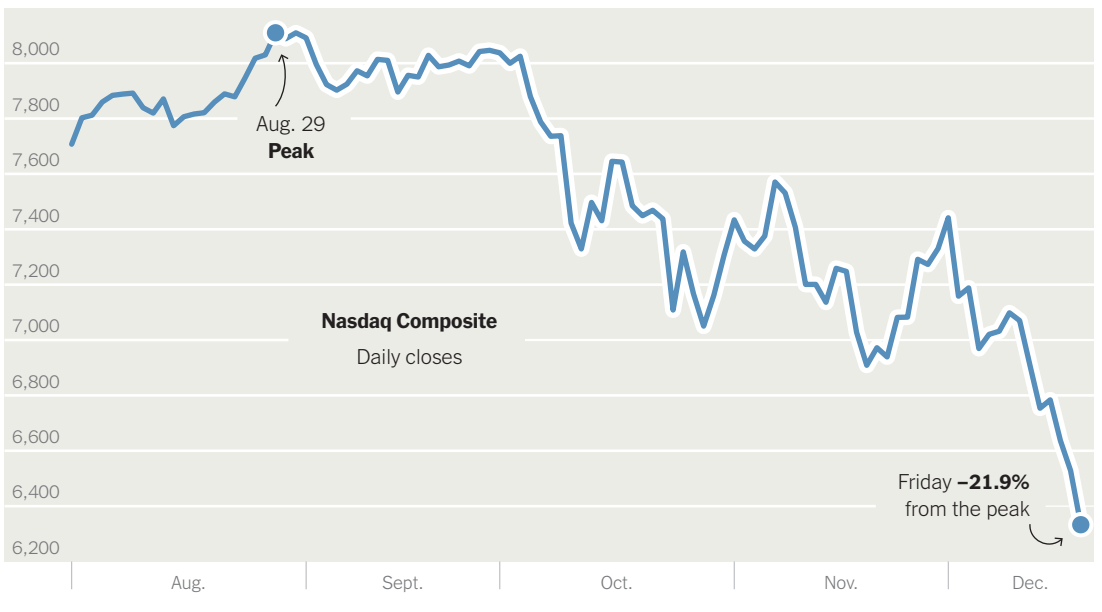
As Markets Tumble, Tech Stocks Hit Rare and Ominous Milestone

By PETER EAVIS and MATT PHILLIPS



Source: Refinitiv

THE NEW YORK TIMES

When it comes to the stock market, America's technology giants have become a harbinger of more pain to come.

If Facebook, Apple or Google looked shaky this year — as investors worried about growth, regulation or mismanagement — the rest of the market felt it. In recent weeks, as these companies have succumbed to concerns about the global economy, slowing profits or privacy concerns, they have led the decline in stocks.

Now, technology companies are dragging stocks into an ominous territory that investors have not seen in nearly a decade: a severe decline known as a bear market.

The tech-heavy Nasdaq closed on Friday at 6332.99, down almost 22 percent from its August peak, meaning it has officially entered a bear market. The S&P 500 and Dow Jones industrial average, both of which also include the biggest tech companies, are not far behind after falling 17.5 percent and 16.3 percent from their respective highs. After a month of heavy losses, stocks are on track for their worst year since 2008.

Bear markets in stocks are rare but have the power to spread gloom through the economy. In the last 20 years, there have been only two — one that began with the financial crisis in 2007, and the other that started with the dot-com bust in 2000. Market downturns can gather steam even without strong evidence that economic and corporate fundamentals are weakening.

"It's kind of a feedback loop," said Robert Shiller, a professor of economics at Yale University. "What's happening right now, we've seen some declines, and that emboldens some pundit to say, 'This is it.' They get attention, it puts thoughts in people's minds and they start thinking, 'Maybe I should exit.'"

The Nasdaq is not the only group of stocks in such distress. The Russell 2000 index, which tracks shares of smaller companies, entered a bear market earlier this week. Seven of the S&P 500's 11 industrial sectors are also at the level, led by energy stocks, which are down 28 percent from their highs earlier this year. That's in large part because oil has been in a bear market since November.

If the broader stock market declines by more than 20 percent this year, it would end what was, by some measures, the longest bull run in history. From March 2009 until its peak in September, the S&P 500 surged 333 percent, a

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Dangerous Lure of Drugs
Drug users, family members and addiction experts talk about how abuse changes the brain. PAGES A14-15

Cancer Surgery for Ginsburg
Doctors successfully removed two growths from the left lung of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Again, Drones Close Gatwick
For a third day, drones suspended travel at Gatwick Airport in Britain, raising security questions. PAGE A4

Pope Excoriates Abusive Priests
Roman Catholic priests who abuse children should surrender "to human justice, and prepare for divine justice," the pontiff said in a speech. PAGE A8

BUSINESS B1-7

Government Check Paradox
The residents of Harlan County, Ky., depend heavily on federal assistance. Most also vote Republican. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A20-21

Just Chilling
Glimpse, in photographs and words, more than 75 years of ice skating in Central Park. Past Tense. PAGE A21

