



ERIN SCHAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nancy Pelosi wielded the gavel Thursday, calling for a "transparent, bipartisan and unifying" Congress in her second stint as speaker.

Pelosi Rises to Speaker, Firing First Shots in Era Of Divided Government

Pressure Building on McConnell to Get More Engaged

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — For weeks, Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, has remained conspicuously on the sidelines, insisting that it was up to President Trump and Democrats to negotiate an end to the partial shutdown of the federal government.

But with the shutdown soon to enter its third week, and Mr. Trump dug in on his demand for \$5 billion to build a border wall, Mr. McConnell for the first time is facing pressure from members of his own party to step in to resolve the stalemate that has left 800,000 federal workers either furloughed or working without pay.

By absenting himself, Mr. McConnell had hoped to push the blame for a prolonged shutdown onto Democrats while protecting Republicans running for re-election in 2020 — including himself. Much as Democrats did in 2018, Republicans will face a difficult map in 2020, with a handful of incumbent senators facing re-election in swing states or states won by Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential race.

But on Thursday, as a new era of divided government opened in Washington, perhaps the most vulnerable Republican, Senator Cory Gardner of Colorado, broke ranks to become the first member of his party to call for an end to the shutdown — with or without Mr. Trump's wall funding.

"I think we should pass a continuing resolution to get the government back open," Mr. Gardner, whose state has a heavy federal presence, told The Hill newspaper. "The Senate has done it last Congress, we should do it again today."

A second vulnerable Republican, Senator Susan Collins of Maine, one of the chamber's most moderate members, said Thursday that she would support separating homeland security funding from the other bipartisan appropriations bills already approved in committee to reopen much of the government — as Democrats have proposed. But Mr. McConnell is refusing to take up the Democrats' measures.

"It would be great to have them Continued on Page A10

House Passes Bills to Fund Government, Defying Trump

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — Ebullient Democrats assumed control of the House on Thursday and elected Representative Nancy Pelosi of California speaker, returning her to a historic distinction as the first woman to hold the post. They then moved to defy President Trump and passed bills that would open government agencies shuttered by an impasse over his insistence on funding for a border wall. Both measures are almost certain to die in the Senate.

On the first day of divided government in a reordered Washington, Ms. Pelosi, now second in line to the presidency, and Mr. Trump clashed from their respective ends of Pennsylvania Avenue almost from dawn until dusk.

The California Democrat began her day by suggesting that a sitting president could be indicted. Late in the day, Mr. Trump made an attention-getting appearance in the White House briefing room with a belligerent demand for a wall on the border with Mexico, drawing a rebuke from the newly installed House speaker, who said she would give no more than a dollar to fund what she branded "an immorality."

In between, as the start of the new House showcased a younger and more diverse majority in the staid corridors of the Capitol, Ms. Pelosi pledged to run a "unifying" Congress that would bridge partisan divides and heal rifts in a polarized country.

"Our nation is at a historic moment," she declared. "I pledge that this Congress will be transparent, bipartisan and unifying, that we will seek to reach across the aisle in this country, and across divisions across our nation."

In ascending to the speakership, Ms. Pelosi finds herself at the fulcrum of a bitterly divided body politic, poised to do battle with and demand accountability from an increasingly combative Mr. Trump in ways that the Republican Congress of the past two years refused to. With Mr. Trump, his presidential campaign and his businesses all under federal and state investigations, Ms. Pelosi's approach to confronting him — both through investigation and legisla-

Continued on Page A10

Companies Hint That Investors Are Right to Fret About Growth

By PETER EAVIS and BINYAMIN APPELBAUM

Maybe the markets were not overreacting.

With the United States economy posting solid numbers last year, the alarming signals coming out of stock and bond markets seemed out of whack with the real world. President Trump's bellicose trade actions were a concern, but hiring was strong and corporate earnings were surging.

But this week, companies have issued warnings about the health of their businesses that suggest investors were right to be worried about growth. On Wednesday, Apple reduced its revenue expectations for the first time in 16 years, citing weak iPhone sales in China. On Thursday, Delta Air Lines said its fare revenue, while growing, would fall short of the company's earlier forecast. And the American manufacturing sector slowed sharply last month, according to a closely watched index released Thursday.

In the coming weeks, scores of companies will report their fourth-quarter results. A senior

White House economics official acknowledged that there could be a torrent of bad news from corporate America.

"It's not going to be just Apple," Kevin Hassett, the chairman of the White House Council of Economic Advisers, told CNN on Thursday. "There are a heck of a lot of U.S. companies that have a lot of sales in China that are basically going to be watching their earnings be downgraded next year until we get a deal with China."

He seemed to suggest that was not necessarily bad, because it could help the Trump administration achieve its goal of getting China to make trade concessions to the United States.

Those comments did little to soothe Continued on Page A12

SPENDING WOES Chinese consumers are buying less, just when the global marketplace could use their purchasing power. PAGE B1

Workers Sweat Out Shutdown: 'The Stress Level Is at 1,000'

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Mitch Smith and Alan Blinder.

No sooner had the news of an impasse come out of a meeting room in Washington than thousands of miles away, on an island in the Pacific, Tomas Kaselionis had to start making decisions.

"For me, it's do I consider a car payment or do I pay the gas bill or the phone bill?" said Mr. Kaselionis, who is working on typhoon recovery for the Federal Emergency Management Agency, unpaid and far from home in the United States commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. "Those are conversations within the next week that I have to have with my wife."

By Saturday, the federal government will have been shut down for two weeks, a full pay cycle for federal workers. If the shutdown lasts through Monday, it will surpass the one of 2013, and if it lasts beyond the following Saturday, it will be the longest shutdown in United States history. Politicians have said they were hopeful that

the standoff could be over in a matter of "days and weeks," a reassurance that rang hollow to hundreds of thousands of federal workers who were not getting paid.

"They have to realize that this affects everyday people," said Ray Coleman Jr., a corrections officer who teaches G.E.D. classes at a federal prison in Florida and is president of his local union. "It affects the boots on the ground. To me, it's like a political chess game that they're playing, and we seem to be pawns."

By Thursday, fallout from the shutdown was spreading fast. The chairman of the Federal Communications Commission announced on Twitter that the agency would "suspend most operations."

Federal court proceedings, to the irritation of judges, slowed as government lawyers asked for stays. The Justice Department asked to delay a hearing on a suit brought by the N.A.A.C.P. over the Trump administration's census preparations. And a much-anti-

Continued on Page A11

Heads Spin as Cuomo Halts L Train's Full Closing

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

It was called the coming L train apocalypse: a 15-month shutdown of a major subway tunnel between Manhattan and Brooklyn that would cause one of the biggest transportation disruptions in New York City's history, affecting 250,000 daily riders.

On Thursday, though, Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo announced an unexpected reprieve, saying that engineers would use a new technology from Europe to make critical repairs to the tunnel without having to close it entirely.

The original plan would have shut the tunnel's two tubes, starting on April 27, to repair damage from Hurricane Sandy's floodwaters in 2012. Mr. Cuomo's new plan could take about the same amount of time, but would keep full train service during weekdays and close just one of the tubes on nights and weekends.

The news was a head-spinning turn of events for Brooklyn residents who had rearranged their lives in anticipation of a shutdown that would have severed their life-



JOHN TAGGART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A new plan would affect service only on nights and weekends.

line to Manhattan. They moved apartments. Changed jobs. Plotted new commutes. Rethought their social lives.

Of course, the announcement was also celebrated by New Yorkers who rely on the line. Jocelyn Crespo, 35, who lives in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, described herself as "very relieved."

"It gives us more options to get into work and opportunities to get

to our friends," she said.

But Mr. Cuomo's announcement also raised a host of questions: Would the new technology work? Has it been effective elsewhere? Why did the governor wait until the last minute to do this? Transit advocates wondered how much the construction would cost and raised questions over

Continued on Page A17

Is a Russia-Loving Ex-Marine a Spy, or a Pawn?

By JULIAN E. BARNES and NEIL MacFARQUHAR

WASHINGTON — He loved to travel around Russia by train, collected tea glass holders stamped with Russian historical scenes and maintained social media friendships with ordinary Russians, from a hairstylist to retired members of the country's military.

Now Paul N. Whelan, a former United States Marine and current security chief for BorgWarner, an international auto parts manufacturer, has been accused of espionage by Russia and is in solitary confinement in Moscow's notorious Lefortovo Prison — long used by the K.G.B. and its successors for Soviet dissidents and foreign spies. The United States government refused to publicly discuss Mr. Whelan's status in detail, but former C.I.A. officers said they did not think he was a spy.

Whatever the truth, Mr. Whelan, 48, has become the latest pawn between Russia and the United States as rising tensions take on the cast of the Cold War years, when espionage charges



WHELAN FAMILY, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Paul N. Whelan is in solitary confinement in a Moscow prison.

and spy swaps were common. Mr. Whelan's arrest comes after a Russian woman, Maria Butina, admitted to being involved in an organized effort, backed by Russian officials, to lobby influential Americans in the National Rifle Association and the Republican Party and pleaded guilty on Dec. 13 in Federal District Court in Washington to conspiring to act as a foreign agent.

On Thursday, Russian authorities formally charged Mr. Whelan, who could face up to 20 years in prison if convicted, his lawyer, Vladimir A. Zherebenkov, said in an interview. Current and former officials said it was possible Mr. Whelan was seized to exchange him for Ms. Butina.

There is little doubt that Mr. Continued on Page A8



NATIONAL A9-14

A Go-Go Governor Goes

Jerry Brown is entering his final days in public life and heading for a California ranch with his wife, Anne. PAGE A14

Shielded From Scrutiny

A Trump club ex-worker said she didn't get Secret Service vetting after saying she was undocumented. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Muted Over Moon Landing

Reaction in China was subdued — a sign that the novelty of space missions has faded, and of the nation's political and economic anxieties. PAGE A7

Request in Khashoggi Case

A Saudi prosecutor asked that five of the 11 suspects charged in the death of Jamal Khashoggi be executed. PAGE A6

OBITUARIES B11-12

Reshaped the Airline Industry

Herb Kelleher, 87, made Southwest Airlines a behemoth with low fares and good customer service. PAGE B11

BUSINESS B1-6

A Portfolio Heavy on A.I.

Virtual assistants that respond to your voice. Next-generation networks. This year's consumer technology trends may have a familiar ring. PAGE B1

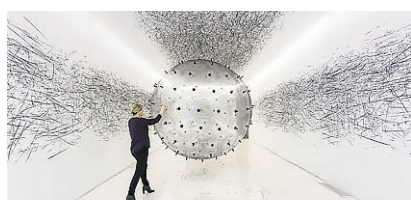
Signs of a Slowdown for Autos

A year of sales driven by fleet purchases is one of several warning signs for the auto industry. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B7-10

Historic Loss for UConn Women

The Huskies' 126-game regular-season basketball winning streak ended with a loss at Baylor. PAGE B9



WEEKEND ARTS C1-26

In Pittsburgh, Healing Art

Months after a deadly synagogue attack, museums like the Mattress Factory, above, offer inspiration. PAGE C17

Returning African Treasures

We asked three experts to discuss a report that calls for artwork in France to be sent back to West Africa. PAGE C17

NEW YORK A16-17

Strict Airbnb Law Is Blocked

A federal judge has blocked a city law intended to curb Airbnb rentals while a lawsuit is resolved. PAGE A17

Transit Fare Relief Is Delayed

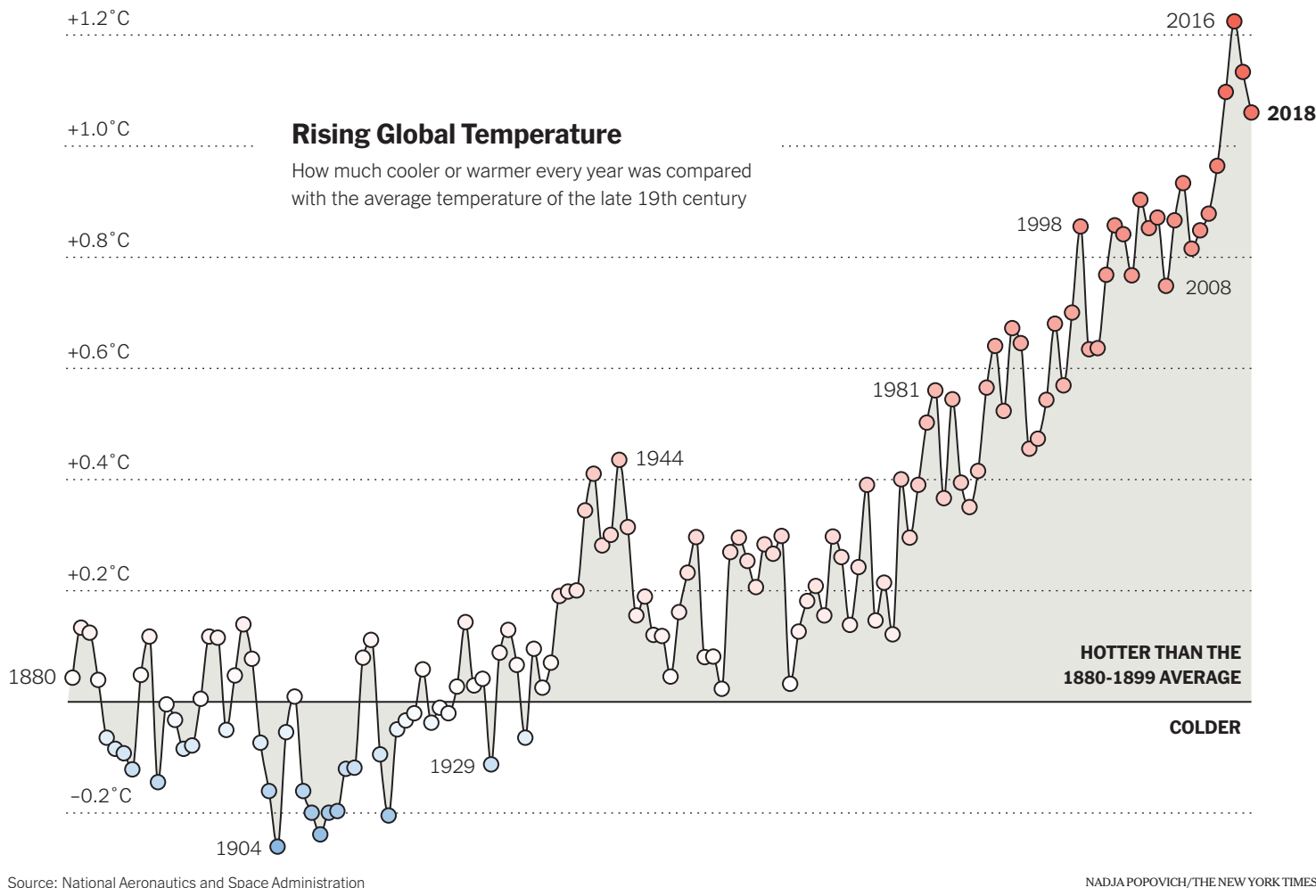
The city was to start a discount fare program for low-income riders on Jan. 1. The rollout has been a mess. PAGE A16

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Kara Swisher

PAGE A19





## 2018 Continues Warming Trend, As 4th Hottest Year Since 1880

By JOHN SCHWARTZ and NADJA POPOVICH

The Earth's average surface temperature in 2018 was the fourth highest in nearly 140 years of record-keeping and a continuation of an unmistakable warming trend, NASA scientists announced Wednesday.

The data means that the five warmest years in recorded history have been the last five, and that 18 of the 19 warmest years have occurred since 2001. The quickly rising temperatures over the past two decades cap a much longer warming trend documented by researchers and correspond with the scientific consensus that climate change is caused by human activity.

"We're no longer talking about a situation where global warming is something in the future," said

Gavin A. Schmidt, director of the Goddard Institute for Space Studies, the NASA group that conducted the analysis. "It's here. It's now."

While this planet has seen hotter days in prehistoric times, and colder ones in the modern era, what sets recent warming apart in the sweep of geologic time is the relatively sudden rise in temperatures and its clear correlation with increasing levels of greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide and methane produced by human activity.

The results of this rapid warming can be seen from the heat waves in Australia and extended droughts to coastal flooding in the

Continued on Page A15

## Framing Socialists as Villains, Trump Refreshes His Blueprint

By MICHAEL TACKETT

WASHINGTON — President Trump has proved himself adroit at creating villains to serve as his political foils. In his State of the Union address on Tuesday, he introduced a new one: socialists.

### WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Right after his calls to support the overthrow of Venezuela's president, Nicolás Maduro, and condemning the "socialist policies" that have reduced the country "into a state of abject poverty and despair," he made a quick segue to the home front.

"Here in the United States, we are alarmed by new calls to adopt socialism in our country," the president said, adding, "To-

night, we resolve that America will never be a socialist country."

Tuesday night's speech contained more than a few suggestions of what Mr. Trump's 2020 campaign could look like. The president dwelled on the economy, pointing to the low unemployment rate, continuing growth and the tax cut passed by the last Republican Congress. He spoke of trying to reduce prescription drug costs and battling H.I.V., perhaps with an eye to the kinds of suburban female voters who deserted Republicans in the midterm elections. And for his hard-core followers, he argued for the border wall.

The threat of socialism was

Continued on Page A16

## Asked to Stop Investigations, House Digs In

## Tax Returns and Russia Are Likely Targets

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The House Intelligence Committee on Wednesday began a broad inquiry into whether Russia and other foreign powers may be exercising influence over President Trump, acting only hours after a defiant Speaker Nancy Pelosi declared that the House would not be cowed by the president's "all-out threat" to drop its investigations of his administration.

Other committees were zeroing in on similarly sensitive oversight targets. On Thursday, Democrats will begin their quest to secure the president's long-suppressed tax returns. The chairman of the Judiciary Committee readied a subpoena for the acting attorney general, Matthew G. Whitaker, in case he tried to avoid Democratic questioning. And a House Appropriations subcommittee chairwoman began an inquiry into administration rule-bending during the 35-day partial government shutdown.

"It's our congressional responsibility, and if we didn't do it, we would be delinquent in that," Ms. Pelosi said of the House's oversight role, hours after Mr. Trump used his State of the Union address to warn that "ridiculous partisan investigations" threatened the nation's economic health and the prospects of bipartisan legislation.

That, Ms. Pelosi said, "was a threat — it was an all-out threat." The confrontation between a newly empowered House majority and a president of the opposite party drew comparisons to Democrats' investigations of the George W. Bush administration after the 2006 elections and Republicans' blitz of Barack Obama's administration.

Continued on Page A16

STACEY ABRAMS Her speech after the State of the Union address stirs admirers to talk of a presidential run. PAGE A17

## CRISIS IN VIRGINIA GROWS, TANGLING 3RD TOP OFFICIAL

## DEMOCRATS UNDER FIRE

## Attorney General Admits Wearing Blackface to a Party in College

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALAN BLINDER

RICHMOND, Va. — The third-ranking elected official in Virginia, Attorney General Mark R. Herring, acknowledged Wednesday that he had worn blackface at a party as an undergraduate student, deepening a crisis that has engulfed the state's Democratic leadership.

Then, just two hours later, a woman came forward to describe in detail her accusation that Lt. Gov. Justin E. Fairfax had sexually assaulted her in 2004, an accusation he denies.



Attorney General Mark R. Herring, a Virginia Democrat.

The back-to-back revelations threw the Capitol into a state of uncertainty about who would lead Virginia, coming less than one week after the disclosure of a racist photograph on the yearbook page of Gov. Ralph Northam led to demands for his resignation. Grim-faced legislators rushed through the hallways, shaken by a series of allegations and confessions that threatened to cripple the Virginia government's three leading officials.

Amid the tumult, Democratic lawmakers were all but paralyzed in the face of a deeply painful se-

Continued on Page A20



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Women and children waited to be screened last week after they fled the last Islamic State-held area in southeastern Syria.

## A Desperate Exodus From the Final Village in Syria Held by ISIS

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

DEIR AL-ZOUR PROVINCE, Syria — The men who emerge from the Islamic State's last sliver of land are ordered to sit behind one of two orange lines spray-painted on the rocky desert floor: Syrians behind one and Iraqis behind the other.

The women, wearing face-covering veils and clutching toddlers, huddle in a different spot, also

separated by nationality. Several of the escapees are so badly wounded from incoming fire that they have to be carried to this open vista on mattresses to surrender to the American-backed coalition.

By midmorning, United States Special Operations Forces arrive in a convoy of armored vehicles. The men suspected of being Islamic State fighters are ordered to approach in single file, their arms

outstretched, as they are searched by troops and a sniffer dog. Then they are fingerprinted, photographed and interviewed.

In the last two weeks, thousands of people have been streaming out of the village of Baghuz, the last speck of land under Islamic State control in Iraq and Syria, an area where the group once ruled a dominion the size of Britain.

That state is all but gone. In the

last month, the group went from holding three villages to two to just one.

The militants are now trapped in an area about the size of Central Park.

To the west, they are hemmed in by Syrian government forces. To the south is the Iraqi border, where Iraqi troops are holding the line. From the north and east, they are being fought by an American-

Continued on Page A12

## A Young O'Rourke in the City, Searching for a Path Then, Too

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

All at once, New York City seemed to be conspiring against Beto O'Rourke.

His girlfriend was moving to France. His punk bandmates had scattered. Twenty-three and searching — with an Ivy League degree that could not pay rent — Mr. O'Rourke subsisted as a live-in nanny on the Upper West Side, with a futon in the maid's quarters, watching over a wealthy family's two preschoolers.

"I just remember his dad coming," said the former girlfriend, Sasha Watson, recalling a pep talk from Pat O'Rourke, a prominent Texas county commissioner and



Beto O'Rourke in 1990s New York, before his political rise.

as a quarter-life crisis, Mr. O'Rourke has arrived at a midlife crossroads of enormous consequence, with revealing parallels to his time in New York. Forty-six and searching — after a narrow Senate loss in Texas last year that propelled the former El Paso congressman to Democratic stardom — he has been driving around the country, alone, introducing himself to strangers, deciding if he wants to run for president.

### THE LONG RUN

judge, who insisted his son was destined for "bigger things."

"He really saw great things for Beto."

Great things were not happening. By late 1995, Mr. O'Rourke had fallen into the deepest depression he can remember. He worked for an uncle's tech business because it was a job. He spent nights alone listening to his cassettes because it passed the time.

"Little bit of a sad case," Mr. O'Rourke said.

More than two decades later, long after what friends describe

Continued on Page A21

### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Instacart Reverses Tip Policy

When contract workers stood up and accused the delivery app of wage theft, they scored the latest win in the gig economy, Kevin Roose writes. PAGE B1

#### Spotify Transcends Tunes

With its acquisition of two podcasting companies, the streaming service broadens its ambitions. PAGE B1

### NEW YORK A22-25

#### Debating Elite Schools Entry

Asian-American alumni differ when discussing integration at the most competitive high schools. PAGE A22



### INTERNATIONAL A4-13

#### Church Tackles Abuse of Nuns

A scandal in the Roman Catholic Church has emerged from the shadows with Pope Francis' comments. PAGE A6

#### U.K. Leader Heads to Brussels

Prime Minister Theresa May needs flexibility from E.U. leaders, but they are venting frustrations. PAGE A10

### NATIONAL A14-21

#### Backing for a Bipartisan Deal

Nancy Pelosi said she would support any border agreement by House and Senate negotiators, putting pressure on the president to do the same. PAGE A19

#### A Measles Emergency

The C.D.C. is reporting dozens of cases in children of a disease that had been considered all but wiped out. PAGE A15

### SPORTS THURSDAY B7-11

#### Giving the Captains an Assist

We help LeBron James and Giannis Antetokounmpo with their selections for the N.B.A. All-Star Game. PAGE B7

### THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

#### Fashionably Toasty

There's not much you can do about cold weather, but there are ways to look better in it. Right, a Charlotte Simone trapper hat. PAGE D3



#### His Latest Look? Unhurried

The designer Kerby Jean-Raymond is sitting out Fashion Week, determined not to rush his work along. PAGE D1

### ARTS C1-8

#### The Struggle of 21 Savage

By any measure other than citizenship, the star, facing deportation, is an American, Jon Caramanica writes. PAGE C1

#### The Paths to Best Picture

Kyle Buchanan explains how each of the eight movies nominated has a chance of winning the award. PAGE C1

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

#### Andrew M. Cuomo

PAGE A27



0 354613 9

## 'Cold as Hell': A Dark Week In a Harsh Jail

### Warden Played Down Ordeal in Brooklyn

By ANNIE CORREAL  
and JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN

In the middle of New York City, they had been cut off from the world.

It was the end of January, and hundreds of inmates at the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn had been locked in their cells after an electrical fire knocked out power in the building. There, it turned out, they would spend the coldest days of the winter in darkness, largely without heat and hot water.

"It's cold as hell," one inmate, Sean Daughtry, told his lawyer. He could see his breath in the weak light that slanted through his cell window.

When news of how the inmates were treated reached the world outside, the warden of the federal jail, Herman E. Quay, at first denied there was any problem outside a partial loss of power. "Inmate housing units have been minimally impacted," Mr. Quay's office told The New York Times during the blackout, a message initially echoed by the Bureau of Prisons in Washington.

But dozens of interviews with inmates and their families, defense lawyers, jail staff, union officials and lawmakers briefed on the response of officials at the Bureau of Prisons painted another picture, revealing an account of the crisis that not only contradicted what the bureau said, but suggested it was even worse than it had initially appeared.

The blackout, which lasted for a week, ended Feb. 3, when power was restored amid public outcry. A few days later, the Justice Department, which oversees the federal Bureau of Prisons, said that it was "committed to the safe and humane living and working conditions of all inmates and employees," and that its internal watchdog, the Office of the Inspector General, would investigate the facility's infrastructure and emergency response.

Mr. Quay did not respond to requests for comment.

The blackout crisis was just the latest episode in a long history of neglect and brutality at the jail, one that has been documented in previous Justice Department reports. Investigators over the years have issued findings that suggest the jail is among the worst in the federal system, determining at different times that prisoners have been beaten, raped or held in inhumane conditions.

"It's my opinion," a former warden at the jail, Cameron Lindsay, said in an interview, that over the last decade "the M.D.C. was one of the most troubled, if not the most

Continued on Page 15

## 'The dam had a safety factor in accordance with the world's best practices.'

VALE S.A., builder of a mining dam in Brazil that collapsed



ANTONIO LACERDA/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

The Jan. 25 collapse of a mining dam above Brumadinho, Brazil, released a deluge of mud, killing over 150 people.

## A Tidal Wave of Toxic Mud

### A Dam Failure in Brazil Could Happen Again. And Again.

By The New York Times

BRUMADINHO, Brazil — Luiz de Castro was installing lamps at a mining complex in Brazil late last month when a loud blast split the air. He figured it was just a truck tire popping, but a friend knew better.

"No, it's not that!" the friend said. "Run!" Dashing up a staircase, caked in mud and pelted by flying rocks, Mr. Castro clambered to safety. But as he watched, a wall of mud unleashed by the collapse of a mining dam swallowed his co-workers, he said. Tiago, George, Icaro — they and at least 154 others, all buried alive.

The deluge of toxic mud stretched for five miles, crushing homes, offices and people — a tragedy, but hardly a surprise, experts say.

There are 88 mining dams in Brazil built like the one that failed — enormous reservoirs of mining waste held back by little more than walls of sand and silt. And all but four of the dams have been rated by the government as equally vulnerable, or worse.

Even more alarming, at least 28 sit directly uphill from cities or towns, with more than 100,000 people living in especially risky areas if the dams failed, an estimate by The New York Times found.

In the disaster last month, all the elements for catastrophe were there: A bare-bones reservoir of mining waste built on the cheap, sitting above a large town nestled underneath. Overlooked warnings of structural problems that could lead to a collapse. Monitoring equipment that had stopped working.

And perhaps above all, a country where a powerful mining industry has been free to act more or less unchecked.

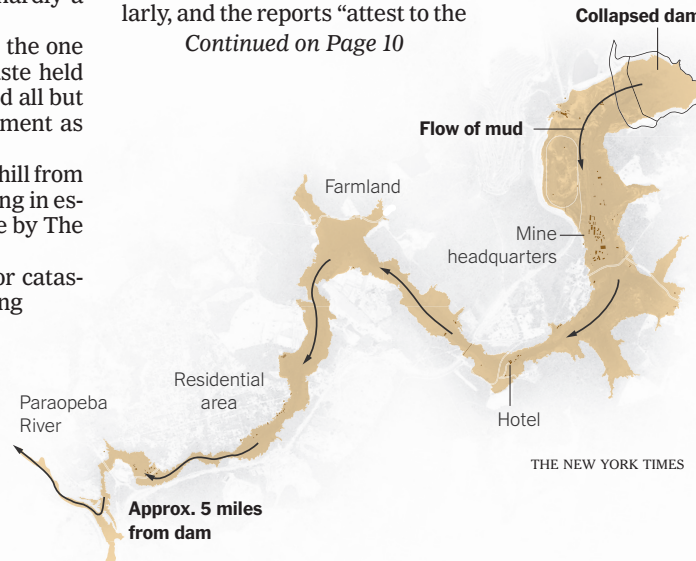
The threat of poorly constructed min-

ing dams in Brazil goes far beyond one company. The latest deadly failure — the second in Brazil in three years — has made it clear that neither the mining industry nor regulators have the situation under control.

Vale S.A., the world's largest iron ore producer, says it will close all 10 of its dams in Brazil with a design similar to the one it ran in the town, Brumadinho. Still, the company, which bought the mining complex in 2001, defended its management of the dam, which had been sitting there, inactive, since 2016.

"The dam had a safety factor in accordance with the world's best practices," Vale said in a statement. The structure, it said, had been inspected regularly, and the reports "attest to the

Continued on Page 10



## VIRGINIA LEADERS PULL DEMOCRATS INTO 'NIGHTMARE'

### CALLS TO OUST FAIRFAX

### Sex Assault Claims Lead to Worries Over Black and Female Voters

This article is by Jonathan Martin, Alan Blinder and Campbell Robertson.

RICHMOND, Va. — Justin E. Fairfax's refusal to resign as lieutenant governor of Virginia in the face of two allegations of sexual assault has presented Democrats with an excruciating choice: whether to impeach an African-American leader at a moment when the state's other top leaders, both white, are resisting calls to quit after admitting to racist conduct.

Less than a week after Gov. Ralph Northam and Attorney General Mark R. Herring said they wore blackface as young men, Mr. Fairfax on Friday faced a second assault accusation in three days. On Saturday night, Mr. Fairfax called on the F.B.I. to investigate the allegations, and asked that "no one rush to judgment" and for "due process." But he is now under intense pressure to resign or face impeachment, transforming what had been a crisis for Virginia Democrats into a searing dilemma for the national party.

The political turmoil for Democratic leaders this weekend is unfolding at the intersection of race and gender, and risks pitting the party's most pivotal constituencies against one another. If Democrats do not oust Mr. Fairfax, at a time when the party has taken a zero-tolerance stand on sexual misconduct in the #MeToo era, they could anger female voters.

But the specter of Mr. Fairfax, 39, being pushed out while two older white men remain in office — despite blackface behavior that evoked some of the country's most painful racist images — would deeply trouble many African-Americans.

"I think the Democratic Party would lack credibility if they followed a double standard," said Representative Karen Bass of California, who is the head of the Congressional Black Caucus. Ms. Bass said that both Mr. Northam and Mr. Fairfax should step down.

On Saturday, an adviser to Mr. Fairfax said the lieutenant governor was deeply distraught over the allegations and had no intention of resigning. In Mr. Fairfax's statement on Saturday night, the lieutenant governor confirmed he had an encounter with his second accuser, Meredith Watson, but said it was consensual. He asked for an independent investigation

Continued on Page 23

## Nun's Charge of Rapes by a Bishop Shocks India

By MARIA ABI-HABIB  
and SUHASINI RAJ

KOCHI, India — When Bishop Franco Mulakkal agreed to personally celebrate the First Communion for Darly's son, a rare honor in their Catholic Church in India, the family was overcome with pride.

During the ceremony, Darly looked over at her sister, a nun who worked with the bishop, to see her eyes spilling over with tears — tears of joy, she figured. But only later would she learn of her sister's allegation that the night before, the bishop had sum-

moned the nun to his quarters and raped her. The family says that was the first assault in a two-year ordeal in which the prelate raped her 13 times.

The bishop, who has maintained his innocence, will be charged and face trial by a special prosecutor on accusations of rape and intimidation, the police investigating the case said. But the church acknowledged the nun's accusations only after five of her fellow nuns mutinied and publicly rallied to her side to draw attention to her yearlong quest for justice, despite what they described as heavy pressure to remain silent.

"We used to see the fathers of the church as equivalent to God, but not anymore," said Darly, her voice shaking with emotion. "How can I tell my son about this, that the person teaching us the difference between right and wrong gave him his First Communion after committing such a terrible sin?"

The case in India, in the southern state of Kerala, is part of a larger problem in the church that Pope Francis addressed on Tuesday for the first time after decades of silence from the Vatican. He acknowledged that sexual abuse of

Continued on Page 9

## In Race for Donations, Democrats Think Small

This article is by Shane Goldmacher, Lisa Lerer and Rachel Shorey.

Senator Bernie Sanders would begin a 2020 presidential bid with 2.1 million online donors, a massive lead among low-dollar contributors that is roughly equivalent to the donor base of all the other Democratic hopefuls combined.

Beto O'Rourke, the former Texas congressman who narrowly lost a Senate race last year, is also poised to be a fund-raising phenom if he runs for president: He has twice as many online do-

nors as anyone eyeing the race besides Mr. Sanders.

Three senators who are already running have their own solid track records with small donors. Senator Elizabeth Warren, with the third-highest number, has notable strength in New Hampshire, even topping Mr. O'Rourke there. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand has built up broad national support among small donors, despite a reputation as a big-money fund-raiser, while Senator Kamala Harris raised \$1.5 million online in her first 24 hours as a presidential candidate.

Small-dollar donations are expected to be a huge deal in the 2020 presidential race — the re-

newable resource that Democratic candidates will depend upon to fuel their campaigns. And those five Democrats represent a distinctive top tier with the most formidable followings, each counting a base of at least 230,000 online donors, according to a New York Times analysis of six years of federal election filings from ActBlue, the Democratic Party's dominant donation-processing platform.

Continued on Page 19

2020 BID Senator Elizabeth Warren formally announced that she is running for president. PAGE 18

### INTERNATIONAL 6-13

#### Trapped in Overturned Ferry

The engineer of a vessel that capsized last year in Lake Victoria, killing 228, survived over 40 hours in a shrinking air pocket before rescuers came. PAGE 6

### NATIONAL 14-23

#### 'A Pit of Infection'

A town in California is facing a crisis unrelated to immigration: Noxious sewage crosses the border through the binational New River. PAGE 14

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Fighting Brexit With Logic

The radio host James O'Brien has become a YouTube sensation in Britain by taking on the Leave movement with facts, one caller at a time. PAGE 1

### SPORTSSUNDAY

#### Race Against Climate Change

A beloved Dutch speedskating event survives by relocating to Weissensee, Austria — population 753 — where thick ice still beckons, for now. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Katha Pollitt

PAGE 1



**Big** points on little things.

Introducing the **Citi Rewards™ Card**  
citi.com/citirewardsplus

**Points Round Up**  
to the nearest 10 on every purchase.  
Even coffee.

© 2019 Citigroup Inc. All rights reserved. Citi, Citi and Arc Design and other marks used herein are service marks of Citigroup Inc. or its affiliates, used and registered throughout the world.

## Rift in Alliance Leaves Europe Fuming at U.S.

### Russia and China May Exploit Strained Ties

By STEVEN ERLANGER  
and KATRIN BENNHOLD

MUNICH — European leaders have long been alarmed that President Trump's words and Twitter messages could undo a trans-Atlantic alliance that had grown stronger over seven decades. They had clung to the hope that those ties would bear up under the strain.

But in the last few days of a prestigious annual security conference in Munich, the rift between Europe and the Trump administration became open, angry and concrete, diplomats and analysts say.

A senior German official, who asked not to be identified because he was not authorized to speak on such matters, shrugged his shoulders and said: "No one any longer believes that Trump cares about the views or interests of the allies. It's broken."

The most immediate danger, diplomats and intelligence officials warned, is that the trans-Atlantic fissures now risk being exploited by Russia and China.

Even the normally gloomy Russian foreign minister, Sergey V. Lavrov, happily noted the strains, remarking that the Euro-Atlantic relationship had become increasingly "tense."

"We see new cracks forming, and old cracks deepening," Mr. Lavrov said.

The Europeans no longer believe that Washington will change, not when Mr. Trump sees traditional allies as economic rivals and leadership as diktat. His distaste for multilateralism and international cooperation is a challenge to the very heart of what Europe is and needs to be in order to have an impact in the world.

But beyond the Trump administration, an increasing number of Europeans say they believe that relations with the United States will never be the same again.

Karl Kaiser, a longtime analyst of German-American relations, said, "Two years of Mr. Trump, and a majority of French and Germans now trust Russia and China more than the United States."

Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff, a former adviser to the German president and director of the Berlin office of the German Marshall Fund, said, "If an alliance becomes unilateral and transactional, then it's no longer an alliance."

There were signs that not all American and European leaders were willing to surrender the alliance so easily.

To show solidarity with Europe, more than 50 American lawmakers, both Republicans and Democrats — a record number — at

Continued on Page A8

## 'It Is Not a Closet. It Is a Cage.'



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Silent Crisis for Gay Priests

### Fearing Blame in Catholic Abuse Scandal

By ELIZABETH DIAS

MILWAUKEE — Gregory Greiten was 17 years old when the priests organized the game. It was 1982 and he was on a retreat with his classmates from St. Lawrence, a Roman Catholic seminary for teenage boys training to become priests. Leaders asked each boy to rank which he would rather be: burned over 90 percent of his body, paraplegic, or gay.

Each chose to be scorched or paralyzed. Not one uttered the word "gay." They called the game the Game of Life.

The lesson stuck. Seven years later, he climbed up into his seminary dorm window and dangled one leg over the edge. "I really am gay," Father Greiten, now a priest near Milwaukee, remembered telling himself for the first time. "It was like a death sentence."

The closet of the Roman Catholic Church hinges on an impossible contradiction. For years, church leaders have driven gay congregants away in shame and insisted that "ho-

mosexual tendencies" are "disordered." And yet, thousands of the church's priests are gay.

The stories of gay priests are unspoken, veiled from the outside world, known only to one another, if they are known at all.

Fewer than about 10 priests in the United States have dared to come out publicly. But gay men likely make up at least 30 to 40 percent of the American Catholic clergy, according to dozens of estimates from gay priests themselves and researchers. Some priests say the number is closer to 75 percent. One priest in Wisconsin said he assumed every priest is gay unless he knows for a fact he is not. A priest in Florida put it this way: "A third are gay, a third are straight, and a third don't know what the hell they are."

Two dozen gay priests and seminarians from 13 states shared intimate details of their lives in the Catholic closet with The New York Times over the past two months. They were interviewed in their churches before Mass,

Continued on Page A10

## Hacking of U.S. Networks Traced to China and Iran

### Renewed Strikes on Banks and Agencies Are Seen as Reaction to Trump's Policies

By NICOLE PERLROTH

SAN FRANCISCO — Businesses and government agencies in the United States have been targeted in aggressive attacks by Iranian and Chinese hackers who security experts believe have been energized by President Trump's withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal last year and his trade conflicts with China.

Recent Iranian attacks on American banks, businesses and government agencies have been more extensive than previously reported. Dozens of corporations and multiple United States agencies have been hit, according to seven people briefed on the episodes who were not authorized to discuss them publicly.

The attacks, attributed to Iran by analysts at the National Security Agency and the private security firm FireEye, prompted an emergency order by the Department of Homeland Security during the government shutdown last month.

The Iranian attacks coincide with a renewed Chinese offensive geared toward stealing trade and military secrets from American military contractors and technology companies, according to nine intelligence officials, private security researchers and lawyers familiar with the attacks who discussed them on the condition of anonymity because of confidentiality agreements.

A summary of an intelligence briefing read to The New York Times said that Boeing, General Electric Aviation and T-Mobile were among the recent targets of Chinese industrial-espionage efforts. The companies all declined to discuss the threats, and it is not

clear if any of the hacks were successful.

Chinese cyberespionage cooled four years ago after President Barack Obama and President Xi Jinping of China reached a landmark deal to stop hacks meant to steal trade secrets.

But the 2015 agreement appears to have been unofficially canceled amid the continuing trade tension between the United States and China, the intelligence officials and private security researchers said. Chinese hacks have returned to earlier levels, although they are now stealthier and more sophisticated.

"Cyber is one of the ways adversaries can attack us and retaliate in effective and nasty ways that are well below the threshold of an armed attack or laws of war," said Joel Brenner, a former leader of United States counterintelligence under the director of national intelligence.

Federal agencies and private companies are back to where they were five years ago: battling increasingly sophisticated, government-affiliated hackers from China and Iran — in addition to fighting constant efforts out of Russia — who hope to steal trade and military secrets and sow mayhem. And it appears the hackers substantially improved their skills during the lull.

Russia is still considered America's foremost hacking adversary. In addition to meddling widely and spreading disinformation during United States elections, Russian hackers are believed to have launched attacks on nuclear plants, the electrical grid and

Continued on Page A8

## Sanders's Task For Black Vote: Fixing Damage

By SYDNEY EMBER

Shortly after Senator Bernie Sanders suffered a crushing loss in South Carolina's Democratic primary in 2016, his campaign's African-American outreach team sent a memo to top campaign leaders with an urgent warning.

"The margin by which we lost the African-American vote has got to be — at the very least — cut in half or there simply is no path to victory," the team wrote in the memo, which was reviewed by The New York Times. Mr. Sanders had won 14 percent of the black vote there compared with 86 percent for Hillary Clinton, according to exit polls.

Over seven pages, the team outlined a strategy for winning black voters that included using social media influencers and having Mr. Sanders give a major speech on discrimination in a city like St. Louis or Cincinnati.

Mr. Sanders's inner circle did not respond.

In a campaign in which Mr. Sanders badly needed his message against inequality to catch fire with black voters, the senator from Vermont and his senior leaders struggled to prioritize and execute a winning plan to build their support. Top aides lost faith in their African-American outreach organizers, whose leadership was replaced and whose team members were scattered across the country. Initiatives like a tour of historically black colleges and universities fizzled; Mr. Sanders even missed its kickoff event.

As Mr. Sanders prepares to announce another run for the White House as early as this week, his

Continued on Page A13



IVOR PRICKETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mohammed Khalifa says he narrated a brutal ISIS video.

## Canadian Face Behind a Voice Promoting ISIS

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

HASAKA, Syria — More than four years ago, the Federal Bureau of Investigation appealed to the public to help identify the narrator in one of the Islamic State's best-known videos, showing captured Syrian soldiers digging their own graves and then being shot in the head.

Speaking fluent English with a North American accent, the man would go on to narrate countless other videos and radio broadcasts by the Islamic State, serving as the terrorist group's faceless evangelist to Americans and other English speakers seeking to learn about its toxic ideology.

Now a 35-year-old Canadian citizen, who studied at a college in Toronto and once worked in information technology at a company contracted by IBM, says he is the anonymous narrator.

That man, Mohammed Khalifa, captured in Syria last month by an American-backed militia, spoke in his first interview about being the voice of the 2014 video, known as

Continued on Page A6

## Craving an Oscar, Netflix Turns to a Tireless Star: A New Strategist

By BROOKS BARNES

LOS ANGELES — Netflix called it "Roma" Experience Day.

On a Sunday in December, the streaming giant rented two soundstages on a historic movie lot in Hollywood to evangelize for "Roma," Alfonso Cuarón's art film about a domestic worker in Mexico. Oscar voters perused a museum-style exhibit of "Roma" costumes. Mr. Cuarón and his crew sat for hours of panel discussions.

Breakfast? Lunch? Provided. There were "Roma" stickers, and "Roma"-stamped chocolates. Attendees were even superimposed into a "Roma" scene to share online.

All of it struck some voters as over the top. It was certainly a dis-

play of just how badly Netflix wants an Oscar — and how much faith it has put in the person behind the event, a strategist named Lisa Taback, to get it done.