Cut Dreadlocks or Forfeit
After a white referee's ultimatum, a black high school wrestler in New Jersey got a haircut. And a win. PAGE A20

ARTS C1-7

Opera Fans Aren't Subscribing
Lyric Opera of Chicago and other major companies are trying to adjust to a new financial reality, one that's changing how and what operas program. PAGE C1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

A Market-Honed Work Ethic
Chun Hsin Tseng is the No. 1 player in the junior tennis rankings. Now that he's turning pro, his family may be able to close their Taipei food stand. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Timothy Egan PAGE A22

THIS WEEKEND

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Today, sunny, then increasingly cloudy, high 44. **Tonight,** rain and snow, little to no accumulation, low 35. **Tomorrow,** partly sunny, breezy, high 45. Weather map is on Page 22.

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In Family's Rise And Fall, a Tale Rife With Graft

Ties to Brothers Haunt South Africa's A.N.C.

By NORIMITSU ONISHI and SELAM GEBREKIDAN

SAHARANPUR, India — India's most influential guru joined thousands of believers four years ago as the temple's first stone was set in the ground.

It was a glorious day for its builders, the Gupta brothers, the sons of a local shopkeeper who had risen, almost magically, to become one of the richest families a world away in South Africa.

The three brothers had flown back on their private jet to start work on the temple, a 125-foot monument of pink sandstone and white marble that would tower over the tiny place where their father used to ride his bicycle to pray every day.

But one morning last month, as the sun struggled to break through the smog in Saharanpur, their hometown in India's north, the giant yellow crane raising the temple stood still — in limbo, like the brothers themselves.

The Guptas are now in self-imposed exile in Dubai, evading arrest in South Africa, where they stand at the center of a scandal that has already brought down the nation's president and exposed staggering amounts of corruption in the once-legendary party of Nelson Mandela.

Even here in India, the family's legacy — so large that it has been elevated to myth — faces collapse. The new temple, dedicated to Lord Shiva in their father's honor, is now being investigated for the same kind of self-dealing and fraud the family is accused of mastering in South Africa.

The rise and fall of the Gupta brothers is so improbable that in Saharanpur their story is told like a parable.

They began by selling shoes in South Africa and swiftly became central figures in the nation's post-apartheid history, outsiders who broke into the very pinnacle of political power. Seemingly overnight, they joined the ranks of South Africa's most influential families, playing a leading role in one of the biggest dramas after the end of apartheid: Who is getting rich, and how?

Mr. Mandela's election as presi-

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'It's entirely possible it gets worse, not better.'
MICHAEL STEEL, longtime adviser to Republican politicians

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump has grown increasingly suspicious of many of the people around him, convinced that they are fools.

Isolated Leader Sees 'a War Every Day'

President Clings to His Own Judgment as Turmoil Deepens, Allies Say

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — When President Trump grows frustrated with advisers during meetings, which is not an uncommon occurrence, he sits back in his chair, crosses his arms and scowls. Often he erupts. "Freaking idiots!" he calls his aides. Except he uses a more pungent word than "freaking."

For two years, Mr. Trump has waged war against his own government, convinced that people around him are fools. Angry that they resist his wishes, uninterested in the details of their briefings, he becomes especially agitated when they tell him he does not have the power to do what he wants, which makes him suspicious that they are secretly undermining him.

Now, the president who once declared that "I alone can fix" the system increasingly stands alone in a system that seems as broken as ever. The swirl of recent days — a government shutdown, spiraling scandals, tumbling stock markets, abrupt troop withdrawals and the resignation of his alienated defense secretary — has left the impression of a presidency at risk of spinning out of control.

At the midpoint of his term, Mr. Trump has grown more sure of his own judgment and more cut off from anyone else's than at any point since taking office. He spends ever more time in front of a television, often retreating to his residence out of concern that he is being watched too closely. As he sheds advisers at a head-spinning rate, he reaches out to old associates, complaining that few of the people around him were there at the beginning.

Mr. Trump is said by advisers to be consumed by the multiplying investigations that have taken down his personal lawyer, campaign chairman, national security adviser and family foundation. He rails against enemies, who often were once friends, nursing a deep sense of betrayal and grievance as they turn on him.

"Can you believe this?" he has said as he scanned the torrent of headlines. "I'm doing great, but it's a war every day."

"Why is it like this?" he has asked aides, with no acknowledgment that he might have played a role. The aides, many

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SHUTDOWN IS SET TO LAST FOR DAYS AS TRUMP DIGS IN

SENATORS HEAD HOME

Spending Talks Remain Stuck on Funding for a Border Wall

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — As the White House and Democrats remained locked in a standoff over funding for President Trump's border wall, Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, sent his colleagues home for the Christmas holiday on Saturday, virtually ensuring that the government will remain partially shuttered for at least several more days.

Mr. McConnell's adjournment of the Senate until Thursday came after a frenzied day of negotiations in Washington and conflicting signals from the White House. Around the country, the partial shutdown, which began at 12:01 a.m. Saturday and affects roughly one-quarter of the federal government, deprived 800,000 workers of their pay and was visible at places like national parks, where sites were unstaffed or, in some cases, closed.