Ms. Taback, 55, is an Oscar-campaign veteran who cut her teeth at Miramax with Harvey Weinstein in the 1990s and whose résumé includes best-picture winners like "The King's Speech," "The Artist" and "Spotlight." Ted Sarandos, Netflix's chief content officer, called Ms. Taback "the best of the best" when he named her vice president for talent relations and awards in July, adding that he wanted to "expand and deepen our efforts to celebrate the incredible creators and talent who bring their dream projects to Netflix."

The hiring went off like a sonic

Continued on Page A14



HUNTER KERHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Netflix has spent an estimated \$25 million to promote "Roma."



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

### Keeping Track of the Missing

As China detains vast numbers of Uighurs and other Muslims, their relatives are demanding answers. PAGE A4

### Israel Reaches Out to Poland

Israel's prime minister wants to promote shared interests, but the past has been a stumbling block. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A9-14

### Legal Rights for Lake Erie?

Efforts to grant elements of nature legal rights have been around for decades. It's a strategy voters in Toledo, Ohio, are being asked to weigh. PAGE A9

### States Flout Abortion Rules

Medicaid abortion coverage is required only in certain, limited circumstances, but some states don't provide it. PAGE A14

NEW YORK A15-17, 20

### More Charges in Officer's Death

The police charged a second man with murder over a robbery that led to the killing of a detective. PAGE A16

SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

### Twice the Home Ice

For the Islanders this season, bouncing between two home arenas has not hurt their win-loss record. PAGE D2

### Chaotic Finish at Daytona 500

After three late wrecks wiped out more than half the field, Denny Hamlin won the event for the second time. PAGE D4



BUSINESS B1-6

### New York City's Tech Boom

Amazon has pulled the plug on its Queens campus, but Google plans to double its work force in the city, and Facebook, Apple and other companies are also expanding. PAGE B1

### Australia's Uncommon Moguls

In a country where wealth usually comes from mining or banking, the billionaire co-founders of Atlassian are a new kind of household name. And they're getting into politics. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Bill de Blasio PAGE A19



ARTS C1-8

### 21 Savage Speaks Out

The Atlanta rapper, facing deportation, talks with Jon Caramanica about growing up in London, his arrival in America and what lies ahead. PAGE C1



## COHEN ACCUSES TRUMP OF LIES AND COVER-UPS

### Claim Puts President at a Hush-Money Scheme's Center

By REBECCA R. RUIZ

President Trump's former lawyer told Congress on Wednesday that Mr. Trump remained deeply involved in the arrangement to pay hush money to a pornographic film actress, even while in the White House, telling him just a year ago to lie to a journalist about the president's involvement.

Testifying before the House Oversight Committee, the lawyer, Michael D. Cohen, also for the first time publicly implicated the president's eldest son, Donald Jr., and the chief financial officer of his company, Allen Weisselberg, in the arrangement involving the actress, Stormy Daniels. She had been paid \$130,000 before the 2016 election to keep quiet about an alleged affair with Mr. Trump, and Mr. Cohen was reimbursed in 2017 for fronting that money.

"He knew about everything," Mr. Cohen said of Mr. Trump. "Everything had to go through Mr. Trump and had to be approved by Mr. Trump."

While federal prosecutors in New York had laid out a general narrative around the payments, including Mr. Trump's involvement, Mr. Cohen explicitly placed Mr. Trump at the center of the events, producing checks he described as evidence of the role the president and his company played.

Mr. Cohen pleaded guilty last summer to campaign finance crimes relating to payments made to Ms. Daniels and a second woman, Karen McDougal, who also said she had had an affair with Mr. Trump. He is scheduled to begin serving a three-year prison sentence in May for those and other crimes, including lying to Congress during earlier testimony.

Republican members of the committee on Wednesday repeatedly challenged Mr. Cohen's remarks as untrustworthy, and even before Mr. Cohen was sworn in, the president posted on Twitter that he was "lying in order to reduce his prison time." The Trump campaign also released a statement impugning Mr. Cohen's credibility.

But in testimony punctuated with flashes of anger and regret, Mr. Cohen said he had seen the errors of his ways and was determined to serve as a positive role model to his children. Insisting he was speaking the truth, he offered the first up-close description of how involved the president remained in concealing details of the payments, even after winning the

Continued on Page A17



'He is a racist. He is a con man. And he is a cheat.'

'I have lied, but I am not a liar. I have done bad things, but I am not a bad man.'

'He asked me to pay off an adult film star with whom he had an affair, and to lie to his wife about it, which I did.'

'Mr. Trump knew of and directed the Trump Moscow negotiations throughout the campaign and lied about it. He lied about it because he never expected to win.'

'I am ashamed of my weakness and misplaced loyalty.'

PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Republicans Assail Daylong House Hearing as 'Charade' Aimed at Ousting President

By PETER BAKER and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — President Trump's longtime lawyer and fixer accused him on Wednesday of an expansive pattern of lies and criminality, offering a damning portrayal of life inside the president's orbit where he said advisers sacrificed integrity for proximity to power.

Michael D. Cohen, who represented Mr. Trump for a decade, laid out for Congress for the first time a series of deceptions by the president. He charged that Mr. Trump lied to the public about business interests in Russia, lied to reporters about stolen Democratic emails and told Mr. Cohen to lie about hush payments to cover up sexual misconduct.

The accusations, aired at a day-long hearing before the House Oversight and Reform Committee, exposed a dark underside of Mr. Trump's business and political worlds in the voice of one of the ultimate insiders. Perhaps no close associate has turned on a president in front of Congress in such dramatic fashion and with such high stakes since John Dean testified against President Richard M. Nixon during the Watergate scandal.

"He is a racist. He is a con man. And he is a cheat," Mr. Cohen said

of the president. Mr. Cohen, who has pleaded guilty to lying under oath to Congress, among other crimes, said he did so to protect Mr. Trump. "I am not protecting Mr. Trump anymore," he said.

While the details have been different, his portrait of the president broadly resembles those provided by others who have split with Mr. Trump, including former aides, business associates and even his onetime ghostwriter, who likewise have described a president who bullies, dissembles and cheats to serve his own interests.

But it remained unclear whether Mr. Cohen's testimony

Continued on Page A14



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ENCORE President Trump reunited with North Korea's Kim Jong-un in Hanoi. Page A9.

### A Long New York Relationship Has a Messy, Public Breakup

By MARK MAZZETTI and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — He has spent months inside his Park Avenue apartment glued to cable news, his legal bills growing and federal prosecutors amassing evidence against him they would use as leverage.

He watched his onetime friend and former boss, now the president of the United States, smear him on Twitter and make vague, public threats about his family.

His work for Donald J. Trump, and the lies he told about it, are sending him to prison for years.

On Tuesday, his law license was revoked.

On Wednesday, Michael D. Cohen exacted his revenge.

It was a nasty, public breakup of a New York relationship forged over a decade that was a mix of the bond between a father and son, the professional distance of a lawyer and client, and — as Mr. Cohen and associates have described it — the blind devotion of a

henchman to a crime boss.

"People that follow Mr. Trump as I did blindly are going to suffer the same consequences that I'm suffering," he told a packed hearing of the House Committee on Oversight and Reform — a blunt warning to congressional Republicans he said have assumed the same role as Mr. Trump's protectors that he played for years.

During hours of lurid testimony, the president's once-loyal lawyer and fixer recalled shady business deals and racist comments, and spoke in devastating, uncomfortable detail about his private conversations with the man he had idolized and still refers to only as "Mr. Trump."

Such deference did not keep him from painting a damning portrait of the president, including Mr. Trump's attempts to dodge Vietnam War service and his efforts to strong-arm academic

Continued on Page A18

### Unsafe Rail Crossing Was to Be Replaced. Tragedy Struck First.

This article is by James Barron, Patrick McGeehan and Emma G. Fitzsimmons.

It had long been considered a dangerous crossing, with more than 200 commuter trains barreling by every day, traveling up to 80 miles per hour — even as streams of cars waited to drive over the tracks.

It was so troubling that it was one of seven hazardous crossings along a 20-mile stretch of Long Island Rail Road track that were scheduled to be eliminated.

The construction work at the crossing in Nassau County was set to begin next year; plans called for a bridge for trains and an underpass for vehicles. But that was not soon enough to avoid a rush-hour tragedy on Tuesday.

Two Long Island Rail Road trains traveling in opposite directions slammed into a vehicle that had apparently driven around the crossing gates on School Street in Westbury. Three people, all of them inside the vehicle, were killed.



ULI SEITZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Two Long Island Rail Road trains hit a vehicle on the tracks on Tuesday, killing three people.

Passengers on the two trains scrambled to safety, fleeing flames that they worried would engulf one train and dodging debris that smashed through the front of the other. For a brief, terrifying moment, rails twisted, metal

crunched, windows shattered and each train wobbled. Panicked passengers dreaded that the cars would tip over before they could get out.

Of the hundreds of people on the trains, seven were taken to Nas-

sau University Medical Center. Three were admitted, doctors at the hospital said.

On Wednesday, officials were still determining why the vehicle had worked its way around crossing

Continued on Page A24

### Pakistan Captures Indian Pilot, Raising Fears of Spiraling Crisis

By MARIA ABI-HABIB and HARI KUMAR

NEW DELHI — Pakistan said Wednesday that it downed two Indian fighter jets and captured a pilot, escalating hostilities between the nuclear-armed neighbors a day after Indian warplanes struck inside Pakistani territory for the first time in five decades.

The rapid turn of events raised fears that the historical animosities between India and Pakistan could be steering them toward another war.

Prime Minister Imran Khan of Pakistan urged India to settle matters through talks, referring to the nuclear weapons both countries hold and the risk of further escalation.

"All big wars have been due to miscalculation. No one knew how the war would end," he said in a televised speech. "My question to India is that given the weapons we have, can we afford miscalculation?"

Tensions have been rising since a suicide bombing two weeks ago that hit an Indian paramilitary convoy in Kashmir, the disputed territory that has been a chronic flash point. Expectations that diplomacy and calls for calm would de-escalate the crisis have yet to show any obvious result.

In New Delhi, officials confirmed that an Indian Air Force pilot was in Pakistani custody, complicating an already tough landscape for Prime Minister Narendra Modi ahead of hotly contested elections this spring.

Indian opposition politicians seized on what they saw as the opportunity the crisis presented: 21 opposition parties issued a statement Wednesday to condemn Mr. Modi for his "politicization" of the nation's armed forces and the current "Pakistani misadventure." A slickly produced video circulated

Continued on Page A10



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

#### Marching Off to Deadly Duty

For the Afghan women who send their sons to war, the promise of steady income dulls the threat of loss. PAGE A4

#### Hockey Night With Huawei

As the Chinese tech giant expands in Canada, investments and advertising haven't erased fears of spying. PAGE A11

NATIONAL A12-22

#### House Passes Gun Control Bill

The legislation, which requires background checks for all firearms purchases, is unlikely to get through the Republican-controlled Senate. PAGE A21

#### White Supremacism in Military

The Pentagon has strict regulations against discrimination, but extremism remains a problem. PAGE A22

NEW YORK A23-24

#### Fares to Rise. Crisis Remains.

As the transit system casts about for new revenue streams, most fares and tolls will increase in April. PAGE A23



BUSINESS B1-6

#### Speedy 5G Bests Politics

A conference in Spain was fertile ground for Huawei, despite an American campaign against the company. PAGE B5

#### Fox Is Told to Pay \$178 Million

An arbitrator accused Fox executives of a deceit in divvying up profits for the crime show "Bones." PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B7-12

#### Not Necessarily a Protest

As basketball players at Mississippi showed last weekend, taking a knee during the national anthem can draw attention to a local concern. PAGE B7

ARTS C1-8

#### His Most Unhated Film

Gaspar Noé is used to people getting a little upset with his movies. But that hasn't been the case with "Climax," his latest effort. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Jorge Ramos PAGE A27



THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

#### Cuddly Vermin Videos

The next big Instagram star could be rooting around in your trash can right now. The opossum Starfish, above, has a legion of admirers. PAGE D1



## May's Proposal For Brexit Fails In a Second Try

### Vote Prolongs Turmoil as Deadline Nears

By STEPHEN CASTLE

LONDON — Britain hurtled into unknown political territory on Tuesday when Parliament, for the second time, rejected Prime Minister Theresa May's plan to quit the European Union, leaving her authority in tatters and the country seemingly rudderless just 17 days before its scheduled departure from the bloc.

Mrs. May had hoped that last-minute concessions from the European Union would swing the vote in her favor, but many lawmakers dismissed those changes as ineffectual or cosmetic and voted against the deal, 391 to 242.

After the vote, the prime minister defended her agreement as the "best outcome" for the United Kingdom and showed her frustration in addressing the lawmakers, who are scheduled to vote later this week on whether to seek an extension to leave the bloc.

"Let me be clear that voting against leaving without a deal and for an extension does not solve the problems we face," Mrs. May said. "The E.U. will want to know what use we mean to make of such an extension, and the House will have to answer that question."

Did Parliament want to remain in the European Union, she asked, or hold a second referendum? Or leave with some other deal?

"These are unenviable choices," she said, "but thanks to the deci-



An American Airlines gate at La Guardia Airport. American and Southwest are the two U.S. carriers that fly the Boeing 737 Max 8.

## PRESSURE ON U.S. TO CEASE FLIGHTS OF TROUBLED JET

### EUROPE IS LATEST TO ACT

### Boeing's Chief, in Appeal to Trump, Vouches for the Plane's Safety

This article is by David Gelles, Thomas Kaplan, Kenneth P. Vogel and Natalie Kitroeff.

With more countries grounding Boeing jets and with lawmakers, aviation workers and consumers calling on the United States to do the same, the head of the aerospace giant on Tuesday made a personal appeal to President Trump.

Boeing's chief executive, Dennis A. Muilenburg, called from Chicago and expressed to Mr. Trump his confidence in the safety of the 737 Max 8 jets, according to two people briefed on the conversation. Two of the planes flown by overseas carriers have crashed in recent months in similar accidents.

The brief call had been in the works since Monday, but it came shortly after Mr. Trump raised concerns that the increasing use of technology in airplanes was compromising passenger safety. "Airplanes are becoming far too complex to fly," he wrote on Twitter. "Pilots are no longer needed, but rather computer scientists from MIT."

Soon after the conversation ended, Mr. Muilenburg received more bad news. The European Union suspended "all flight operations" of the Boeing 737 Max 8 model, a striking move by one of the industry's important regulators. At the end of the day, the Federal Aviation Administration said that it was continuing with its review and that the planes could keep flying.

Yet the decision in Europe means roughly two-thirds of the Boeing Max 8 aircraft in the world have been pulled from use in the two days since the crash of an Ethiopian Airlines flight that killed 157 people. The swift actions by authorities around the world were driven in part by concerns about a connection to a similar disaster involving a Max 8 in Indonesia last October, when a Lion Air flight plunged into the Java Sea shortly after takeoff, killing all 189 people aboard.

By Tuesday afternoon, the United States was nearly alone among major countries still allowing the jets to fly.

Elaine Chao, the transportation secretary, said regulators "will not hesitate to take immediate and appropriate action" if a safety issue arises.

Boeing reiterated in a statement late Tuesday that it had "full confidence in the safety of the aircraft." *Continued on Page A7*

## In Parliament, A Lost Voice, Party and Bet

By ELLEN BARRY

LONDON — If you watched Theresa May closely in Parliament on Tuesday, hours before a critical vote on her Brexit plan, there were signs that she knew her deal was close to extinction.

The first hint came when her husband, Philip, quietly slid into a seat in the V.I.P. gallery. Philip rarely shows up for her events unless she is in trouble, and a ripple of apprehension went through the press gallery. This was serious.

And then she started to talk. Whether because of sleeplessness or the grinding stress of last-ditch negotiations, when she took her place at the dispatch box what came out was a dry, croaking rasp. It was a repeat of a nightmarish appearance in 2017, when she whispered her way through a major speech, desperately gulping water and sucking on lozenges.

If Mrs. May thought her party members would close ranks around her in her hour of need, she was wrong. As she spoke Tuesday before the vote, the benches behind her were half-empty, many of her own party members having stayed away.

"This really is tragic," remarked Paul Waugh, who was



Prime Minister Theresa May of Britain on Tuesday.

sion the House has made this evening, they are choices that must now be faced."

The deal that Parliament rejected would have eventually given Britain power over immigration from Europe, but kept the country in the European Union's customs and trade system until at least the end of 2020.

Tuesday's vote, while expected, deepened an already profound crisis over the biggest peacetime decision to confront a British government in decades.

*Continued on Page A10*

## U.S. Charges Rich Parents in College Entry Fraud

This article is by Jennifer Medina, Katie Benner and Kate Taylor.

A teenage girl who did not play soccer magically became a star soccer recruit at Yale. Cost to her parents: \$1.2 million.

A high school boy eager to enroll at the University of Southern California was falsely deemed to have a learning disability so he could take his standardized test with a complicit proctor who would make sure he got the right score. Cost to his parents: at least \$50,000.

A student with no experience rowing won a spot on the U.S.C. crew team after a photograph of another person in a boat was submitted as evidence of her prowess.

Her parents wired \$200,000 into a

### Saying Celebrities and Others Paid to Secure Undeserved Spots

special account.

In a major college admissions scandal that laid bare the elaborate lengths some wealthy parents will go to get their children into competitive American universities, federal prosecutors charged 50 people on Tuesday in a brazen scheme to buy spots in the freshman classes at Yale, Stanford and other big name schools.

Thirty-three well-heeled parents were charged in the case, including Hollywood celebrities and

prominent business leaders, and prosecutors said there could be additional indictments to come.

Also implicated were top college athletic coaches, who were accused of accepting millions of dollars to help admit undeserving students to a wide variety of colleges, from the University of Texas at Austin to Wake Forest and Georgetown, by suggesting they were top athletes.

The parents included the television star Lori Loughlin and her husband, the fashion designer Mossimo Giannulli; the actress Felicity Huffman; and William E. McGlashan Jr., a partner at the private equity firm TPG, officials said.

The scheme unveiled Tuesday *Continued on Page A17*

## Back From Battle, Women Say They Feel Like 'Meat' at the V.A.

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

WASHINGTON — Corey Foster spent her Army career caring for wounded troops, both as a flight medic in the Iraq war and at Walter Reed hospital, so she looked forward to one of the most celebrated benefits of military service — health care for life from the Department of Veterans Affairs. Then she walked through the door at a V.A. medical center in Temple, Tex.

"You felt like you were a piece of meat," said Ms. Foster, 34, who retired as a sergeant. "Standing in line at the registration desk, I was getting comments from the male patients behind me, looking me up and down. It was a major source of discomfort."

The treatment was the same at the Veterans Affairs medical center in Murfreesboro, Tenn., where Ms. Foster moved after living in Texas. At that point she gave up, and opted for her husband's insurance outside the department. "They need to make the facilities not feel like an old soldier's home," Ms. Foster said.

An entrenched, sexist culture at many veterans hospitals is driving away female veterans and lags far behind the gains women have made in the military in recent years, veterans and lawmakers of both parties say. Although the Department of Veterans Affairs has scrambled to adjust to

*Continued on Page A14*



From left, Lori Loughlin and her husband, Mossimo Giannulli, and Felicity Huffman are among the parents implicated in a sprawling federal investigation that led to charges against 50 people.

## As a Rapt City Holds Its Breath for Mueller, Spin Machines Whir

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and NOAH WEILAND

WASHINGTON — Television crews have been positioned outside the offices of the special counsel, the federal courthouse and, at least before they were asked to leave, the McLean, Va., home of the new attorney general, William P. Barr.

Lawmakers on Capitol Hill are so desperate for hints that they are asking aides to call Justice

Department contacts to beg for morsels.

Publishing houses are scrambling to produce instant books of the findings. Newspapers are deploying small armies of reporters. At bars, restaurants, cocktail parties and street corners, people are asking one another the same question.

When is it coming out? Washington — jittery, full of rumor, like a becalmed ship in the dead air before a coming storm — is waiting for the report

### WASHINGTON MEMO

of the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, into Russian interference in the 2016 election and whether President Trump or his aides conspired in the effort or obstructed justice. It may or may not be the report of the century, it may or may not be ready soon, and it may be only a few pages long. But it is unquestionably one of the capital's most anticipated documents since the Starr Re-

port on President Bill Clinton arrived by the truckload on Capitol Hill in September 1998.

Real information — actually, any information at all from Mr. Mueller's astonishingly leak-free team — is almost nonexistent. "The folks who know aren't talking, and the folks who don't won't stop," said Antonia Ferrier, the former communications director for Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader.

*Continued on Page A12*

### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### U.S. Frustrated by Venezuela

The Trump administration has imposed sanctions and canceled the visas of officials working for President Nicolás Maduro. Nothing has worked. *PAGE A5*

#### Cardinal Gets 6 Years for Abuse

George Pell of Australia, a former adviser to the pope, had faced a 50-year maximum in his molestation trial. *PAGE A9*

### NEW YORK A18-19

#### Rape Kits in Limbo No More

Thousands of rape kits are finally being tested around the country, resulting in 64 convictions so far. *PAGE A19*



### BUSINESS B1-6

#### Better Burgers, From a Vegan

An activist who spent years trying to convert carnivores is now focused on tastier meat alternatives. *PAGE B1*

#### Savings in the Socket

A major shift in the humble light bulb deserves much of the credit for America's declining energy use. *PAGE B1*

### NATIONAL A11-17

#### Immigration Staffing Is Shifted

The Trump administration plans to shutter many of its immigration operations abroad, to move staff to handle a backlog of asylum requests. *PAGE A16*

#### Higher Bar for Impeachment

By all but ruling out impeachment without viewing evidence, Nancy Pelosi may set a precedent empowering presidents for decades. *NEWS ANALYSIS PAGE A12*

#### Halt in California Executions

Gov. Gavin Newsom will announce a temporary reprieve for the 737 inmates who wait on the largest death row in the Western Hemisphere. *PAGE A13*

### ARTS C1-7

#### Diversifying the Guffaws

Comedy Central's primary audience has long been young white males. But the network is expanding beyond that more than ever before. *PAGE C1*

### FOOD D1-8

#### An Even Sweeter Purim

We're sharing a creative recipe for hamantaschen, a traditional treat for the holiday, and the story behind that mouthful of a name. *PAGE D7*

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Thomas L. Friedman *PAGE A21*



### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B7-10

#### Beckham Bound for Cleveland

In a stunning trade, the Giants shipped the star wide receiver Odell Beckham Jr. to the Cleveland Browns for a safety and two draft picks. *PAGE B7*



MUELLER SUBMITS TRUMP INQUIRY FINDINGS

Turning Point Becomes Test For President

By PETER BAKER

After nearly three years of investigation, after hundreds of interviews and thousands upon thousands of pages of documents, after scores of indictments and court hearings and guilty pleas, after endless hours of cable-television and dinner-table speculation, the moment of reckoning has arrived.

It will be a reckoning for President Trump, to be sure, but also for Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel, for Congress, for Democrats, for Republicans, for the news media and, yes, for the system as a whole. The delivery of Mr. Mueller's report to the Justice Department on Friday marked a turning point that will shape the remainder of Mr. Trump's presidency and test the viability of American governance.

Washington has been waiting for Mr. Mueller's findings for so long and invested in them so much that it may be hard for what he has delivered to live up to the breathless anticipation. But once released, the Mueller report will transform the political landscape, fueling calls for the president's impeachment or providing him fodder to claim vindication — or possibly, in this live-in-your-own-reality moment, both at the same time.

Democrats on Friday played down the notion that the report would be the final word, fearing that anything less than a bombshell would undercut their own drive to investigate Mr. Trump not only on Russia's election interference but on the myriad other subjects that have drawn their attention. Mr. Trump, for his part, had engaged in a particularly manic Twitter spree lately, assailing the "witch hunt" and the "hoax" and everyone he blames for them, like his fellow Republicans John McCain and Jeff Sessions, in what some had interpreted as a sign of his own anxiety before the special counsel's verdict. But he was reported to appear relieved with early reports on Friday.

The fact that Mr. Mueller issued no further indictments as he wrapped up on Friday and never charged any Americans alleging criminal conspiracy between the Trump campaign and Russia emboldened the president's Republican allies,

Continued on Page A15



Paul Manafort



Michael D. Cohen



Richard Pinedo



George Papadopoulos



Alex van der Zwaan



Rick Gates



Michael T. Flynn



Thirteen Russian nationals



Twelve Russian intelligence officers



Konstantin V. Kilimnik



Roger J. Stone Jr.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Key
Guilty
Charged

The Findings So Far

More than 80 people were involved in lines of inquiry in the Mueller investigation. Seven people were convicted or pleaded guilty and 27 more were indicted, including 26 Russians. Pages A14-17.

What Should Be Made Public? A Battle Looms

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — The makings of an epic constitutional battle over the executive branch's power to keep information secret from Congress started to take shape on Friday, as Attorney General William P. Barr began to weigh how much to disclose about the findings of the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III.

As Mr. Barr officially informed Congress that Mr. Mueller had handed in his long-awaited report

Questions of Executive Privilege and Secrecy

about the Trump-Russia investigation to the Justice Department, Democrats on Capitol Hill immediately reiterated their demands to see the entire document — and more.

Democrats have made clear they are also determined to gain access to the Mueller team's supporting evidence and other inves-

tigative files, virtually guaranteeing a fight.

"Now that Special Counsel Mueller has submitted his report to the attorney general, it is imperative for Mr. Barr to make the full report public and provide its underlying documentation and findings to Congress," Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senator Chuck Schumer, the Democratic leader, said in a joint statement.

In a letter to Congress on Friday, Mr. Barr said he might release Mr. Mueller's principal con-

Continued on Page A17

Attorney General Could Brief Congress in Days on Report's 'Principal Conclusions'

By SHARON LaFRANIERE and KATIE BENNER

WASHINGTON — The special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, on Friday delivered a report on his inquiry into Russian interference in the 2016 election to Attorney General William P. Barr, bringing to a close an investigation that has consumed the nation and cast a shadow over President Trump for nearly two years.

Mr. Barr told congressional leaders in a letter that he may brief them on the special counsel's "principal conclusions" as early as this weekend, a surprisingly fast turnaround for a report anticipated for months. The attorney general said he "remained committed to as much transparency as possible."

In an apparent endorsement of an investigation that Mr. Trump has relentlessly attacked as a "witch hunt," Mr. Barr said Justice Department officials never had to intervene to keep Mr. Mueller from taking an inappropriate or unwarranted step. The department's regulations would have required Mr. Barr to inform the leaders of the House and Senate Judiciary committees about any such interventions in his letter.

A senior Justice Department official said that Mr. Mueller would not recommend new indictments, a statement aimed at ending speculation that Mr. Trump or other key figures might be charged down the line.

With department officials emphasizing that Mr. Mueller's inquiry was over and his office closing, the question for both Mr. Trump's critics and defenders was whether the prosecutors condemned the president's behavior in their report, exonerated him — or neither. The president's lawyers were already girding for a possible fight over whether they could assert executive privilege to keep parts of the report secret.

Since Mr. Mueller's appointment in May 2017, his team has focused on how Russian operatives sought to sway the outcome of the 2016 presidential race and whether anyone tied to the Trump campaign, wittingly or unwittingly, cooperated with them. While the inquiry, started months earlier by the F.B.I., unearthed a far-ranging Russian influence operation, no public evidence emerged that the president or his aides illegally assisted it.

Nonetheless, the damage to Mr. Trump and those in his circle has been extensive. A half-dozen for-

mer Trump aides were indicted or convicted of crimes, mostly for lying to federal investigators or Congress. Others remain under investigation in cases that Mr. Mueller's office handed off to federal prosecutors in New York and elsewhere.

Dozens of Russian intelligence officers or citizens, along with three Russian companies, were charged in cases that are likely to languish in court because the defendants cannot be extradited to the United States.

Republicans immediately seized upon the news that no more indictments are expected as a vindication of Mr. Trump and his campaign. Those reports "confirm what we've known all along: There was never any collusion with Russia," Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the second-highest-ranking House Republican, said in a statement.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Robert S. Mueller III wrapped up a nearly two-year inquiry.

Democrats, including some of those hoping to supplant Mr. Trump in the White House in the 2020 election, insisted that Mr. Mueller's full report be made public, including the underlying evidence. In a joint statement, Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California and Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the top Senate Democrat, warned Mr. Barr not to allow the White House a "sneak preview" of the document.

Continued on Page A14

WHAT'S NEXT? The report has yet to be made public, and the path to its potential release — in whole or in part — is complicated. PAGE A16

LONG WAIT Not even the president's personal lawyer seemed to have any idea what was happening as Friday dragged on. PAGE A18

Fed Up and Pushing for Diversity at Elite School

By ELIZA SHAPIRO

Sarai Pridgen had just gotten home from debate practice on Monday evening when she opened her laptop to find her Facebook feed flooded with stories about a staggering statistic: Only seven black students had been admitted into Stuyvesant High School, out of 895 spots. The number was causing a wrenching citywide discussion about race and inequality in America's largest school system.

Sarai said she felt sickened by the statistic — yet unsurprised. A 16-year-old sophomore, she is one of just 29 black students out of about 3,300 teenagers at Stuyvesant.

"I go to this school every day, I walk through the hallways of this school, and I don't think I see a black person usually through my day," said Sarai, who lives in Park Slope, Brooklyn. "It wasn't shock that I felt, it was the same wave of



CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

New York's Stuyvesant High has few blacks and Hispanics.

disappointment I feel every time I look at the demographics of this school."

New York is being rocked by a fight over the future of its selective schools, but at Stuyvesant, the admission statistics are especially piercing. For students, it is hard enough being a teenager, balancing grades and homework

with social pressures and a barrage of Instagram Stories.

But imagine being one of the few black and Hispanic students at one of the country's most selective public schools.

The nine black and Hispanic students who gathered for an interview after school on Wednesday

Continued on Page A22

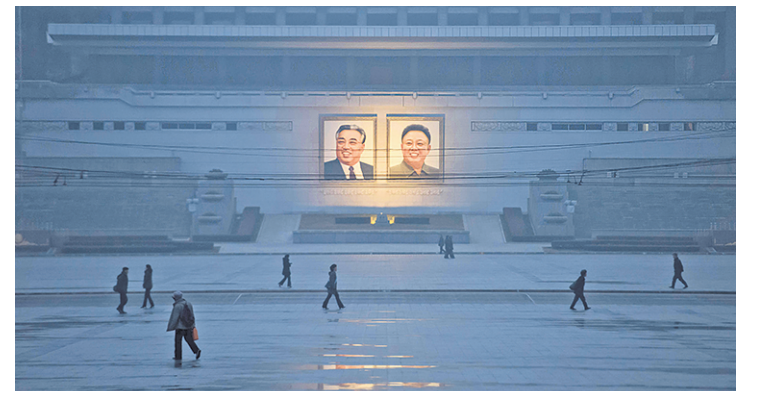
A Defiant Trump Mutes North Korea Sanctions

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — President Trump undercut his own Treasury Department on Friday with a sudden announcement that he had rolled back newly imposed North Korea sanctions, appearing to overrule national security experts as a favor to Kim Jong-un, the North Korean leader.

The move, announced on Twitter, was a remarkable display of dissension within the Trump administration. It created confusion at the highest levels of the federal government, just as the president's aides were seeking to pressure North Korea into returning to negotiations over dismantling its nuclear weapons program.

"It was announced today by the U.S. Treasury that additional large scale Sanctions would be added to those already existing Sanctions on North Korea," Mr. Trump tweeted. "I have today ordered the withdrawal of those ad-



ED JONES/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

President Trump rescinded new penalties affecting North Korea.

ditional Sanctions!"

The Treasury Department announced new sanctions on Friday against Iran and Venezuela, but not North Korea.

However, economic penalties were imposed on Thursday on two Chinese shipping companies suspected of helping North Korea evade international sanctions.

Those penalties, announced with news releases and a White House briefing, were the first imposed against North Korea since late last year and came less than a month after a summit meeting between Mr. Trump and Mr. Kim collapsed in Hanoi, Vietnam, without a deal.

It was initially believed that Mr.

Continued on Page A11

BUSINESS B1-6

Hollywood Wiretapper Freed

Anthony Pellicano, whose case exposed the entertainment world's underbelly, spent over a decade in prison. PAGE B1

It's Pothole Season for Tesla

Recently compiled data on new-car registrations holds ominous signs for the electric-car maker's sales. PAGE B1



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Securing a European Foothold

Italy will become the first Group of 7 nation to officially join China's "One Belt, One Road" project, a sign of Beijing's growing influence. PAGE A4

A Rallying Cry No More

President Trump's call to recognize Israeli sovereignty in the Golan Heights met a muted Arab response. PAGE A9

NEW YORK A21-22

The Mystery Mob Murder

Nobody imagined Anthony Comello would ever be charged in the highest-profile mob killing in decades. PAGE A21

NATIONAL A12-20

Anxiety in River Towns

Rivers engorged with late-winter rains and snowmelt have overwhelmed flood controls in the Midwest, exposing a piecemeal approach. PAGE A12

Private Email, Official Business

Democrats say President Trump's daughter and son-in-law may have violated federal records laws. PAGE A13

ARTS C1-7

Holy 80th Birthday, Batman!

The Caped Crusader's journey to this milestone is filled with many memorable crime-fighting moments. PAGE C2

SPORTS SATURDAY D1-6

By the Book (or Perhaps Not)

An administrator known as a stickler for rules is at the center of U.S.C.'s involvement in a bribe scandal. PAGE D1

Bracket-Busting Anteaters

No. 13 California, Irvine, earned its first N.C.A.A. tournament win with a 70-64 upset of No. 4 Kansas State. PAGE D3



THIS WEEKEND

Stop the Presses

Christopher Payne captures the grimy beauty of printing a newspaper at The Times's Queens plant. SPECIAL SECTION

Sights to Behold

The travel guru Rick Steves wants to save the world — one vacation at a time. THE MAGAZINE

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Bret Stephens

PAGE A25



## MUELLER FINDS NO TRUMP-RUSSIA CONSPIRACY



The Attorney General  
Washington, D.C.

March 24, 2019

To inform you about the status of my initial review of the report he has prepared.

### The Special Counsel's Report

#### Russian Interference in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election. The

influence the election, which would be a federal crime. The Special Counsel's investigation did not find that the Trump campaign or anyone associated with it conspired or coordinated with Russia in its efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. presidential election. As the report states: "[T]he investigation did not establish that members of the Trump Campaign conspired or coordinated with the Russian government in its election interference activities."<sup>1</sup>

**Obstruction of Justice.** The report's second part addresses a number of actions by the President — most of which have been the subject of public reporting — that the Special Counsel investigated as potentially raising obstruction-of-justice concerns. After making a "thorough factual investigation" into these matters, the Special Counsel considered whether to evaluate the conduct under Department standards governing prosecution and declination decisions but ultimately determined not to make a traditional prosecutorial judgment. The Special Counsel therefore did not draw a conclusion — one way or the other — as to whether the examined conduct constituted obstruction. Instead, for each of the relevant actions investigated, the report sets out evidence on both sides of the question and leaves unresolved what the Special Counsel views as "difficult issues" of law and fact concerning whether the President's actions and intent could be viewed as obstruction. The Special Counsel states that "while this report does not conclude that the President committed a crime, it also does not exonerate him."

As I observed in my initial notification, the Special Counsel regulations provide that "the Attorney General may determine that public release of" notifications to your respective Committees "would be in the public interest." 28 C.F.R. § 600.9(c). I have so determined, and I will disclose this letter to the public after delivering it to you.

Sincerely,

*W.P. Barr*  
William P. Barr  
Attorney General

### President Sees 'Exoneration,' but Barr Says Inquiry Did Not Settle Obstruction Issue

By MARK MAZZETTI and KATIE BENNER

WASHINGTON — The investigation led by Robert S. Mueller III found no evidence that President Trump or any of his aides coordinated with the Russian government's 2016 election interference, according to a summary of the special counsel's key findings made public on Sunday by Attorney General William P. Barr.

Mr. Mueller, who spent nearly two years investigating Moscow's determined effort to sabotage the last presidential election, found no conspiracy "despite multiple offers from Russian-affiliated individuals to assist the Trump campaign," Mr. Barr wrote in a letter to lawmakers.

Mr. Mueller's team drew no conclusions about whether Mr. Trump illegally obstructed justice, Mr. Barr said, so he made his own decision. The attorney general and his deputy, Rod J. Rosenstein, determined that the special counsel's investigators had insufficient evidence to establish that the president committed that offense.

He cautioned, however, that Mr. Mueller's report states that "while this report does not conclude that the president committed a crime, it also does not exonerate him" on the obstruction of justice issue.

Still, the release of the findings was a significant political victory for Mr. Trump and lifted a cloud that has hung over his presidency since before he took the oath of office. It is also likely to alter discussion in Congress about the fate of the Trump presidency; some

Democrats had pledged to wait until the special counsel finished his work before deciding whether to initiate impeachment proceedings.

The president trumpeted the news almost immediately, even as he mischaracterized the special counsel's findings. "It was a complete and total exoneration," Mr. Trump told reporters in Florida before boarding Air Force One. "It's a shame that our country had to go through this. To be honest, it's a shame that our president has had to go through this."

He added, "This was an illegal takedown that failed."

Mr. Barr's letter was the culmination of a tense two days since Mr. Mueller delivered his report to the Justice Department. Mr. Barr spent the weekend poring over the special counsel's work, as Mr. Trump strategized with lawyers and political aides at his Mar-a-Lago estate in Florida.

Mr. Mueller, who has been a spectral presence in the capital for nearly two years — so often discussed, but so rarely seen — was photographed leaving a church on Sunday morning just across Lafayette Square from the White House.

Hours later, Mr. Barr delivered his letter describing the special counsel's findings to Congress. But congressional Democrats have demanded more, and the letter could be just the beginning of a lengthy constitutional battle between Congress and the Justice

Continued on Page A14

**INQUIRIES** Democrats vowed to press on with investigations of the president while demanding access to Mr. Mueller's report. PAGE A16

**THE MEDIA** After hours of waiting for news to break, TV anchors and commentators scrambled to interpret "a lot of legalese." PAGE A17

### Mueller Demurs So Barr Makes A Key Decision

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — Over the 22 months of their inquiry, Robert S. Mueller III's investigators examined countless documents and interviewed dozens of witnesses, including some of the highest-ranking lawyers and aides in the White House, to determine whether President Trump obstructed justice. But in the end, the special counsel reached no conclusion — instead producing a report that merely marshaled evidence on both sides.

Then, Attorney General William P. Barr, a political appointee whom Mr. Trump installed less than a month ago and who began reading Mr. Mueller's report on Friday, stepped in. With the concurrence of his deputy, Rod J. Rosenstein, Mr. Barr seized the opportunity to render a judgment — pronouncing Mr. Trump clear of committing any criminal offense.

The propriety of that move by Mr. Barr — who had written an unsolicited memo last year arguing that Mr. Mueller ought not to be permitted to investigate Mr. Trump for obstruction of justice — is certain to be a focus of political contention as Congress grapples with what it now knows about the still-secret Mueller report.

Continued on Page A17



President Trump spoke angrily with reporters on Sunday before leaving Florida for Washington.

### Quiet Weekend Closes With Triumph and Fury

By MARK LANDLER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump was in the private quarters of his Palm Beach, Fla., club on Sunday afternoon when two White House lawyers briefed him on the details of Attorney General William P. Barr's four-page summary of the Russia investigation.

Mr. Trump, just back from a

round of golf, expressed vindication, though no great display of emotion, two people close to him said. An hour later, as he boarded Air Force One to fly to Washington, a very different Mr. Trump emerged.

Speaking with barely concealed fury, he told reporters, "It's a shame that our country had to go through this. To be honest, it's a shame that your president has had to go through this." He deni-

grated the investigation, led by the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III, as an "illegal takedown that failed" and said those responsible for it should face scrutiny.

Mr. Trump's aides warned him not to react to the findings with a sense of triumphalism, people close to him said. But the president, who has long felt victimized by the Russia investigation and

Continued on Page A14



Attorney General William P. Barr leaving his house on Sunday.

### Burden Lifts, Leaving President Fortified for the Battles to Come

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For President Trump, it may have been the best day of his tenure so far. The darkest, most ominous cloud hanging over his presidency was all but lifted on Sunday with the release of the special counsel's conclusions, which undercut the threat of impeachment and provided him with a powerful boost for the final 22 months of his term.

There are still other clouds overhead and no one outside the Justice Department has actually read the report by Robert S. Mueller III, the special counsel, which may yet disclose damning information if made public. But the end of the investigation without findings of collusion with Russia fortified the president for the battles to come, including his campaign for re-election.

While critics will still argue about whether Mr. Trump tried

NEWS ANALYSIS

to obstruct justice, the president quickly claimed vindication and Republican allies pounced on their Democratic colleagues for what they called an unrelenting partisan campaign against him. Even as his own party's congressional leaders called on the country to move on, however, the president indicated that he may not be ready to, denouncing the very existence of Mr. Mueller's investigation as "an illegal takedown that failed" and calling for a counterinvestigation into how it got started.

Emboldened and angry, the president can now proceed with his administration without the distraction of new search warrants and indictments by Mr. Mueller's team or the worry that the special counsel might charge Mr. Trump's family members or

Continued on Page A16

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

##### An Ice Marathon in Russia

It is one of the world's most grueling races, 26 miles over Siberia's Lake Baikal, amid cracking ice and shifting weather. Russia Dispatch. PAGE A4

##### In Thai Elections, a Surprise

A military-linked party was unexpectedly in the lead, likely cementing the army's status as the country's dominant political force. PAGE A10

##### Church Leader Tested in China

Wang Yi has been held incommunicado for three months, part of a government crackdown on independent religious groups. PAGE A9



#### NATIONAL A11-20

##### From Woman to Marine

Women make up eight percent of the U.S. Marine Corps. At Parris Island, S.C., they start their journey. PAGE A12

##### When the Accuser Is Black

Black women in sexual assault cases often face added pain: charges of disloyalty to their race. PAGE A11

#### BUSINESS B1-8

##### A Trade Thaw From China?

Top Chinese officials, looking at a skeptical audience both at home and abroad, pledge to open the country's markets to foreign investment. PAGE B4

##### Venture Capitalists Preen

As start-ups like Lyft and Pinterest prepare I.P.O.s, Silicon Valley investors are ready for their close-ups. PAGE B1

#### NEW YORK A21, 24

##### Issues of Race and Policing

The veracity of Chanel Lewis's confession is being called into question in a murder retrial in Queens. PAGE A24

#### SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

##### No. 1 Duke Advances, Barely

The Blue Devils rallied in the final minute to edge Central Florida, 77-76, and reach the N.C.A.A. tournament's round of 16. Tennessee, a No. 2 seed, defeated Iowa in overtime. PAGE D3

##### Patriots' Gronkowski Retires

Rob Gronkowski, 29, a three-time Super Bowl champion known for his size and speed as a tight end and for his goofy antics off the field, made the announcement on Instagram. PAGE D6

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Charles M. Blow PAGE A23



#### ARTS C1-8

##### She Sounds Awful. That's Good.

Some of the scariest parts of the film "Us" are heard rather than seen. Lupita Nyong'o is a big reason why. PAGE C1





## AT WHITE HOUSE, GATEKEEPER LETS TRUMP BE TRUMP

### LOYALIST SHUNS LIMITS

#### Acting Chief of Staff Seen as Enabler of Actions Others Squelched

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — When President Trump met with his embattled homeland security secretary on Sunday to force her out after months of eruptions over immigration policy, the only other person in the room was Mick Mulvaney, who made no effort to head off the confrontation and instead helped draft the resignation letter.

When Mr. Trump decided to get rid of his Secret Service director, officials said, Mr. Mulvaney delivered the message rather than try to talk the president out of it. When Mr. Trump considered whether to ask a court to invalidate the Affordable Care Act despite opposition from his own top legal advisers, Mr. Mulvaney's response: Follow your gut.

In his first 100 days as the president's acting chief of staff, Mr. Mulvaney has assumed a central role in Mr. Trump's circle but one markedly different than the previous two occupants of his corner office. For the first time since taking office, Mr. Trump has a chief of staff who has made it his job to encourage rather than restrain the president's conservative instincts — to let Trump be Trump, in effect.