Mr. Trump is demanding $5 billion for the "big, beautiful wall" he promised to build at the southern border, and in a conference call with reporters, administration officials insisted that he would accept nothing less. But even as they spoke, Vice President Mike Pence was on his way to the Capitol to present an offer to the top Senate Democrat, Chuck Schumer of New York.

Those talks, however, appeared to make little headway. Mr. Pence was tight-lipped as he left Mr. Schumer's office — "We're still talking," he said — while a spokesman for Mr. Schumer, Justin Goodman, pronounced the two sides "very far apart." Mr. McConnell then announced the Senate's adjournment and left the Capitol

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DISRUPTED The shutdown's effects were felt at national parks, airport checkpoints and the country's borders. PAGE 23

Cameras, Bolts and an Elusive Goal: To Sleep in Heavenly Peace

By MITCH SMITH

BETHLEHEM, Pa. — Away in a manger on Bethlehem's public square, a woman approached a statue of the baby Jesus one dark, December night. Then she stole it.

The theft, from a Nativity scene outside City Hall, raised alarm in this eastern Pennsylvania city that shares a name with the real Jesus Christ's birthplace.

When the missing baby Jesus was found, it had been damaged, and Bethlehem's police chief had to glue its leg back on. Then the city took action, positioning a concealed security camera exclusively on baby Jesus and assigning police officers to monitor the footage. In the two years since, the statue has been left at peace, asleep on the hay as the camera, nicknamed the "Jesus cam" by some residents, rolls.

"If anybody looks real close, they'll see a crack in his leg," said Lynn Cunningham, a leader of the local chamber of commerce.

Such manger larceny, in glaring violation of the Eighth Commandment, is also part of a sad national trend. This year, thieves have raided Nativity scenes in Tennessee, West Virginia, Minnesota and plenty of other places, and made off with Jesus figurines (and sometimes Mary and a donkey, too).

TIM GRUBER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A statue of the baby Jesus was stolen from a crèche in St. Cloud, Minn. Such thefts have rattled Christian communities nationally.

The episodes, which have rattled Christian communities, have become so common that the owners of holiday displays have bolstered security. On church lawns and in downtown parks, baby Jesus is back in his manger, but often with a security camera rolling and a tether securing him to the ground. Some places have gone so far as to equip figurines with GPS devices.

In West Bend, Wis., north of Milwaukee, a baby Jesus figurine was stolen twice last year. After the first theft, the statue's torso was found nearby, but the rest of it was missing. The faithful were outraged, and someone donated a new Jesus doll for the Nativity set, which had been displayed around town for decades.

A few days later, early on Christmas Eve, an alert police officer saw a woman "cradling something" on West Bend's Main Street. It was the replacement baby Jesus. "I yelled 'Police, stop,'" the officer wrote in his official report of the incident. Once confronted, the woman dropped the figurine and took off running.

The thefts took a toll in West Bend, a city of about 30,000 residents, where churches are central to public life and longtime residents recall admiring the old Nativity set as children.

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Will 'Black Panther' Pave Way For Minority Stars Overseas?

By CARA BUCKLEY

Tyler Perry is a household name in the United States, where his movies have made nearly a billion dollars. But in Britain, he is known mainly for playing the lawyer to Ben Affleck's accused husband in "Gone Girl" — if he is known at all.

Some of the movies Mr. Perry has written and directed have received small international openings, most often in South Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. Only one or two ever got anything close to a European theatrical push.

"I fought for it, I asked for it," Mr. Perry said. But often he gets the same response: "Stories with black people don't travel, don't translate."

For years, minority filmmakers have pushed Hollywood studios and distributors to get over a reluctance to promote their films worldwide. They are hoping that 2018 was the tipping point they have been waiting for.

This year "Black Panther," "Crazy Rich Asians" and "BlacKkKlansman" all raked in money overseas, an unusual winning streak that challenged beliefs about the global appeal of actors of color.

Charles D. King, the chief executive of Macro, a financial backer of "Fences," starring Denzel Washington, and the summer indie hit "Sorry to Bother You," said he had seen examples of an industry shift. He pointed to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's and Warner Bros.' full-bore promotion of the November boxing sequel "Creed II," with its star, Michael B. Jordan, traveling with the film internationally.

Of the longstanding belief that films need white leads to travel, Mr. King said: "We're seeing pockets of progression, where the

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She Hunts With an Eagle
Zamanbol is a tech-savvy 14-year-old, but she practices an ancient craft to connect with her elders and their culture. Mongolia Dispatch. PAGE 6

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Tribes Helping City Brethren
In a rare show of unity, tribal nations worked together to shelter homeless Native Americans camped near downtown Minneapolis. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The Itsy-Bitsy Litigious Bikini
Who is the rightful inventor of the blockbuster swimsuit known as the Kiini? Sometimes, there's a fine line between inspiration and theft. PAGE 1

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A Distinguished Draft Class
Five members of the N.B.A.'s class of 2003, including LeBron James and Dwyane Wade, are still playing. They share an uncommon bond. PAGE 1

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