Continued on Page A15



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

**BARR'S PLEDGE** The redacted Mueller report will be released "within a week." Page A15.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## A 'Full' Nation In Dire Need Of New Faces

### Decline of Work Force Contradicts President

By NEIL IRWIN and EMILY BADGER

President Trump has adopted a blunt new message in recent days for migrants seeking refuge in the United States: "Our country is full."

To the degree the president is addressing something broader than the recent strains on the asylum-seeking process, the line suggests the nation can't accommodate higher immigration levels because it is already bursting at the seams. But it runs counter to the consensus among demographers and economists.

They see ample evidence of a country that is not remotely "full" — but one where an aging population and declining birthrates among the native-born population are creating underpopulated cities and towns, vacant housing and troubled public finances.

Local officials in many of those places view a shrinking population and work force as an existential problem with few obvious solutions.

"I believe our biggest threat is our declining labor force," said Gov. Phil Scott of Vermont, a Republican, in his annual budget address this year. "It's the root of every problem we face."

"This makes it incredibly difficult for businesses to recruit new employees and expand, harder for communities to grow and leaves fewer of us to cover the cost of state government."

Or if you look at a city like Detroit, "many of the city's problems would become less difficult if its population would start growing," said Edward Glaeser, a Harvard economist. "All sorts of things like the hangover pension liability become much more solvable if you're actually looking at new people coming in."

This consensus is visible in

Continued on Page A12

**RULE CHANGES** The president is pushing to make it harder for migrants to win asylum. PAGE A12

## Illegal Workers Discreetly Cut From Trump's Clubs in Florida

This article is by Miriam Jordan, Annie Correal and Patricia Mazzei.

PALM BEACH, Fla. — Behind the clipped hedges of President Trump's sumptuous private clubs in South Florida, including his Mar-a-Lago estate where he has spent many getaway weekends, there has long been a built-in contradiction to the policy the president has repeatedly described as "America First."

Many of his employees have foreign passports.

Romanians serve dinner in lavish banquet halls. South Africans tend to guests at the spa. Britons bake elegant pastries. Most are young people hired as guest workers on special visas, living over the winter high season in a gated community with a sand volleyball pit and a movie theater. In the

mornings, they dress in trim uniforms and are chauffeured by van over a bridge to the luxury compound six miles away in Palm Beach.

But that's only part of the Trump resort work force in South Florida.

Alongside the foreign guest workers and the sizable American staff is another category of employees, mostly those who work on the pair of lush golf courses near Mar-a-Lago. Not offered apartments, they have been picked up by Trump contractors from groups of undocumented laborers at the side of the road; hired through staffing companies that assume responsibility for checking their immigration status; or brought onto the payroll

Continued on Page A13

### NATIONAL A11-18

#### Lawmakers Question Mnuchin

The Treasury secretary said it would be "premature" to comment on how his department would respond to a congressional request for the president's tax returns. PAGE A14

#### Treatment for Brittle Bones

The government approved a new osteoporosis drug. Unlike previous remedies, this one restores bone without breaking it down. PAGE A18

### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### China's Appetite for Lumber

After sharply restricting logging in its own forests, China turned to imports, ravaging the timber resources of other countries, including Russia. PAGE A4



### SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-14



#### Johnson Leaves the Lakers

Magic Johnson abruptly announced he was quitting as the president of basketball operations for the Lakers, who once again missed the playoffs. PAGE B13

### BUSINESS B1-8

#### \$11 Billion in Tit-for-Tat Tariffs

The United States prepared a list of retaliatory taxes to impose on European Union products as part of a dispute over aerospace subsidies. PAGE B1

### NEW YORK A20-21, 24

#### F.D.N.Y. Loss in Afghanistan

Staff Sgt. Christopher Slutman, a decorated 15-year veteran of the New York City Fire Department, was killed by a roadside bomb. PAGE A20

### ARTS C1-7

#### Sharing a Personal History

Stacey Abrams, the Democrat who lost the Georgia governor's race, had much to contribute to a panel of scholars discussing voter suppression. PAGE C1



### FOOD D1-8

#### The Delectable Spiral-Cut

The buffet table mainstay is the ham world's equivalent of pop music: sweet as honey and easy to digest. PAGE D1

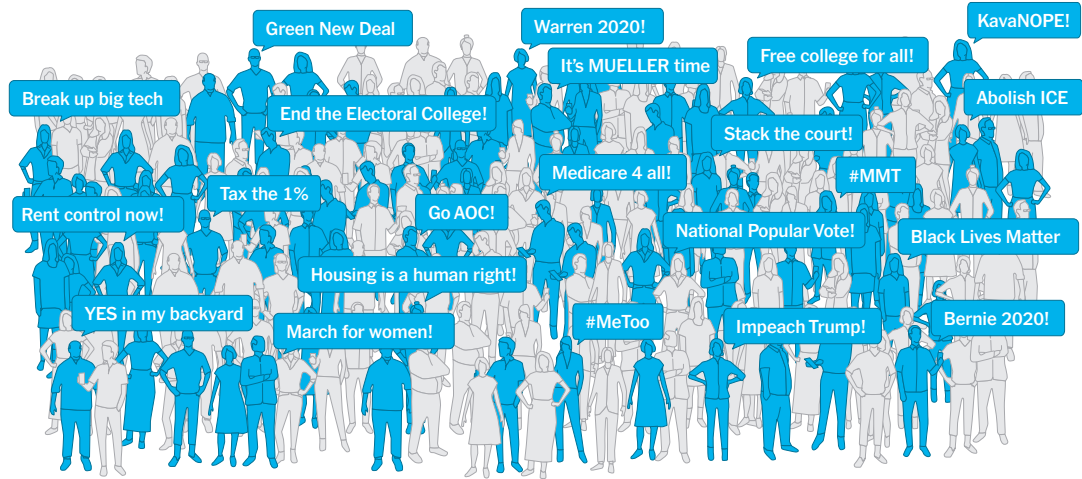
### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

#### Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A23



Democratic-leaning voters who post about politics on social media are outspoken and very liberal ...



KEY DEMOCRATS WHO POST POLITICAL CONTENT TO SOCIAL MEDIA

Progressive activists Other Democrats

... but they are outnumbered, nearly 2 to 1, by the more moderate, more diverse and less educated group of Democrats who don't post political content online:



DEMOCRATS WHO DON'T POST POLITICAL CONTENT TO SOCIAL MEDIA

Progressive activists Other Democrats

Source: Hidden Tribes Project

ILLUSTRATIONS BY SERGIO PECANHA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Liberals on Twitter Don't Speak for Quiet Majority

By NATE COHN and KEVIN QUEALY

Perhaps the most telling poll of the Democratic primary season hasn't been about the Democratic primary at all, but about the fallout from an old racist photo on the yearbook page of Gov. Ralph Northam of Virginia. He was pummeled on social media after the revelation, and virtually every Democratic presidential candidate demanded his resignation.

Yet the majority of ordinary Democrats in Virginia said Mr. Northam should remain in office, according to a Washington Post/Schar School poll a week later.

### Democratic Voters Are More Centrist Offline, Hinting at '20 Race

And black Democrats were likelier than white ones to say Mr. Northam should remain.

Today's Democratic Party is increasingly perceived as dominated by its "woke" left wing. But the views of Democrats on social media often bear little resemblance to those of the wider Democratic electorate.

The outspoken group of Demo-

cratic-leaning voters on social media is outnumbered, roughly 2 to 1, by the more moderate, more diverse and less educated group of Democrats who typically don't post political content online, according to data from the Hidden Tribes Project. This latter group has the numbers to decide the Democratic presidential nomination in favor of a relatively moderate establishment favorite, as it has often done in the past.

A majority of Democrats who don't share their political views on social media consider themselves moderates or conservatives, compared with 29 percent of those who do post political content on-

Continued on Page A16

## 'Monkey, Rat and Pig DNA': Vaccine Fears Drive a Measles Surge

By TYLER PAGER

"The Vaccine Safety Handbook" appears innocuous, a slick magazine for parents who want to raise healthy children. But tucked inside its 40 pages are false warnings that vaccines cause autism and contain cells from aborted human fetuses.

"It is our belief that there is no greater threat to public health than vaccines," the publication concludes, contradicting the sci-

entific consensus that vaccines are generally safe and highly effective.

The handbook, created by a group called Parents Educating and Advocating for Children's Health, or Peach, is targeted at ultra-Orthodox Jews, whose expanding and insular communities are at the epicenter of one of the largest measles outbreaks in the United States in decades.

On Tuesday, Mayor Bill de Blasio declared a public health emergency in parts of Brooklyn in an

### New York City Declares a Health Emergency

effort to contain the spread of measles in ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods there. He said unvaccinated individuals would be required to receive the measles vaccine — or be subjected to a fine — as the city escalated its campaign to stem the outbreak.

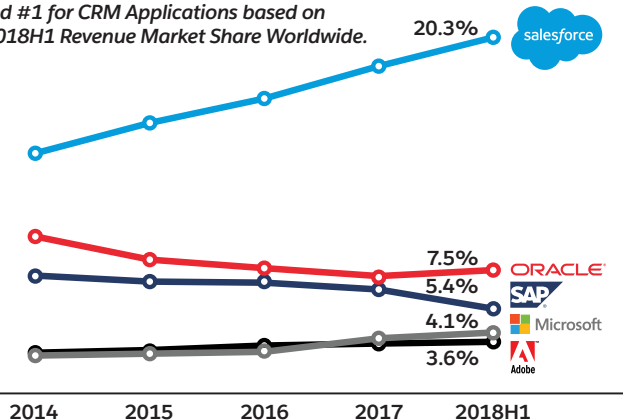
Peach's handbook — with letters signed by rabbis and sections like "Halachic Points of Interest" — has become one of the main vehicles for misinformation among ultra-Orthodox groups, including Hasidim. Its message is shared on hotlines and in group texts.

"Vaccines contain monkey, rat and pig DNA as well as cow-serum blood, all of which are forbidden for consumption according to kosher dietary law," Moishe Kahan, a contributing editor for

Continued on Page A24

## Salesforce. #1 CRM.

Ranked #1 for CRM Applications based on IDC 2018H1 Revenue Market Share Worldwide.



Source: IDC, Worldwide Semiannual Software Tracker, October 2018.

salesforce.com/number1CRM

CRM market includes the following IDC-defined functional markets: Sales Force Productivity and Management, Marketing Campaign Management, Customer Service, Contact Center, and Digital Commerce Applications. © 2018 Salesforce.com, Inc. All rights reserved. Salesforce.com is a registered trademark of Salesforce.com, Inc., as are other names and marks.

## Migrants Pour Into a System That's 'on Fire'

### U.S. Border Could Be at a Breaking Point

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Miriam Jordan and Manny Fernandez.

SAN YSIDRO, Calif. — It was never like this before.

The migrants come now in the middle of the night or in the bright light of day. Men and women arrive by the hundreds, caked with dirt, with teens and toddlers in tow. They jump the small fences in remote parts of Texas, and they gather on the hot pavement at the main border crossing in California. Tired and fearful, they look for the one thing that they pray will allow them to stay in the United States, at least for a while: a Border Patrol agent.

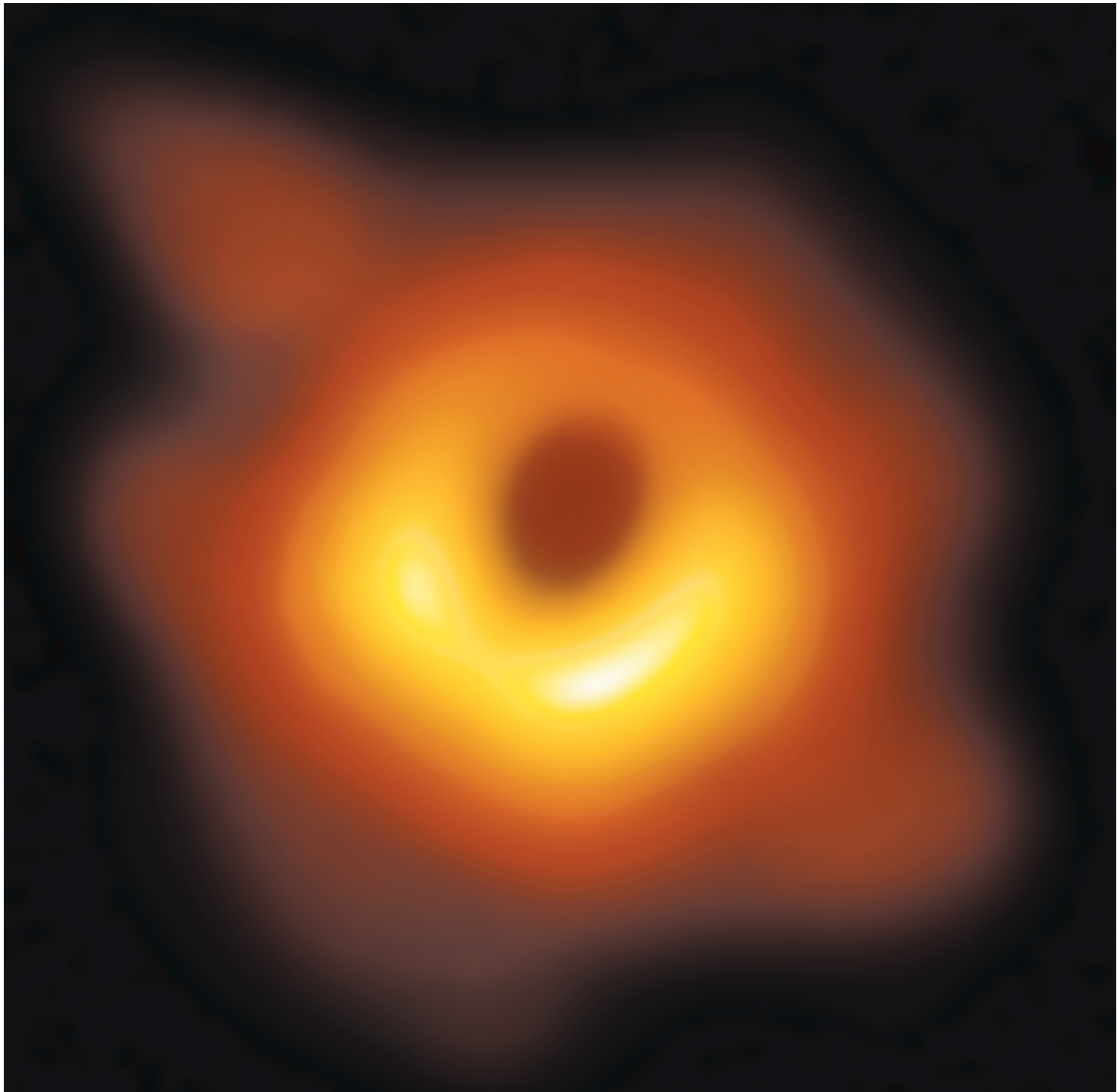
Gone are the days when young, strong men waited on the Tijuana River levees for their chance to wade across the water, evade capture and find work for the summer. These days, thousands of people a day simply walk up to the border and surrender. Most of them are from Central America, seeking to escape gang violence, sexual abuse, death threats and persistent poverty. The smugglers have told them that they will be quickly released, as long as they bring a child, and that they will be allowed to remain in the United States for years while they pursue their asylum cases.

The very nature of immigration to America changed after 2014, when families first began showing up in large numbers. The resulting crisis has overwhelmed a system unable to detain, care for and quickly decide the fate of tens of thousands of people who claim to be fleeing for their lives. For years, both political parties have tried — and failed — to overhaul the nation's immigration laws, mindful that someday the government would reach a breaking point.

That moment has arrived. The country is now unable to provide the necessary humanitarian relief for desperate migrants or even basic controls on the number and

Continued on Page A20

**2020 PLAN** In Texas, the president said he would use the border as a campaign issue. PAGE A21



EVENT HORIZON TELESCOPE COLLABORATION, VIA NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Scientists captured a view of a black hole at the heart of a galaxy known as Messier 87, some 55 million light-years away from Earth.

## Peering Into Light's Graveyard: The First Image of a Black Hole

By DENNIS OVERBYE

Astronomers announced on Wednesday that at last they had captured an image of the unobservable: a black hole, a cosmic abyss so deep and dense that not even light can escape it.

For years, and for all the mounting scientific evidence, black holes have remained marooned in the imaginations of artists and the algorithms of splashy computer models of the kind used in Christo-

pher Nolan's outer-space epic "Interstellar." Now they are more real than ever.

"We have seen what we thought was unseeable," said Shep Doeleman, an astronomer at the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics, and director of the effort to capture the image, during a Wednesday news conference in Washington, D.C.

The image, of a lopsided ring of light surrounding a dark circle deep in the heart of a galaxy

### Linked Antennas Turn Earth Into Telescope

known as Messier 87, some 55 million light-years away from Earth, resembled the Eye of Sauron, a reminder yet again of the implacable power of nature. It is a smoke ring framing a one-way portal to eternity.

To capture the image, astrono-

mers reached across intergalactic space to Messier 87, or M87, a giant galaxy in the constellation Virgo. There, a black hole several billion times more massive than the sun is unleashing a violent jet of energy some 5,000 light-years into space.

The image offered a final, ringing affirmation of an idea so disturbing that even Einstein, from whose equations black holes emerged, was loath to accept it. If

Continued on Page A16

## Barr, Asserting 'Spying' in 2016, Cites Questions, but Not Evidence

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — Attorney General William P. Barr said on Wednesday that he would scrutinize the F.B.I.'s investigation of the Trump campaign's ties to Russia, including whether "spying" conducted by American intelligence agencies on the campaign's associates had been properly carried out.

"I think spying on a political campaign is a big deal," Mr. Barr said during testimony before a Senate Appropriations subcommittee, adding that he wanted to look into both "the genesis and the conduct" of the F.B.I. inquiry. He cast his interest as a matter of protecting civil liberties from potential abuse by the government.

"I think spying did occur," Mr. Barr said. "The question is whether it was adequately predicated. And I'm not suggesting that it wasn't adequately predicated. But I need to explore that."

The remarks by the new attorney general — particularly his embrace of the term spying, which is frequently invoked by critics of the Russia investigation — are certain to please President Trump and his allies, who have accused American law enforcement

officials of targeting his campaign out of political malice.

Mr. Barr's pledge, made as he prepares to make public in coming days a redacted version of the special counsel's report on the Russia inquiry, was a sign that after nearly three years of investigating the president's campaign and Russia, the Justice Department's focus may begin to shift in a direction that Mr. Trump has demanded.

In addition to Mr. Barr's review of the F.B.I. investigation, the Justice Department's inspector general, a specially tasked United States attorney and Republicans in Congress are all studying key actions taken during the course of the inquiry. Those actions include how officials opened the Trump-Russia investigation, called Crossfire Hurricane, and obtained a secret warrant to wiretap a former Trump campaign adviser.

Mr. Trump's thirst for a reckoning among his inquisitors appears

Continued on Page A22

**MUELLER REPORT** William P. Barr said he would consider requests to see redacted parts. PAGE A22



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Melting Sooner Than Expected

Portage Lake near Anchorage. Last month, temperatures in Alaska were as much as 20 degrees above historical averages. Page A13.

## Using Senate Standing, Sanders Reintroduces Medicare for All

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

WASHINGTON — Senator Bernie Sanders stepped to the lectern on Wednesday, red-faced and ruffled as ever, with a placard screaming "Medicare for All," and likened his quest for a government-run universal health plan to earlier movements for women's rights, civil rights, workers' rights

and gay rights.

"What we are involved in is not just health care legislation," he declared, flanked by admiring doctors in lab coats, Democratic senators and one of his rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination, Senator Kirsten Gillibrand of New York. "We are involved in a great struggle."

Medicare for All is not passing this Congress. Its cost is still un-

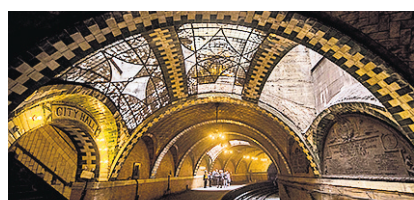
known, the mechanisms to pay for it still the subject of debate. But behind Mr. Sanders's choreographed theatrics were the unmistakable politics of 2020 and his campaign for president, a campaign that never really ended with the election of Donald J. Trump.

After the 2016 election, Democrats made efforts to pull Mr. Sanders, a political independent from Vermont, into the fold with a

newly minted leadership post. But that has only bolstered his platform to seek the presidency — and gave him more power to disrupt the party's status quo.

"I ran for president; I got 13 million votes, going over 1,700 delegates to the Democratic convention, and got more young people's votes than Clinton and Trump

Continued on Page A19



NEW YORK A25-27

### Subway Nirvana, for the Few

An ornate station with chandeliers and skylights sparkles below City Hall, but your train doesn't stop there. PAGE A25

### Fight Over Diversity Nudge

A move to admit a few more black and Hispanic students to elite Stuyvesant High has fanned an uproar. PAGE A26

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

### E.U. Extends Brexit Deadline

The European Union said it would delay Britain's exit deadline until Oct. 31 to avert a devastating divorce that was set to happen late Friday. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A13-24

### Challenging Moral Authority

Pete Buttigieg, gay and Christian, uses the language of faith to confront evangelicals over gay rights. PAGE A14

### What Trump's Taxes Might Say

The president's returns, sought in Congress, would illuminate his income but not fully decode his finances. PAGE A23



BUSINESS B1-7

### Glass-and-Steel Ghost Town

A financial district billed as China's Manhattan seems to have everything, except people and businesses. PAGE B1

### National Enquirer for Sale

American Media, the tabloid's owner, is said to have grown uncomfortable in the center of a federal inquiry. PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B8-14

### How the Lakers Fell Apart

During the off-season, an iconic franchise signed LeBron James, the N.B.A.'s best player. The move didn't work out the way anyone intended. PAGE B8

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

### Photographer From the Block

Jean Andre Antoine uses a 1947 Crown Graphic press camera and spends nearly every day chronicling his little piece of Manhattan. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

Nicholas Kristof PAGE A31



ARTS C1-8

### Visions for a New B.Q.E.

Michael Kimmelman says the city should consider adopting a plan that would create green space out of a crumbling stretch of the expressway. PAGE C1



0 354613 9

## TRUMP REKINDLES CAMPAIGN THREAT OF ISLAMIC PERIL

### LAWMAKER IS NEW FOIL

#### A Move to Rally His Base Unifies Democrats in Defense of Omar

**By MAGGIE HABERMAN and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG**

WASHINGTON — President Trump has often seen the political benefits of stigmatizing Muslims. During the 2016 campaign, he would not rule out creating a registry of Muslims in the United States. He claimed to have seen “thousands” of Muslims cheering on rooftops in New Jersey after Sept. 11, a statement that was widely debunked. And after the deadly attacks in Paris and California, Mr. Trump called for a moratorium on Muslims traveling to the United States.

“I think Islam hates us,” Mr. Trump told Anderson Cooper, the CNN host.

Now, with 19 months until the 2020 election, Mr. Trump is seeking to rally his base by sounding that theme again. And this time, he has a specific target: Representative Ilhan Omar, Democrat of Minnesota and one of the first Muslim women elected to Congress.

In Ms. Omar, a Somali refugee



Congresswoman Ilhan Omar says she has received threats.

whose family received asylum in the United States when she was a teenager, Mr. Trump has found a perfect foil: a progressive whose embrace of the boycott-Israel movement and attacks on supporters of the Jewish state have already made her a divisive figure within her own party. As the first woman to wear a hijab on the House floor — she pushed for a rules change to allow it — she is also a powerful, and visible symbol for Muslims and refugees.

Mr. Trump and his team are trying to make Ms. Omar, who is relatively unknown in national politics, a household name, to be seen

*Continued on Page A14*

## Shifting Deals Could Cost U.S. Economic Role

### Trade Partners May Try to Outwait Trump

**By ANA SWANSON**

WASHINGTON — President Trump is embracing a new tactic as he tries to rewrite the rules of global trade: Don't believe a final deal is truly final.

Mr. Trump, who has called deal-making his “art form,” has used his unpredictability as a source of leverage in discussions with Europe, Canada, Mexico, Japan and elsewhere. He has dangled the possibility of lifting American metal tariffs while threatening to add new tariffs on automobiles at any time. He has repeatedly agreed to new trade terms with foreign partners, then talked about undoing those deals to achieve additional goals.

Mr. Trump has argued that this aggressive and unpredictable negotiating style allows him to extract greater economic concessions than past administrations — and he may be right, at least in the short run. But his approach is causing concern among business groups and foreign officials, who say the uncertainty Mr. Trump loves to sow could undermine the role the United States has traditionally played in setting and stabilizing the global rules of trade, hampering economic growth in the process.

His administration is working on a number of trade deals, including agreements with South Korea, Canada and Mexico and discussions with China, Europe and Japan. On Monday, the European Union approved a mandate giving the bloc the authority to negotiate a limited trade agreement with the United States. And Japanese officials met with their American counterparts on Monday in Washington for preliminary trade talks.

But constantly moving the goal posts comes at a cost. Trade experts say the president appears to be encouraging some partners to drag their feet in dealings with the United States or find other trading partners to diversify away from the relationship. It has also created uncertainty for companies, which could negate the benefits of the trade deals Mr. Trump strikes.

“This administration's approach to trade is bully, bully, bully,” said Mary Lovely, a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. “What will be the ramifications in the future? We really don't know. We need cooperation on so many things.”

Canada and Mexico have repeatedly scrambled as a result of Mr. Trump's tactics. After months of painful negotiations, the United States reached a revised North American Free Trade Agreement

*Continued on Page A8*

# Fire Mauls Paris's Beloved Notre-Dame



The spire of the landmark Notre-Dame cathedral in Paris collapsed on Monday as a fire raged in the medieval Gothic structure.

## Tears for Symbol of a Nation's Enduring Identity

### By MICHAEL KIMMELMAN

Notre-Dame has occupied the heart of Paris for the better part of a millennium, its twin medieval towers rising from the small central island wedged between the storied left and right banks. Now, France is burning.

The fire at Notre-Dame happened on the day that the country's troubled president, Emmanuel Macron, was supposed to explain how he intended to address the demands of the “Yellow Vest” movement. An anguished, restless nation has struggled to

### CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

cope with the monthslong uprising and with the frayed social safety net that spurred the protests. Generations that had come to rely on this social safety net, as a matter of national pride and identity, see it going up in smoke.

On Monday, so was the cathedral, which for centuries has enshrined an evolving notion of Frenchness. The symbolism was hard to miss.

This fire is not like other recent calamities.

When flames killed dozens

*Continued on Page A7*

trapped in Grenfell Tower in London, it exposed a scandalous lack of oversight and a city of disastrous inequities. When a bridge collapsed in Genoa, Italy, also taking life, it revealed the consequential greed of privatization and a congenial absence of Italian leadership. When the National Museum of Brazil burned down, also through unconscionable government neglect, it wiped a tangible swath of South American history from the face of the earth, incinerating anthropological records of lost

## Macron Promises to Rebuild 'Cathedral of All the French'

### By ADAM NOSSITER and AURELIEN BREEDEN

PARIS — Notre-Dame cathedral, the symbol of the beauty and history of Paris, was scarred by an extensive fire on Monday evening that caused its delicate spire to collapse, bruised the Parisian skies with smoke and further disheartened a city already back on its heels after weeks of violent protests.

The spectacle of flames leaping from the cathedral's wooden roof — its spire glowing red then turning into a virtual cinder — stunned thousands of onlookers who gathered along the banks of the Seine and packed into the plaza of the nearby Hôtel de Ville, gasping and covering their mouths in horror and wiping away tears.

“It is like losing a member of one's own family,” said Pierre Guillaume Bonnet, a 45-year-old marketing director. “For me there are so many memories tied up in it.”

Around 500 firefighters battled the blaze for nearly five hours. By 11 p.m. Paris time, the structure had been “saved and preserved as a whole,” the fire chief, Jean-Claude Gallet, said. The two magnificent towers soaring above the skyline had been spared, he said, but two-thirds of the roof was destroyed.

“The worst has been avoided even though the battle is not completely won,” President Emmanuel Macron said in a brief and solemn speech at Notre-Dame on Monday night, vowing that the cathedral would be rebuilt.

“This is the place where we have lived all of our great moments, the epicenter of our lives,” he said. “It is the cathedral of all the French.”

The cause of the fire was not immediately known, officials said. But it appeared to have begun in the interior network of wooden beams, many dating back to the Middle Ages and nicknamed “the forest,” said the cathedral's rector, Msgr. Patrick Chauvet.

No one was killed, officials said, but a firefighter was seriously injured.

The fire broke out about 6:30

*Continued on Page A6*

## Right Where Democrats Left Off: It's Clinton Loyalist vs. Sanders

### By ELIZABETH WILLIAMSON and KENNETH P. VOGEL

WASHINGTON — The bad blood started early.

In 2008, Neera Tanden, then a top aide on Hillary Clinton's first presidential campaign, accompanied Mrs. Clinton to what was expected to be an easy interview at the Center for American Progress, the influential group founded by top Clinton aides. But Faiz Shakir, the chief editor of the think tank's ThinkProgress website, asked Mrs. Clinton a question about the Iraq war, an issue dogging her candidacy because she had supported it.

Ms. Tanden responded by circling back to Mr. Shakir after the interview and, according to a person in the room, punching him in the chest.

“I didn't slug him, I pushed

him,” a still angry Ms. Tanden corrected in a recent interview.

Ms. Tanden now leads the Center for American Progress, Mr. Shakir runs Bernie Sanders's presidential campaign and the enmity between the two camps burst into the open last weekend. Mr. Sanders, angry about a video produced by ThinkProgress that ridicules his new status as one of the millionaires he has vilified on the campaign trail, sent a scorching letter to the center's board, accusing Ms. Tanden of “maliciously maligning” her and supporters and belittling progressive ideas.

The blowup is another reflection of the ideological divisions among Democrats, this time be-

*Continued on Page A13*



Sprint to the Finish in Boston  
Lawrence Cherono, left, edged ahead of Lelisa Desisa to win the Boston Marathon. Page B10.

## Canada Asks, What Is a Feminist Government?

### By SARAH LYALL

OTTAWA — It was the sort of audience meant to be a natural fit for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada — more than 300 young women taking part in a “Daughters of the Vote” day of civic engagement in Parliament. But no sooner had he begun to speak than several dozen of the women stood up and dramatically turned their backs on him.

“Respect the integrity of women & indigenous leaders in politics,” Deanna Allain, one of the participants, said in a tweet aimed at Mr. Trudeau earlier this month. “Do better.”

Try as he might, Mr. Trudeau can't seem to move past the controversy that has sucked up most of the air in Canada since February, when the country's first Indigenous female attorney general quit after accusing the prime minister's office of inappropriately

pressuring her to consider a civil rather than criminal penalty for a company accused of corruption.

The episode has propelled Canada into an agonized, bad-tempered and occasionally hairsplitting argument about the rule of law, the exigencies of party loyalty and the role of women, Indigenous people and feminism in political life.

It has also left Mr. Trudeau, whose cabinet by design contains

*Continued on Page A9*

### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

**Stalemate Lingers in Sudan**  
Protesters celebrated the ouster of a despised autocrat outside military headquarters. But inside, the generals were still in charge. *PAGE A10*

**Political Islam on the Rise**  
Indonesian candidates for president polish their religious credentials for a growing conservative populace. *PAGE A4*

### SPORTSTUESDAY B6-11

**A Comeback for the Ages**  
Tiger Woods's Masters win, 11 years after his last major title, ranks him with the likes of Michael Jordan. *PAGE B7*

### NEW YORK A18-21

**Times Wins 2 Pulitzers**  
The New York Times, Wall Street Journal and South Florida Sun Sentinel were awarded some of the biggest prizes in journalism. *PAGE A20*

### Plane Crashes in Thick Fog

A pilot and his two passengers escaped with only a sprained finger after his small plane became entangled in power lines on Long Island. *PAGE A18*

### NATIONAL A11-17

**Date Set for Mueller Report**  
The attorney general said he would release the findings on Thursday after classified material and other delicate information is redacted. *PAGE A15*

**Consider an Escape to Duluth**  
Climate change will affect some areas in America more than others. Some lucky ones tout their appeal. *PAGE A11*

### ARTS C1-8

**He's Gay, Disabled and Funny**  
Ryan O'Connell, the star of the Netflix series “Special,” says he has looked at life through “a LOL lens.” *PAGE C1*

### BUSINESS B1-5

**25,000 Rides to Nowhere**  
As Uber insiders prepare to cash in on what may be a \$100 billion public offering, one longtime driver with thousands of trips under his belt is struggling to stay ahead of his expenses. *PAGE B1*

**House Demands Bank Records**  
Congressional investigators subpoenaed Deutsche Bank and other major institutions, seeking information about business dealings with Russia and President Trump's finances. *PAGE B1*

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

**Paul Krugman** *PAGE A24*



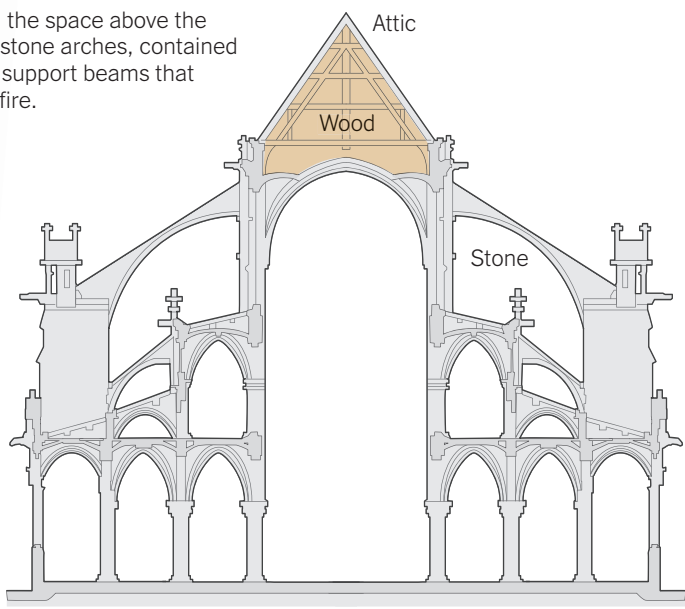
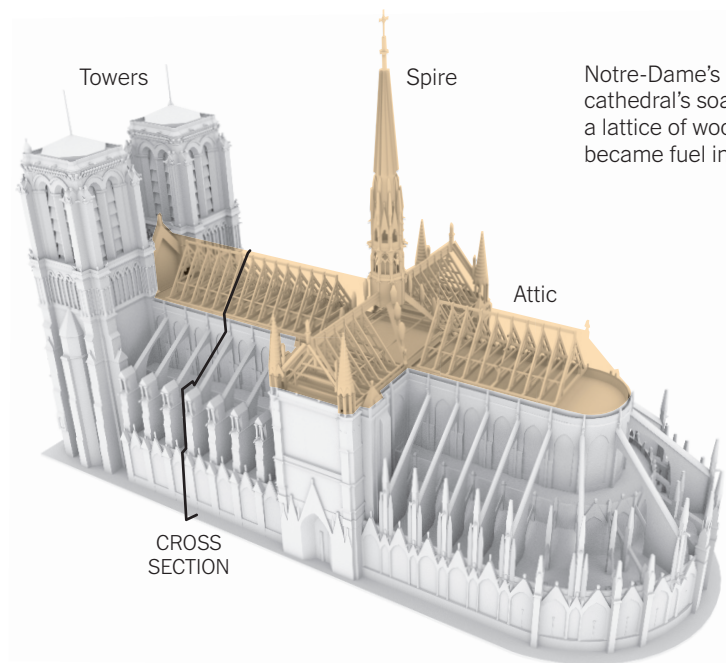
### SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

**Expanding Our Family Tree**  
In the Philippines, archaeologists have found the bones, and teeth, of a distant — and not very large — relative of modern humans. *PAGE D1*





POOL PHOTO BY CHRISTOPHE PETIT TESSON



Top, a fire that lasted more than 12 hours at the iconic Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris left the interior filled with debris on Tuesday. Above, the fire burned through most of the wooden roof and toppled its spire within an hour on Monday evening.

## Macron Encourages Unity After Notre-Dame Tragedy

### A 'Forest' of Parched Timber, and Little to Stop a Blaze

### The French President Seizes a Moment of Mourning

This article is by **Aurélien Breen, Elian Peltier, Liz Alderman and Richard Pérez-Peña.**

By **ADAM NOSSITER**

PARIS — Inside the cavernous cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, the last Mass of the day was underway on Monday of Holy Week when the first fire alarm went off. It was 6:20 p.m., 25 minutes before the heavy wooden doors were scheduled to close to visitors for the day.

PARIS — President Emmanuel Macron asked French citizens on Tuesday night to come together in the aftermath of the calamitous fire at Notre-Dame Cathedral and to move beyond the divisions that have wrenched the country during months of violent street protests.

At 6:43 p.m., another alarm rang. It was just 23 minutes later, but when they returned to the attic, it was clear they had a major problem: It was on fire. Soon much of the roof and the delicate spire rising high above it were also engulfed in flames, fanned by a strong breeze.

Mr. Macron, who has faced a virtual uprising against his pro-business government, sought to rally a country still devastated by the fire and turn the profound, yet undoubtedly fleeting, moment of national mourning and unity to his advantage.

Exactly how the fire broke out is now the subject of an intensive investigation by the French authorities, who are so far treating the disaster as an accident.

"So, yes, we will rebuild Notre-Dame Cathedral, more beautiful than ever, and I want this to be finished in five years," Mr. Macron said. "We can do it, and we will mobilize to do so."

Much remains to be learned. But already it is emerging that Notre-Dame, irreplaceable as it is to France's heritage, lacked the fundamental fire-prevention safeguards that are required in more modern structures and have been grafted onto other ancient cathedrals elsewhere in Europe.

After an inspection Tuesday, with firefighters still searching for smoldering embers, the French authorities declared the 850-year-old cathedral structurally sound, if wounded by three troubling "holes" in the sweeping vaulted ceiling.

Some of those elements, like firewalls or a sprinkler system, were absent by choice — so as not to alter the landmark's design or to introduce electrical wiring deemed a greater risk amid the timbers that supported Notre-Dame's ornate lead roof.

How the fire started remains under intensive investigation, though the authorities were treating the disaster as an accident, focusing on workers who were carrying out another round of nearly constant renovations at the scaffolding-shrouded site.

There had been a systematic refusal to install anything electrical.

Wealthy benefactors — including the French energy company Total, L'Oréal and the family of Bernard Arnault, the richest man

Continued on Page A8

Continued on Page A10

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## Trump, in Politics or in Travel, Seldom Strays From His Base

By **PETER BAKER**  
WASHINGTON — In the last couple of weeks, President Trump repeatedly called his enemies "treasonous." He threatened to punish Democrats by dumping migrants in their districts. He promoted a video tying a Muslim congresswoman to images of the Sept. 11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center.



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK/THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Greeting President Trump at a West Virginia rally on Nov. 2.

The message seems clear and so does the audience: more red meat for red-state Americans who have been the foundation of his political enterprise since his against-the-odds campaign for the White House. And it is a reminder that this president governs as none of his modern predecessors did.

combined. His social media advertising is aimed disproportionately at older Americans who were the superstructure of his victory in the Electoral College in 2016. His messaging is permeated with divisive language that galvanizes core supporters more than it persuades anyone on the fence, much less on the other side.

## Barr Withholds Bail to Migrants Seeking Asylum

By **MICHAEL D. SHEAR and KATIE BENNER**

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration on Tuesday took another significant step to discourage migrants from seeking asylum, issuing an order that could keep thousands of them in jail indefinitely while they wait for a resolution of their asylum requests.

The order issued by Attorney General William P. Barr was an effort to deliver on President Trump's promise to end the "catch and release" of migrants crossing the border in hopes of escaping persecution in their home countries.

The order — which directs immigration judges to deny some migrants a chance to post bail — will not go into effect for 90 days. It is all but certain to be challenged in federal court, but immigrant rights lawyers said it could undermine the basic rights of people seeking safety in the United States.

"They want to send a message that you will get detained," said Judy Rabinovitz, a deputy director of the Immigrants Rights' Project at the American Civil Liberties Union. "We are talking about people who are fleeing for their lives, seeking safety. And our response is just lock them up."

Mr. Barr's order is the latest effort.

Continued on Page A16

## Sanders, Surging, Has Democrats Jittery (Again)

By **JONATHAN MARTIN**

WASHINGTON — When Leah Daughtry, a former Democratic Party official, addressed a closed-door gathering of about 100 wealthy liberal donors in San Francisco last month, all it took was a review of the 2020 primary rules to throw a scare in them.

Democrats are likely to go into their convention next summer without having settled on a presidential nominee, said Ms. Daughtry, who ran her party's conventions in 2008 and 2016, the last two times the nomination was contested. And Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont is well positioned to be one of the last candidates standing, she noted.

"I think I freaked them out," Ms. Daughtry recalled with a chuckle, an assessment that was confirmed by three other attendees. They are hardly alone.

From canapé-filled fund-raisers on the coasts to the cloakrooms of Washington, mainstream Democrats are increasingly worried that their effort to defeat President Trump in 2020 could be complicated by Mr. Sanders, in a political scenario all too reminiscent of how Mr. Trump himself seized the Republican nomination in 2016.

How, some Democrats are beginning to ask, do they thwart a 70-something candidate from outside the party structure who is immune to intimidation or incentive and wields support from an unwavering base, without simply reinforcing his "the establishment is out to get me" message — the same grievance Mr. Trump used



BRITTANY GREESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Some Democrats, worried about a divided 2020 race, are starting to ask how to thwart Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont.

to great effect?

But stopping Mr. Sanders, or at least preventing a contentious convention, could prove difficult for Democrats.

He has enormous financial advantages — already substantially outstripping his Democratic rivals — that can sustain a major campaign through the primaries. And he is well positioned to benefit from a historically large field of candidates that would splinter the vote: If he wins a substantial number of primaries and caucuses and comes in second in others, thanks to his deeply loyal base of voters across many states, he would pick

up formidable numbers of delegates.

To a not-insignificant number of Democrats, of course, Mr. Sanders's populist agenda is exactly what the country needs. And he has proved his mettle, having emerged from the margins to mount a surprisingly strong challenge to Hillary Clinton, earning 13 million votes and capturing 23 primaries or caucuses.

His strength on the left gives him a real prospect of winning the Democratic nomination and could make him competitive for the presidency if his economic justice

Continued on Page A17



**NATIONAL A13-17**  
**Nearing a Year Atop the C.I.A.**  
Gina Haspel, the agency's director, has been adept at winning the president's ear, if not at influencing policy. PAGE A15

**Disappointing Wager in South**  
A Mississippi town's lackluster payoff on legal sports betting is not making other places eager to try it. PAGE A13

**INTERNATIONAL A4-12**  
**Trump Vetoes Act on Yemen**  
The president rejected a bipartisan resolution to force an end to American military involvement in Saudi Arabia's civil war in Yemen. PAGE A12

**No Pictures of the Baby, Please**  
The Duke and Duchess of Sussex plan to skip the ritual photo op, further straining ties with the press. PAGE A4

**NEW YORK A18-19**  
**The Latest Cross-Hudson Spat**  
As far as New Jersey's drivers are concerned, New York's congestion tolls amount to a "keep out" sign. PAGE A18

**BUSINESS B1-8**  
**Could a Trade War Help China?**  
Business leaders say President Trump, one of Beijing's toughest critics, could force the country to change. Still needed: support from within. PAGE B1

**Apple and Qualcomm Settle**  
The two agreed to dismiss all litigation between them and for Apple to pay royalties on Qualcomm patents. PAGE B1

**SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-13**  
**A Number as a Cause**  
Roberto Clemente wore No. 21, and many Latino players want the jersey retired throughout baseball. PAGE B9



**ARTS C1-8**  
**Speaking Out Despite the Costs**  
The singer Sparkle, above, once testified against R. Kelly in a sexual abuse case. She might do it again. PAGE C1

**Turning Up the Heat Onstage**  
Adam Driver delivers a powerful performance in a lopsided revival of the play "Burn This." A review. PAGE C1

**FOOD D1-8**  
**Young Chef Bounces Back**  
After a meteoric rise and a crash, the chef Kwame Onwuachi is drawing attention with a new approach. PAGE D1

**Solomonic Picks for a Tasty List**  
A new book offers an irreverent compilation of the top foods at the heart of Jewish identity, kosher or not. Page D1

**EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21**  
**Thomas L. Friedman** PAGE A21



## MUELLER REPORT LAYS OUT RUSSIAN CONTACTS AND TRUMP'S FRANTIC EFFORTS TO FOIL INQUIRY

### Culture of Chaos Rooted in the Oval Office

By PETER BAKER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — As President Trump met with advisers in the Oval Office in May 2017 to discuss replacements for the F.B.I. director he had just fired, Attorney General Jeff Sessions slipped out of the room to take a call.

When he came back, he gave Mr. Trump bad news: Robert S. Mueller III had just been appointed as a special counsel to take over the investigation into Russia's interference in the 2016 presidential election and any actions by the president to impede it.

Mr. Trump slumped in his chair. "Oh, my God," he said. "This is terrible. This is the end of my presidency. I'm fucked."

It has not been the end of his presidency, but it has come to consume it. Although the resulting two-year investigation ended without charges against Mr. Trump, Mr. Mueller's report painted a damning portrait of a White House dominated by a president desperate to thwart the inquiry only to be restrained by aides equally desperate to thwart his orders.

The White House that emerges from more than 400 pages of Mr. Mueller's report is a hotbed of conflict infused by a culture of dishonesty — defined by a president who lies to the public and his own staff, then tries to get his aides to lie for him. Mr. Trump repeatedly threatened to fire lieutenants who did not carry out his wishes while they repeatedly threatened to resign rather than cross lines of propriety or law.

At one juncture after another, Mr. Trump made his troubles worse, giving in to anger and grievance and lashing out in ways that turned advisers into witnesses against him. He was saved from an accusation of obstruction of justice, the report makes clear, in part because aides saw danger and stopped him from following

Continued on Page A15

### Decision Looms For Democrats: Try to Impeach?

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — House Democrats, facing some of the most striking evidence yet from Robert S. Mueller III that President Trump tried to thwart his investigation, edged closer on Thursday to confronting a question they have long tried to avoid: whether the president's behavior warrants impeachment.

Although the more than 400-page report made public on Thursday found "insufficient evidence" to conclude that Mr. Trump conspired in Russia's interference in the 2016 election and cited legal and factual constraints preventing Mr. Mueller from charging Mr. Trump with obstruction of justice, the special counsel presented months of damning presidential behavior that Democrats said left it up to Congress to review.

"The conclusion that Congress may apply the obstruction laws to the president's corrupt exercise of the powers of office accords with our constitutional system of checks and balances and the principle that no person is above the law," Mr. Mueller wrote in the report.

House Democrats, in particular, Continued on Page A17

#### Obstruction of justice remains an open question

VOL. II, PAGE 182

If we had confidence after a thorough investigation of the facts that the president clearly did not commit obstruction of justice, we would so state. Based on the facts and the applicable legal standards, we are unable to reach that judgment.

#### Trump tried to undermine the investigation, but his staff didn't go along

VOL. II, PAGE 158

The president's efforts to influence the investigation were mostly unsuccessful, but that is largely because the persons who surrounded the president declined to carry out orders or accede to his requests.

#### Trump's frequently faulty memory limited responses to the inquiry

APPENDIX C, PAGE 1

We received the president's written responses in late November 2018. . . . We noted, among other things, that the president stated on more than 30 occasions that he 'does not recall' or 'remember' or have an 'independent recollection' of information called for by the questions. Other answers were 'incomplete or imprecise.'

#### No evidence of conspiracy despite the campaign's interest in Russia's offers

VOL. I, PAGE 173

The investigation established multiple links between Trump campaign officials and individuals tied to the Russian government. Those links included Russian offers of assistance to the campaign. . . . Ultimately, the investigation did not establish that the campaign coordinated or conspired with the Russian government in its election-interference activities.

#### Lies impeded the inquiry into possible Russian interference

VOL. I, PAGE 9

The investigation established that several individuals affiliated with the Trump campaign lied to the office, and to Congress, about their interactions with Russian-affiliated individuals and related matters. Those lies materially impaired the investigation of Russian election interference.

#### Mueller contends that Congress can charge a president with obstruction

VOL. II, PAGE 8

The conclusion that Congress may apply the obstruction laws to the president's corrupt exercise of the powers of office accords with our constitutional system of checks and balances and the principle that no person is above the law.

#### Trump thought Mueller's appointment would ruin his presidency

VOL. II, PAGE 78

When Sessions told the president that a special counsel had been appointed, the president slumped back in his chair and said, 'Oh my God. This is terrible. This is the end of my presidency.'

### No Charges of Criminal Conspiracy and No 'Judgment' on Obstruction

By MARK MAZZETTI

WASHINGTON — Robert S. Mueller III revealed the scope of a historic Russian campaign to sabotage the 2016 presidential election in a much-anticipated report made public on Thursday, and he detailed a frantic monthslong effort by President Trump to thwart a federal investigation that imperiled his presidency from the start.

Mr. Mueller, the special counsel, laid out how his team of prosecutors wrestled with whether Mr. Trump's actions added up to a criminal obstruction-of-justice offense. They ultimately chose not to charge Mr. Trump, citing numerous legal and factual constraints, but pointedly declined to exonerate him and suggested that it might be the role of Congress to settle the matter.

The report laid bare that Mr. Trump was elected with the help of a foreign power, and cataloged numerous meetings between Mr. Trump's advisers and Russians seeking to influence the campaign and the presidential transition team — encounters set up in pursuit of business deals, policy initiatives and political dirt about Hillary Clinton, the Democratic candidate for president.

The special counsel concluded that there was "insufficient evidence" to determine that the president or his aides had engaged in a criminal conspiracy with the Russians, even though the Trump campaign welcomed the Kremlin sabotage effort and "expected it would benefit electorally" from the hacks and leaks of Democratic emails.

Then, after federal investigators opened an inquiry into the extraordinary Russian campaign, the president repeatedly tried to undermine it.

"If we had confidence after a thorough investigation of the facts that the president clearly did not commit obstruction of justice, we would so state," Mr. Mueller's investigators wrote. "Based on the facts and the applicable legal standards, however, we are unable to reach that judgment."

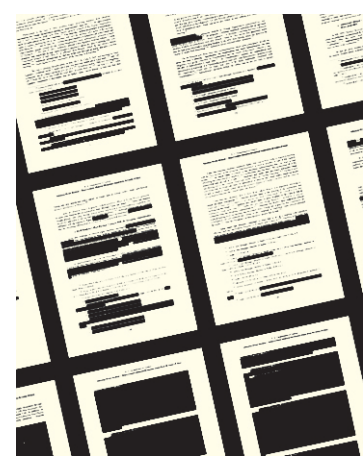
Fevered speculation, now put to rest, arose in some circles that Mr. Trump and his immediate family might be in legal peril from Mr. Mueller's investigation. At the same time, the report offered reams of evidence of a climate of deceit — and a base impulse for self-preservation — among a president and his top aides not seen since the days of Richard M. Nixon.

That impulse prompted some presidential advisers to try to block Mr. Trump's demands that they take steps to protect him from federal investigators. Some feared getting wrapped up in the widening inquiry.

"The president's efforts to influence the investigation were mostly unsuccessful, but that is largely because the persons who surrounded the president declined to carry out orders or accede to his requests," the report said.

The special counsel found that Mr. Trump had the authority to make many of his most controversial decisions, including the firing of James B. Comey as the F.B.I. director, by virtue of the powers the Constitution grants him. At the same time, it is a far more damn-

Continued on Page A10



SPECIAL SECTION The executive summaries and excerpts from the Mueller report. Section F.

### Defended by Barr, President Gets Attorney General He Hoped For

By MARK LANDLER and KATIE BENNER

For 21 minutes on Thursday morning, with the nation watching, President Trump had the loyal attorney general he had always longed for.

Reading a prepared statement and then answering questions from reporters, Attorney General William P. Barr presented the special counsel's report, 90 minutes before its public release, in the best possible light for the president: No conspiracy. No obstruction. A sincerely frustrated and angered president who had willingly cooperated with investigators. No intention on the part of Robert S. Mueller III to have Congress make the hard call on whether Mr. Trump might have broken the law.

At one point, Mr. Barr quoted Mr. Mueller as telling him that the Justice Department's longstanding opinion that a sitting president could not be indicted was not the reason he had not pursued an obstruction charge against Mr. Trump. But when the report was released, it showed that Mr. Mueller had very much considered the Justice Department's position to be a complication if not an impediment to any charging decision.

It was less a performance of the nation's chief law enforcement officer than that of a defense lawyer for Mr. Trump, citing selective

facts to build a case for exoneration and sidestepping elements of the report less favorable to the president. It enraged Democrats, drew heated and substantive rebuttals, and validated the fears of Mr. Barr's critics that he would bring his expansive view of presidential privilege to a norm-shattering presidency.

Mr. Barr made good on several promises: He released the confidential report to Congress and the American public. While the Justice Department redacted parts of the report for legal and intelligence reasons, it still provided a detailed and wide-ranging account of what Mr. Mueller found in his nearly two-year investigation and his reasoning for coming to the conclusions he did.

But those details put the conduct of Mr. Trump and his advisers in a far less flattering light than either Mr. Barr's terse news conference or his summary of the report's findings to congressional leaders last month.

Mr. Barr's presentation of the report was "a masterful public relations job," said Matt Jacobs, a partner at Vinson & Elkins who worked as a federal prosecutor in San Francisco when Mr. Mueller ran that office and left the Justice

Continued on Page A14

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-7

##### Two Popes, Two Views

The Vatican has been rife with talk of a rival power center to Francis since Benedict published a letter. PAGE A4

##### Amazon Pulls Back in China

The strength of Alibaba and others has the company retreating after being there for more than a decade. PAGE A7



#### BUSINESS B1-6

##### Inside View of a Banking Saga

"The Lehman Trilogy" is a theatrical panorama of the firm's history and fall. Lehman descendants and former employees weigh in on the drama. PAGE B1

##### National Enquirer Is Being Sold

James Cohen, a son of the founder of the Hudson News franchise, agreed to buy the famed supermarket tabloid for a reported \$100 million. PAGE B1

##### A Robot in the Fast Lane

Self-Racing Cars, an open-track event in California for autonomous vehicles to race against the clock, draws hackers, tinkerers and engineers. PAGE B1

#### NATIONAL A8-17

##### Rolling Back Abortion Rights

A fundamental shift in the landscape of abortion in America has led to new laws banning the procedure as early as six weeks of pregnancy. PAGE A8

##### 18 Opinions on Climate Policy

We sent a survey on climate change to the 18 Democrats seeking the presidency. They didn't agree on much. PAGE A9

#### NEW YORK A19-20

##### Suspect's Path to St. Patrick's

A man taken into custody at St. Patrick's with gas cans was also removed from a New Jersey church. PAGE A19

#### WEEKEND ARTS C1-24

##### Putting the Clintons on Stage

Laurie Metcalf and John Lithgow play the ultimate power couple losing steam. Ben Brantley reviews. PAGE C1

##### Celestial Visions Atop the Met

Alicja Kwade's Roof Garden sculpture suggests a system of planets afloat on the Manhattan skyline. PAGE C15



#### SPORTSFRIDAY B7-10

##### Colorado's Football Dissenters

Two university regents voted against a coach's contract, questioning the morality of the sport. PAGE B7

##### Yanks Weathering Injury Storm

Resilient pitching and a sweep of the Red Sox bode well for the rest of the season, Tyler Kepner writes. PAGE B7

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

##### David Brooks

PAGE A25



Trade Standoff Is Initial Volley In China Battle

Global Tug of War May Persist for Decades

By ANA SWANSON and KEITH BRADSHAW

WASHINGTON — A yearlong trade war between the United States and China is proving to be an initial skirmish in an economic conflict that may persist for decades, as both countries battle for global dominance, stature and wealth.

Progress toward a trade agreement nearly collapsed this past week, with both sides hardening their bargaining positions. And even if a trade deal is reached, it may do little to resolve tensions between the world's two largest economies.

The United States is increasingly wary of China's emerging role in the global economy and the tactics it uses to get ahead, including state-sponsored hacking, acquisitions of high-tech companies in the United States and Europe, subsidies to crucial industries and discrimination against foreign companies.

The Trump administration has begun trying to limit China's economic influence in the United States and abroad, warning about China's ambitions in increasingly stark terms. Mike Pompeo, the secretary of state, compared China's ambitions to Russia and Iran in a speech in London last Wednesday, saying Beijing poses "a new kind of challenge; an authoritarian regime that's integrated economically into the West in ways that the Soviet Union never was."

The United States has been erecting barriers to limit Chinese Continued on Page 20

TRIP CANCELED Rudolph Giuliani, facing Democratic criticism, will skip a visit to Ukraine. PAGE 27

In Rural North, Economy Offers Path for Trump

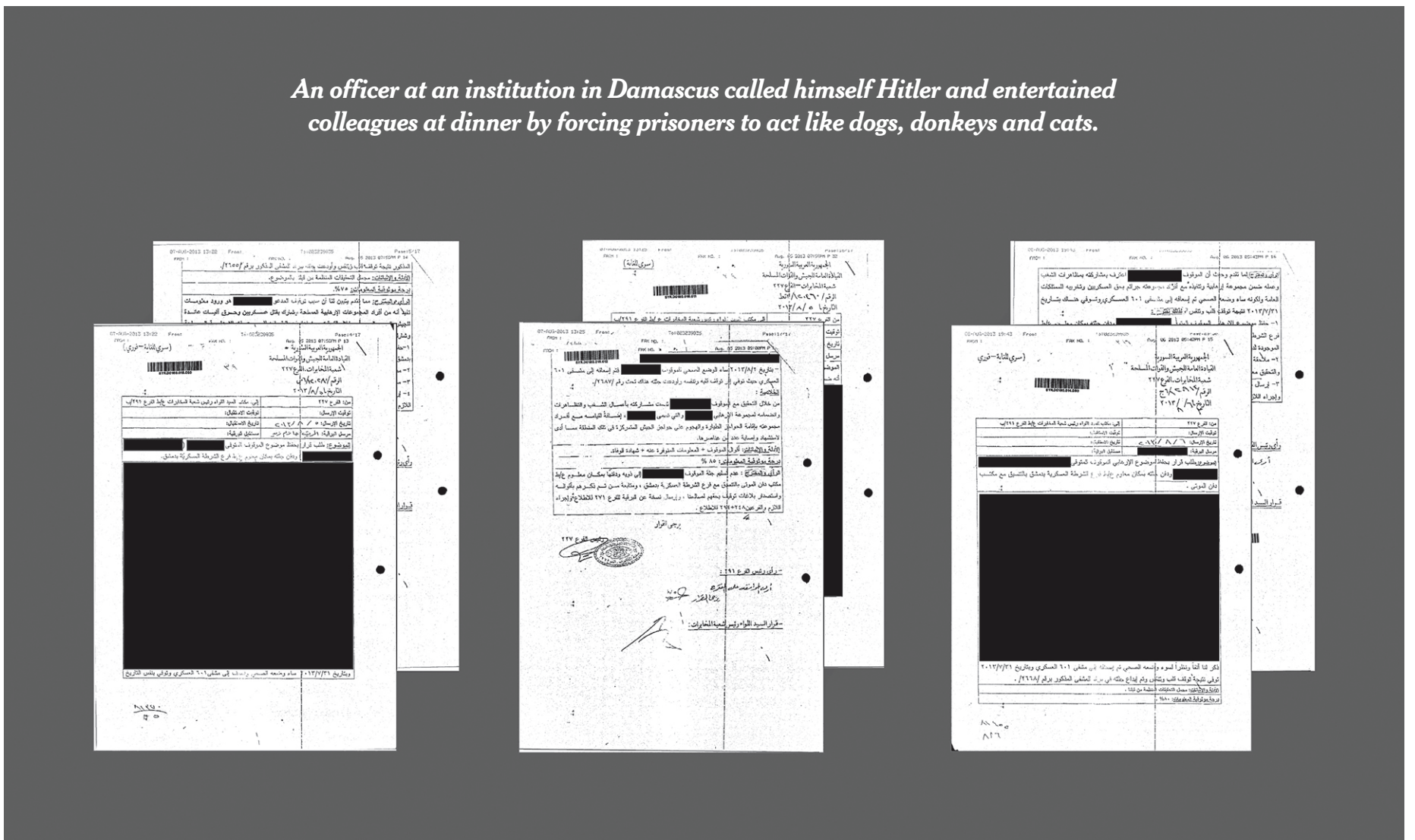
By JEREMY W. PETERS

COLFAX, Wis. — President Trump came to Wisconsin late last month to boast about the state's unemployment rate, which has been at or near 3 percent for more than a year. "It's never been this low before. Ever, ever, ever," he said. (Fact check: true.)

It's a message that strikes a chord with Bubba Benson, who lives paycheck to paycheck but says that is still better than where he was a few years ago after getting laid off from a shoe warehouse "when all the jobs went to Mexico." His new job at a plastics manufacturing plant covers the bills and pays good overtime. There are even a few extra bucks in his paycheck now, which he credits to Mr. Trump's tax cut.

"It didn't let me go out and buy a new house," Mr. Benson said as he leaned on the bar at the Outhouse, a watering hole on Main Street in this village of about 1,100 people. "But that wasn't what it was for."

As 21 candidates compete to become the Democratic Party's nominee in 2020, Mr. Trump is running on the strongest economy of any president seeking re-election since Bill Clinton in 1996, and arguably since Richard M. Nixon in 1972. Job creation is strong and last month the unemployment Continued on Page 21



An officer at an institution in Damascus called himself Hitler and entertained colleagues at dinner by forcing prisoners to act like dogs, donkeys and cats.

COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Memos were sent to Syria's head of military intelligence reporting detainees' deaths. Some information was blacked out to protect evidence for possible prosecutions.

INSIDE SYRIA'S TORTURE PRISONS

By ANNE BARNARD

GAZIANTEP, Turkey — Syrian security officers hung Muhannad Ghabbash from his wrists for hours, beat him bloody, shocked him with electricity and stuck a gun in his mouth.

Mr. Ghabbash, a law student from Aleppo, repeatedly confessed his actual offense: organizing peaceful antigovernment protests. But the torture continued for 12 days, until he wrote a fictional confession to planning a bombing.

That, he said, was just the beginning. He was flown to a crammed prison at Mezze air base in Damascus, the Syrian capital, where he said guards hung him and other detainees from a fence naked, spraying them with water on cold nights. To entertain colleagues over dinner, he and other survivors said, an officer calling himself Hitler forced prisoners to act the roles of dogs, donkeys and cats, beating those who failed to bark or bray correctly.

In a military hospital, he said, he watched a nurse bash the face of an amputee who begged for painkillers. In yet another prison, he



LAURA BOUSHNAK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Muhannad Ghabbash in Turkey this year. After organizing peaceful protests, he was detained, and tortured, for 19 months.

counted 19 cellmates who died from disease, torture and neglect in a single month.

"I was among the lucky," said Mr. Ghabbash, 31, who survived 19 months in detention until a judge was bribed to free him.

As Syria's president, Bashar al-Assad, closes in on victory over an eight-year revolt, a secret, industrial-scale system of arbitrary arrests and torture prisons has been pivotal to his success. While the Syrian military, backed by Russia and Iran, fought armed rebels for territory, the government waged a ruthless war on civilians, throwing hundreds of thousands into filthy dungeons where thousands were tortured and killed.

Nearly 128,000 have never emerged, and are presumed to be either dead or still in custody, according to the Syrian Network for Human Rights, an independent monitoring group that keeps the most rigorous tally. Nearly 14,000 were "killed under torture." Many prisoners die from conditions so dire that a United Nations investigation labeled the process "extermination."

Now, even as the war winds down, the Continued on Page 10

Hackers Sow Discord as Vote Looms in Europe

By MATT APUZZO and ADAM SATARIANO

LONDON — Less than two weeks before pivotal elections for the European Parliament, a constellation of websites and social media accounts linked to Russia or far-right groups is spreading disinformation, encouraging discord and amplifying distrust in the centrist parties that have governed for decades.

European Union investigators, academics and advocacy groups say the new disinformation efforts share many of the same digital fingerprints or tactics used in previous Russian attacks, including the Kremlin's interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign.

Fringe political commentary sites in Italy, for instance, bear the same electronic signatures as pro-Kremlin websites, while a pair of German political groups share servers used by the Russian hackers who attacked the Democratic National Committee.

The activity offers fresh evi-



ROBIN UTRECHT/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Both Russian sites and far-right groups have been spreading disinformation ahead of European parliamentary elections.

dence that despite indictments, expulsions and recriminations, Russia remains undeterred in its campaign to widen political divisions and weaken Western institutions. Despite online policing efforts by American technology companies, it remains far easier

to spread false information than to stop it.

Russia remains a driving force, but researchers also discovered numerous copycats, particularly on the far right. Those groups often echo Kremlin talking points, Continued on Page 8

Rogue Nations Make a Wager: They Can Handle the President

By DAVID E. SANGER and EDWARD WONG

WASHINGTON — Three nations that have long defined themselves as bitter adversaries of the United States — North Korea, Iran and Venezuela — decided last week they could take on President Trump.

Each one is betting that Mr. Trump is neither as savvy a negotiator nor as ready to use military force as he claims. Each also poses a drastically different challenge to a president who has little experience in handling international crises, has struggled to find the right balance of diplomacy and coercion and has not always been consistent in defining his foreign policy.

The rising tensions with all three serve as reminders that Mr. Trump's constant talk about taking care of problems that he has accused his predecessors of aggravating, or failing to con-

front, is difficult to convert into real-world solutions — as events of recent days have shown.

The confrontation with Iran appears to be the most volatile at the moment, with tensions escalating by the day. On Friday, the Pentagon said it was sending another naval ship and Patriot missile interceptor battery to the Middle East, in addition to an earlier dispatch of a carrier group and bombers, because of potential threats from Iran or allied Arab militias.

That standoff has been brewing ever since Mr. Trump moved a year ago to pull out of the Iran nuclear deal. Tehran announced a partial withdrawal of its own last week, threatening to resume nuclear fuel production unless Europe acts to undercut American sanctions that have devastat-

Continued on Page 16

INTERNATIONAL 4-17

Darfur Makes Itself Heard

After years of war and suffering, Darfur has seized Sudan's new freedoms to join a protest against the military that once terrorized them. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 18-27

A 7-Year-Old's Border Odyssey

A Honduran migrant paid coyotes to deliver her son to her in Texas. He ended up being held in New York, and she saw him eight months later. PAGE 18

SUNDAY BUSINESS

Sliding Back Into Populism?

The embrace of market forces by President Mauricio Macri of Argentina has enraged people who have lost aid and see no signs of economic revival. PAGE 1

SUNDAY STYLES

After 'Before and After'

A quarter-century ago there were 350 Glamour Shots stores offering big-hair makeovers and photography sessions. Now there are five. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Chris Hughes

PAGE 1



Advertisement for Citi 2.50% Annual Percentage Yield Certificate of Deposit. Includes image of a man holding a document and the Citi logo.

The rate is effective as of April 2, 2019, and is subject to change without notice. To qualify for an Annual Percentage Yield (APY) of 2.50% you must open a new eligible 12-month Certificate of Deposit (CD) with a minimum opening deposit of \$25,000 during the offer period from April 2, 2019 through July 1, 2019. Offer applies to current and new eligible Citibank customers only. New consumer CDs must be opened in The Citigold Account Package, Citi Priority Account Package or The Citibank Account Package. Consumers must be 18 years or older. New CitiBusiness® CDs must be opened for business purposes. Only new CitiBusiness 12-month CDs are eligible to participate in this offer. Opening deposits of less than \$25,000 will earn standard interest rates applicable to CDs. For information about standard interest rates applicable to CDs, as well as other terms and conditions pertaining to this offer, please speak to a Bank Representative for details. Fees could reduce account earnings. Penalties apply for early withdrawal. Accounts are subject to approval, terms and conditions. Terms, conditions and fees for accounts, products, programs and services are subject to change. © 2019 Citibank, N.A. Member FDIC. Citi, Citi and Arc designs and other marks used herein are service marks of Citigroup Inc. or its affiliates, used and registered throughout the world.

## 1,600 Miles, 85 Hours: A Migration by Bus

### After Detention and Processing, a Family's Journey Continues on Greyhound



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

By MIRIAM JORDAN

DALLAS — By the time it pulled into Dallas, the bus from Arizona was two hours and 47 minutes late. It had left Phoenix overbooked, turned away passengers with tickets in Tucson, rolled through El Paso at 2 a.m. and finally disgorged its human cargo — a busload of exhausted migrants, mostly from Central America — shortly before dusk the next day.

A sign in the Greyhound bus terminal listed the ongoing routes that were already facing delayed departures: San Antonio, Los Angeles, Houston, Detroit, Atlanta, Brownsville. All of them would be

late, most of them were full. Those who had missed their connections would need to wait in line, an agent announced, as the disembarking passengers — many of them with no food, no money and no possessions beyond what was in their slim backpacks — listened in stunned silence.

"My God, we are going to have to spend two nights here," Zuleima Lopez, recently arrived from Guatemala with her husband and three children, murmured as she surveyed the ragged tableau inside the terminal. Refuse had long before overfilled the available trash bins, and a rank odor wafted out from the restrooms.

Mothers, fathers and children huddled together on scraps of cardboard, atop tattered blankets and splayed-out jackets. Feverish babies with runny noses fussed in their mothers' arms.

At one end of the station, several passengers jostled for \$7.50 meal vouchers — 19 cents less than the cheapest cheeseburger combo — until, halfway through the line, the agent announced there were no more vouchers.

A Greyhound road trip across the country has long been a hallmark of the American experience, a "leave the driving to us" way for those who

couldn't afford airfare or a car to come home from college, start new jobs, get to the coast, leave problematic situations behind.

But along the border and deep into parts of the nation's interior, the Greyhound buses plying the interstate highway system have become an essential element in an extraordinary new migration.

Entering the country at a rate of more than 5,000 each day, new arrivals from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador are departing border towns by the busload. While President Trump has made a point of

Continued on Page A10

Caleb Lopez, 6, slept in the back of a Greyhound bus traveling from Tucson to Nashville. His family left Guatemala this year and crossed into the United States in March.

## Scientists Balk At Juul's Offers Of Study Cash

By SHEILA KAPLAN

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Alex Carll was presenting his research about the impact of e-cigarette smoke on mouse hearts at an American Heart Association conference when a man from Juul Labs approached him and started asking questions.

"He seemed genuinely concerned about the health implications of Juul," said Dr. Carll, who recalled meeting the e-cigarette company's medical liaison, Jeff Vaughan, in November as he stood by a poster of his research findings. "He said they were looking for people to collaborate with and that they could offer up to \$200,000."

As a 37-year-old assistant professor of physiology at the University of Louisville medical school, with his eyes on his own research lab, Dr. Carll was tempted.

"Two hundred thousand is a lot, just for supplies and equipment," Dr. Carll said. "That would get me off the ground and running."

Wary of hurting his reputation, however, Dr. Carll turned Juul down.

That scenario is playing out at medical conferences and universities across the country, as the company aggressively recruits

Continued on Page A12

## It's 'Like a Zoo' At Everest's Tip As Deaths Soar

This article is by Kai Schultz, Jeffrey Gettleman, Mujib Mashal and Bhadra Sharma.

NEW DELHI — Ed Dohring, a doctor from Arizona, had dreamed his whole life of reaching the top of Mount Everest. But when he summited a few days ago, he was shocked by what he saw.

Climbers were pushing and shoving to take selfies. The flat part of the summit, which he estimated at about the size of two Ping-Pong tables, was packed with 15 or 20 people. To get up there, he had to wait hours in a line, chest to chest, one puffy jacket after the next, on an icy, rocky ridge with a several-thousand-foot drop.

He even had to step around the body of a woman who had just died.

"It was scary," he said by telephone from Kathmandu, Nepal, where he was resting in a hotel room. "It was like a zoo."

This has been one of the deadliest climbing seasons on Everest, with at least 10 deaths. And at least some seem to have been avoidable.

The problem hasn't been avalanches, blizzards or high winds. Veteran climbers and industry

Continued on Page A7



EMILY KASK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Thelma Maiben-Owens photographed relatives' graves in Africatown, a community in Mobile, Ala.

## Trying to Turn Vessel of Evil Into Symbol of Pride

By RICHARD FAUSSET

MOBILE, Ala. — Like nearly everyone who grew up in Africatown, Felice Harris had heard the origin story of her little Alabama neighborhood, passed around from relative to relative and house to house.

It was the story of a group of West Africans carried to Alabama on the last slave ship to reach the United States. After the Civil War, they established and governed a thriving community of their own. Ms. Harris, a retired kindergar-

### Neighborhood Wants to Display Slave Ship

ten teacher, knew that the story of the ship and its human cargo was well documented by historians, and she told it to her students each year. But she occasionally wondered how much myth had seeped into the history — because the ship, which was said to have been burned and sunk in the waters nearby, had never been found.

Last week, all such doubts evaporated. A team of researchers confirmed that a submerged wooden wreck lodged in the mud a few miles up the Mobile River from the Africatown settlement was almost certainly the Clotilda, the schooner that had carried the 110 kidnapped Africans to Alabama from what is now the nation of Benin in 1860.

Historians lauded the discovery as a crucial missing piece of the broader American story. In Africatown, a semi-isolated clutch of

Continued on Page A14

### AN APPRAISAL

## Starr Held Up Invisible Bridge Of N.F.L. Eras

By BENJAMIN HOFFMAN

Thanks to the Super Bowl, the N.F.L. is often discussed in terms of a before and an after.

The era before the 1966 season, when the N.F.L. and A.F.L. created a championship game between the leagues that became the greatest spectacle in American sports, was defined by strong defenses, running games and a group of star quarterbacks — Sammy Baugh, Otto Graham, Y.A. Tittle — who are discussed in the vaguest, yet grandest, of terms. Each was a Paul Bunyan-like hero who dealt with impossible weather and poor equipment, yet accomplished feats we can't possibly understand but are meant to appreciate.

The time after the Super Bowl has its own star quarterbacks — Terry Bradshaw, Joe Montana, Tom Brady — each of whom has been scrutinized to an almost unimaginable extent.

In the middle is Bart Starr, who died on Sunday at 85. He ushered in the Super Bowl era with two championships for the Green Bay Packers. The most valuable player of Super Bowl I? Starr. Super Bowl II? Starr

Continued on Page A13



INTERNATIONAL A4-8

### Diplomacy at the Sumo Ring

President Trump came bearing a trophy to a bout in Tokyo, where he was hosted by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. PAGE A4

### Police Kill 5 a Day in Brazil

If deaths continue at the current pace in Rio de Janeiro, police killings there will eclipse last year's total of 1,538. PAGE A5

NATIONAL A9-15

### 'Wow, What Is That?'

After accounts from its pilots in recent years, the Navy has issued new classified guidance for reporting unexplained aerial phenomena. PAGE A14

### Tornado Hits Oklahoma Town

At least two people were killed in El Reno, in the latest round of severe weather in the state. PAGE A15

SPORTSMONDAY D1-5

### Federer Rolls, but Kerber Falls

Roger Federer played like his old self at the new-look French Open, but Angelique Kerber exited early. PAGE D1



NEW YORK A16-17

### A Modern-Day Wizard

In a star-spangled robe and cap, Devin Person offers "spells" and wise words to workers and straphangers. PAGE A16

### Choreographing a Branding

Keith Raniere claimed "little knowledge" of a "sorority" within Nxivm, but in recordings he directs its rituals. PAGE A17

BUSINESS B1-5, 8

### Renault and Fiat Chrysler Deal

The two automakers were said to be deep in negotiations that could ultimately lead to a full-blown merger. Nissan, Renault's partner, was not involved. PAGE B1

### Superstar Cities Lose Allure

As housing costs rise, big cities no longer make economic sense to those without four-year college degrees. A migration away is intensifying, census figures show. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

### Rowan Williams



ARTS C1-7

### Be Careful What You Wish For

Mena Massoud, left, talks about playing the title character in Disney's new "Aladdin" film and why a blue Will Smith "nailed" the genie role. PAGE C1



## Trump Revives Feud on Health As Allies Wince

### A Fear of Playing Into Democrats' Hands

This article is by Peter Baker, Michael Tackett and Linda Qiu.

WASHINGTON — As President Trump prepares to kick off his bid for a second term this week, he is anxiously searching for a way to counter Democrats on health care, one of their central issues, even though many of his wary Republican allies would prefer he let it go for now.

Since he announced his previous run four years ago, Mr. Trump has promised to replace President Barack Obama's health care law with "something terrific" that costs less and covers more without ever actually producing such a plan.

Now he is vowing to issue the plan within a month or two, reviving a campaign promise with broad consequences for next year's contest. If he follows through, it could help shape a presidential race that Democrats would like to focus largely on health care.

While the president has acknowledged that no plan would be voted on in Congress until 2021, when he hopes to be in a second term with Republicans back in charge of the House, he is gambling that putting out a plan to be debated on the campaign trail will negate some of the advantage Democrats have on the issue.

But nervous Republicans worry that putting out a concrete plan with no chance of passage would only give the Democrats a target to pick apart over the next year. The hard economic reality of fashioning a plan that lives up to the promises Mr. Trump has made would invariably involve trade-offs unpopular with many voters.

"Obamacare has been a disaster," Mr. Trump told ABC News in an interview aired on Sunday evening. His own plan, he insisted, would lower costs. "You'll see that in a month when we introduce it. We're going to have a plan. That's subject to winning the House, Senate and presidency, which hopefully we'll win all three. We'll have phenomenal health care."

The president's renewed interest in health care comes as he plans an elaborate rally in Orlando, Fla., on Tuesday to open a reelection campaign that is already struggling to find its bearings. After last week's leak of a series of dismal internal poll results from March showing him trailing in multiple battleground states, Mr. Trump first denied that the surveys even existed, only to have his campaign later confirm that they in fact were real.

By Sunday, the episode had led to a purge as the Trump campaign indicated that it would cut ties with three of its five pollsters, a

Continued on Page A13

**POLLSTERS PURGED** The president's campaign cut ties with three pollsters after a leak. PAGE A13



Mourners lit candles in Hong Kong for a man who fell to his death late Saturday while unfurling a protest banner from scaffolding.

ANTHONY KWAN/GETTY IMAGES

## AN APOLOGY FAILS TO QUELL FERVOR FOR NEW RALLIES

### ACTIVISTS CLOG STREETS

### Crisis Deepens as New Demands Are Made in Hong Kong

By KEITH BRADSHER and DANIEL VICTOR

HONG KONG — Protesters poured into the streets of Hong Kong on Sunday with renewed determination and a lengthening list of demands, rejecting the government's retreat on a contentious extradition bill and extending the political crisis gripping the semi-autonomous territory.

Hong Kong's embattled leader, Carrie Lam, shelved the bill on Saturday and followed that up with a rare apology the next day, actions that pro-democracy activists dismissed as too little, too late. And the sheer size of the demonstration — organizers gave an unverified estimate of close to two million of the territory's seven million people — made clear the public remained unsatisfied.

Many of the protesters said they were disappointed with Mrs. Lam's statement, saying it seemed insincere.

"She only did it under pressure," said Leo Cheng, a 19-year-old student.

The marchers' resolve is sending tremors to Beijing, where President Xi Jinping's carefully nurtured image of strength and competence is being put to the test.

"They want to send a message to Beijing," said Willy Lam, an adjunct professor at the Center for China Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. "If Beijing wants to do something that really infringes upon Hong Kong's basic value, Hong Kong people will turn out in force, again and again, to pour out their discontent."

The marchers filled broad avenues and ran the length of downtown Hong Kong, parents with their children, groups of students and numerous retirees. Reflecting their changing mood, most dressed in black, a stark change from the white most wore the previous week.

They chanted and carried signs listing their demands: the complete withdrawal of the bill, not just an indefinite suspension; an impartial investigation into the police use of force during Wednesday's clashes with protesters; and the rescinding the official description of that protest as an illegal riot, which could expose anyone arrested during the violent demonstration to long jail terms.

In contrast to Wednesday, police officers stood by on Sunday in a crowd-control role, with no altercations or arrests reported.

There were no immediate plans for another march. But labor unions, which tend to be weak in Hong Kong, have called for different sectors of society to take turns

Continued on Page A6

## 4 Months Old, and Whisked Away

### A Family's Long Ordeal to Reclaim a Son Taken at the Border

By CAITLIN DICKERSON

KALAMAZOO, Mich. — The text messages were coming in all day and night with only two data points: Gender and age. With each one that arrived, the on-call caseworker at Bethany Christian Services in Michigan had 15 minutes to find a foster home for another child who was en route from the border. On a brisk winter day in February 2018, Alma Acevedo got a message that caught her breath: "4 months. Boy."

Since the summer of 2017, Ms. Acevedo, a 24-year-old social worker, had been seeing a mysterious wave of children arriving from the border, most of them from Central America. Those who were old enough to talk said they had been separated from their parents. "The kids were just inconsolable, they'd be like, 'Where's my mommy? Where's my daddy?'" Ms. Acevedo said. "And it was just constant crying after that."

None of them had been this

young, and few had come this far. When he arrived at her office after midnight, transported by two contract workers, the infant was striking, with long, curled eyelashes framing his deep brown eyes. His legs and arms were chubby, seeming to indicate that he had been cared for by someone. So why was he in Michigan?

Ms. Acevedo went to her computer and pulled up the only document that might help answer that question, a birth certificate from

Continued on Page A14



Florentina Mutu with her son Constantin back home in Romania after they were reunited last year.

TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Xi Faces Threat As Hong Kong Defies Beijing

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

BEIJING — China's leader, Xi Jinping, was in Tajikistan on Saturday, celebrating his 66th birthday with the Russian president, Vladimir V. Putin, when the political crisis in Hong Kong took a dramatic turn with an unexpected retreat in the face of mass protests.

Mr. Xi's trip fortuitously gave him some distance from the events in Hong Kong, where the leadership on Saturday suspended its push for legislation to allow extraditions to mainland China. But the measure had been backed by Beijing, and there was no mistaking that the reversal was a stinging setback for him.

The move, the biggest concession to public pressure during Mr. Xi's nearly seven years as China's paramount leader, suggests that there are still limits to his power, especially involving events outside the mainland, even as he has governed with an increasingly authoritarian grip.

"This is a defeat for Xi, even if Beijing frames this as a tactical retreat," said Jude Blanchette, a consultant and the author of a new book on the revival of revolutionary ideology in the country, "China's New Red Guards."

On Sunday, hundreds of thousands of people marched again in Hong Kong despite the government's concession a day before, insisting that the legislation be withdrawn while making new demands, including one for an investigation into the use of excessive

Continued on Page A6

## Tenants Are Flourishing vs. 'Bronx Is Burning'

By LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ and STEFANOS CHEN

When a neighborhood landlord named Stephanie Kirnon learned about the far-reaching changes to New York's rent laws, she grew anxious: How would she afford the \$29,000 in repairs to the leaky roof of the 26-unit apartment building she owns in the Bronx?

A few miles away, Gloribel Castillo, a lifelong Bronx resident who works two shifts as a cleaner in Manhattan hotels, received a text message saying that the rent measures would be approved by the New York Legislature. She felt

### New Rent Laws Spawn Clashing Outlooks

immediate relief, knowing that the \$1,430 monthly rent on her three-bedroom apartment could no longer be sharply increased.

The tightening of rent regulations approved on Friday by the newly emboldened Democrats in the Legislature represents one of the most sweeping interventions by government in the New York City real estate market in decades, establishing new rules for

millions of people on everything from rent increases to security deposits to evictions.

And the epicenter for the impact of the changes could be the Bronx, the borough with the highest percentage of rent-regulated apartments, and where the landlords and tenants have offered conflicting visions about how property owners and tenants will be affected.

Tenants groups have cast the legislation, which took effect immediately, as an overdue respite for places like the Bronx, parts of which have faced rising rents and displacement in an overheated

Continued on Page A18

## In France, Gig Workers Exploit Fellow Workers

By LIZ ALDERMAN

PARIS — Aymen Arfaoui strapped on a plastic Uber Eats bag and checked his cellphone for the fastest bicycle route before pedaling into the stream of cars circling the Place de la République. Time was money, and Mr. Arfaoui, a nervous 18-year-old migrant, needed cash.

"I'm doing this because I have to eat," he said, locking in a course that could save him a few minutes on his first delivery of the day. "It's better than stealing or begging on the street."

Mr. Arfaoui has no working pa-

### Delivery App Couriers Subcontract for Profit

pers, and he would pocket a little more than half that day's earnings. He said that he owed the rest to a French bicycle courier who considered Uber Eats' terms too cheap — 3.50 euros (just under \$4) per order plus a bit for mileage — to do the work himself.

The Parisian courier had outsourced the job illicitly to Mr. Arfaoui, who had been living in an abandoned car for a month after

arriving from Tunisia. The migrant teenager said that he earned €17 that day for four hours of work.

Food delivery has become a multibillion-euro business as the American ride-hailing giant Uber, the London-based delivery platform Deliveroo and ambitious rivals battle to capture markets and consumers. But competition has squeezed pay for couriers, prompting some to take advantage of the most desperate of job seekers.

In France, where food delivery is a booming trend, some couriers who are registered on such apps

Continued on Page A8



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

### Lights Out in South America

A blackout stripped all of mainland Argentina and Uruguay of power, affecting tens of millions of people. PAGE A8

### A Deposed Dictator Emerges

Omar Hassan al-Bashir, the former president of Sudan, left prison briefly to face corruption charges. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-16

### Wooing Wall Street Donors

Among Democratic presidential hopefuls, Joe Biden, Pete Buttigieg and Kamala Harris are generating the most buzz in the big-donor crowd. PAGE A12

### Booms That Breed Resentment

As downtowns flourish in places like Kansas City, Mo., voters ask mayors: What about my neighborhood? PAGE A10

NEW YORK A17-19

### Waiting for a Green Light

A proposal to offer driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants in New York remains stalled in Albany. PAGE A17



BUSINESS B1-7

### A Recycling Backlash in Asia

After China restricted plastic scrap imports, countries like Malaysia stepped up. That may be ending. PAGE B2

### Retailers' Warning on Tariffs

More stores could close if the Trump administration's threatened tariffs on consumer goods come to pass. PAGE B1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

### A Formidable Bench

The United States women's soccer team showcased the depth of talent on its roster as a lineup of reserve players cruised past Chile, 3-0, to qualify for the knockout stage. PAGE D1

### First Major Title on His 31st Try

Gary Woodland, a former college basketball player known for his long drives as a pro golfer, relied on his putting to win the United States Open, finishing at 13 under par at Pebble Beach. PAGE D2

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Charles M. Blow PAGE A21



ARTS C1-8

### Injustice Turned Into Opera

In "The Central Park Five," Anthony Davis has created a jazz-infused adaptation of the story of the teenagers convicted in a 1989 attack. PAGE C1







ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump, who met with Kim Jong-un on Sunday, became the first sitting United States president to set foot in North Korea.

## After Twitter Overture, Trump and Kim Meet On North Korean Soil

NEWS ANALYSIS

### Eyeing Arms 'Freeze' to Ease New Talks

By MICHAEL CROWLEY and DAVID E. SANGER

SEOUL, South Korea — From a seemingly fanciful tweet to a historic step into North Korean territory, President Trump's largely improvised third meeting on Sunday with Kim Jong-un, the North Korean leader, was a masterpiece of drama, the kind of made-for-TV spectacle that Mr. Trump treasures.

But for weeks before the meeting, which started as a Twitter offer by the president for Mr. Kim to drop by at the Demilitarized Zone and "say hello," a real idea has been taking shape inside the Trump administration that officials hope might create a foundation for a new round of negotiations.

The concept would amount to a nuclear freeze, one that essentially enshrines the status quo, and tacitly accepts the North as a nuclear power, something administration officials have often said they would never stand for.

It falls far short of Mr. Trump's initial vow 30 months ago to solve the North Korea nuclear problem, but it might provide him with a retort to campaign-season critics who say the North Korean dictator has been playing the American president brilliantly by giving him the visuals he craves while holding back on real concessions.

While the approach could stop that arsenal from growing, it would not, at least in the near future, dismantle any existing weapons, variously estimated at 20 to 60. Nor would it limit the North's missile capability.

The administration still insists in public and in private that its goals remain full denuclearization. But recognizing that its maximalist demand for the near-term surrender of Mr. Kim's cherished nuclear program is going nowhere, it is weighing a new approach that would begin

Continued on Page A9

### Two Leaders Agree to Restart Work on a Nuclear Deal

By PETER BAKER and MICHAEL CROWLEY

SEOUL, South Korea — President Trump on Sunday became the first sitting American commander in chief to set foot in North Korea as he met Kim Jong-un, the country's leader, at the heavily fortified Demilitarized Zone, and the two agreed to restart negotiations on a long-elusive nuclear agreement.

Greeted by a beaming Mr. Kim, the president stepped across a low concrete border marker at 3:46 p.m. local time and walked 20 paces to the base of a building on the North Korean side for an unprecedented, camera-friendly demonstration of friendship intended to revitalize stalled talks.

"It is good to see you again," an exuberant Mr. Kim told the president through an interpreter. "I never expected to meet you in this place."

"Big moment, big moment," Mr. Trump told him.

After about a minute on officially hostile territory, Mr. Trump escorted Mr. Kim back over the line into South Korea, where the two briefly addressed a scrum of journalists before slipping inside the building known as Freedom House for a private conversation along with President Moon Jae-in of South Korea. Mr. Trump said he would invite Mr. Kim to visit him at the White House.

"This has a lot of significance because it means that we want to bring an end to the unpleasant past and try to create a new future," Mr. Kim told reporters. "So it's a very courageous and determined act."

"Stepping across that line was a great honor," Mr. Trump replied. "A lot of progress has been made, a lot of friendships have been made, and this has been in particular a great friendship."

A showman by nature and past profession, Mr. Trump delighted in the drama of the moment, which he had arranged with a sur-

Continued on Page A8

## City Unmoved By Indictment In Fetus Death

By FARAH STOCKMAN

PLEASANT GROVE, Ala. — In the days since police officers arrested Marshae Jones, saying she had started a fight that resulted in her unborn baby getting fatally shot, the hate mail has poured in.

"I will encourage all U.S. business owners to boycott your town," a woman from San Diego wrote on the Facebook page of the Pleasant Grove Police Department.

"Misogynist trash," wrote another.

"Fire the chief and arresting officers," wrote a third.

But Robert Knight, the police chief, said his officers had little choice in the matter.

"If the laws are there, we are sworn to enforce them," he said. "That's what we're going to do."

Around the country, the case of Ms. Jones — who was indicted by a grand jury for manslaughter — has served as a stark illustration of how pregnant women can be judged and punished when a fetus is treated as a person by the justice system.

Activists have also cited it as a demonstration of the dangers of the "personhood" movement, which pushes for the rights of fetuses to be recognized as equal to — or even more important than — the rights of the mothers who carry them. And many are now watching as the movement gains momentum in Alabama, which already has some of the most restrictive reproductive rights laws in the country.

But in Pleasant Grove, a city of 10,000 people on the western outskirts of Birmingham, the case ap-

Continued on Page A13

## Colorado's Marijuana Experiment, After 5 Years

By JACK HEALY

DENVER — Serenity Christensen, 14, is too young to set foot in one of Colorado's many marijuana shops, but she was able to spot a business opportunity in legal weed. She is a Girl Scout, and this year, she and her mother decided to sell their cookies outside a dispensary. "Good business," Serenity said.

But on the other side of Denver, legalization has turned another high school student, David Perez, against the warehouselike marijuana cultivations now clustered around his neighborhood. He said their skunky aroma often smacks

### No Rise in Teenage Use, but a Racial Divide in Arrests Persists

him in the face when he walks out his front door.

These are the ripples of five years of legal marijuana. Colorado's first-in-the-nation experiment has reshaped health, politics, rural culture and criminal justice in surprising ways that often defy both the worst warnings of critics and blue-sky rhetoric of the

marijuana industry, giving a glimpse of what the future may hold as more and more states adopt and debate full legalization.

Since recreational sales began in 2014, more people here are visiting emergency rooms for marijuana-related problems, and hospitals report higher rates of mental-health cases tied to marijuana. At the same time, thousands of others make uneventful stops at dispensaries every day, like the hiking guide in the college town of Boulder who now keeps a few marijuana gummies in a locked bag to help her relax before bed.

Some families rattled by their  
Continued on Page A12



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

"This is where the revolution began," said one Pride March celebrant in Manhattan on Sunday.

## A Prism of Pride and Revelry, Born 50 Years Ago

By JAMES BARRON

There were moments of celebration, moments of contemplation, moments of commemoration — and complaints about commercialization. There were people who were passionate about equal rights and people who reveled in being free to be themselves.

It was the Pride March, a buoyant global celebration of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender identity. It swept down Fifth Avenue and into Greenwich Village at a moment in history that many said was a crucial one, a half-cen-

### Celebrating Stonewall and L.G.B.T.Q. Lives

tury after the landmark Stonewall uprising: More gay rights have been affirmed than ever before, but L.G.B.T.Q. issues remain a flash point in the nation's culture wars.

On Sunday, amid the bright palette of rainbow colors on flags and floats, there was awareness — the sober awareness of 50 years of

laws and changing attitudes that moved gay men, lesbians and transgender people into the mainstream.

"It's beautiful to see something like this happen, especially at a time like this and where our country is at politically," said Joanna Fanizza, who watched the march with her friend Nitya Vink.

But the march was also showy and splashy. Bands blared. People in wild wigs and extravagant makeup danced. Rainbow balloons drifted skyward, and rainbow banners rippled in the early-  
Continued on Page A17



GREGORY SHAMUS/GETTY IMAGES

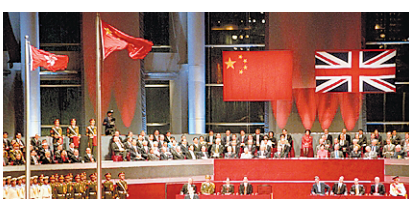
## Brooklyn Bound

The Warriors superstar Kevin Durant agreed to join the Nets. So did Kyrie Irving. Page D1.

### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### Rising Threat to City's Liberty

"One country, two systems" was Beijing's pledge when it took back Hong Kong. But that vision is fading. PAGE A10



#### Modi's Sway in Temple Dispute

Hindus and Muslims have long sparred over a holy site in Ayodhya, India, but Hindus have a new optimism. PAGE A4

### NATIONAL A11-15

#### Democratic Moderates Rule

Liberals may get the attention, but a group of moderates in the House have demonstrated that they are more adept at wielding power. PAGE A14

#### Family DNA Led to Conviction

A new forensic technique sailed through its first test in court, but the battle over privacy is intensifying. PAGE A11

### NEW YORK A16-19

#### 2,000 Sets of Eyes on the Road

Will the nation's largest urban network of speed cameras make New York City safer or "one big speed trap"? PAGE A16

### BUSINESS B1-5

#### Too Much of a Good Thing

The oil industry is struggling as prices fall, demand slows and fears grow about climate change's effects. PAGE B1



#### Still Far Apart on Trade

As the United States eased restrictions on China, President Trump faced questions over what he got in return. PAGE B1

### SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

#### A Battle of Tennis Generations

Cori Gauff, 15, is the latest American phenom to follow a path laid out by the Williams sisters. On Monday, she will play 39-year-old Venus Williams in the first round at Wimbledon. PAGE D4

#### Yankees Reign in London

In the first M.L.B. games to be played in Europe, the Yankees and Red Sox combined for 50 runs. And the Yankees came away with two victories, including a 12-8 win on Sunday. PAGE D2

### ARTS C1-8

#### A Showman in the Arena

Hugh Jackman came to Madison Square Garden with his world tour, "The Man. The Music. The Show." In this case, bigger wasn't necessarily better. PAGE C1



EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Narges Bajoghli PAGE A23



0 354613 9

## A New 'Salute' For the Fourth, Starring Trump

### Critics Say Rally in D.C. Celebrates President

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and THOMAS GIBBONS-NEFF

WASHINGTON — Two Bradley armored vehicles rumbled into place on Wednesday in front of the Lincoln Memorial, to be joined later by two Abrams tanks parked nearby. Cranes were putting into place the scaffolding for Jumbotron screens. And workers raced to finish a red, white and blue stage where President Trump will preside over one of the most unusual Fourth of July celebrations the capital has known.

The audience for Mr. Trump's speech will include thousands of troops assembled by the White House to create a made-for-television moment in which the nation's commander in chief is surrounded by the forces that he leads.

Weather permitting, the traditional songs for each branch of the military will be played while their officers stand by the president's side and a procession of aircraft, including Air Force One and the Blue Angels, roars through the skies overhead. Hundreds of guests, many of them handpicked by the Republican National Committee, will watch from bleachers in a V.I.P. section erected close to the podium.

"It will be the show of a lifetime!" the president posted Wednesday morning on Twitter.



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
An armored vehicle brought to Washington for the holiday.

But Mr. Trump's decision to turn Washington's annual Fourth of July celebration into a kind of Trump-branded rally for America has drawn criticism from Democrats, top representatives of the city government and many military officials who believe the president is using the troops and their gear as political props.

"Put troops out there so we can thank them — leave tanks for Red Square," said Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, a retired four-star Marine general and former head of United States Central Command, who until this year served in the Trump administration as a special envoy to help resolve disputes in the Persian Gulf.

Muriel Bowser, Washington's  
Continued on Page A13



BEN C. SOLOMON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Plumes of Profit in a Melting Greenland

As sand streams into fjords from melting glaciers, Greenland is considering selling it to meet a growing worldwide demand. Page A8.

## Bridge Scandal Posing a Threat To Legal Lanes

By NICK CORASANTINI

Federal prosecutors have often relied on a powerful criminal statute to bring high-profile corruption cases, including the college admissions scandal that ensnared Hollywood celebrities and a string of bribery investigations that targeted college basketball programs.

But now, a key theory of that statute could be gutted because of a challenge by two defendants in another well-known case — "Bridgagate," the September 2013 closing of access lanes to the George Washington Bridge, which connects Manhattan and New Jersey, to punish a mayor for refusing to offer a campaign endorsement.

The United States Supreme Court, in a decision that surprised legal experts, agreed last week to hear an appeal of the defendants' corruption convictions in a move that could significantly weaken the ability of prosecutors to go after what they determine to be political malfeasance.

The court's decision to take on the appeal by the defendants, Bridget Anne Kelly and Bill Baroni, suggests that the justices are open to overturning their convictions, legal experts said, and follows other rulings that have

Continued on Page A21

## Six Female Candidates, One Unrelenting Refrain

By LISA LERER

GREENVILLE, S.C. — Some people whisper it, some apologize for it, and some are very careful to mention their neighbors — their neighbors would be the ones to ask.

"Do you really think a woman could be elected president?" In ways subtle and overt, Democrats keep hearing that same question, even days after debates where Senator Kamala Harris commanded the stage and Senator Elizabeth Warren dominated the policy discussion.

It's the anxiety of a party still carrying the scars of its 2016 defeat.

"My colleagues, some have said

### Doubts of Electability Privately Alarming Some Democrats

that to me, and I just have to push back and say, 'Wait just a minute,'" said Representative Barbara Lee of California, who worked as a young organizer for former Representative Shirley Chisholm's 1972 presidential bid. "I'm just quite frankly shocked to still hear them in 2019."

Three years after nominating the first woman in history to head a presidential ticket, nearly six months after a wave of energized

women swept Democrats into power in the House, and as a record number of women run for president, the party finds itself grappling with the strangely enduring question of the electability of women — and with the challenge for the candidates of refuting it before it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Also, before real life descends into parody: "I Don't Hate Women Candidates — I Just Hated Hillary and Coincidentally I'm Starting to Hate Elizabeth Warren" was the title of a satirical essay published late last year on the website McSweeney's that circulated widely on social media.

Privately, Democratic strategists, candidates and officials  
Continued on Page A16

## Southerners, Facing Big Odds, Believe in a Path Out of Poverty

By PATRICIA COHEN

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. — A widening income gap and sagging social mobility have left dents in the American dream. But the belief that anyone with enough gumption and grit can clamber to the top remains central to the nation's self-image.

And that could complicate Democratic efforts to frame the 2020 presidential election as a referendum on a broken economic system.

Americans, who tend to link rewards to individual effort, routinely overestimate the ease of moving up the income ranks,

while Europeans — citing an unfair system, inherited wealth and sticky social classes — consistently underestimate it, surveys have found.

For moving from the bottom of the income ladder to the top, the South offers the worst odds in the United States. But it's also the region where people are most optimistic about the prospects.

"Fifteen to 20 percent?" guessed Vicki Winters, a retired contract specialist at the Defense Department who lives with her husband, George, in a predomi-

Continued on Page A14



CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Neighborhood Tribute

Astoria, Queens, turned out for the fallen 9/11 responder Luis G. Alvarez on Wednesday. Page A21.

## Pregnant Woman Shot in Fight Won't Stand Trial for Fetus's Death

By FARAH STOCKMAN

Prosecutors in Alabama said on Wednesday that they were dropping a manslaughter charge against a woman over the death of the fetus she was carrying when she was shot in the belly, in a case that stirred national outrage.

The woman, Marsha Jones,

was accused of beating up a co-worker who ultimately drew a gun and fired it, wounding Ms. Jones in the stomach and killing her five-month-old fetus. A grand jury in Jefferson County, convened by District Attorney Lynneice Washington, dismissed charges against the co-worker, saying she had acted in self-defense. But it indicted Ms. Jones for "initiating a

fight knowing she was five months pregnant."

Under Alabama law, a fetus is considered to have the same rights as a child who has already been born. The grand jury sought to hold someone accountable for its death, and Ms. Jones was arrested last week. The charges against her quickly drew national attention.

On Wednesday, Ms. Washington, who had signed the indictment, said in a brief news conference that she had weighed the evidence and decided to dismiss the case.

"I have determined that it is not in the best interest of justice to pursue prosecution of Ms. Jones

Continued on Page A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

**Hong Kong Warily Takes Stock**  
Activists' storming of the city's legislature sent shock waves through a largely leaderless protest movement. PAGE A11

**Iran to Speed Up Enrichment**

Iran will start enriching uranium beyond levels specified in the 2015 nuclear deal, its president says. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A12-17

### Migrants 'Living Far Better'

President Trump said people in detention centers were treated better than in their own countries. PAGE A15

BUSINESS B1-7

### A Star C.E.O. at the Wheel

Lee Iacocca fused his identity with his company's, winning over Washington and selling cars. An Appraisal. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B14-16

### 'Very Interesting' Comic

Arte Johnson, a star of "Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In," was 90. PAGE B15



NEW YORK A18-21

### Planning for Oohs and Aahs

The Fourth of July fireworks spectacle comes after months of preparation in the Mojave Desert. PAGE A18

### Surprise in Queens Primary

Tiffany Cabán's lead evaporated, and Melinda Katz emerged 20 votes ahead in the district attorney's race. PAGE A19

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-13

### Deep, and Facing the Dutch

When an American star was forced to miss a World Cup semifinal, the United States, which will face the Netherlands in the final, did not miss a beat. PAGE B9

THURSDAY STYLES D1-6

### The Great Frosty Indoors

Fire, the saying goes, made us human. Does all of this air-conditioning make us less so? Penelope Green goes searching for an answer. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

### Farhad Manjoo

PAGE A23



ARTS C1-8

### Creating 'God Bless America'

Kate Smith's rendition of the song is heard less often now, but Irving Berlin's love letter to his adopted country still has the power to stir. PAGE C1



0 354613 9

## An E.U. Lesson On Combating Vote Meddling

### Internal Politics Gum Up an Alert System

By MATT APUZZO

BRUSSELS — The European Union began an ambitious effort this year to combat election interference: an early-warning system that would sound alarms about Russian propaganda. Despite high expectations, however, records show that the system has become a repository for a mish-mash of information, produced no alerts and is already at risk of becoming defunct.

Indeed, even before the European Parliament elections this spring, an inside joke was circulating in Brussels about the Rapid Alert System: It's not rapid. There are no alerts. And there's no system.

Europe's early struggles offer lessons for other nations, including the United States, where intelligence officials expect Russia to try to interfere in next year's presidential election. In many ways, the European Union has been more aggressive than Washington in demanding changes from social media companies and seeking novel ways to fight disinformation.

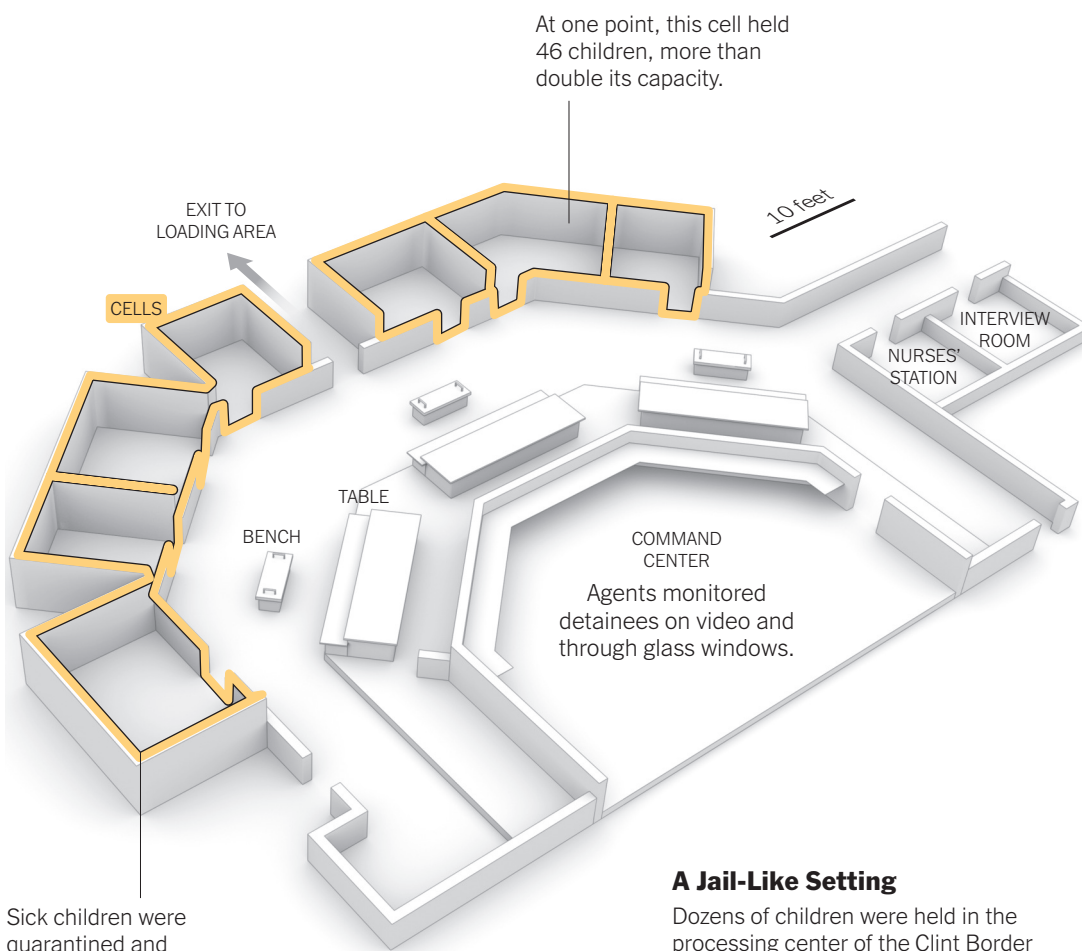
But doing so has pushed the bloc into thorny areas where free speech, propaganda and national politics intersect. Efforts to identify and counter disinformation have proved not only deeply complicated, but also politically charged.

The new Rapid Alert System — a highly praised network to notify governments about Russian efforts before they metastasized as they did during the 2016 American elections — is just the latest example.

Working out of a sixth-floor office suite in downtown Brussels this spring, for example, European analysts spotted suspicious Twitter accounts pushing disinformation about an Austrian political scandal. Just days before the European elections, the tweets showed the unmistakable signs of Russian political meddling.

So European officials prepared to blast a warning on the alert system. But they never did, as they debated whether it was serious

Continued on Page 4



Sick children were quarantined and sometimes held in this padded cell with no toilet.

### A Jail-Like Setting

Dozens of children were held in the processing center of the Clint Border Patrol station in cinder-block cells with a single toilet. Many fell ill with the flu.



GRAPHIC BY THE NEW YORK TIMES; PHOTOGRAPH BY ILANA PANICH-LINSMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Border Patrol station in Clint, Tex., has become the symbol of chaos on the southern border.

## Hungry, Scared and Sick: Inside Clint's Razor Wire

### Accounts From a Child Detention Complex in Texas Are the Stuff of Nightmares

This article is by Simon Romero, Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Manny Fernandez, Daniel Borunda, Aaron Montes and Caitlin Dickerson.

CLINT, Tex. — Since the Border Patrol opened its station in Clint, Tex., in 2013, it was a fixture in this West Texas farm town. Separated from the surrounding cotton fields

### A MIGRANT JAIL

A collaboration between *The New York Times* and *The El Paso Times*.

and cattle pastures by a razor-wire fence, the station stood on the town's main road, near a feed store, the Good News Apostolic Church and La Indita Tortillería. Most people around Clint had little idea of what went on inside. Agents came and went in pickup trucks; buses pulled into the gates with the occasional load of children apprehended at the border, four miles south.

But inside the secretive site that is now on the front lines of the southwest border crisis, the men and women who work there were grappling with the stuff of nightmares.

Outbreaks of scabies, shingles and chickenpox were spreading among the hundreds of children who were being held in cramped cells, agents said. The stench of the children's dirty clothing was so strong it spread to the agents' own clothing — people in town would scrunch their noses when they left work. The children cried constantly. One girl seemed likely enough to try to kill herself that the agents made her sleep on a cot in front of them, so they could watch her as they were processing new arrivals.

"It gets to a point where you start to become a robot," said a veteran Border Patrol agent who has worked at the Clint station since it was built. He described following orders to take beds away from children to make more space in holding cells, part of a daily routine that he said had become "heartbreaking."

The little-known Border Patrol facility at Clint has suddenly become the public face of the chaos on America's southern border, after immigration lawyers began reporting on the children they saw

— some of them as young as 5 months old — and the filthy, overcrowded conditions in which they were being held.

Border Patrol leaders, including Aaron Hull, the outspoken chief patrol agent of the El Paso Sector, have disputed descriptions of degrading conditions inside Clint and other migrant detention sites around El Paso, claiming that their facilities were rigorously and humanely managed even after a spate of deaths of migrant children in federal custody.

But a review of the operations of the Clint station, near El Paso's



RUBEN R. RAMIREZ/THE EL PASO TIMES

Aaron Hull, chief agent of the Border Patrol's El Paso Sector.

eastern edge, shows that the agency's leadership knew for months that some children had no beds to sleep on, no way to clean themselves and sometimes went hungry. Its own agents had raised the alarm, and found themselves having to accommodate even more new arrivals.

The accounts of what happened at Clint and at nearby border facilities are based on dozens of interviews by *The New York Times* and *The El Paso Times* of current and former Border Patrol agents and supervisors; lawyers, lawmakers and aides who visited the facility; and an immigrant father whose children were held there. The review also included sworn statements from those who spent

Continued on Page 16

## Sworn Outsider Locked in Tango With the Center

By GLENN THRUSH

WASHINGTON — Bernie Sanders was elected to the House in 1990 after branding himself an outsider and defying calls to join a Democratic Party he had long bashed as "ideologically bankrupt."

Nonetheless, Mr. Sanders, a democratic socialist who won Vermont's lone House seat as an independent, quickly sank into a funk when Democratic conservatives circulated a list of nasty things he had said about them over the years — ostracizing him from their caucus and blocking his committee assignments for a few nerve-frazzling days.

"That was emotionally very difficult — it was a very, very difficult period," Mr. Sanders, who is not known for his sentimentality, said in a recent interview. "I'll never forget it. You come into the House, you expect to come to work, and you find that the majority leadership doesn't know where they are going to sit you — if they are going to sit you."

Continued on Page 18

## When Debate Pits Abortions Vs. Black Lives

By JOHN ELIGON

ST. LOUIS — As a pastor, Clinton Stancil counsels his black congregants that abortion is akin to the taking of innocent life. But as a civil rights activist, Mr. Stancil urges them to understand the social forces that prompt black women to have abortions at disproportionately high rates.

The national debate over abortion has focused of late on when a heartbeat is discernible in the fetus, on the rights of women to make choices over their bodies and on the vast schism between the opposing views on ending pregnancies.

But to many African-Americans like Mr. Stancil, who is the pastor of Wayman A.M.E. Church in St. Louis, abortion cannot be debated without considering the quality of urban schools. Or the disproportionately high unemployment rate in black communities. Or the significant racial disparities in health care.

"As much as I believe with all my heart about the killing, the taking of innocent lives, I also believe that I will never support giving white legislators who have no in-

Continued on Page 15

## Southern California Trembles, as Do Its Residents

By TIM ARANGO  
and THOMAS FULLER

LOS ANGELES — In the bottom of the fourth inning, Dodger Stadium swayed. Rides at Disneyland were evacuated, and so were movie theaters in Los Angeles. Near Palm Springs, pools sloshed and chandeliers at a casino rocked. And in the Mojave Desert town of Ridgecrest, Calif., fires roared, power went out and grocery store shelves came crashing down.

For the second time in two days, a powerful earthquake struck Southern California on Friday night, shaking a large area already on edge, from Las Vegas to Sacramento to Los Angeles to Mexico, rattling nerves and disrupting plans on a holiday weekend. There were no reports of fatalities and no significant damage to infrastructure, but as day broke rescue crews were still surveying damage in Ridgecrest, near the earthquake's epicenter, and putting out fires.

The 7.1-magnitude earthquake that rattled Southern California on Friday came one day after the strongest recorded quake there in 20 years — and seismologists warned that more episodes are expected.

To a large degree, navigating life in California means making



JENNA SCHOENEFFEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Kern County firefighters at a structure fire on Saturday in Ridgecrest, Calif., near the epicenter of an earthquake Friday evening.

peace with Mother Nature. Wildfires and mudslides are yearly events, made worse in recent years amid climate change. But Californians live in constant awareness, if not outright fear, of the possibility of a devastating earthquake — the "Big One," as everyone says. And so as people across Southern California woke up Saturday morning grateful for being spared this time, there was the sense that Friday night's tremor could have been just a foretaste of something bigger. Officials were urging residents to

keep supplies handy — batteries, flashlights, a pair of sneakers — if they hadn't already.

"Don't be paralyzed by fear," Josh Rubenstein, the spokesman for the Los Angeles Police Department, wrote on Twitter. "Arm yourself with knowledge and a plan. Talk about what you would do when a big one hits. I myself just did that with my daughter and my wife."

The United States Geological Survey reported that the latest earthquake's epicenter was in the

Continued on Page 19

## Virtual Pre-K Closes a Gap, And Exposes It

By NELLIE BOWLES

FOWLER, Calif. — David Cardenas, a mechanic and the mayor of Fowler, knows families in his town want high-quality and free daylong preschool.

But options are thin. A government-subsidized program fills up fast and fits only a small fraction of the town's 4-year-olds, he said. A private program that closed a decade ago was unaffordable for many of the 6,500 residents of Fowler, a predominantly Latino community of agricultural workers in California's Central Valley. Otherwise, there are a handful of private day cares.

So Mr. Cardenas recently seized on an unusual preschool alternative that a group from Utah presented to him. "This is something that I have never seen before," he said. "I wanted to be on the front line right away."

Mr. Cardenas was referring to a "kindergarten readiness program" for 4-year-olds that takes place almost entirely online. Called Waterford Upstart and run by a nonprofit group, Waterford.org, it has children spend 15 minutes a day, five days a week over

Continued on Page 15

### INTERNATIONAL 4-13

#### The Power of China's Cash

Beijing is using its financial might to expand its influence in Central Asia, eroding centuries of Russian dominance in the resource-rich region. PAGE 6

#### Brexit at Any Cost

Older, whiter and more right-wing than average, Conservatives who will pick the next prime minister are adamant about one thing: leaving the E.U. PAGE 10

#### Venezuela's Crops Shriveled

Food production is shrinking drastically, further endangering the oil-rich country, as mismanagement and U.S. sanctions make fuel scarce. PAGE 8



### NATIONAL 14-19

#### Stuck in Cyberspace Limbo

A Florida city paid \$460,000 to hackers who had shut it down. Weeks later, vital documents are still locked. PAGE 14

#### Epstein Held on Sex Charges

The billionaire Jeffrey E. Epstein was in federal custody after his arrest Saturday on charges of sex trafficking. PAGE A4

### SPORTSSUNDAY

#### A Stunner in the N.B.A.

The Clippers upstaged the Lakers, their celebrated hometown rivals, by landing the superstar free agent Kawhi Leonard and trading for Paul George. PAGE 3

#### The Celebrating Americans

Attempts to police the joy the United States has shown in the Women's World Cup confirm one thing: This team is different from the others. PAGE 4

#### A Champion Finds Her Footing

It was a good day at Wimbledon for Serena Williams, who won her singles match as well as a mixed-doubles match with Andy Murray. PAGE 7

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### An Ad Titan Rides High Again

Martin Sorrell left WPP, the advertising giant he had built from scratch and ran for 32 years, under a cloud. Then, his new company had its revenge, besting WPP in a bidding battle. PAGE 1

#### Becoming Human Robots

Workplaces dominated by machines, like Amazon fulfillment centers, can make workers more mechanical. (Although, there's still room for initiative, and small acts of rebellion.) PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Maureen Dowd

PAGE 1

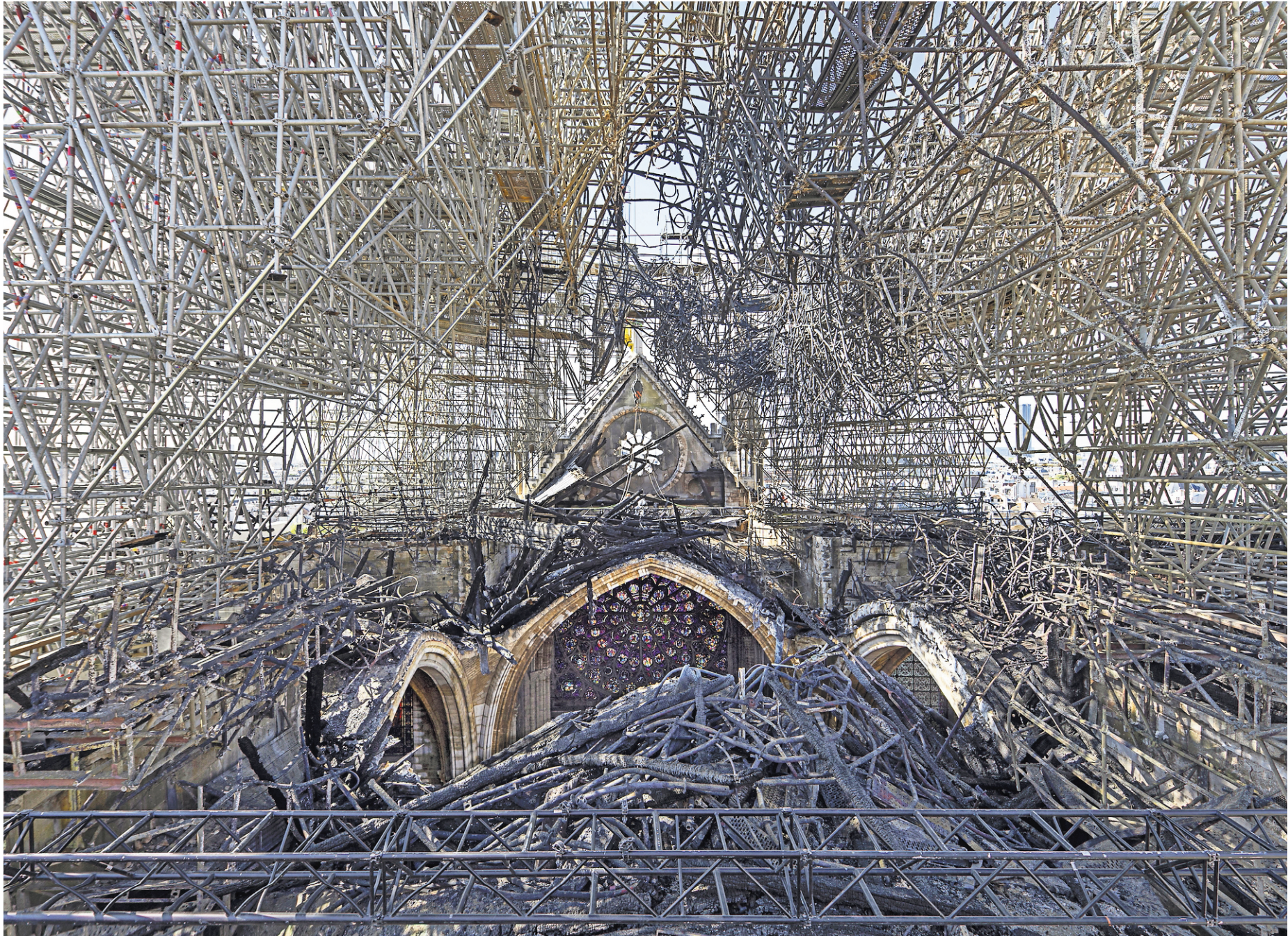


### SUNDAY STYLES

#### Raising Phone-Free Children

Panicked parents have begun hiring screen-time consultants to help them remember life before Apple. Their advice can be absurdly simple. PAGE 1





THOMAS GOISQUE

Scaffolding atop the attic of Notre-Dame cathedral survived the April 15 fire. The hole at top center was left by the collapse of the 750-ton spire.

## How Notre-Dame, 850 Years Old, Was Nearly Lost

### Famed Paris Cathedral Still Stands Only Because Firefighters Risked Everything

This article is by **Elian Peltier, James Glanz, Mika Gröndahl, Weiyi Cai, Adam Nossiter and Liz Alderman.**

PARIS — The security employee monitoring the smoke alarm panel at Notre-Dame cathedral was just three days on the job when the red warning light flashed on the evening of April 15: “Feu.” Fire.

It was 6:18 on a Monday, the week before Easter. The Rev. Jean-Pierre Caveau was celebrating Mass before hundreds of worshippers and visitors, and the employee radioed a church

guard who was standing just a few feet from the altar.

Go check for fire, the guard was told. He did and found nothing.

It took nearly 30 minutes before they realized their mistake: The guard had gone to the wrong building.

The fire was in the attic of the cathedral, the famed latticework of ancient timbers known as “the forest.” The guard had gone to the attic of a small adjacent building, the sacristy.

The security employee called his boss but didn't reach him. When the manager phoned back, they deciphered the mistake and called the guard: Leave the

sacristy and run to the main attic.

But by the time the guard climbed 300 narrow steps to the attic, the fire was burning out of control — putting firefighters in a near impossible position when they were finally called, half an hour after the alert.

The miscommunication, uncovered in interviews with church officials and managers of the fire security company, Elytis, has set off a bitter round of finger-pointing over who was responsible for allowing the fire to rage unchecked for so long. Who is to blame and how the fire started have not yet been determined and are at the heart of an investi-

gation by the French authorities that will continue for months.

But the damage is done. What happened that night changed Paris. The cathedral — a soaring medieval structure that has captured the hearts of believer and nonbeliever alike for 850 years — was ravaged.

Today three jagged openings mar Notre-Dame's vaulted ceiling, the stone of the structure is precarious, and the roof is gone. Some 150 workers are busy recovering the stones, shoring up the building, and protecting it from the ele-

Continued on Page A6

## IMPEACHMENT BID FIZZLES AS TRUMP ESCALATES ATTACK

### HOUSE DEMOCRATS SPLIT

#### President Claims Victory, Saying Liberal Critics Seek Nation's Ruin

By **JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS** and **NICHOLAS FANDOS**

WASHINGTON — The House on Wednesday killed an attempt to impeach President Trump for statements that the chamber condemned this week as racist, turning aside an accusation that he had brought “ridicule, disgrace and disrepute” to his office.

The move split Democrats, underscoring the divisions within the party over whether they should use their majority to charge Mr. Trump and try to remove him from office, with 95 signaling their support for at least considering the question further, and 137 moving to stop the current effort in its tracks.

The president brushed off the vote as a victory, and hours later, at a rally in Greenville, N.C., he showed no signs of easing his attacks or toning down the vicious language that led to the impeachment attempt. He charged that the “dangerous, militant hard left” among the Democrats were “hate-filled extremists who are constantly trying to tear our country down.”

By the end of the rally, Mr. Trump went even further, accusing them of seeking the “destruction of our country.”

“They don't love our country,” he told the roaring crowd. “I think, in some cases, they hate our country. You know what? If they don't love it, tell them to leave it.”

Mr. Trump specifically went after the four freshman congresswomen — all women of color — whom he urged this week “to go back” to their country of origin. Of the four, only Representative Ilhan Omar of Minnesota, a refugee from Somalia, was born overseas. At the mention of her name, the crowd chanted: “Send her back!”

Continued on Page A20

**REBUKE** William P. Barr and Wilbur Ross were held in contempt of Congress. PAGE A20

## Planned Parenthood's Struggle: Is It a Service or an Advocate?

By **SARAH KLIFF** and **SHANE GOLDMACHER**

WASHINGTON — Leana Wen had already made a name for herself as Baltimore's health commissioner when Planned Parenthood hired her as its new president last fall.

Dr. Wen, a 36-year-old physician, had used innovative policies to combat the opioid epidemic and delivered a widely watched TED Talk. She regularly appeared on lists of the most influential health care leaders and government officials.

But Dr. Wen's tenure at Planned Parenthood was rocky and short, ending after eight months on Tuesday when the board of directors ousted her following several weeks of tense and sometimes acrimonious negotiations.

Current and former Planned Parenthood officials describe Dr. Wen as a smart but alienating manager who wanted to significantly reorient the group's focus away from the abortion wars and more toward its role as a women's health provider.

Early in her tenure, for instance, Dr. Wen directed her staff



JAMES LAWLER DUGGAN/REUTERS

Dr. Leana Wen, former president of Planned Parenthood.

to add new pages to the Planned Parenthood website about topics like asthma and the common cold — conditions that its clinics do not typically treat. One of her first major campaigns was simply called “This is health care.”

But as states began to pass ever more restrictive laws on abortion, and with the addition of a conservative justice to the Supreme Court — endangering Roe v. Wade

Continued on Page A17

## Getting Past a Border, but Only to Say Goodbye

By **CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM** and **MIRIAM JORDAN**

BRENTWOOD, N.Y. — Heydi Gámez García was discovered by her aunt just after midnight.

In recent weeks, Heydi, a 13-year-old immigrant from Honduras, had become increasingly depressed about her father, who had been held in detention since he was caught illegally crossing the southern border in early June. It had been his third attempt in four years to reach the United States to be with his only child, who was living with his sisters in New York. But as days turned into weeks and more than a month passed without his release, the young girl seemed to lose hope, her family said.

Around 10:30 p.m. one night last week, Heydi shut herself in a room, saying she wanted to be alone. About an hour and a half later, her aunt, Zoila, gently opened the door to offer her a snack. Maybe some cookies and milk would cheer her up, she thought.

But the bed with blue and violet flowered sheets was empty. Zoila peered out the window, and then caught a glimpse of the closet on the opposite end of the room:



CHRISTOPHER LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Heydi Gámez García, 13, a Honduran immigrant on life support.

There was Heydi, hanging from a phone-charging cable that she had fashioned into a noose.

She was unconscious, on the edge of death. She had left no note — nothing to help explain what, of the many things that can lead young people to take their own lives, had prompted her to try to end hers.

“She was so smart, it doesn't make sense why she made a decision like this, a decision so out of character,” said Jessica Gámez,

32, the aunt Heydi lived with in the Long Island hamlet of Brentwood. “I thought she would be safer here with me, safer than in Honduras.”

Heydi's short life story was much like those of thousands of Central American families who have been making their way to the United States over the past five years, petitioning for asylum from the turmoil of their homelands and hoping that the challenges of building a new life in an unfamiliar

Continued on Page A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-13

### Ebola Emergency Is Declared

The World Health Organization's formal designation adds urgency to the year-old Congo outbreak. PAGE A13

### Vote to Stop Saudi Arms Sales

The House passed measures that would block the sale of weapons to Gulf allies. A presidential veto is likely. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A14-22

### Overdose Deaths Drop Slightly

Drug overdose deaths in the United States fell by around 5 percent last year, the first drop since 1990. Most of the dip was in prescription opioids. PAGE A17

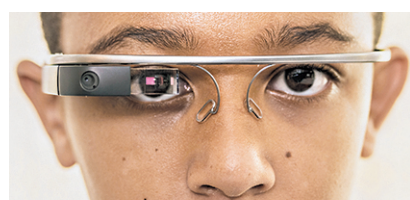
### U.S. Troops to Saudi Arabia

The United States is sending roughly 500 troops in a new Middle East show of force toward Iran. PAGE A18

NEW YORK A23-25

### Life Sentence for Drug Lord

Joaquín Guzmán Loera, the Mexican cartel leader called El Chapo, received the term mandated by law. PAGE A25



BUSINESS B1-7

### An Afterlife for Google Glass

The glasses failed with consumers but could help autistic children recognize emotion and make eye contact. PAGE B1

### Rare Loss for Netflix

Netflix shed 126,000 U.S. subscribers, the first domestic streaming loss since its digital service began. PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B8-12

### A Nation Gets Back on Course

Rory McIlroy and other golfers see the decision to play the British Open in Northern Ireland as a signal of the country's progress. PAGE B9

ARTS C1-8

### Louvre Erases the Sacklers

Signs and plaques honoring donations from the family, which has been linked to the opioid crisis, were removed or covered at the Paris museum. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

### Nicholas Kristof

PAGE A27



THURSDAYSTYLES D1-6

### Heavenly Looks

The Apollo 11 anniversary will spur another wave of intergalactic fashion. This time, we're on the dark side of the moon, Vanessa Friedman says. PAGE D4



## ONE SHOOTING MASSACRE FOLLOWS ANOTHER, SHAKING A BEWILDERED NATION TO ITS CORE



A vigil was held in Dayton, Ohio, on Sunday for the victims of a mass shooting early that morning that occurred within 24 hours of another mass shooting in El Paso.

### 2 Gunmen Kill 29 in Attacks in Dayton and El Paso

This article is by Campbell Robertson, Julie Bosman and Mitch Smith.

DAYTON, Ohio — On Sunday, Americans woke up to news of a shooting rampage in an entertainment district in Dayton, Ohio, where a man wearing body armor shot and killed nine people, including his own sister. Hours earlier, a 21-year-old with a rifle entered a Walmart in El Paso and killed 20 people.

In a country that has become nearly numb to men with guns opening fire in schools, at concerts and in churches, the back-to-back bursts of gun violence in less than 24 hours were enough to leave the public stunned and shaken. The shootings ground the 2020 presidential campaign to a halt, reignited a debate on gun control and called into question the increasingly angry words directed at immigrants on the southern border in recent weeks by right-wing pundits and President Trump.

"It's outrageous," said Terrior Foster, who works in accounting and lives in Kansas City, Mo., where he was out shopping at a farmer's market near downtown on Sunday afternoon. "It's really sad because I feel like you can't go anywhere and be safe. I'm 50 years old and I didn't think I'd be alive to see some of the things that are going on today."

The shootings prompted Republicans, including Mr. Trump, to condemn the gunmen's actions and offer support to the people of Dayton and El Paso. Democrats urged Congress to take action and pass stricter gun laws. "We have a responsibility to the people we serve to act," Speaker Nancy Pelosi said in a statement.

Residents of El Paso were on edge, grimly aware of a manifesto posted online that the authorities said was written by the suspect, Patrick Crusius, 21, who was in police custody. The manifesto spoke of a "Hispanic invasion of Texas," described an imminent attack by the writer and railed against immigrants.

Federal investigators in El Paso said they were treating the massacre at the Walmart that also wounded another 27 on Saturday morning as an act of domestic terrorism, and prosecutors said they were considering federal hate crime charges. They were also considering federal gun charges that would carry the death penalty.

"We are going to conduct a methodical and careful investigation with a view toward those charges," said John F. Bash, the United States attorney for the

Continued on Page A12

**PUSHING BACK** Mexico vowed to take action to protect Mexicans living in the U.S. PAGE A16

**STONE** O'Rourke handed President Trump some blame in the El Paso shooting. PAGE A14

**DEBATE** The gun lobby has structural advantages, but activists have grass-roots energy. PAGE A14



Parishioners during a vigil at Blessed Sacrament church in El Paso. Texas state troopers guarded the entrance to Cielo Vista Mall, where 20 people died on Saturday.



Texas state troopers guarded the entrance to Cielo Vista Mall, where 20 people died on Saturday.

### 8chan on Web Is Dark Refuge For Extremists

Fredrick Brennan was getting ready for church at his home in the Philippines when the news of a mass shooting in El Paso arrived. His response was immediate and instinctive.

KEVIN ROOSE

THE SHIFT

"Whenever I hear about a mass shooting, I say, 'All right, we have to research if there's an 8chan connection,'" he said

about the online message board he started in 2013.

It didn't take him long to find one.

Moments before the El Paso shooting on Saturday, a four-page message whose author identified himself as the gunman appeared on 8chan. The person who posted the message encouraged his "brothers" on the site to spread the contents far and wide.

In recent months, 8chan has become a go-to resource for violent extremists. At least three mass shootings this year — including the mosque killings in Christchurch, New Zealand, and the synagogue shooting in Poway, Calif. — have been announced in advance on the site, Continued on Page A15

### A Store That Connected Cultures, Until a Killer 'Came Here for Us'

This article is by Simon Romero, Manny Fernandez and Michael Corkery.

EL PASO — Two nations physically and culturally come together in El Paso. The bustling Walmart on the city's east side, just minutes from the border with Mexico, exemplified those ties.

The store was a border version of Middle America: A large number of Mexican-American families from El Paso crowded into the megastore daily for inexpensive groceries and, late in the summer, back-to-school supplies. Almost as often, families from Mexico drove across the international bridge to buy bargain TVs, cartons of diapers and discount clothing. It was one of the company's top 10 in America: Where most stores of its

kind average 14,000 customers a week, the El Paso Walmart, a retail analyst said, saw 65,000.

Its racks were stocked with Mexican soccer jerseys, cans of chiles and salsa and Mexican flags, folded beneath the American and Texas flags on display. The pharmacy's staff members were fully bilingual.

"It really does feel like a United Nations store," said Burt P. Flickinger III, a retail consultant who has visited and studied the store.

This is the border as it is lived everyday, far from the heated national debate over immigration. Children come and go across the international boundary for school; others come for jobs and shopping.

Continued on Page A13

### In Texas Gunman's Manifesto, An Echo of Trump's Language

By PETER BAKER and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

At campaign rallies before last year's midterm elections, President Trump repeatedly warned that America was under attack by immigrants heading for the border. "You look at what is marching up, that is an invasion!" he declared at one rally. "That is an invasion!"

Nine months later, a 21-year-old white man is accused of opening fire in a Walmart in El Paso, killing 20 people and injuring dozens more after writing a manifesto railing against immigration and announcing that "this attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas." The suspect wrote that his

views "predate Trump," as if anticipating the political debate that would follow the blood bath. But if Mr. Trump did not originally inspire the gunman, he has brought into the mainstream polarizing ideas and people once consigned to the fringes of American society.

While other leaders have expressed concern about border security and the costs of illegal immigration, Mr. Trump has filled his public speeches and Twitter feed with sometimes false, fear-stoking language even as he welcomed to the White House a corps of hard-liners, demonizers and conspiracy theorists shunned by past presi-

Continued on Page A15

## As Trade Conflict Worsens Japan-South Korea Relations, U.S. Takes a Step Back

This article is by Motoko Rich, Edward Wong and Choe Sang-Hun.

TOKYO — North Korea had launched its third barrage of short-range missiles in just over a week, parading its growing ability to strike its neighbors with devastating firepower.

But instead of banding together against a common adversary last week, the two American allies in the path of the missiles — Japan and South Korea — were locked in their own bitter battle with roots stretching back over 100 years.

The discord stems from Japan's colonial occupation of the Korean Peninsula before and during

World War II, and what, if anything, it still owes for abuses committed during that era, including forced labor and sexual slavery. The long-simmering conflict erupted into a full diplomatic crisis on Friday, when Japan threatened to slow down exports of materials essential to South Korean industries.

By Saturday night, thousands of protesters marched in the streets of Seoul, accusing Japan of an "economic invasion" and threatening an intelligence-sharing agreement that the United States considers crucial to monitoring North Korea's nuclear buildup.

Washington has long relied on both countries to stand alongside

it to help counter China's rise and the nuclear-armed North. But despite the dangers of a deepening divide between its allies, the Trump administration has been reluctant to get involved to repair the rift.

President Trump said he might Continued on Page A8



NEW YORK A17, 20

### Algae Bloom Ruins Summer

As debates rage over solutions, businesses are watching income slip away around Lake Hopatcong, N.J. PAGE A17

### Club Owner and Nanny Killed

The au pair's boyfriend has been charged in the murders that stunned a New Jersey neighborhood. PAGE A20

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

### Iran Seizes a Tanker Again

The state news media reported the commandeering of an Iraqi ship smuggling fuel to Arab countries, the third such action in the last month. PAGE A4

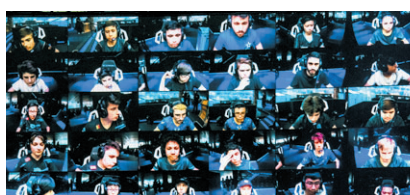
### Playing to Putin's Crowd

Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, a former comedian, is making inroads with Russian speakers. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-16

### Next Step for Climate Activists

After swaying key Democratic candidates, climate liberals like the Sunrise Movement flex their muscles. PAGE A16



BUSINESS B1-5, 8

### The Fight Over Battle Royale

The last-player-standing game Fortnite created a sensation, and has inspired imitators hoping to cash in. PAGE B4

### Start-Ups Serving Start-Ups

Brex gives charge cards to new firms, and its growth is a sign of Silicon Valley's unflagging exuberance. PAGE B1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

### Mastering the Transfer Market

During soccer's three-month window for buying and selling the rights to players, Sevilla thrives by relying on uncommonly deep scouting and a very smart man with a cellphone. PAGE D1

### Sponsors Join Equal-Pay Fight

Nike aired an ad during the Women's World Cup. Visa demanded new contract terms with U.S. Soccer. Will more companies join in, and will their contributions be decisive? PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Charles M. Blow PAGE A19



ARTS C1-8

### Humor in a Conflict Zone

The Netflix sitcom "Derry Girls," set in 1990s Northern Ireland, uses a light touch to deal with a tumultuous era. Above, a scene from Season 2. PAGE C1



## At End, Epstein Was Left Alone In His Jail Cell

### Prison Experts Deride Break With Protocol

This article is by **Katie Benner, Danielle Ivory, Christina Goldbaum and Ashley Southall.**

It was Friday night in a protective housing unit of the federal jail in Lower Manhattan, and Jeffrey Epstein, the financier accused of trafficking girls for sex, was alone in a cell, only 11 days after he had been taken off a suicide watch.

Just that morning, thousands of documents from a civil suit had been released, providing lurid accounts accusing Mr. Epstein of sexually abusing scores of girls.

Mr. Epstein was supposed to have been checked by the two guards in the protective housing unit every 30 minutes, but that procedure was not followed that night, a law-enforcement official with knowledge of his detention said.

In addition, because Mr. Epstein may have tried to commit suicide three weeks earlier, he was supposed to have had another inmate in his cell, three officials said. But the jail had recently transferred his cellmate and allowed Mr. Epstein to be housed alone, a decision that also violated the jail's procedures, the two officials said.

At 6:30 a.m. on Saturday, guards doing morning rounds found him dead in his cell. Mr. Epstein, 66, had apparently hanged himself.

The disclosures about these seeming failures in Mr. Epstein's detention at the Metropolitan Correctional Center deepened questions about his death and are very likely to be the focus of inquiries by the Justice Department and

Continued on Page A18

**AN ACCOUNTING** An inquiry into Mr. Epstein's finances is not likely to end with his death. PAGE B1

## In a City's Grief, O'Rourke Finds A Second Wind

By **KATIE GLUECK**

EL PASO — As Beto O'Rourke waded through a crowd that had gathered Thursday night to honor victims of the mass shooting in El Paso, the struggling presidential candidate was welcomed as a hometown hero.

"Beto!" someone shouted, addressing this city's former congressman. "Thank you for being our voice!"

Mr. O'Rourke shook hands and paid his respects at the memorial to the victims of the Aug. 3 massacre at a Walmart that had targeted Latinos and left 22 people dead. He then walked several yards away to pose for photographs with admirers. Many praised him for communicating El Paso's grief and anger as a seemingly constant presence on national television, and some expressed their support for his White House bid.

The moment captured a central tension that has characterized the past week for Mr. O'Rourke: A presidential candidate whose campaign had stalled was suddenly back in the spotlight — but only because of a tragedy in a city that is core to his personal and political identity.

Mr. O'Rourke spent the week off the campaign trail as many of his competitors descended on Iowa for the state fair and other party activities, and his decision to stay home was widely lauded by party activists. Yet he also received a sharp reminder of the significant challenges he faces in the 2020 race, despite the new outpouring

Continued on Page A11

"We are so overwhelmed by this — it literally is an **invasion** of people crossing into Texas." LAURA INGRAHAM ON "THE O'REILLY FACTOR," MAY 29, 2014 "We are letting folks **invade** our home, walk into our home, and we won't even defend it or protect it." PATRICK BUCHANAN ON "HANNITY," JUNE 9, 2014 "This isn't reunification. This is a government-sanctioned **invasion** of our country." TODD STARNES ON "FOX & FRIENDS SUNDAY," JULY 6, 2014 "The **invasion** of illegal immigrants, and in particular unaccompanied children, at our southern border continues to spiral out of control." SEAN HANNITY ON "HANNITY," JULY 12, 2014 "When the federal government is not able or is not willing to protect from an **invasion**, a state has the right to reach its own agreements, levy its own taxes and do whatever it has to secure its border from further **invasion**. And this is an **invasion**. Twice as big already than D-Day and twice as many again still coming." LOUIE GOHMERT ON "JUSTICE WITH JUDGE JEANINE," JULY 13, 2014 "The other top story is the fact that we've got this **invasion** across our southern border of all these illegals. Many are children." STEVE DOOCY ON "FOX & FRIENDS," JULY 16, 2014 "In the Constitution, the founding fathers called it repelling **invasion**." ALLEN WEST ON "ON THE RECORD WITH GRETA VAN SUSTEREN," AUG. 11, 2015 "Trump's great accomplishment is to expose the fact that the establishment of this country is responsible for insecure borders, the masses coming across our borders, **invading** our country." PATRICK BUCHANAN ON "HANNITY," OCT. 21, 2016 "It's a mass of humanity right now, just walking across the border, coming across the Rio Grande. This is a peace time **invasion** of the United States." LAURA INGRAHAM ON "SPECIAL REPORT WITH BRET BAIER," NOV. 16, 2016 "These are illegal aliens who have **invaded** our country. And illegal alien equals criminal." MARY ANN MENDOZA ON "FOX & FRIENDS," MARCH 29, 2017 "They used to call that an **invasion**. And they used to fight wars over stuff like that. But these days it's a voter registration drive for the D.N.C." TODD STARNES ON "FOX & FRIENDS," MAY 9, 2017 "We're going to be confronted by even more serious **invasion**, in terms of those crossing the border with drugs." JEANINE PIRRO ON "FOX & FRIENDS," JULY 28, 2017 "Will anyone in power do anything to protect America this time, or will our leaders sit passively back while the **invasion** continues?" TUCKER CARLSON ON "TUCKER CARLSON TONIGHT," APRIL 2, 2018 "What else would you call it? It's got to be — it's an **invasion** of our country and of our rights. It's despicable." ART DEL CUETO ON "THE INGRAHAM ANGLE," APRIL 9, 2018 "You use the word '**invasion**,' people say, 'Oh, that's so mean.' What else

## How the El Paso Gunman Echoed The Words of Right-Wing Pundits

This article is by **Jeremy W. Peters, Michael M. Grynbbaum, Keith Collins and Rich Harris.**

### THE NEW NATIVISTS A Shared Vocabulary

Tucker Carlson went on his prime-time Fox News show in April last year and told his viewers not to be fooled. The thousands of Central Americans on their way to the United States were "border jumpers," not refugees, he said. "Will anyone in power do anything to protect America this time," he asked, "or will leaders sit passively back as the invasion continues?"

When another group approached

the border six months later, Ann Coulter, appearing as a guest on Jeanine Pirro's Fox News show, offered a dispassionately violent suggestion about what could be done to stem the flow of migrants: "You can shoot invaders."

A few days after, Rush Limbaugh issued a grim prognosis to his millions of radio listeners: If the immigrants from Central America were-

n't stopped, the United States would lose its identity. "The objective is to dilute and eventually eliminate or erase what is known as the distinct or unique American culture," Mr. Limbaugh said, adding: "This is why people call this an invasion."

There is a striking degree of overlap between the words of right-wing media personalities and the language used by the Texas man who confessed to killing 22 people at a Walmart in El Paso this month.

Continued on Page A14

who are **invading** our country." MARY ANN MENDOZA ON "FOX & FRIENDS FIRST," FEB. 1, 2019 "There is an **invasion** going on right now." JEFF CROUERE ON "AMERICA'S NEWS HQ," MARCH 10, 2019 "What about us? What about our country? We are being **invaded**." TUCKER CARLSON ON "TUCKER CARLSON TONIGHT," APRIL 9, 2019 "We are going to change the underlying broken laws to stop what I think is literally an **invasion** of people from Central America." LINDSEY GRAHAM ON "SUNDAY MORNING FUTURES WITH MARIA BARTIROMO," MAY 12, 2019 "You guys know what it's like. This is a walking **invasion**. Where's the action?" BRIAN KILMEADE ON "FOX & FRIENDS," JUNE 3, 2019 "Calling it anything but an **invasion** at this point is just not being honest with people." LAURA INGRAHAM ON "THE INGRAHAM ANGLE," JULY 10, 2019

A SELECTION OF THE ROUGHLY 400 FOX NEWS BROADCASTS IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS DURING WHICH IMMIGRATION WAS DESCRIBED AS AN INVASION.

## Deluged by Plastics but Bustling to Make More

By **MICHAEL CORKERY**

MONACA, Pa. — The 386-acre property looks like a giant Lego set rising from the banks of the Ohio River. It is one of the largest active construction projects in the United States, employing more than 5,000 people.

When completed, the facility will be fed by pipelines stretching hundreds of miles across Appalachia. It will have its own rail system with 3,300 freight cars. And it will produce annually more than a million tons of something that many people argue the world needs less of: plastic.

As concern grows about plastic debris in the oceans and recycling continues to falter in the United States, the production of new plastic is booming. The plant that Royal Dutch Shell is building about 25 miles northwest of Pittsburgh will create tiny pellets that can be turned into items like phone cases, auto parts and food packaging, all of which will be around long after they have served their purpose.

The plant is one of more than a dozen that are being built or have been proposed around the world by petrochemical companies like Exxon Mobil and Dow, including



ROSS MANTLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Production of plastics is booming. A huge plant rising near Pittsburgh is good news for union officials and business leaders.

several in nearby Ohio and West Virginia and on the Gulf Coast. And after decades of American industrial jobs heading overseas, the rise of the petrochemical sector is creating excitement. On Tuesday, President Trump is scheduled to tour the Shell plant.

"Where we are coming from, is that plastic, in most of its forms, is good, and it serves to be good for

humanity," said Hilary Mercer, who is overseeing the construction project for Shell.

The boom is driven partly by plastic's popularity as a versatile and inexpensive material that keeps potato chips fresh and makes cars lighter. But in parts of the Appalachian region, the increase is also being fueled by an

Continued on Page A12

## Salinger Detested Technology. Now His Books Will Be Digital.

By **ALEXANDRA ALTER**

In the five decades since J. D. Salinger published his final short story, "Hapworth 16, 1924," his small, revered body of work has stayed static, practically suspended in amber.

Even as publishers and consumers adopted e-books and digital audio, Salinger's books remained defiantly offline, a consequence of the writer's distaste for computers and technology. And while Salinger kept writing until his death nearly 10 years ago, not a word has been published since 1965.

That is partly because of his son, Matt Salinger, who helps run the J. D. Salinger Literary Trust and is a vigilant guardian of his father's legacy and privacy.

But now, in an effort to keep his father's books in front of a new generation of readers, the younger Mr. Salinger is beginning to ease up, gradually lifting a cloud of secrecy that has obscured the life and work of one of America's most influential and enigmatic writers.

This week, in the first step of a

broader revival that could reshape the world's understanding of Salinger and his writing, Little, Brown is publishing digital editions of his four books, making him perhaps the last 20th-century literary icon to surrender to the digital revolution.

Then this fall, with Mr. Salinger's help, the New York Public Library will host the first public exhibition from Salinger's personal archives, which will feature letters, family photographs and the typescript for "The Catcher in the Rye" with the author's handwritten edits, along with about 160 other items.

And before long, decades worth of Salinger's unpublished writing will be released, a project Mr. Salinger estimated will take another five to seven years to complete.

Combing through his father's manuscripts and letters has been both enlightening and emotionally taxing, Mr. Salinger said in an interview to promote the digital editions.

Continued on Page A13



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

### An Escalation in Hong Kong

The police fired tear gas into a subway station, and the authorities said protesters used gasoline bombs. PAGE A4

### Averted Attack Shocks Norway

The police guarded mosques in Oslo on Sunday after a worshiper stopped a gunman in Baerum a day earlier. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-15

### A Confrontation, Then a Firing

A professor who was dismissed after he tried to forcibly end a student sit-in at Johns Hopkins said white men faced discrimination on campuses. PAGE A10

NEW YORK A16-18

### Newark Sees Shades of Flint

After denying a lead problem for a year, officials were urged by the E.P.A. to distribute bottled water. PAGE A17

### An Adventure's Tragic End

She had come from Colombia to work as a nanny and broaden her horizons. Then came the double murder. PAGE A16



BUSINESS B1-8

### Melting in Iceland

As rising temperatures drastically reshape the landscape, businesses and the government race to adapt. PAGE B1

### Facebook Tweaks Itself

The social network is modifying its behavior and making internal changes to fend off antitrust concerns. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

### Big Art Galleries Get Bigger

At a time when small and midsize operations are struggling, closing or merging, New York's four mega-galleries are doubling down on major building projects in Chelsea. PAGE C1

### Perusing a 'Preppy Handbook'

James Poniewozik was against preppies in his youth, though he didn't really know anyone in that category. To try to figure out his enmity, he peeks into the book that began the craze. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

### Joe Biden

PAGE A23



SPORTSMONDAY D1-6

### Williams Retires From a Final

Back spasms led Serena Williams to withdraw after playing just four games against 19-year-old Bianca Andreescu at the Rogers Cup in Toronto. PAGE D1



0 354613 9



VICTOR MORIYAMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Bitter Resentment in the Amazon

The world may be outraged by the fires, but locals are indignant at what they see as outsiders trying to decide how Brazilians should steward their own land. Page A4.

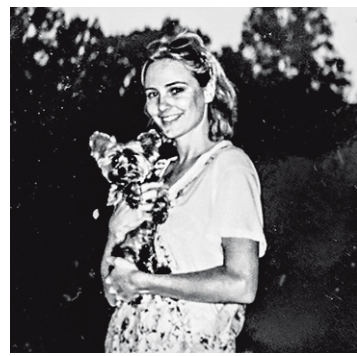
## Two Sisters' Early Bid to Unmask Epstein's Abuse Fell on Deaf Ears

By MIKE BAKER

As more women have come forward in recent days to describe assaults at the hands of Jeffrey Epstein, Maria Farmer finds herself distraught, wondering what might have happened if someone had taken her seriously. Twenty-four years ago, Ms. Farmer was an artist who had entered the unorthodox life Mr. Epstein lived behind the doors of his luxury estates. Mr. Epstein had offered to help with her painting career, but it all came to an abrupt end one night in the summer of 1996, when she says Mr. Epstein and his companion, Ghislaine

Maxwell, began violently groping her. She learned later that her 16-year-old sister, Annie Farmer, had been subjected to a troubling topless massage at Mr. Epstein's ranch in New Mexico. Ms. Farmer contacted the New York Police Department and said she had then gone to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, offering to share what she knew about Mr. Epstein and the parade of young women being brought to Mr. Epstein's houses. Though the bureau has never acknowledged such a contact, Ms. Farmer said the F.B.I. must have had a record of it, because agents came back to her — years later — with questions. She also went to leaders in the New York art world, which Mr. Epstein and Ms. Maxwell frequented, and the sisters tried to tell their story to a national magazine. In each case, their reports went nowhere. Finally, facing what she said were threats as a result of the sisters' claims, Ms. Farmer abandoned her New York art career and stopped painting altogether. "I did not want another young lady to go through what Annie went through," Maria Farmer said in a recent interview. "I could han-

Continued on Page A14



Maria Farmer in 1996 at Jeffrey Epstein's estate in Ohio, in a photograph provided by her personal representative.

## New York City Panel Advises Eliminating Gifted Programs

By ELIZA SHAPIRO

For years, New York City has essentially maintained two parallel public school systems. A group of selective schools and programs geared to students labeled gifted and talented is filled mostly with white and Asian children. The rest of the system is open to all students and is predominantly black and Hispanic. Now, a high-level panel appointed by Mayor Bill de Blasio is recommending that the city do away with most of these selective programs in an effort to desegregate the system, which has 1.1 million students and is by far the larg-

est in the country. Mr. de Blasio, who has staked his mayoralty on reducing inequality, has the power to adopt some or all of the proposals without input from the State Legislature or City Council. If he does, the decision would fundamentally reshape a largely segregated school system and could reverberate in school districts across the country. The mayor will now be thrust into the center of a sensitive debate about race and class at home, Continued on Page A20

## Global Whiplash as Trump Seesaws on Trade

By PETER BAKER

BIARRITZ, France — Remember when President Xi Jinping of China was the "enemy"? That was so Friday. As of Monday, according to President Trump, Mr. Xi was "a great leader" and a "brilliant man."

What about that edict by Mr. Trump, who "hereby ordered" American companies to leave China? Three days later, he was positive he would get a trade deal and, if so, then firms should "stay there and do a great job." Mr. Trump spent the weekend

### Provoking Turmoil at the G7: 'It's the Way I Negotiate'

in France insisting that he was not having a debate with his fellow world leaders, but at times it seemed like he was having a debate with himself. Day by day, even hour by hour, his approach to the trade war with China, the most consequential economic conflict on the planet, veered back and forth, leaving much of the world with

geopolitical whiplash.

If he seemed all over the map, he made clear on Monday, as he wrapped up days of diplomacy, that the world would just have to get used to it. He likes leaving negotiating partners, adversaries, observers and even allies off balance.

"Sorry!" he told reporters, sounding anything but apologetic. "It's the way I negotiate. It's the way I negotiate. It's done

Continued on Page A9

**STARK CHOICE** The trade war forces the president to choose: growth or China business. PAGE B1



BEN SOLOMON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### Opening Statement

Serena Williams trounced Maria Sharapova, 6-1, 6-1, on the first night of the U.S. Open. Page B7.

## Trial of a Power Broker Plumbs the Depths of Washington's Elite

By SHARON LaFRANIERE

WASHINGTON — It is a trial tailor-made to grab the attention of this city's power brokers: In a federal courtroom this month, one of Washington's most prominent lawyers — a former White House counsel and attorney to global statesmen and other icons — is

batting criminal charges of lying to investigators about his work for a shady foreign client. But the most riveting aspect of the case against the lawyer, Gregory B. Craig, is not his innocence or guilt. Rather, it is the depiction of the seamy world of power brokers like Mr. Craig that prosecutors have painted during nearly two weeks of testimony and in an

array of court filings. Mr. Craig's trial has supplanted any image of Washington's elite as sage Brahmins with a vivid picture of the ruling class at its avaricious worst. The details include a \$4 million payment shunted through a secret offshore account to Mr. Craig's law firm, a backdated invoice, a lying publicist, a scheme to net one player's daugh-

ter a cushy job and a bungled wiretap by a suspected Russian intelligence asset nicknamed "the angry midget." Taken together, they illustrate how lawyers, lobbyists and public relations specialists leapt onto slippery ethical slopes to cash in on a foreign government's hopes of papering over its sordid reputation. Continued on Page A17



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### A Sanctuary for Widows

Exiled women in Vrindavan, India, reduced to begging for years, found a home in a government shelter. PAGE A10

### 4 Isotopes in Russian Blast

A weather agency named radioactive particles it said were released in an explosion at a military test site. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A11-17

### F.B.I. Veteran in Cross Hairs

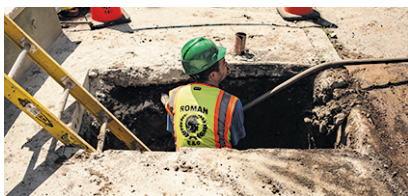
Federal prosecutors are weighing whether to seek an indictment of Andrew G. McCabe, the former deputy F.B.I. director. PAGE A16

### Heat Takes Toll in Southwest

The number of heat-related deaths has more than tripled in Arizona and Nevada since 2014, raising concerns about the limits of adaptation. PAGE A13

### N.R.A. Loses Some of Its Clout

A Times analysis of grades given by the National Rifle Association found that the group has fewer allies in Capitol Hill than it did 10 years ago. PAGE A11



NEW YORK A18-20

### 'We Have to Move Faster'

Newark expects to replace its lead pipes in 24 to 30 months instead of 10 years with a \$120 million plan. PAGE A18

### A Lobbyist's Hefty Donations

Large political contributions by a lobbyist for a powerful hospital group have raised eyebrows in Albany. PAGE A18

BUSINESS B1-5

### Planning Cadillac of a Revival

Once the epitome of luxury, the high-end General Motors line is attempting another makeover to catch up with rivals that have overtaken it. PAGE B1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

### Deceptive Fertility Doctors

Through the use of DNA tests, cases in which physicians secretly used their own sperm for artificial insemination are surfacing more often. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

### David Brooks

PAGE A23



ARTS C1-8

### Reading Taylor Swift's Diaries

Jon Caramanica and Joe Coscarelli discuss the observations the singer jotted down from ages 13 to 27. Above, in Las Vegas in 2009. PAGE C6



0 354613 9

## INVOKING OBAMA, BIDEN JABS BACK AT PROGRESSIVES

### BATTLING OVER A LEGACY

#### Warren Joins Sanders in a Fierce Defense of 'Medicare for All'

By JONATHAN MARTIN  
and ALEXANDER BURNS

HOUSTON — Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. clung tightly to the legacy of the Obama administration in a Democratic primary debate on Thursday, asking voters to view him as a stand-in for the former president as an array of progressive challengers, led by Senators Elizabeth Warren and Bernie Sanders, brandished more daring policy promises and questioned Mr. Biden's political strength.

Facing all of his closest competitors for the first time in a debate, Mr. Biden, the Democratic front-runner, repeatedly invoked President Barack Obama's name and policy record as a shield against rivals who suggested his own record was flawed, or implied his agenda lacked ambition. On health care, immigration, foreign wars and more, Mr. Biden's central theme was his tenure serving under Mr. Obama.

By constantly invoking Mr. Obama, a popular figure among Democrats, Mr. Biden sought to mute the ideological and generational divisions that have left him vulnerable in the primary race. To voters who might see him as a candidate of the past, Mr. Biden seemed to counter that the past was not so bad.

In an early exchange over health care, Mr. Biden referred to Ms. Warren's support for Mr. Sanders's "Medicare for all" plan. "The senator says she's for Bernie," Mr. Biden said. "Well, I'm for Barack — I think the Obamacare worked."

Explaining his preference for more incremental health care improvements, like the creation of an optional government-backed plan, Mr. Biden challenged Ms. Warren and Mr. Sanders to defend the cost of their plans, warning that they would require tax increases on middle-income Americans.

Mr. Biden was steadier in what was his third debate of the primary. *Continued on Page A22*



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

From left, Bernie Sanders, Joseph R. Biden Jr., Elizabeth Warren and Kamala Harris during Thursday night's debate in Houston.

## Barbs Fly as Rival Democrats Confront End of the Beginning

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and KATIE GLUECK

Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. jammed his finger skyward, eyes narrowing like his polling advantage, accusing the "socialist" to his right, Senator Bernie Sanders, and the "distinguished friend" to his left, Senator Elizabeth Warren, of hawking infeasible health care proposals loaded with dubious math.

Mr. Sanders, raspier than usual but no gentler on audio equipment, insisted that Mr. Biden has "got to defend" a system that bankrupts cancer patients, drawing a steely glare from a front-runner well-versed in the disease's ravages.

Mayor Pete Buttigieg tried to play the peacekeeping millennial, cutting in after Julián Castro — the former federal housing secretary, disinclined to leave the squabbling to the three favorites — interjected from the stage's

periphery to suggest that Mr. Biden, well into his 70s, had forgotten what he said just two minutes prior.

"This is why presidential debates are becoming unwatchable," Mr. Buttigieg said. "This reminds everybody of what they cannot stand about Washington."

"Yeah, that's called the Democratic primary election," Mr. Castro shot back. "That's called an election."

It is getting there. Onstage together for the first time, with less than five months to go before the voting begins, the top 10 candidates made clear on Thursday that the moment for oblique contrast and above-the-fray wishcasting is quickly passing.

For the favorites, the new urgency yielded the most conspicuously fractious forum yet to *Continued on Page A23*

## U.S. Hastens Asylum Hearings In Tents Far From Courtrooms

This article is by Manny Fernandez, Miriam Jordan and Caitlin Dickerson.

SAN ANTONIO — The immigration court judge stared at his long docket list on Thursday morning and told the officer he was ready to hear the next case.

No one inside the small courtroom made a move. All the action was happening up front on a large flat-screen television.

On the screen, an officer could be seen escorting a woman to a seat at a long, bare folding table in a spacious, white-walled room. The woman, a migrant from Cuba named Lorena, had been bused from Mexico to a temporary facility on the South Texas border in Laredo. The judge was 160 miles northeast, in a courtroom in downtown San Antonio.

Lorena's case was part of the Trump administration's latest experiment on the southwestern border — tent court. Federal officials this week be-

gan operating tent-style facilities in Laredo and a handful of other border cities to ease the strain on immigration courts, part of a sweeping set of moves intended to slow the flow of migrant families across the border. The tent courts, which are also opening in Brownsville, Tex., and Yuma, Ariz., are designed to speed up processing and end the long delays that have allowed many migrants to live and work in the United States for years before their court cases are decided.

They are part of a series of new measures designed to curtail the past year's surge in immigration by keeping many asylum applicants waiting outside the country, in Mexico. On Wednesday, the Supreme Court cleared the way for an even farther-reaching new pol-

*Continued on Page A18*

**DASHED DREAMS** A ruling ends "all hope" for many asylum seekers coming via Mexico. **PAGE A18**

## TRUMP REPEALS OBAMA-ERA RULE ON CLEAN WATER

### POLLUTION LIMITS EASED

#### The Latest Move to Roll Back Protections for the Environment

By LISA FRIEDMAN  
and CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — The Trump administration on Thursday announced the repeal of a major Obama-era clean water regulation that had placed limits on polluting chemicals that could be used near streams, wetlands and other bodies of water.

The rollback of the 2015 measure, known as the Waters of the United States rule, adds to a lengthy list of environmental rules that the administration has worked to weaken or undo over the past two and a half years.

Those efforts have focused heavily on eliminating restrictions on fossil fuel pollution, including coal-fired power plants, automobile tailpipes and methane emissions, but have also touched on asbestos and chemical hazards like pesticides.

An immediate effect of the clean water repeal is that polluters will no longer need a permit to discharge potentially harmful substances into many streams and wetlands. But the measure, which is expected to take effect in a matter of weeks, has implications far beyond the pollution that will now be allowed to flow freely into waterways.

The Obama administration implemented the rule in response to a Supreme Court decision that opened the door to a more expansive legal definition of "waters of the United States" under the 1972 Clean Water Act. With Thursday's announcement, the Environmental Protection Agency is aiming to drastically narrow that definition, a move that critics fear could be difficult for future administrations to undo because the ideological balance of the Supreme Court has shifted to the right.

Patrick Parenteau, a professor *Continued on Page A17*

**PESTICIDE** Beekeepers have sued the E.P.A. over a chemical they say is harming bees. **PAGE A16**

## As Vote Nears, Israelis Ponder How Jewish the Nation Should Be

By DAVID M. HALBFINGER

JERUSALEM — For years, the resentment had been building.

In Israel, Jewish men and women are drafted into the military, but the ultra-Orthodox are largely exempt. Unlike other Israelis, many ultra-Orthodox receive state subsidies to study the Torah and raise large families.

And in a country that calls itself home to all Jews, ultra-Orthodox rabbis have a state-sanctioned monopoly on events like marriage, divorce and religious conversions.

A series of political twists has suddenly jolted these issues to the fore, and the country's long-simmering secular-religious divide has become a central issue in the national election on Tuesday.

In a country buffeted by a festering conflict with the Palestinians, increasingly open warfare with Iran and a prime minister facing indictment on corruption charges, the election has been surprisingly preoccupied with the question of just how Jewish — and whose idea of Jewish — the Jewish state should be.

"I have nothing against the ultra-Orthodox, but they should get what they deserve according to



SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Jewish settlement in the West Bank city of Hebron this week. The Israeli election is Tuesday.

their size," said Lior Amiel, 49, a businessman who was out shopping in Ramat Hasharon. "Currently, I'm funding their lifestyle."

This election was supposed to be a simple do-over, a quick retake

to give Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu a second chance to form a government and his opponents another shot at running him out of office.

Instead it has become what

Yohanan Plesner, president of the nonpartisan Israel Democracy Institute, calls "a critical campaign for the trajectory of the country."

Blame Avigdor Lieberman, the *Continued on Page A8*

## Inside Military's 5-Star Layovers For Refueling at a Trump Resort

By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK  
and ERIC LIPTON

TURNBERRY, Scotland — The middle-aged golfers had finished their last single-malt whiskies late one night this July, and the bartenders were closing up.

Then a bus pulled up to the Trump Turnberry hotel on Scotland's west coast with a load of new guests, several staff members said. The doormen, dressed in kilts with long feathers protruding from their berets, ushered in more than 50 uniformed American military service members.

After gawking at a fountain encircled by stone horses and classical statues, the troops piled their duffel bags around the table of orchids under the crystal chandeliers of the wood-paneled lobby, checked into their rooms and headed to the bar to begin ordering some whisky of their own.

Throughout President Trump's term, officials said this week, the American military has been paying his money-losing Scottish golf resort to provide five-star accommodations to United States military flight crews and other personnel during refueling stops on



MARY TURNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A United States Air Force plane at Glasgow Prestwick Airport on Wednesday.

trips to and from Southeast Asia, the Middle East and other locations.

The chairman of the House Oversight committee has questioned if the spending at Turnberry is a violation of a constitutional prohibition on government payments to the president outside of his salary — a provision known as the emoluments clause. Other House Democrats have said they expect the matter will now figure

*Continued on Page A11*



### INTERNATIONAL A4-14

#### Protest Anthem for Hong Kong

"Glory to Hong Kong" has rapidly been adopted as a symbol of the pro-democracy movement. **PAGE A4**

#### An 'All-Ireland' Zone

As Prime Minister Boris Johnson pursues an agreement on Brexit, Northern Ireland remains in play. **PAGE A9**

### NATIONAL A16-24

#### Atoning for Slavery

Leaders of the Virginia Theological Seminary are setting aside \$1.7 million in reparations for the school's involvement in American slavery. **PAGE A16**

#### Ex-F.B.I. Deputy Rebuffed

The government rejected Andrew G. McCabe's appeal to avoid charges in a case over whether he lied. **PAGE A19**

### NEW YORK A25-27

#### Gambit on Conversion Therapy

Wary of the Supreme Court, the city is ending a ban on a discredited practice to change sexual orientation. **PAGE A26**



### WEEKEND ARTS C1-20

#### A Painter's Second Act

After her famous portrait of Michelle Obama, Amy Serrald brings new works, like this one, to New York. **PAGE C11**

#### Rip-Off Artists

Jennifer Lopez and Constance Wu star in "Hustlers," about strippers seeking big scores. Review by A.O. Scott. **PAGE C1**

### BUSINESS B1-7

#### Like 'Big Brother' in the Sky

Employees of Cathay Pacific Airways fear being fired over social media posts supporting protesters in Hong Kong as Beijing tightens the vise. **PAGE B1**

#### Vaping Industry Weighs a Fight

Companies and trade groups gauge the risks of waging a legal or lobbying fight against a proposed ban on most flavored e-cigarette products, to protect mint and menthol brands. **PAGE B1**

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

#### Marco Rubio

**PAGE A31**



### SPORTSFRIDAY B8-11

#### Justify's Trainer on Defense

A lawyer for the star trainer Bob Baffert said environmental contamination, not doping, was the cause of the racehorse's failed drug test. **PAGE B8**



0 354613 9





SCOTT EISEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Penitent, but Prison-Bound

Felicity Huffman, seen with her husband, William H. Macy, was given a 14-day sentence in a college admissions scandal. Page A19.

## 2 Democrats In No Hurry To Do Battle

By ALEXANDER BURNS  
and KATIE GLUECK

If Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Elizabeth Warren are headed for a showdown, neither of them appears in a hurry to get there.

The two candidates have seemed to be on a collision course for much of the last few months: Mr. Biden as the Democratic front-runner and de facto leader of the party's moderate wing, with a steady but hardly dominant lead in polls, and Ms. Warren as his rising challenger, slowly trimming his lead and perhaps surpassing Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont as the focal point of progressive energy in the race.

Despite some pre-debate chest-thumping by Mr. Biden's camp, no great clash occurred in Thursday's debate in Houston, the first time he and Ms. Warren have been onstage together during the primary.

It is almost inevitable that the race will grow more combative, and in the wake of the debate there were signs that some of the leading candidates were ready for conflict. Mr. Biden, who only challenged Ms. Warren in a single exchange on health care Thursday, delivered a veiled swipe at her policy-heavy campaign at a fundraiser on Friday, saying that the country needed not just plans but also "someone who can execute a plan." And Mr. Sanders sought to reignite his own clash with Mr. Biden, releasing a statement from his campaign manager that accused Mr. Biden of "echoing the

Continued on Page A18

## Better Armed, Boko Haram Terrorizes Nigeria

By DIONNE SEARCEY

KONDUGA, Nigeria — Ten-year-old Abdul stood on a dirt road in a village tucked between millet fields and pulled up his shirt. A fresh scar stretched lengthwise down his stomach — the result of a suicide bombing by Boko Haram in June that sent shrapnel tearing through his belly. A half dozen other boys crowded around him and pulled up their shirts. All bore similar scars from the attack.

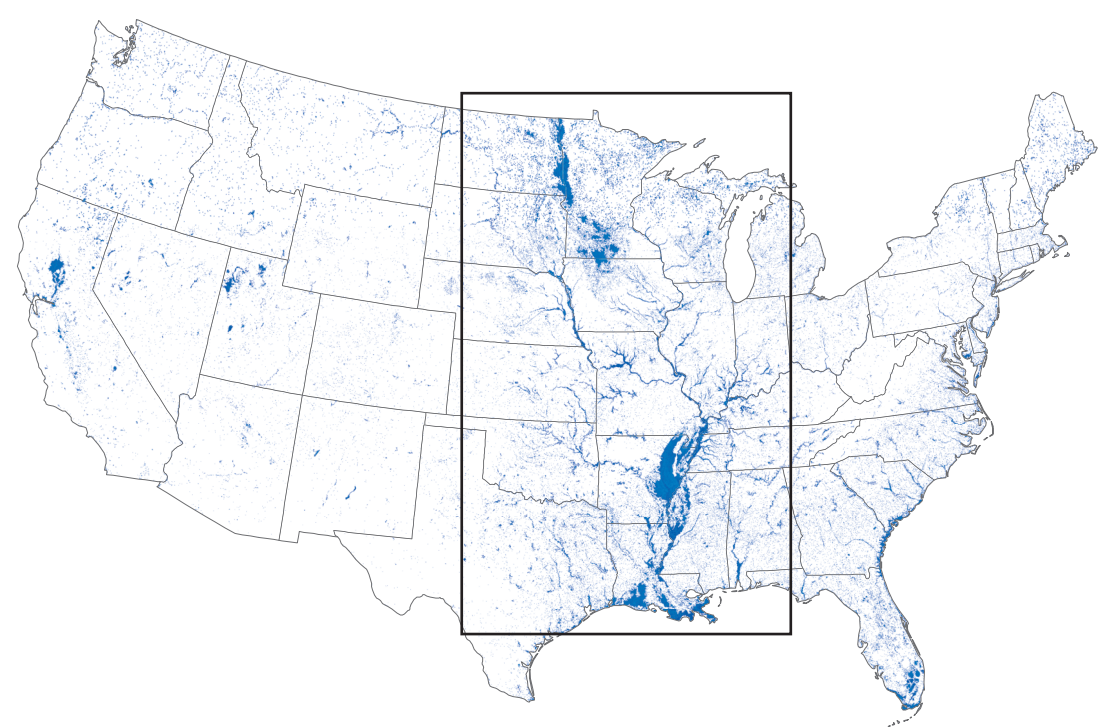
Nigeria's war against the Islamist extremist group Boko Haram was supposed to be over by now. President Muhammadu Buhari, a former military ruler, was re-elected earlier this year after boasting about his progress battling Boko Haram. He has repeatedly declared that the group has been "technically defeated." On Tuesday, the president conceded that "its members are still a nuisance."

A full decade into the war, however, Boko Haram militants are

still roaming the countryside with impunity. Their fighters now have more sophisticated drones than the military and are well-armed after successful raids on military brigades, according to local politicians and security analysts.

Militants control four of the 10 zones in northern Borno State, near Lake Chad, according to security analysts and a federal official. They are pulling off almost-daily attacks, including opening fire last week on the convoy of the

Continued on Page A9



THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Where Misery Poured In

To visualize flooding in the Midwest and South, The Times analyzed satellite data to create a composite map of areas that were inundated at some point from January through June. Pages A14-15.

## A Challenge to the Essence of Old Jerusalem, Coming by Cable Car

By MICHAEL KIMMELMAN

JERUSALEM — At a glance, Jerusalem's Old City and its surroundings still look pretty much as they must have looked centuries ago. The Old City's yellow walls still read in silhouette against an ancient landscape of parched hills and valleys. The skyline is still dominated by the city's great Muslim and Christian shrines: the gold, glistening Dome of the

Rock and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, where Jesus was said to have been buried.

But this is about to change. Israeli authorities have approved a plan to build an elevated cable car to the Western Wall, the holiest site in the Jewish world, by 2021.

It's the first phase of what proponents envision as a fleet of cable cars crisscrossing the locus of sacred sites known as the Holy Basin.

Trumped by right-wing

Israeli leaders as a green solution to the challenges of increased tourism and traffic in and around the Old City, the plan has provoked howls of protest from horrified Israeli preservationists, environmentalists, planners, architects and others who picture an ancient global heritage site turned into a Jewish-themed Epcot, with thousands of passengers an hour crammed into huge gondolas lofting across the sky.

"A total outrage against a

fragile city," the Israeli-born architect Moshe Safdie says. "An aesthetic and architectural affront."

On Tuesday, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, battling to win re-election, vowed that if he returned to office, he would annex nearly a third of the occupied West Bank, reducing any future Palestinian state to an encircled enclave. Israeli critics dismissed the announcement as a last-minute election play, but it

Continued on Page A8

## House Inquiry Targets Heads Of Tech Giants

### Personal Email Sought by Antitrust Panel

By STEVE LOHR

Congress showed the breadth of its investigation into the big tech companies on Friday, making a public demand for scores of documents, including the personal emails and other communications from dozens of top executives.

Republicans and Democrats alike on the House Judiciary Committee, which is investigating the market power and behavior of the companies, sent letters directly to Jeff Bezos of Amazon, Tim Cook of Apple, Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook and Larry Page of Google.

The requests called for all communications to and from eight executives at Amazon, 14 at Apple, 15 at Facebook and 14 at Google.

With the request, which was posted on the committee's website, the lawmakers sent a not-so-subtle message that executives would be held responsible for the replies, and that the investigation would continue to play out publicly. That has the potential of damaging the brands' reputations.

The companies, once held up as beacons of American ingenuity and business acumen, have been under siege about spreading disinformation, failing to respect users' privacy and maneuvering to minimize their taxes. In addition, President Trump and other Republicans accuse some of the companies of censoring conservative voices.

Similar inquiries are underway at the Justice Department, at the Federal Trade Commission and by attorneys general of dozens of states. The investigations are just beginning in earnest. How far they will go, what they will uncover and whether any allegations will stand up in court are all uncertain.

But the investigations show the growing angst about the power of the tech companies, which for decades faced little regulation. Now Silicon Valley's influence on everything from how we vote to how we shop is readily apparent — and yet the technology driving it remains largely mysterious.

"There is this great and growing dependence on technology that we don't really understand," said A. Douglas Melamed, a former antitrust official in Justice Department. "And that frightens people."

House lawmakers were expected to vote on the request on Friday. Continued on Page A12

## NEW YORK SAYS SACKLERS SHIFTED ABOUT \$1 BILLION

### WIRE TRANSFERS TRACED

### Findings Suggest Purdue Pharma Family Tried to Shield Wealth

By DANNY HAKIM

The New York attorney general's office said on Friday that it had tracked about \$1 billion in wire transfers by the Sackler family, including through Swiss bank accounts, suggesting that the family tried to shield wealth as it faced a raft of litigation over its role in the opioid crisis.

Earlier this week, thousands of municipal governments and nearly two dozen states tentatively reached a settlement with the Sackler family and the company it owns, Purdue Pharma, maker of OxyContin. It was unclear if the new disclosure would change the thinking of any of the parties that agreed to the settlement.

The attorneys general of a majority of states, including New York and Massachusetts, have already balked at the proposed deal, contending that the Sackler family has siphoned off company profits that should be used to pay for the billions of dollars in damage caused by opioids.

The wire transfers are part of a lawsuit against Purdue and individual Sacklers in New York. Letitia James, now the state's attorney general, had issued subpoenas last month to 33 financial institutions and investment advisers with ties to the Sacklers in an effort to trace the full measure of the family's wealth.

"While the Sacklers continue to lowball victims and skirt a responsible settlement, we refuse to allow the family to misuse the courts in an effort to shield their financial misconduct," Ms. James said in a statement. "Records from one financial institution alone have shown approximately \$1 billion in wire transfers between the Sacklers, entities they control, and different financial institutions, including those that have funneled funds into Swiss bank accounts," she added.

Forbes has estimated that the family fortune is worth \$13 billion, a figure the family has not disputed, but many state attorneys general believe that the family has far more hidden away, as a safe. Continued on Page A21

## Trump's Hurricane Tweet Pushes NOAA Into the Political Arena

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE

SILVER SPRING, Md. — On Friday morning in the suburbs of Washington, government scientists in khakis and sensible shoes bustled to work — beneath a towering bronze sculpture of a hand releasing seabirds — heading for a small scientific agency caught up in a political mess triggered by President Trump's tweet about Hurricane Dorian.

One of the arriving employees was Neil Jacobs, the head of the agency, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. "We're under investigation," a weary looking Dr. Jacobs said, a large messenger bag slung over his shoulder. "I can't talk."

The investigations are examining an attack on the independence of an agency that, despite its enormous importance to the United States economy, typically flies well below the radar. That changed in recent weeks when meteorologists working for NOAA corrected Mr. Trump on Twitter

after he inaccurately described Hurricane Dorian's path.

The president then ordered the agency to support his version of events, triggering a political clash.

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is hardly a household name, yet it plays a significant role in modern life.

One of its main jobs is weather forecasting, producing the data that farmers trust to plant their crops, airlines rely on to design their routes and millions of Americans check obsessively on their smartphones.

The agency also studies the world's oceans, regulates fisheries and operates sophisticated satellites that, among other things, detect threats in space to help protect astronauts.

It "touches every American life every single day, in a constructive fashion that's generally appreciated." Continued on Page A13



NEW YORK A20-23

### Critters Costing \$114 Million

Marine borers have returned to the New York Harbor, threatening piers and bridges. PAGE A21

### Bridging Two Brooklyns

Stunning skyline views led Dumbo's transformation from industrial waterfront to Instagram haven. PAGE A22

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

### He Declared His Own Country

When an Indigenous man realized he was not recognized by Australia's Constitution, he renounced his citizenship. The Saturday Profile. PAGE A6

### By War Zone: 20 Births in a Day

A hospital in remote Afghanistan is a haven for mothers and newborns in a nation ravaged by war. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-19

### Ex-Clergy Accused of Abuse

Missouri's attorney general will refer 12 former Catholic clergymen for prosecution in a sexual abuse inquiry. PAGE A11



BUSINESS B1-7

### Bumpy Ride in Germany

A trade war, technology shifts and regulatory pressure worried insiders at the Frankfurt auto show. PAGE B1

### An Ad Blitz to Guard Revenue

Two doctor-staffing companies push back against legislation to stop surprise bills for emergency services. PAGE B3

OBITUARIES A24-25

### Rock Star of the 1970s and '80s

Eddie Money had a string of hit songs, including "Baby Hold On" and "Two Tickets to Paradise," and a current reality TV show. He was 70. PAGE A25

SPORTSSATURDAY B8-11

### Brown Can Play for Patriots

Antonio Brown is eligible to play Sunday as the N.F.L. looks into sex-assault claims against him. PAGE B10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

### Ken Burns and Dayton Duncan

PAGE A27

THIS WEEKEND



0 354613 9

## ABORTING ATTACK ON IRAN SHOCKED AIDES TO TRUMP

### STANDOFF WITH TEHRAN

#### Decision in June Looms Large After Strike on Saudi Oil Fields

This article is by Peter Baker, Eric Schmitt and Michael Crowley.

WASHINGTON — By the time President Trump met with congressional leaders on the afternoon of June 20, he had already decided to retaliate against Iran for shooting down an American surveillance drone. But for once, he kept his cards close to the vest, soliciting advice rather than doing all of the talking.

"Why don't you go after the launch sites?" a Republican lawmaker asked.

"Well," Mr. Trump replied with a hint, "I think you'll like the decision."

But barely three hours later, Mr. Trump had changed his mind. Without consulting his vice president, secretary of state or national security adviser, he reversed himself and, with ships readying missiles and airplanes already in the skies, told the Pentagon to call off the airstrikes with only 10 minutes to go. When Vice President Mike Pence and other officials returned to the White House for what they expected would be a long night of monitoring a military operation, they were stunned to learn the attack was off.

That about-face, so typically impulsive, instinctive and removed from any process, proved a decision point for a president who has often threatened to "totally destroy" enemies but at the same time has promised to extricate the United States from Middle East wars. It revealed a commander in chief more cautious than critics have assumed, yet underscored the limited options in a confrontation he had set in motion.

Three months later, some of Mr. Trump's aides are still reeling. Continued on Page 11

'The world we live in now is one in which no place is safe, no lives really matter, when it comes to violence.'



## INSIDE A DEADLY AMERICAN SUMMER

From Memorial Day to Labor Day, there were 26 mass shootings in the United States. They spanned the nation, terrorizing crowded public places and shattering private homes. Among the 126 killed were a 3-year-old girl and a 90-year-old man. And all we could do was ask why. And wait for it to happen again.

PAGE 14 ■ BY MITCH SMITH

## Show of Faith: A Jewish Relic That Survived

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

For years there have been fragmentary reports of almost unbelievable acts of faith at the Nazi death camps during World War II: the sounding of shofars, the ram's horn trumpets traditionally blown by Jews to welcome the High Holy Days.

These stories of the persistence of hope even in mankind's darkest moments have been passed down despite limited evidence and eyewitness detail.

But could camp prisoners have found ways to sound these horns, piercing the heavens with sob-like wails and staccato blasts, without putting themselves in immediate mortal danger?

Now a new account that addresses that question, and is embraced by several historians as reliable, has emerged from the daughter of an Auschwitz survivor, along with one of the secreted shofars itself.

Dr. Judith Tydor Schwartz, an expert on the Holocaust, says her father, Chaskel Tydor, a longtime prisoner entrusted as work dispatcher at one of the more than 40 Auschwitz subcamps, contrived on Rosh Hashana 1944 to send fellow prisoners on a distant detail where they might safely, and privately, pray. He did not know that they carried something with them. Continued on Page 20



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hefzur Rahman, a Rohingya refugee, at a lake near Elk Rapids, Mich., where his foster family lives.

## Finding Safe Shores Was Only Half the Struggle

By MIRIAM JORDAN

ELK RAPIDS, Mich. — Not long after Hefzur Rahman enrolled at his new school in Michigan three years ago, his fifth-grade class studied the subhuman conditions that enslaved Africans endured in overcrowded ships bound for North America.

He knew what it was like to be on a boat in fear for his life, he told his classmates.

At the age of 11, he had joined hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees fleeing violent oppression in Myanmar, cramming

onto boats piloted by smugglers. The men beat their human cargo, he recalled, and he watched desperate people drink seawater only to die of dehydration. As his boat began to sink, Hefzur tied empty water bottles around his waist and jumped into the ocean. "I thought I would pass away," he said.

Today, Hefzur is safe, living with a foster family in small-town Michigan, where most of the boats that ply nearby Elk Lake are filled with families headed for sunny afternoons on the water.

But he stays up at night worrying about his parents, who put him on the boat leaving Myanmar not

just to save his life, but also in the hope that he would help get the rest of the family out. They are still counting on him. "I feel like I am in jail," he told his foster mother, anxious that he was spending too much time at school. "I want to work. I must send money to my family."

About 730,000 Rohingya fled Myanmar in the summer of 2017, and almost all of them, like Hefzur's parents, are living in camps in neighboring Bangladesh. A few thousand have been admitted to the United States — part of a dwindling number of refugees. Continued on Page 21

## In Losing a Coveted Position, Warren Found a Larger Stage

By ALEXANDER BURNS

Elizabeth Warren did not want a goodbye party. She told her aides there would be no grand send-off, no celebration of a mission accomplished.

The Consumer Financial Protection Bureau had been her idea from the start: a new arm of the

### LESSONS IN POWER

How to Execute a Plan

government, uniquely empowered to police the kinds of loans and financial schemes that led to the Great Recession. Ms. Warren had detailed the idea in a journal article, then cajoled and pressured Congress to make it law. She was tasked by President Barack Obama in 2010 with setting up the bureau, and spent a year recruiting investigators and enforcers for an office they saw as an exhilarating cause.

But as spring turned to summer in 2011, Ms. Warren faced a wrenching separation. The White House had decided not to nominate her to lead the bureau permanently. So she gathered the staff for an "all hands" meeting and told them her work there was over.

"She told us that we were ready to sail the ship, that we did not need her there, and that we would be able to do it on our own," said Patricia McCoy, a Boston College law professor who was a senior of



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

In 2009, Elizabeth Warren led the oversight panel for the Troubled Asset Relief Program.

official at the bureau.

Ms. Warren was right. Under her successor, Richard A. Cordray, the bureau would recover \$12 billion for consumers from financial institutions by 2017. It would become, to supporters, a prized example of the government taking on big banks after the 2008 financial crisis. To opponents — Republican lawmakers, business associations and a few conservative Democrats — it would become an example of "runaway government," an agency to be curbed at the first opportunity.

To Ms. Warren, the bureau is something else as well: a formative lesson in how an idea — a plan — can become reality. For it was through creating a new financial Continued on Page 22

### INTERNATIONAL 4-12

#### Seeking Clout in El Salvador

As part of a push into Central America, China presented itself as a partner for El Salvador's future. The Trump administration countered with a warning. PAGE 6

#### Sydney Is for the Birds

Australia's largest city has a rare superpower: It turns urbanites into bird people, and birds into urbanites as they interact in daily adventures. PAGE 10

#### Mixing Church and Polish State

A priest has delivered millions of votes for Poland's governing right-wing Law and Justice party, which has helped him build a business empire. PAGE 8

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Anxious in Silicon Valley

Tech workers used to think they were saving the world. Then came the bad headlines. Now they're admitting they have a problem and going to therapy — and founding start-ups, too. PAGE 1

#### Still a Future for a Weedkiller

Bayer spent \$63 billion to buy the maker of the agricultural chemical Roundup and now may lose billions over claims the chemical is unsafe. But its market seems secure. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Al Gore

PAGE 1



### SPECIAL SECTION

#### Blocks and Blocks of Parties

Eating, playing and dancing in the city's streets, from Brooklyn to the Bronx.

### TRAVEL

#### Keep Them Dogies Rollin'

Watching Italy's transumanza, herding cows to their seasonal pastures. PAGE 1

### SPORTSUNDAY

#### A One-Week World Cup

Soccer teams in Greenland sail through ice floes and sleep in school gymnasiums to play a physically demanding championship season. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY STYLES

#### No Burnout for Us, Thank You

Millennials are called lazy and entitled, but it may just be that they understand the proper role of work in life. PAGE 1



## TRUMP ASKED FOR 'FAVOR' IN CALL, MEMO SHOWS

### Witnesses Bolster Whistle-Blower Complaint

This article is by *Charlie Savage, Michael S. Schmidt and Julian E. Barnes.*

WASHINGTON — The intelligence officer who filed a whistle-blower complaint about President Trump's interactions with the leader of Ukraine raised alarms not only about what the two men said in a phone call, but also about how the White House handled records of the conversation, according to two people briefed on the complaint.

The whistle-blower, moreover, identified multiple White House officials as witnesses to potential presidential misconduct who could corroborate the complaint, the people said — adding that the inspector general for the intelligence community, Michael Atkinson, interviewed witnesses.

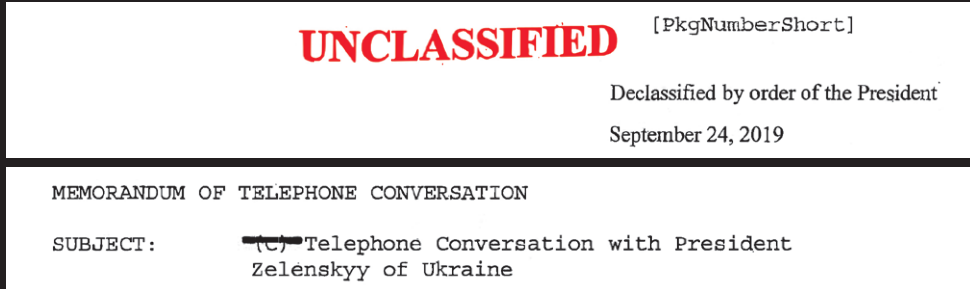
Mr. Atkinson eventually concluded that there was reason to believe that the president might have illegally solicited a foreign campaign contribution — and that his potential misconduct created a national security risk, according to a newly disclosed Justice Department memo.

An early portrait of the intelligence officer began to take shape on Wednesday as the White House released a rough log of a July 25 phone call between Mr. Trump and President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, the latest extraordinary revelation set off by the whistle-blower's complaint.

This account is based on interviews with the two people and with lawmakers who were permitted to read the complaint late in the day, as well as on details revealed in a Justice Department memo explaining the Trump administration's legal rationale for withholding the whistle-blower's allegations from Congress before Mr. Trump relented this week. The White House did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Atkinson also found reason to believe that the whistle-blower might not support the re-election of Mr. Trump and made clear that the complainant was not in a position to directly listen to the call or see the memo that reconstructed it before it was made public, according to the Justice Department memo, which referred only to a single phone call between Mr. Trump and President Zelensky.

Continued on Page A14



#### Early in the conversation, President Trump brings up aid from the United States.

The President: Well it's very nice of you to say that. I will say that we do a lot for Ukraine. We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time. Much more than the European countries are doing and they should be helping you more than they are. Germany...

#### Then Mr. Trump mentions reciprocity, but doesn't make a connection to the aid.

anything. A lot of the European countries are the same way so I think it's something you want to look at but the United States has been very very good to Ukraine. I wouldn't say that it's reciprocal necessarily because things are happening that are not good but the United States has been very very good to Ukraine.

#### Mr. Trump appears to be referring to the 2016 hacking of Democratic Party emails.

The President: I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say Crowdstrike... I guess you have one of your wealthy people. The server, they say, where the election. I think you're surrounding yourself with some of the same people. I would like to have the Attorney General call you or your people and I would like you to get to the bottom of it. As you saw yesterday, that whole nonsense ended with a very poor performance by a man named Robert Mueller...

#### He wants Ukraine's president to deal directly with his lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani.

very good prosecutor down and you had some very bad people involved. Mr. Giuliani is a highly respected man. He was the mayor of New York City, a great mayor, and I would like him to call you. I will ask him to call you along with the Attorney General. Rudy very much knows what's happening and he is a very capable guy. If you could speak to him that would be great. The former ambassador from the United States, the woman was had...

#### A moment later, Mr. Trump asks for an inquiry into Joseph R. Biden Jr. and his son.

news and the people who was dealing with in the Ukraine was bad news so I just want to let you know that. The other thing, there's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great. Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it... It sounds horrible to me.

#### Ukraine's leader, Volodymyr Zelensky, promises to do what Mr. Trump is asking.

prosecutor. First of all I understand and I'm knowledgeable about the situation. Since we have won the absolute majority in our Parliament, the next prosecutor general will be 100% my person, my candidate, who will be approved by the parliament and will start as a new prosecutor in September. He or she will look into the situation, specifically to the company that you mentioned in this issue. The issue of the investigation of the case is actually the issue of making sure to restore the honesty...

Part of the reconstructed record of Mr. Trump's telephone call with Mr. Zelensky on July 25.

### President Denies Pressuring Leader of Ukraine to Investigate Biden

By **PETER BAKER**

President Trump repeatedly pressured Ukraine's leader to investigate leading Democrats as "a favor" to him during a telephone call last summer in which the two discussed the former Soviet republic's need for more American financial aid to counter Russian aggression.

In a reconstruction of the call released Wednesday by the White House, Mr. Trump urged President Volodymyr Zelensky to work with Attorney General William P. Barr and Rudolph W. Giuliani, the president's personal lawyer, on corruption investigations connected to former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and other Democrats.

Although there was no explicit quid pro quo in the conversation, Mr. Trump raised the matter immediately after Mr. Zelensky spoke of his country's need for more help from the United States. The call came only days after Mr. Trump blocked \$391 million in aid to Ukraine, a decision that perplexed national security officials at the time and that he has given

conflicting explanations for in recent days.

The aid freeze did not come up during the call, and Mr. Zelensky was not yet aware of it. Instead, he thanked Mr. Trump for previous American aid, including Javelin anti-tank weapons, and suggested he would need more as part of Ukraine's five-year-old war with Russian-backed separatists in the country's east.

"I would like you to do us a favor, though," Mr. Trump responded, shifting to his interest in investigating Democrats and urging that he work with Mr. Barr and Mr. Giuliani.

"Whatever you can do, it's very important that you do it if that's possible," Mr. Trump said.

The July 25 call has become a major flash point in what is rapidly shaping up as a divisive battle between the president and House Democrats over impeachment that will consume Washington for weeks or months. The conflicting interpretations of the call's meaning

Continued on Page A13



President Trump with President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine.

### How a Fixation on an Ally Led To a Crisis for the White House

This article is by *Kenneth P. Vogel, Julian E. Barnes, Maggie Haberman and Sharon LaFraniere.*

WASHINGTON — It was not a country that would naturally have seemed high on the priority list of a president who came to office relishing a trade clash with China, promising to reorder the Middle East and haranguing European allies to spend more on NATO.

But for President Trump, Ukraine has been an obsession since the 2016 campaign.

Long before the July 25 call with the new Ukrainian president that helped spur the formal start of impeachment proceedings against him in the House, Mr. Trump fretted and culminated about the former Soviet state, angry over what he sees as Ukraine's role in the origins of the investigations into Russian influence on his 2016 campaign.

His fixation was only intensi-

fied by his hope that he could employ the Ukrainian government to undermine his most prominent potential Democratic rival in 2020, former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

His personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, has undertaken a nearly yearlong, free-ranging effort to unearth information helpful to Mr. Trump and harmful to Mr. Biden.

And Mr. Trump has put the powers of his office behind his agenda: He has dispatched Vice President Mike Pence and top administration officials with thinly veiled messages about heeding his demands about confronting corruption, which Ukrainian and former American officials say is understood as code for the Bidens and Ukrainians who released damaging information about the Trump campaign in 2016. This summer

Continued on Page A15

### Voters Take Their Corners: Abuse of Power or an 'Absolute Joke'

This article is by *Trip Gabriel, Jack Healy and Sabrina Tavernise.*

DAVENPORT, Iowa — Kristy Schneeberger, a Democrat in eastern Iowa, said it was about time that Democrats in Congress moved to impeach President Trump. "No one is above the law," she said.

But for Ms. Schneeberger and many other Democratic voters around the country, the prospect of an explosive impeachment bat-

tle in Washington also left them nervous. They worried that impeachment could easily backfire on Democrats, galvanizing Mr. Trump's supporters in next year's elections and drowning out people's concerns about health care, immigration and the economy.

Gun control is a top priority for Ms. Schneeberger, 60, because her four adult children, ages 26 to 37, are teachers worried about their students' safety. But now, she said, "I think it's just getting sidelined again."

While politicians in Washington crowded microphones on Wednesday to condemn or defend Mr. Trump and the prospect of impeachment, more than two dozen voters across the country were by turns elated and wary, unsure and already exhausted, at the idea of an impeachment inquiry that may consume the nation for months.

Republican supporters of Mr. Trump, as well as some moderates who had crossed over to vote for him in 2016, were generally unmoved by the possibility that Mr.

Trump committed impeachable crimes. The new impeachment inquiry led by House Democratic leaders, they said, was just one more overblown political crisis that Mr. Trump could weather and use to rally his base in 2020.

"I think it is an absolute joke," said Reggie Dickerson, 54, a pipe fitter and timber worker who lives in eastern Kentucky.

Mr. Dickerson and other supporters said they had stuck with Mr. Trump during the special-

Continued on Page A12

### Warming Poses Grave Danger to World's Oceans

By **BRAD PLUMER**

WASHINGTON — Climate change is heating the oceans and altering their chemistry so dramatically that it is threatening seafood supplies, fueling cyclones and floods and posing profound risks to the hundreds of millions of people living along the coasts, according to a sweeping United Nations report issued Wednesday.

The report concludes that the world's oceans and ice sheets are under such severe stress that the

#### U.N. Report Warns of an Array of Threats

fallout could prove difficult for humans to contain without steep reductions in greenhouse gas emissions. Fish populations are already declining in many regions as warming waters throw marine ecosystems into disarray, according to the report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, a group of scientists con-

vened by the United Nations to guide world leaders in policymaking.

"The oceans are sending us so many warning signals that we need to get emissions under control," said Hans-Otto Pörtner, a marine biologist at the Alfred Wegener Institute in Germany and a lead author of the report. "Ecosystems are changing, food webs are changing, fish stocks are changing, and this turmoil is affecting humans."

Hotter ocean temperatures, Continued on Page A9

### Besieged Juul Grabs a Lifeline From Big Tobacco

This article is by *Sheila Kaplan, Matt Richtel and Julie Creswell.*

The vaping powerhouse Juul Labs replaced its chief executive with a veteran of Big Tobacco on Wednesday, deepening the company's turmoil and raising doubts about the very future of the e-cigarette industry.

The sudden announcement capped a relentless cascade of events that has called into question the safety of devices once billed as a promising alternative to cigarettes, one of the world's

#### A New Leader Is Skilled at Damage Control

leading preventable causes of death. Now, Juul is looking to that very industry for its survival as it faces a federal criminal inquiry, new bans on some of its products, and an onslaught of state and federal regulatory investigations into its marketing practices.

Early Wednesday morning, after frantic days of internal meet-

ings, the company announced that its current chief executive, Kevin Burns, would resign as chief executive. His chosen replacement is K. C. Crosthwaite, a top official at Altria, the cigarette giant that bought a 35-percent share in Juul for \$12.8 billion last December and has seen the company it invested in rocked by growing crisis.

In another sign of regulatory and business uncertainty, Altria and Philip Morris International said on Wednesday that they had ended talks to merge, dashing the Continued on Page A20



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

**A 'Hellish' Scene in Indonesia**  
Wildfires have turned the sky blood red and created respiratory problems for nearly a million people. PAGE A6

**A Chance for Netanyahu**  
His party did not win the Israeli election, but the prime minister was invited to form a unity government. PAGE A10

NATIONAL A11-20

**\$750 Million for Climate Study**  
Caltech is getting a windfall for research from Stewart and Lynda Resnick, the billionaire owners of bottled water and agriculture companies. PAGE A18

**Extremist Symbols Scrutinized**  
White supremacists' symbols, slogans and memes are seen as signposts in efforts to combat violence. PAGE A20

NEW YORK A21-23

**Girls in Hate Crime Case**  
Two white girls, ages 10 and 11, are charged with harassing and assaulting a 10-year-old black girl. PAGE A22



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

**A Designer's Real Identity**  
A new film tells the story of the French fashion celebrity Olivier Rousteing, who defied the odds to find success. PAGE D1

**Hollywood's Nicest C.E.O.**  
Disney's Bob Iger discusses the great family dramas of Hollywood — and why he, too, is disturbed by Twitter. PAGE D1

BUSINESS B1-8

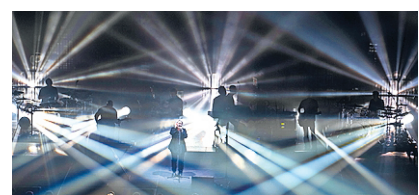
**Priced Out of A.I. Research**  
Work in artificial intelligence is getting costlier, leaving few people able to access the computing firepower necessary to develop the technology. PAGE B1

SPORTS THURSDAY B9-11

**Mets Out, Manager in Limbo**  
With the Mets eliminated from postseason contention, attention turns to the fate of Mickey Callaway, the team's frequently criticized manager. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

**Gail Collins** PAGE 27



ARTS C1-8

**Revisiting a Classic Album**  
Massive Attack and its leader, Robert Del Naja, are on tour celebrating the 1998 LP "Mezzanine." Above, at the Anthem in Washington. PAGE C2



## COMPLAINT ASSERTS A WHITE HOUSE COVER-UP

### President Likens Inside Sources to 'Spies'

By MAGGIE HABERMAN  
and KATIE ROGERS

President Trump told staff members at the United States Mission to the United Nations on Thursday that he wants to know who provided information to a whistle-blower about his phone call with the president of Ukraine, saying that whoever did so was "close to a spy" and that "in the old days" spies were dealt with differently.

The comment stunned people in the audience, according to a person briefed on what took place and a partial audio recording of Mr. Trump's remarks. Mr. Trump made the statement several minutes into his remarks before the group of about 50 mission employees and their families. At the outset, he condemned former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s role in Ukraine at a time when his son Hunter Biden was on the board of a Ukrainian energy company.

Mr. Trump repeatedly referred to the whistle-blower and condemned the news media as "crooked" for reporting on an explosive complaint by the whistle-blower. The president then said the whistle-blower never heard the call in question.

"I want to know who's the person who gave the whistle-blower the information because that's close to a spy," Mr. Trump said. "You know what we used to do in the old days when we were smart with spies and treason, right? We used to handle it a little differently than we do now."

The president's comments were a broadside against an intelligence whistle-blower law that shields intelligence officials from reprisal — like losing their security clearance or being demoted or fired — as long as they follow a certain process for bringing allegations of wrongdoing to the attention of oversight authorities.

The Democratic chairmen of the House Foreign Affairs, Intelligence, and Oversight and Reform Committees, who are seeking testimony from the whistle-blower, called the president's remarks "reprehensible witness intimidation." The White House did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The whistle-blower's complaint, which was made public Thursday morning, contained information about the call gathered

Continued on Page A17

#### FROM THE WHISTLE-BLOWER'S COMPLAINT

##### Officials in the White House perceived an abuse of power.

'The White House officials who told me this information were deeply disturbed by what had transpired in the phone call. They told me that there was already a "discussion ongoing" with White House lawyers about how to treat the call.'

##### They worked to keep the call with Ukraine's president a secret.

'I learned from multiple U.S. officials that senior White House officials had intervened to "lock down" all records of the phone call, especially the official word-for-word transcript of the call that was produced — as is customary — by the White House Situation Room.'

##### Rudolph W. Giuliani's outreach was viewed as a security threat.

'I heard from multiple U.S. officials that they were deeply concerned by what they viewed as Mr. Giuliani's circumvention of national security decisionmaking processes to engage with Ukrainian officials and relay messages back and forth between Kyiv and the President.'

##### It appeared that the president was using foreign aid as leverage.

'It was also "made clear" to them that the President did not want to meet with Mr. Zelenskyy until he saw how Zelenskyy "chose to act" in office.'

'On 18 July, an Office of Management and Budget (OMB) official informed Departments and Agencies that the President "earlier that month" had issued instructions to suspend all U.S. security assistance to Ukraine. Neither OMB nor the NSC staff knew why this instruction had been issued.'

##### Concerns were raised about the role of the U.S. attorney general.

'I have received information from multiple U.S. Government officials that the President of the United States is using the power of his office to solicit interference from a foreign country in the 2020 U.S. election. This interference includes, among other things, pressuring a foreign country to investigate one of the President's main domestic political rivals. The President's personal lawyer, Mr. Rudolph Giuliani, is a central figure in this effort. Attorney General Barr appears to be involved as well.'

#### FROM THE INSPECTOR GENERAL'S LETTER

##### Despite a suggestion of bias, the complaint was found credible.

'Further, although the ICIG's preliminary review identified some indicia of an arguable political bias on the part of the Complainant in favor of a rival political candidate, such evidence did not change my determination that the complaint relating to the urgent concern "appears credible," particularly given the other information the ICIG obtained during its preliminary review.'

For the complete text of the complaint, with analysis by Times reporters, turn to Pages A24-25.

### As Talk Went On, Alarmed Aides Saw Trouble

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — No one bothered to put special limits on the number of people allowed to sit in the "listening room" in the White House to monitor the phone call because it was expected to be routine. By the time the call was over 30 minutes later, it quickly became clear that it was anything but.

Soon after President Trump put the phone down that summer day, the red flags began to go up. Rather than just one head of state offering another pro forma congratulations for recent elections, the call turned into a bid by Mr. Trump to press a Ukrainian leader in need of additional American aid to "do us a favor" and investigate Democrats.

The alarm among officials who heard the exchange led to an extraordinary effort to keep too many more people from learning about it. In the days to come, according to a whistle-blower complaint released on Thursday, White House officials embarked on a campaign to "lock down" the record of the call, removing it from the usual electronic file and hiding it away in a separate system normally used for classified information.

But word began to spread anyway, kicking off a succession of events that would eventually reveal details of the call to the public and has now put Mr. Trump at risk of being impeached by a Democrat-led House for abusing his power and betraying his office. The story of the past two months is one of a White House scrambling to keep secrets to protect a president willing to cross lines others would not, only to find the very government he frequently disparages expose him.

"The White House officials who told me this information were deeply disturbed by what had transpired in the phone call," the whistle-blower, a C.I.A. official who once worked at the White House, wrote in his complaint, which was declassified and made public by the House Intelligence Committee.

"They told me," he added, "that there was already a 'discussion ongoing' with White House lawyers about how to treat the call because of the likelihood, in the officials' retelling, that they had witnessed the president abuse his office for personal gain."

Continued on Page A19

### Describing Effort to 'Lock Down' Call Records

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Senior White House officials tried to "lock down" a record of President Trump's call with the leader of Ukraine in an attempted cover-up of Mr. Trump's efforts to compel an investigation of a Democratic rival, a whistle-blower alleged in an explosive complaint released Thursday.

The whistle-blower — a C.I.A. officer who once worked at the White House — said in the complaint that White House officials moved a transcript of the July 25 call with the Ukrainian leader, Volodymyr Zelensky, onto a se-



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump said he was battling "another witch hunt."

cure, classified system in order to conceal actions by Mr. Trump that officials in his administration found "deeply disturbing."

In the complaint, the officer added details to what a reconstructed transcript of the call revealed about the interaction between the two leaders, asserting that government officials, including some at the White House, believed Mr. Trump had abused his power for personal political gain by pressuring Mr. Zelensky to investigate former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and his son Hunter Biden.

The whistle-blower said diplomats were outraged by the activities of the president's personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, in trying to persuade Ukrainian offi-

Continued on Page A17

## In an Egypt on Edge, Protesters Long for Change but Fear It, Too

By VIVIAN YEE  
and NADA RASHWAN

CAIRO — The plainclothes security men stood every few yards along the bridge over the Nile, T-shirts tight across their muscled chests, guns at their hips, stopping young men to ask for identification and look through their phones. They were delivering a message that did not need to be spoken aloud.

Since a handful of surprise protests against President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi flared around Egypt last weekend, the largest since he came to power in 2014, the government has tightened its grip, arresting nearly 2,000 Egyptians, packing Cairo and other protest hot spots with security personnel and blocking news websites.

It is a crackdown harsh even by the standards of the Sisi era, when Egyptian jails have swollen with his political opponents, elections are predetermined and the opposition has been all but silenced, making shows of dissent extremely rare.

But no one knows if it will be



NARIMAN EL-MOFTY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Surprise protests in Cairo last weekend called for the removal of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

enough to deter a second round of demonstrations that the protesters' original instigator, a self-proclaimed whistle-blower living in exile, has called for Friday.

"I just couldn't help myself. I had to protest, I had to let out my

anger," said Mostafa, 20, a student who attended the protest in Cairo last Friday and, like most of those interviewed, declined to give his full name for fear of being arrested. "I'm sick of living in a fascist state, of being repressed polit-

ically and economically. These were supposed to be the best years of my life."

But he planned to stay away from any protests this Friday and was urging people he knew to do

Continued on Page A12

## 'A Tough Time to Go Public': Wall Street Balks at Start-Ups

This article is by Matt Phillips,  
Stephen Grocer and Erin Griffith.

This was supposed to be the year when America's biggest start-ups would finally make their triumphant debut on the stock market.

Billionaire Silicon Valley investors, sneaker-clad founders and button-down bankers all expected enormous stock sales to turn companies like Uber, Lyft and WeWork into a new generation of corporate giants.

It hasn't quite turned out that way. Last week, WeWork postponed its planned initial public offering. Uber and Lyft sold shares earlier this year only to see their prices collapse. Investors took a look and backed away, seeing overpriced companies with no prospect of making money any time soon, in some cases led by untested executives.

The rejection threatens Silicon Valley's favored approach to building companies. The formula relies on money from venture cap-

italists to paper over losses with the expectation that Wall Street investors will eventually buy shares and make everybody rich. If mutual funds and pension funds are no longer willing to buy once the companies go public, fledgling companies are unlikely to find funding in the first place.

"When the I.P.O. market is hurting, it has a domino effect on valuations and venture capital deals," said Steven N. Kaplan, a professor of finance and entrepreneurship at the University of Chicago. If it persists, that could make it harder for start-ups to raise money, he said.

Much of the recent concern has been directed at WeWork, a shared office space company based in New York. As it began to approach stock market investors, the company revealed losses of \$1.37 billion in the first half of 2019. Investors also questioned financial dealings of WeWork's chief executive, Adam Neumann, and the company's accounting.

Continued on Page A15



#### INTERNATIONAL A4-13

##### 5 Years of Searching in Mexico

The case of the disappearance of 43 students has become a symbol of the nation's broken rule of law. PAGE A8

##### Name of Suspect Eludes Berlin

The German authorities are holding a man in the killing of a former Chechen separatist, but he's not talking. PAGE A4

#### NATIONAL A14-25

##### Refugee Cap Cut by Nearly Half

The president approved a limit of 18,000 people who can be admitted in the next 12 months, down from 30,000. The cap was 110,000 in 2016. PAGE A16

##### 'Show Us You Are Not Racist'

The University of Alabama is facing a reckoning after a black dean resigned when his old tweets surfaced. PAGE A14

#### NEW YORK A26, 29

##### Yankees Tickets in Play

Harvey Weinstein's legal team says a lawyer for one of his accusers gave a police sergeant the \$2,000 gift. PAGE A29

#### BUSINESS B1-8

##### Cockpit Chaos Underestimated

A federal review said Boeing had failed to account for how a misfire of an automated system could lead to other problems for pilots of the 737 Max. PAGE B1

##### SoftBank's Losing Bets

The conglomerate's disappointing investments in young companies raise questions about its choices. PAGE B1

#### SPORTSFRIDAY B9-12

##### No More N.B.A. Tall Tales

Teams must now verify a player's height and age, ending a tradition in which size is a matter of opinion. PAGE B9



#### OBITUARIES B13-16

##### Former President of France

Jacques Chirac, a dominant leader across three decades and an advocate of European unity, was 86. PAGE B14

##### Washington 'Super Lawyer'

Plato Cacheris took on high-profile clients like Monica Lewinsky and Edward J. Snowden. He was 90. PAGE B13

#### WEEKEND ARTS C1-24

##### 17 Days of Movies

The New York Film Festival includes the latest from Martin Scorsese, Pedro Almodóvar and others. PAGE C1

##### A Ravishing Retrospective

Roberta Smith reviews a Met Breuer show that features Vija Celmins's paintings, drawings and sculptures. PAGE C15

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

##### David Brooks

PAGE A31



0 354613 9



ANNA MONEYSMAKER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Farewell to a 'Master of the House'

Representative Elijah E. Cummings became the first African-American elected official to lie in state in the Capitol. Page A15.

## In a Warming World, Fire Becomes a Sword to Fight Wildfires

By THOMAS FULLER and KENDRA PIERRE-LOUIS

Facing down 600 wildfires in the past three days alone, emergency workers rushed to evacuate tens of thousands of people in Southern California on Thursday as a state utility said one of its major transmission lines broke near the source of the out-of-control Kincadee blaze in Northern California.

The Kincadee fire, the largest this week, tore through steep canyons in the wine country of northern Sonoma County, racing across 16,000 acres within hours of ignit-

ing. Wind gusts pushed the fire through forests like blow torches, leaving firefighters with little opportunity to stop or slow down the walls of flames tromping across wild lands and across highways overnight.

And north of Los Angeles, 50,000 people were evacuated as strong winds swept fires into the canyons of Santa Clarita, threatening many homes.

Aerial footage of the Kincadee fire showed homes engulfed in flames propelled by high winds that could become even stronger in the coming days. But beyond the destruction, which appeared limited on Thursday to several

## Learning How to Live in an Ecosystem Primed to Burn

dozen buildings, hundreds of thousands of people were affected, both by the fires and a deliberate blackout meant to prevent them. Schools and businesses closed and thousands of people evacuated their homes.

All this is happening after three straight years of record-breaking fires that researchers say are

likely to continue in a warming world and which raise an important question: How to live in an ecosystem that is primed to burn?

"I think the perception is that we're supposed to control them. But in a lot of cases we cannot," said John Abatzoglou, an associate professor at the University of Idaho. "And that may allow us to think a little bit differently about how we live with fire. We call it wildfire for reason — it's not domesticated fire."

According to the National Climate Assessment, the government report that summarizes present and future effects of a

Continued on Page A14



JOSH EDELSON/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Kincadee fire, in Sonoma County near Geyserville, Calif., burned through 10,000 acres within hours of igniting on Wednesday.

## Officially, It Was a Heart Attack, But Inmates Saw a Fatal Beating

By JAN RANSOM

After spending nearly a quarter-century behind bars, John McMillon was counting down to the day that he would be eligible to be released on parole.

"I'm going home," a fellow inmate recalled him saying.

Mr. McMillon had mental illnesses and had had disciplinary problems over the years. He was punished for assaulting a guard and for fighting with another inmate, but had then vowed to stay out of trouble, and was looking forward to his parole hearing.

He never made it there. One day in January, Mr. McMillon, 67, was involved in a struggle

## Guards Face Accusation in an Upstate Prison

with guards at the Great Meadow Correctional Facility in upstate New York. According to the official account, he once again attacked a guard and resisted efforts to control him. He died of a heart attack, the official autopsy said.

As far as state investigators were concerned, the case was closed.

But several inmates who witnessed the struggle told a much

Continued on Page A23

## New York's Monument Wars, Built on Bronze and Outrage

By ROBIN POGREBIN and ZACHARY SMALL

A vote this month over one of New York City's new, more inclusive monuments became so combative — with audience members shouting "How dare you!" — that the acclaimed artist who won the commission walked away from the job.

And many Catholics were incensed when City Hall omitted Mother Cabrini, the patron saint of immigrants, from the first group of women to be honored by the new statues, with the actor Chazz Palminteri calling the mayor's wife a "racist."

## At Issue: Who's Being Honored, and How?

A planned Central Park monument to women's suffrage, featuring Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, was criticized for excluding black women. So Sojourner Truth was added to the design — then more than 20 academics objected in a letter that the grouping would be misleading because the white suffragists' rhetoric "treated black intelligence and capability in a manner that Truth opposed."

Continued on Page A24

## As Student Voter Turnout Rises, So Do Barriers to the Ballot Box

By MICHAEL WINES

AUSTIN, Texas — At Austin Community College, civics is an unwritten part of the curriculum — so much so that for years the school has tapped its own funds to set up temporary early-voting sites on nine of its 11 campuses.

No more, however. This spring, the Texas Legislature outlawed polling places that did not stay open for the entire 12-day early-voting period. When the state's elections take place in three weeks, those nine sites — which logged many of the nearly 14,000 ballots that full-time students cast last year — will be shuttered. So will six campus polling places at

## Removing Polling Sites on College Campuses

colleges in Fort Worth, two in Brownsville, on the Mexico border, and other polling places at schools statewide.

"It was a beautiful thing, a lot of people out there in those long lines," said Grant Loveless, a 20-year-old majoring in psychology and political science who voted last November at a campus in central Austin. "It would hurt a lot of students if you take those polling places away."

Continued on Page A13



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

## No Wind? No Problem

What the world's largest regatta lacked in brisk sailing weather, it made up for in merriment. Italy Dispatch. PAGE A4

## New British Election Sought

Prime Minister Boris Johnson called for a Dec. 12 election but needs a two-thirds vote in Parliament to get it. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A12-21

## Demand for More Teammates

Teachers unions are asking districts to hire more counselors and health workers to better support students. PAGE A12

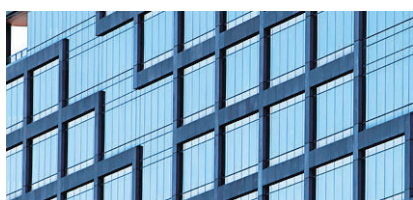
## How the World Was Reborn

A trove of fossils in Colorado provides a view into the world in which our mammalian forebears evolved after dinosaurs were wiped out. PAGE A21

NEW YORK A22-24

## Boy, 10, Among Cyclists Killed

There have been 25 bicycling fatalities in the city this year. Dalerjon Shahobiddinov of Brooklyn was one. PAGE A22



BUSINESS B1-7

## WeWork's Uphill Battle

Knife-edge economics confront the executives now trying to save the co-working company. PAGE B1

## Dream or Delusion?

The \$5 billion American Dream mall in the Meadowlands of New Jersey opens on Friday. Parts of it, anyway. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-12

## Astros Fire Team Executive

Houston's assistant general manager, Brandon Taubman, was fired, and the team apologized for the inappropriate comments he directed at three female reporters in the clubhouse. PAGE B8

## Rockets Owner Ignores Tweet

As fallout from the pro-Hong Kong tweet by Houston's general manager rattles around the N.B.A., there has been mostly silence from the team's owner after an initial rebuke. PAGE B8

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Chuck Schumer PAGE A27



WEEKEND ARTS C1-24

## The Best Places to Get Scared

Ahead of Halloween, Fahima Haque visited creepy attractions like the Escape Room, above, in Queens. PAGE C10



0 354613 9



PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES; ILLUSTRATION BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

## THE TWITTER PRESIDENCY

In a deep examination of all President Trump's more than 11,000 tweets and an analysis of his 66 million followers, The Times found how he has transformed the social platform into a vital instrument of presidential power. Twitter is a lever for him to drive policy, a weapon to punish enemies and a megaphone to rally supporters. It is also a dangerous alternate reality in which conspiracy-mongers, extremists and spies can reach the occupant of the Oval Office, who helps amplify their messages to the world. Twitter could help Mr. Trump win re-election. It also poses greater perils than ever.

SPECIAL SECTION INSIDE

## Populist Politicians Exploit E.U. Aid, Reaping Millions

### Brazen Abuse of Farm Program Subsidizes Land Deals That Enrich Cronies

This article is by Selam Gebrekidan, Matt Apuzzo and Benjamin Novak.

CSAKVAR, Hungary — Under Communism, farmers labored in the fields that stretch for miles around this town west of Budapest, reaping wheat and corn for a government that had stolen their land.

Today, their children toil for new overlords, a group of oligarchs and political patrons who have annexed the land through opaque deals with the Hungarian government. They have created a modern twist on a feudal system, giving jobs and aid to the compliant, and punishing the mutinous.

These land barons, as it turns out, are financed and emboldened by the European Union.

Every year, the 28-country bloc pays out \$65 billion in farm subsidies intended to support farmers around the Continent and keep rural communities alive. But across Hungary and much of Central and Eastern Europe, the bulk goes to a connected and powerful few. The prime minister of the Czech Republic collected tens of millions of dollars in subsidies just last year. Subsidies have underwritten Mafia-style land grabs in Slovakia and Bulgaria.

Europe's farm program, a system that was instrumental in forming the European Union, is now being exploited by the same antidemocratic forces that threaten the bloc from within. This is because governments in Central and Eastern Europe, several led by populists, have wide latitude in how the subsidies, funded by taxpayers across Europe, are distributed — even as the entire system is shrouded in secrecy.

A New York Times investigation, conducted in nine countries for much of 2019, uncovered a subsidy system that is deliberately opaque, grossly undermines the European Union's environmental goals and is warped by corruption and self-dealing.

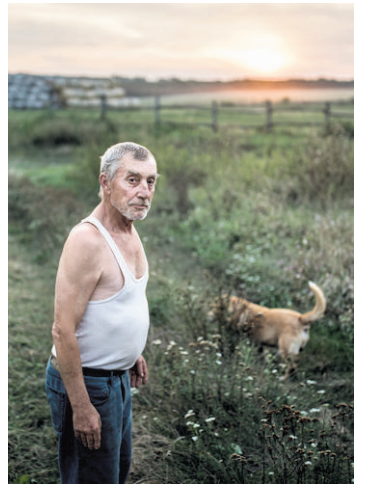
Europe's machinery in Brussels enables this rough-hewed corruption because confronting it would mean changing a program that helps hold a precarious union together. European leaders disagree about many things, but they all count on generous subsidies and wide discretion in spending them. Bucking that system to rein

in abuses in newer member states would disrupt political and economic fortunes across the Continent.

This is why, with the farm bill up for renewal this year, the focus in Brussels isn't on rooting out corruption or tightening controls. Instead, lawmakers are moving to give national leaders more authority on how they spend money — over the objections of internal auditors.

The program is the biggest item in the European Union's central budget, accounting for 40 percent of expenditures. It's one of the largest subsidy programs in the world.

Yet some lawmakers in Brussels who write and vote on farm



AKOS STILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ferenc Horvath, whose tiny plot abuts land now owned by a friend of Hungary's leader.

policy admit they often have no idea where the money goes.

One place it goes is here in Fejer County, home to Hungary's populist prime minister, Viktor Orban. An icon of Europe's far right and a harsh critic of Brussels and European elites, Mr. Orban is happy to accept European Union money. The Times investigation found that he uses European subsidies as a patronage system that enriches his friends and family, protects his political interests and punishes his rivals.

Mr. Orban's government has auctioned off thousands of acres of state land to his family members and close associates, including one childhood friend who has

Continued on Page 12

## To Californians, Trump's Policies Fan the Flames

By THOMAS FULLER and CORAL DAVENPORT

SANTA ROSA, Calif. — For the past three years, countries and companies around the world have looked to California as a counterweight to the Trump administration's aggressive dismantling of efforts to combat climate change.

But this past week, as wildfires burned across the state — fires that scientists say have been made worse by a changing climate — and as at least five large farm fires raged, California's climate pollution standards, the state's status as the vanguard of environmental policy seemed at the very least diminished.

The state's leaders found themselves both witnessing firsthand the effects of climate change and hamstrung to take actions to fight it.

"We're waging war against the most destructive fires in our state's history, and Trump is conducting a full-on assault against the antidote," Gov. Gavin Newsom

Continued on Page 21

## 'Endless Wars' Complaint Resounds for Veterans

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

WASHINGTON — Tyler Wade was awarded the Purple Heart while serving in Afghanistan, and says he is "proud of everything" he did during his service. He also believes the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan were a mistake, as do a growing number of veterans — from retired generals to those who served across the enlisted ranks, from supporters of President Trump to "resistance" Democrats. "All in all, it is a lot of wasted lives and money and time and effort spent to accomplish a goal we never accomplished," said Mr. Wade, 31, who was deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan during his five years in the Marines and is now a nursing student in Las Vegas.

Nearly two decades after the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, polls show that a majority of all veterans have grown disenchanted with the continuing wars, even if the national security elite in both parties continues to press for an American military presence in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. The view is in stark contrast to widespread support for the wars across the military and veterans community — and the general population — when President



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A U.S. combat patrol in Kandahar Province, Afghanistan, in 2013. Some veterans think the conflict in that nation was an error.

THEY HELPED. NOW THEY'RE STUCK.

The Trump administration is refusing to take in thousands of Iraqis who aided the U.S. Page 22.

George W. Bush first sent American troops to Afghanistan and then Iraq.

The shifting attitudes of so many who served in the wars help explain why Mr. Trump has support among veterans as he brings

troops home and has resisted military action against other nations. There is a slow but steadily increasing alliance of those on the left and the right on Capitol Hill to curb what Mr. Trump calls "endless wars."

Among veterans, 64 percent say the war in Iraq was not worth fighting, according to a study by the Pew Research Center, slightly higher than the 62 percent of civil-

Continued on Page 22

## Trillion-Dollar Pledges Cement Democrats' Bet on Taxing Rich

By JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — Three years after President Trump rode a wave of populist anger into office, some of his top Democratic challengers are calling for a fundamental reordering of American capitalism, arguing that voters will embrace bold plans to reverse decades of rising inequality by raising taxes on corporations and the rich.

The \$20.5 trillion proposal for "Medicare for all" released by Senator Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts on Friday is the most prominent example of how a party that once bet on centrist economic policies to win elections is moving toward far more ambitious efforts to redistribute wealth and expand the government's role in the economy.

In doing so, Democrats are trying to push the boundaries of how much a country can rely on a sliver of high-end investors and other wealthy citizens to fund widely used social programs and bankroll other services traditionally paid for by individuals.

Ms. Warren, who is leading in many polls, has proposed a wealth tax on billionaires, along with new taxes on corporations and financial transactions like selling or buying stocks. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont has embraced raising taxes on billionaires and corporations, as well as on the middle class, to fund universal health care, free college, clean energy and other government programs. Another Democrat who is climbing in the polls, Pete Buttigieg, would reverse Mr. Trump's corporate tax cuts to pay for a less expensive and expansive health plan and has also expressed support for higher taxes on the rich.

Liberal champions of these proposed shifts say they would restore economic fairness and security to millions of Americans who have fallen behind as the economy tilted in recent decades to favor the very rich. Conservative critics say they would cripple business investment, slow economic growth and dissuade future entrepreneurs.

Continued on Page 17



### INTERNATIONAL 4-13

#### Two Allies in a Sticky Dispute

Australia and New Zealand are dueling over the exclusive rights to sell a costly honey beloved by celebrities. PAGE 6

#### Smoke That Smells of Money

Many of the fires sweeping the Amazon were started by Brazil's cattle ranchers to clear land for more grazing. PAGE 10

### NATIONAL 16-25

#### Wanderers on the Borderline

About 60 percent of people with Alzheimer's or dementia will wander at some point. A few end up in another country. PAGE 16

#### Time Warp on the Reservation

The "daylight saving doughnut" in Arizona is one of the more peculiar quirks of daylight saving time. PAGE 24

### SPORTSSUNDAY

#### Another Death at Santa Anita

Mongolian Groom was euthanized after sustaining an injury down the stretch in the Breeders' Cup Classic. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY BUSINESS

#### Walking Away With \$1 Billion

WeWork has imploded in the last 80 days in astonishing fashion. Its ex-chief, Adam Neumann, may end up with an even more astonishing exit package. How did he manage to fail up? PAGE 1

#### Limited Run for 'Irishman'

Inside the negotiations with Netflix that left Hollywood fuming: Select movie theaters will get the Martin Scorsese gangster epic for just 26 days before it starts streaming. PAGE 1

### SUNDAY REVIEW

#### Charlie Warzel

PAGE 7



### TRAVEL

#### A Taste of Memories in India

A chef returns to his childhood home, savoring its food and its culture. PAGE 1

### ARTS & LEISURE

#### Holiday Movies Section

How the director Greta Gerwig shook the snow globe that is "Little Women."

### SUNDAY STYLES

#### When Public Scorn Backfires

Those people you tried to cancel? They may have been shunned, but many of them are hanging out together. It "has been the greatest thing to ever happen to me," one of them said. PAGE 1

#### Bro Bibles Lose Their Gospel

As the culture wrestles with ideas of gender, masculinity and wokeness, men's magazines find themselves trapped in an identity crisis. PAGE 2



0 354713 8

## ENVOYS REVEAL SCOPE OF TRUMP UKRAINE PUSH



### Testimony Cites a 'Highly Irregular' Policy Channel

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives opened historic impeachment hearings on Wednesday and took startling new testimony from a senior American diplomat that further implicated President Trump in a campaign to pressure Ukraine to publicly commit to investigating former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

In a nationally televised hearing from a stately committee room across from the Capitol, William B. Taylor Jr., the top American diplomat in Ukraine, brought to life Democrats' allegations that Mr. Trump had abused his office by trying to enlist a foreign power to help him in an election.

Mr. Taylor testified to the House Intelligence Committee that he learned only recently of a July telephone call overheard by one of his aides in which the president was preoccupied with Ukraine's willingness to say it would look into Mr. Biden and work by his son Hunter Biden for a Ukrainian energy firm. Immediately afterward, Mr. Taylor said, the aide had been informed that Mr. Trump cared more about "investigations of Biden" than he did about Ukraine.

A powerful witness for Democrats, Mr. Taylor appeared as Congress embarked on the third set of presidential impeachment hearings in modern times. Forceful, detailed and unflappable in the face of Republican taunts, the veteran diplomat delivered a remarkable rebuke of the actions taken by the president and his allies inside and outside of the government who placed Mr. Trump's political objectives at the center of American policy toward Ukraine. "Security was so important for Ukraine, as well as our own national interests," Mr. Taylor testified, describing his growing sense of alarm at learning that \$391 million in vital military aid for the former Soviet republic had been held up. "To withhold that assistance for no good reason other than help with a political campaign made no sense. It was counterproductive to all of what we had been trying to do. It was illogical. It could not be explained. It was crazy."

The proceedings pushed into the public gaze an epic impeachment clash between Mr. Trump, his Republican allies and Democrats that has shifted into high

Continued on Page A17

**'The member of my staff asked Ambassador Sondland what President Trump thought about Ukraine. Ambassador Sondland responded that President Trump cares more about the investigations of Biden.'**

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR JR., center, the top American diplomat in Ukraine

ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

### A Return of Old Washington In Defiance of a Raucous Era

By MARK LEIBOVICH

WASHINGTON — After so much noise, a formal feeling fell upon the Capitol. The civil servants had entered the room.

In a sense, seriousness itself stood trial on Wednesday as William B. Taylor Jr., the top American diplomat in Ukraine, and George P. Kent, a top State Department official, strode into the velvet-draped hearing room just after 10 a.m. They were stern stares and were seemingly oblivious to the discord that brought them there.

If they were annoyed about being lumped among the "unelected bureaucrats" or "deep-state operators" by the president's defenders, or "human scum" by the president himself, it did not show. Cameras clacked and commotion swirled as they held up their hands.

The swearing-in photo flurry that followed is a staple of momentous Washington hearings. But this was also a resolute statement: The witnesses had come to

Continued on Page A19

#### NEWS ANALYSIS

### Witnesses Embody the Power of the Moment

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — William B. Taylor Jr. was the witness that Democrats had hoped Robert S. Mueller III would be but was not — the image, at least, of a wise, fatherly figure with Kevlar credibility expressing restrained but unmistakable disapproval of what he found when he turned over the rock.

House Democrats led off their highly anticipated impeachment hearings on Wednesday with a figure projecting probity, a combat veteran turned career diplo-

### Diplomats Who Have a Lifetime of Service

mat who narrated with a deep baritone voice reminiscent of Walter Cronkite's what he saw as the corruption of American foreign policy to advance President Trump's personal political interests.

It was not clear that minds were changed. Certainly they were not inside the room, and most likely not elsewhere on

Capitol Hill, where Republicans and Democrats were locked into their positions long ago. Nor were there any immediate signs that the hearing penetrated the general public. While major television networks broke into regular programming to carry it live, there was little sense of a riveted country putting everything aside to watch à la Watergate.

But whether voters were watching, history certainly was. Over the course of five hours of relatively sober testimony, interrupted by fewer partisan histri-

Continued on Page A19

### More Are Dying From Infections That Foil Drugs

By MATT RICHEL and ANDREW JACOBS

Nearly 35,000 people in the United States are dying each year from drug-resistant infections, public health officials said on Wednesday, an alarming problem that New York State underscored by revealing that it had found one particularly new and virulent fungus in 64 hospitals and 103 nursing homes.

The numbers show just how widespread drug resistant infections have become, with the latest projection of deaths in America double previous estimates.

"A lot of progress has been made but the bottom line is that antimicrobial resistance is worse than we previously thought," said Michael Craig, the senior adviser on antibiotic resistance for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, which released the

Continued on Page A13



LAM YIK FEI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### From Sanctuaries to Citadels

Hong Kong Baptist University on Wednesday. Clashes between protesters and the police moved to the city's universities as the unspoken rule of campuses being off limits was broken. Page A4.

### Campus Clashes Pit the Views Of Activists vs. Journalism 101

This article is by Julie Bosman, Mitch Smith and Kate Taylor.

EVANSTON, Ill. — Jeff Sessions, President Trump's former attorney general, was speaking to a packed lecture hall on Northwestern University's campus last week, but the real action was unfolding offstage.

Student protesters were pushing through a back door of the building. The police confronted them and tried, unsuccessfully, to block their entrance. Colin Boyle, a student photographer for The Daily Northwestern, the campus newspaper, captured it all.

After the event, Ying Dai, one of the students, saw a photo of herself on his Twitter feed — sprawled painfully on the floor — and addressed him directly.

"Colin please can we stop this trauma porn," she wrote on Twitter. "I was on the ground being shoved and pushed hard by the police. You don't have to intervene but you also didn't have to put a

camera in front of me top down."

By the end of the night, Mr. Boyle had deleted the picture, and not long after, editors at The Daily Northwestern published a statement apologizing for their journalists having posted photographs of protesters on social media, and for using the school directory to attempt to contact students.

The newspaper's response set off a national firestorm this week. Prominent professional journalists derided the apology and weighed in to note, often incredulously, that the Northwestern journalists had been doing some of the most basic, standard work that reporters have always done — watching public events, interviewing people and describing what they saw.

"The Daily had an obligation to capture the event, both for the benefit of its current audience as well as for posterity," Charles Whitaker, dean of Northwestern's highly acclaimed Medill journalism school, said.

Continued on Page A15

#### INTERNATIONAL A4-11

### Hamas Has to Choose Sides

As the Islamic Jihad fires on Israel, Hamas weighs joining the fight or trying to keep the Gaza border quiet. PAGE A10



### Appealing for Calm in Bolivia

Bolivia's interim leader sought normalcy as the ousted president, Evo Morales, above, protested in Mexico. PAGE A11

#### NATIONAL A12-22

### Democratic Field to Expand

Deval Patrick, a former governor of Massachusetts, told leading Democrats and allies that he would announce a presidential bid this week. PAGE A12

### Grumbling Over Iowa

The state's antiquated caucus system and its pre-eminent position in the nominating process take heat again. PAGE A14

#### NEW YORK A23-25

### Brooklyn Bishop Accused

Bishop Nicholas DiMarzio, who was selected to lead an inquiry into abuse, is accused of molesting a boy. PAGE A24

#### ARTS C1-7

### Sizing Up the Hollywood Buzz

In the Oscar race, the field for best picture is wide open, writes Kyle Buchanan, The Carpetbagger. PAGE C1



### The Museum of Capitalism

An exhibition looks back at the system and its "artifacts" from an imaginary future without capitalism. PAGE C1

#### BUSINESS B1-6

### Subzero Rates and Risky Bets

With interest rates below zero, European insurers, usually the most straitlaced of investors, are chasing high-risk assets, alarming regulators. PAGE B1

#### SPORTSTHURSDAY B7-10

### DeGrom Is N.L.'s Best (Again)

The Mets ace Jacob deGrom became just the 11th pitcher in baseball history to win the Cy Young Award in consecutive seasons. PAGE B7

#### EDITORIAL, OP-ED, A26-27

Nicholas Kristof PAGE A27

#### THURSDAY STYLES D1-9

### A Millennial Green Mania

Rare tropical plants — some with four-figure price tags — are the obsession of a new generation of collectors who want dramatic, lush foliage. PAGE D1



Aide Disclosed Bolton Meeting About Ukraine

Trump Was Unmoved After Private Talk

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG WASHINGTON — John R. Bolton, President Trump's national security adviser, met privately with the president in August as part of a bid to persuade Mr. Trump to release \$391 million in security assistance to Ukraine, a senior National Security Council aide told House impeachment investigators last month.

The meeting, which has not been previously reported, came as Mr. Bolton sought to marshal Mr. Trump's cabinet secretaries and top national security advisers to convince the president that it was in the United States' best interest to unfreeze the funds to help Ukraine defend itself against Russia. But Mr. Bolton emerged with Mr. Trump unmoved, and instructed the aide to look for new opportunities to get those officials in front of Mr. Trump.

"The extent of my recollection is that Ambassador Bolton simply said he wasn't ready to do it," said the aide, Timothy Morrison, referring to Mr. Trump, according to a transcript of his testimony released by House Democrats on Saturday.

Mr. Bolton, who left the White House in September, has emerged over weeks of interviews as perhaps the single most important witness who has evaded House Democrats as they build a case that Mr. Trump abused the powers of the presidency by withholding vital military assistance and a coveted White House meeting from Ukraine until it delivered investigations he wanted. The new disclosure only makes clearer the significance of his potential testimony.

It also underlines the dilemma that House Democrats face over their decision to press ahead with proceedings without his testimony. Last week, Mr. Bolton's lawyer told House investigators that his client could discuss "many relevant meetings and conversations" of interest to their inquiry.

Continued on Page 24

TWO VERSIONS MSNBC and Fox News had different takes on the impeachment hearings. PAGE 25

'Show Absolutely No Mercy': Inside China's Mass Detentions

By AUSTIN RAMZY and CHRIS BUCKLEY

HONG KONG — The students booked their tickets home at the end of the semester, hoping for a relaxing break after exams and a summer of happy reunions with family in China's far west.

Instead, they would soon be told that their parents were gone, relatives had vanished and neighbors were missing — all of them locked up in an expanding network of detention camps built to hold Muslim ethnic minorities.

The authorities in the Xinjiang region worried the situation was a powder keg. And so they prepared.

The leadership distributed a classified directive advising local officials to corner returning students as soon as they arrived and keep them quiet. It included a chillingly bureaucratic guide

Leaked documents reveal how Xi and other leaders have secretly waged a 'people's war' to round up Muslim minorities in Xinjiang.

for how to handle their anguished questions, beginning with the most obvious: Where is my family?

"They're in a training school set up by the government," the prescribed answer began. If pressed, officials were to tell students that their relatives were not criminals — yet could not leave these "schools."

The question-and-answer script also included a barely concealed threat: Students were to be told that their behavior could either shorten or extend the detention of their relatives.

"I'm sure that you will support them, because this is for their own good," officials were advised to say, "and also for your own good."

The directive was among 403 pages of internal documents that have been shared with The Times.

Continued on Page 12

Where Is My Family?

This document, obtained by The New York Times, advised Chinese officials in the Xinjiang region what to tell students whose parents had been detained in camps built to indoctrinate Muslim minorities. To protect the source's anonymity, The Times recreated this page to eliminate any identifying markings.

吐鲁番市集中教育培训学校学员子女问答策略

一、我的家人在什么地方？

答：他们在政府设立的培训学校统一参加系统性的培训学习教育，他们在那里的学习、生活环境都很好，你不用担心。他们学习期间的学费免费、吃住免费，并且标准比较高，每天的伙食费在 21 元以上，甚至超过了部分学员在家的生活标准，每天有我们的干部陪着他们一同学习，提供辅导帮助，与他们吃同样的饭菜，住同样的宿舍，所以你完全不用担心他们的生活。如果你想见一见他们的话，我们可以安排你和他们进行视频会面。

二、为什么我的家人要去参加学习？

答：让你家人去学习因为他们不同程度的受到了宗教极端和暴力恐怖思想的侵害影响，如果一旦受到“三股势力”、别有用心的人的煽动、挑唆、蛊惑，后果是很严重的。如果他们因为极端思想和“三股势力”的影响，做了不该做的事情，不仅会伤害到无辜群众，而且会伤害到他们自己、其他家人、亲戚朋友，甚至包括你，我想这些绝不是你想看到的。

Detainees are called "concentrated education and training school students," one of several euphemisms the Chinese government uses.

Question No. 1: Where is my family?

"You have nothing to worry about" — the food is high-quality, and tuition is free, the document says. Former detainees say facilities are sometimes overcrowded and unsanitary, and food can be withheld as punishment.

Question No. 2: Why are my relatives required to be in these schools?

Family members sent away "have come under different degrees of harmful influence in religious extremism and violent terrorist thoughts," the document says.

INTENSE LOBBYING BY FEDEX SLASHED ITS TAX BILL TO \$0

A \$1.6 BILLION WINDFALL

Pledges to Invest Savings From the Trump Cut Were Not Fulfilled

This article is by Jim Tankersley, Peter Eavis and Ben Casselman.

WASHINGTON — In the 2017 fiscal year, FedEx owed more than \$1.5 billion in taxes. The next year, it owed nothing. What changed was the Trump administration's tax cut — for which the company had lobbied hard.

The public face of its lobbying effort, which included a tax proposal of its own, was FedEx's founder and chief executive, Frederick Smith, who repeatedly took to the airwaves to champion the power of tax cuts. "If you make the United States a better place to invest, there is no question in my mind that we would see a renaissance of capital investment," he said on an August 2017 radio show hosted by Larry Kudlow, who is now chairman of the National Economic Council.

Four months later, President Trump signed into law the \$1.5 trillion tax cut that became his signature legislative achievement. FedEx reaped big savings, bringing its effective tax rate to less than zero in fiscal year 2018 from 34 percent in fiscal year 2017, meaning that, over all, the government technically owed it money. But it did not increase investment in new equipment and other assets in the fiscal year that followed, as Mr. Smith said businesses like his would.

Nearly two years after the tax law passed, the windfall to corporations like FedEx is becoming clear. A New York Times analysis of data compiled by Capital IQ shows no statistically meaningful relationship between the size of the tax cut that companies and industries received and the investments they made. If anything, the companies that received the biggest tax cuts increased their capital investment by less, on average, than companies that got smaller cuts.

FedEx's financial filings show that the law has so far saved it at least \$1.6 billion.

Continued on Page 22

In Louisiana, Governor's Victory Shows Limits of Trump's Support

By RICK ROJAS and JEREMY ALFORD

BATON ROUGE, La. — Gov. John Bel Edwards of Louisiana, the only Democratic governor in the Deep South, narrowly won re-election Saturday, overcoming the intervention of President Trump, who visited the state multiple times in an effort to help Mr. Edwards's Republican challenger and demonstrate his own clout.

It was the second blow at the ballot box for Mr. Trump this month in a Republican-leaning state, following the Democratic victory in the Kentucky governor's race, where the president also campaigned for the G.O.P. candidate.

In Louisiana, Mr. Trump had wagered significant political capital to try to lift Eddie Rispone, a businessman who ran against Mr. Edwards in large part by embracing the president and his agenda. Mr. Trump campaigned for Mr. Rispone twice in the final two

weeks of the race, warning Louisiana voters that a loss would reflect poorly on his presidency — the same appeal he made in Kentucky earlier this month to try to help Gov. Matt Bevin, who ultimately lost.

Of the three governor's races this year, all in deep red states, Republicans won only one, in Mississippi. Republicans also lost control of both chambers of the state legislature in Virginia, where many Democratic candidates were sharply critical of Mr. Trump.

The victory was a deeply personal one for Mr. Edwards, a conservative Democrat in a state and region where his party can often

Continued on Page 27



Gov. Edwards

After 5 Years, Youth Football Roars Back in East Texas Town

By KEN BELSON

MARSHALL, Texas — One evening last spring, a retired doctor named James Harris carried a pickle jar filled with bright red Jell-O to Marshall's school board meeting.

He shook it up so the Jell-O sloshed against the glass, a representation, he told the school board members, of what happens to the brain during a hard hit in football and what can happen to those who are allowed to play the sport at a young age.

"The brain is like this Jell-O in the bottle," he told them. "When the head hits the ground, it hits front and back, and swishes, twists, sloshes and stretches inside the skull."

It was a dramatic presentation. It was also futile.

The board listened and then voted unanimously on the matter at hand, to bring back tackle football for seventh graders, which it

had banned only five years ago.

Football is a powerful cultural force in Marshall, a city of about 24,000 people in East Texas, where high school games can

ON DEFENSE Debating When to Play

draw half of the city's residents and church ends early on Sundays when the Dallas Cowboys are playing.

Still, even Marshall has not been immune to the nationwide debate over whether and how young children should play tackle football — and the shifting demographics of who is left playing it.

The most urgent battle lines are forming along the first years of tackle football, including middle school in many parts of the county.

Continued on Page 18

Man Flees ICE, and His Judge Faces a Trial and Time in Jail

By ELLEN BARRY

NEWTON, Mass. — When she was brought before a court this spring, charged with the federal crime of obstruction of justice, Judge Shelley Joseph did not look like a rebel.

Her face was tear-streaked, and bore an expression of helpless dismay, as if she were struggling to take in the upside-down world in which she was the defendant.

In April, she and a court officer, Wesley MacGregor, were accused of allowing an immigrant to evade detention by arranging for him to sneak out the back door of a courthouse.

The federal prosecutor in Boston took the highly unusual step of charging the judge with obstruction of justice, setting off a debate over whether and how states can refrain from carrying out President Trump's immigration policy.

Massachusetts has been at the forefront of the sanctuary city

movement, passing a series of legal rulings that constrain Immigration and Customs Enforcement from detaining immigrants in courthouses.

The judge's supporters say she is no crusader, but an inexperienced judge who stumbled into a bitterly contested area of the law. They warn that if the case goes forward, it will open the door for prosecution of other judges, undercutting their independence, as the country grapples with its deep divisions over immigration.

Judge Joseph has refused a plea deal that would have allowed her to avoid prosecution if she admitted to the crime.

Continued on Page 20



Judge Joseph

INTERNATIONAL 6-16

Iranian Protests Turn Deadly

For a second day, angry crowds called for the ouster of government officials over a steep increase in gasoline prices. Six people were killed.

PAGE 10

NATIONAL 4, 17-27

Worries Rise as a Ship Sinks

A cargo vessel started capsizing off the Georgia coast in September, prompting concerns about the pollution creeping into the waterways.

PAGE 17

SUNDAY BUSINESS

'Baby Shark' Hunts Wallets

An 18-word viral hit seen 3.9 billion times on YouTube won over toddlers and World Series fans, but profits have been harder to capture.

PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

No Kneeling, but More Drama

At the last minute, Colin Kaepernick moved his workout for N.F.L. teams to a high school as bad blood continued between him and the league.

PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Anna Louie Sussman

PAGE 6



0 354713 8

Tap, Pay, Round up. The only card that rounds up to the nearest 10 points on every purchase.



The Citi Rewards+ Card

citi.com/rewardsplus



Welcome what's next.





"Only in a totalitarian, distorted society would people be forced to defend it with life and blood." | K, volunteer medic struck in the eye.

For nearly six months, Hong Kong has been torn apart by violent anti-government protests. We document the faces of the fighters, activists, adversaries, supporters, allies and casualties. Page A9.

## Bloomberg Will Flood Airwaves In a \$30 Million Week of TV Ads

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

Michael R. Bloomberg, the billionaire former mayor of New York City, spent at least \$30 million on Friday for a single week of television ads, a show of financial force that signals his willingness to use his vast personal fortune to reshape the Democratic presidential race.

The 60-second biographical commercials will begin on Monday in more than two dozen states and roughly 100 news media markets from California to Maine, a preview of a 2020 campaign budget that could easily stretch into the nine-figure range.

The scope of Mr. Bloomberg's ad buy is staggering. It is more than all of Mr. Bloomberg's potential rivals — other than the other

billionaire running, Tom Steyer — have spent on television ads all year, and about double what Senator Cory Booker had raised in donations from February through the end of September.

"Mike is prepared to spend what it takes to defeat Donald Trump," said Howard Wolfson, a top adviser to Mr. Bloomberg, whose formal announcement of his candidacy appears imminent.

Rivals were quick to condemn Mr. Bloomberg, 77, for leveraging his personal fortune to sway the race.

"I'm disgusted by the idea that Michael Bloomberg or any other billionaire thinks they can circumvent

Continued on Page A19

## Foster Care Is Failing Children Where Addiction Hits Hardest

By DAN LEVIN

PORTSMOUTH, Ohio — Dylan Groves had suffered tremendously long before his tiny body was found in June at the bottom of a 30-foot well, decomposed and wrapped in plastic bags. He had been born a few months earlier with several drugs in his system, and had spent his first days in the care of a foster mother who had cuddled him while he shook and sweated through withdrawal.

After 12 days, the foster mother, Andrea Bowling, was ordered to return Dylan to his father. "I begged and pleaded for more time," she said she told the county's child welfare agency.

"I told them Dylan's not ready, that he needed lots of love and care, but it fell on deaf ears," said

Ms. Bowling, who has a son of her own and has taken in four other foster children since Dylan left her house in January.

Ms. Bowling, 41, handed Dylan to his father, along with blankets, diapers and a letter that asked the man to call if he needed any help. Over the next few weeks, she asked Scioto County Children Services several times about Dylan, but received only terse replies saying she was no longer privy to that information. Employees warned her to not be a hindrance to family reunification.

Ms. Bowling never heard from Dylan's parents, and she never saw Dylan again.

Continued on Page A17

## Report Is Said To Clear F.B.I. Of Bias Claims

### But Sloppiness Is Cited in Russia Inquiry

By ADAM GOLDMAN and CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — A highly anticipated report by the Justice Department's inspector general is expected to sharply criticize lower-level F.B.I. officials as well as bureau leaders involved in the early stages of the Trump-Russia investigation, but to absolve the top ranks of abusing their powers out of bias against President Trump, according to people briefed on a draft.

Investigators for the inspector general, Michael E. Horowitz, uncovered errors and omissions in documents related to the wiretapping of a former Trump campaign adviser, Carter Page — including that a low-level lawyer, Kevin Clinesmith, altered an email that officials used to prepare to seek court approval to renew the wiretap, the people said.

Mr. Horowitz referred his findings about Mr. Clinesmith to prosecutors for a potential criminal charge. Mr. Clinesmith left the Russia investigation in February 2018 after the inspector general identified him as one of a handful of F.B.I. officials who expressed animus toward Mr. Trump in text messages and resigned about two months ago, after the inspector general's team interviewed him.

Though Mr. Trump's allies have seized on the messages from Mr. Clinesmith and his colleagues as proof of anti-Trump bias, Mr. Clinesmith has not been a prominent figure in the partisan firefight over the investigation. His lawyer declined to comment, as did a spokeswoman for Mr. Horowitz.

More broadly, Mr. Horowitz's report, to be made public on Dec. 9, portrays the overall effort to seek the wiretap order and its renewals as sloppy and unprofessional, according to the people familiar with it. He will also sharply criticize as careless one of the F.B.I. case agents in New York handling the matter and say that the bureau and the Justice Department displayed poor coordination during the investigation, they said.

At the same time, the report de-

Continued on Page A21

## TRUMP'S DEFENSE: MALIGN ACCUSERS AND ATTACK FACTS

### 'FRANKLY, I WANT A TRIAL'

#### Portrayal as a Victim if Impeachment Moves to the Senate

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — Over four decades in public life, President Trump has sought to bend business, real-estate and political rivals to his will. Facts that cut against his position have been declared false. Witnesses who have questioned his motives have been declared dishonest. Critics of his behavior are part of a corrupt, shadowy effort aiming to damage him.

And, as he likes to put it, his own actions are always, to one degree or another, "perfect."

That approach — which proved effective when Mr. Trump faced



President Trump honed his strategy in the Mueller inquiry.

off against the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III — is about to face a formidable test as the impeachment process moves forward.

The White House and congressional Republicans allied with Mr. Trump are preparing for a Senate trial in which they will not only declare Mr. Trump's innocence but also present a version of events that portray him as the victim of a broad plot to undermine his presidency even before it began.

That narrative will include claims that Ukrainians meddled

Continued on Page A20

## Canard of Ukrainian Meddling? Made in Russia, U.S. Spies Assert

By JULIAN E. BARNES and MATTHEW ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON — Republicans have sought for weeks amid the impeachment inquiry to shift attention to President Trump's demands that Ukraine investigate any 2016 election meddling, defending it as a legitimate concern while Democrats accuse Mr. Trump of pursuing fringe theories for his benefit.

The Republican defense of Mr. Trump became central to the impeachment proceedings when Fiona Hill, a respected Russia scholar and former senior White House official, added a harsh critique during testimony on Thursday.

She told some of Mr. Trump's fiercest defenders in Congress that they were repeating "a fictional narrative." She said that it likely came from a disinformation campaign by Russian security services, which propagated it.

In a briefing that closely aligned with Dr. Hill's testimony, American intelligence officials informed senators and their aides in recent weeks that Russia had engaged in a yearslong campaign to essentially frame Ukraine as responsible for Moscow's own hacking of the 2016 election, according to



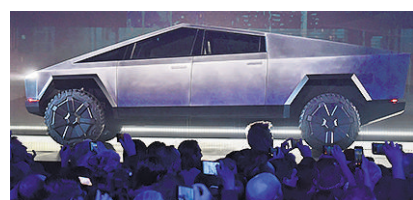
President Vladimir V. Putin

three American officials. The briefing came as Republicans stepped up their defenses of Mr. Trump in the Ukraine affair.

The revelations demonstrate Russia's persistence in trying to sow discord among its adversaries — and show that the Kremlin apparently succeeded, as unfounded claims about Ukrainian interference seeped into Republican talking points.

American intelligence agencies believe Moscow is likely to redouble its efforts as the 2020 presidential campaign intensifies. The classified briefing for senators also focused on Russia's evolving influence tactics, including its growing ability to better disguise

Continued on Page A21



BUSINESS B1-6

### A Shinier, Pointier Future

Tesla unveiled an angular, stainless steel, electric pickup, but a show of its toughness didn't go as planned. PAGE B3

### Facebook Squeezed Over Ads

Since Twitter and Google changed their policies on political ads, Facebook's seem to be pleasing no one. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-14

### Strain in Fighting Wildfires

As climate change lengthens fire seasons, a global system of resource-sharing struggles with the load. Australia is feeling it now. PAGE A4

### Standing Strong in India

Vidhya Rajput, a transgender activist, fights for equal rights, driven by loneliness and an "ache for love." PAGE A14

NEW YORK A23, 26

### Making Way for Pedestrians

Some streets near Rockefeller Center and Radio City Music Hall will be closed to traffic during the holidays. PAGE A23

NATIONAL A15-22

### A Right to Remain Offensive

A provost at Indiana University has earned praise for condemning a professor's racist, sexist and homophobic views while respecting the First Amendment. PAGE A15

OBITUARIES B12

### 'Bonnie and Clyde' Sidekick

Michael J. Pollard got an Oscar nomination as the outlaw couple's dimwitted accomplice. He was 80.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

### Larry David

PAGE A25



ARTS C1-7

### Nobel Laureate Remembered

Toni Morrison, the giant of American literature who died in August, was honored in New York City. PAGE C1

### Golden Toilet Is Still Missing

Maurizio Cattelan's fully functioning "America" was stolen from an art show in England two months ago. PAGE C1

THIS WEEKEND

### The New York Times for Kids

The monthly section looks at the dangers of vaping, understanding the impeachment process, "Frozen 2" and burgers grown in the lab. Grown-ups can read it, too.

### Wellness

A special section offers tips on caring for yourself and your family during a time of year that can be both festive and demanding.



# TRUMP IMPEACHED

## BECOMES THIRD PRESIDENT TO FACE TRIAL IN SENATE



PETE MAROVICH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump denounced his Democratic accusers during a rally on Wednesday in Battle Creek, Mich. "There's no crime," he said.

### After Bitter Fight, House Adopts Charges of Abuse of Power and Obstruction

By NICHOLAS FANDOS and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The House of Representatives on Wednesday impeached President Trump for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress, making him the third president in history to be charged with committing high crimes and misdemeanors and face removal by the Senate.

On a day of constitutional consequence and raging partisan tension, the votes on the two articles of impeachment fell largely along party lines, after a bitter debate that stretched into the evening and reflected the deep polarization gripping American politics in the Trump era.

Only two Democrats opposed the article on abuse of power, which accused Mr. Trump of corruptly using the levers of government to solicit election assistance from Ukraine in the form of investigations to discredit his Democratic political rivals. Republicans were united in opposition. It passed 230 to 197, with Speaker Nancy Pelosi gaveling the vote to a close from the House rostrum.

On the second charge, obstruction of Congress, a third Democrat joined Republicans in opposition. The vote was 229 to 198.

The impeachment votes set the stage for a historic trial beginning early next year in the Senate, which will have final say — 10 months before Mr. Trump faces re-election — on whether to acquit the 45th president or convict and remove him from office. The timing was uncertain, after Ms. Pelosi suggested late Wednesday that she might wait to send the articles to the Senate, holding them out as leverage in a negotiation on the terms of a trial.

Acquittal in the Republican-controlled chamber may be likely, but the proceeding is certain to further aggravate the political and cultural fault lines in the country that Mr. Trump's presidency has brought into dramatic relief. Regardless of the outcome, the impeachment votes in the House put an indelible stain on Mr. Trump's presidency that cannot be wiped from the public consciousness with a barrage of tweets or an angry tirade in front of thousands of his cheering supporters at a campaign rally.

On Wednesday, Democrats characterized his impeachment as an urgent action to stop a corrupt president whose misdeeds had unfolded in plain view from damaging the United States any further.

"Over the course of the last three months, we have found incontrovertible evidence that President Trump abused his power by pressuring the newly elected president of Ukraine to announce an investigation into President

Continued on Page A13

McADAMS	Y	MURPHY	Y
McBATH	Y	MURPHY	Y
McCARTHY	N	MURPHY	Y
McCAUL	N	MURPHY	Y
McCINTOCK	Y	MURPHY	Y
McCOLLUM	Y	MURPHY	Y
McEACHIN	Y	MURPHY	Y
McGOVERN	Y	MURPHY	Y
McHENRY	Y	MURPHY	Y
McKINLEY	N	MURPHY	Y
McNERNEY	Y	MURPHY	Y
MEADOWS	N	MURPHY	Y
MEeks	N	MURPHY	Y

ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Voting on the second article.

### 'Lev and Igor': Putting Ukraine On the Agenda

This article is by Michael Rothfeld, Ben Protess, William K. Rashbaum, Kenneth P. Vogel and Andrew E. Kramer.

On a warm summer evening last year, Lev Parnas stepped aboard a private cruise around New York Harbor for a gathering of some of Rudolph W. Giuliani's closest friends.

The passengers sipped wine and cocktails while they sailed past the Statue of Liberty, singing along as another guest, the entertainer Joe Piscopo, belted out "Theme from New York, New York." Mr. Giuliani, a personal lawyer to President Trump, relaxed on the open deck in a bright blue polo shirt as the sun set over Lower Manhattan, a video of the event shows.

The August 2018 cruise, won in a charity auction, came at a pivotal moment in Mr. Giuliani's relationship with Mr. Parnas and his associate Igor Fruman, both Soviet-born businessmen from Florida who were among the newest entrants to his circle.

Mr. Parnas had recently struck up a friendship with Mr. Giuliani while recruiting him for a business deal, but now they were on the verge of something bigger: teaming to unearth damaging information on Mr. Trump's political rivals.

In the coming months, Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman helped Mr. Giuliani carry out a shadow diplomacy campaign, sweeping them

Continued on Page A18

### NEWS ANALYSIS

## A Crossroads for a Nation in Tumult

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — For the most unpredictable of presidents, it was the most predictable of outcomes. Is anyone really surprised that President Trump was impeached? His defiant disregard for red lines arguably made him an impeachment waiting to happen.

From the day he took office, Mr. Trump made clear that he would not abide by the conventions of the system he inherited. So perhaps it was inevitable that at some point he would go too far for the opposition party, leading to a historic day of debate on the House floor where he was alternately depicted as a constitutional villain or victim.

The proximate charge as Democrats impeached him for high crimes and misdemeanors on party-line votes Wednesday night was the president's campaign to pressure Ukraine to help him against his domestic political rivals while withholding security aid. But long before Ukraine consumed the capital, Mr. Trump had sought to bend the instruments of government to his own purposes even if it meant pushing boundaries that had been sacrosanct for a generation.

Over nearly three years in office, he has become the most polarizing figure in a country stewing in toxic politics. He has punished enemies and, many

argue, undermined democratic institutions. Disregarding advice that restrained other presidents, Mr. Trump kept his real estate business despite the Constitution's emoluments clause, paid hush money to an alleged paramour and sought to impede investigations that threatened him.

His constant stream of falsehoods, including about his dealings with Ukraine, undermined his credibility both at home and abroad, even as his supporters saw him as a challenger to a corrupt status quo subjected to partisan persecution.

Impeachments come at times of tumult, when pent-up pres-

Continued on Page A16

### Rally Becomes 'A Good Time' To Vent Anger

This article is by Michael Crowley, Annie Karni and Maggie Haberman.

BATTLE CREEK, Mich. — President Trump angrily responded to the impeachment he had long been dreading on Wednesday, lashing out at his Democratic accusers in a rambling two-hour speech and calling for their defeat in November.

Moments after the House passed two articles of impeachment against him, he told a campaign rally in a state he won in 2016 that is crucial to his re-election that the vote was an attempt to "nullify the ballots of tens of millions of patriotic Americans."

But in his mostly unscripted remarks, Mr. Trump claimed he was enjoying himself.

"They said there's no crime," he said. "There's no crime. I'm the first person to ever get impeached and there's no crime. I feel guilty. It's impeachment lite."

He paused before adding, "I don't know about you, but I'm having a good time."

His rejoinder presented the remarkable image of a combative president standing unbowed before his core supporters even as he became the third in American history to be impeached.

But more often he seemed embittered, mocking the physical appearance of his rivals, attacking the news media, calling a female protester a "slob" and a "disgusting person," and suggesting that

Continued on Page A21

### In Washington, The Abnormal Feels Routine

By MARK LEIBOVICH and KATIE ROGERS

WASHINGTON — It's not as if anyone was expecting a normal Wednesday to materialize on Capitol Hill. Presidents don't get impeached every day, just like they generally don't write six-page harangues charging Democrats with "declaring open war on American Democracy" (that was Tuesday) or tweet that Speaker Nancy Pelosi's "teeth were falling out of her mouth" (that was Sunday).

This is what Washington is dealing with now: the daily acceptance that whatever notions of normal and not normal that used to exist have been scrambled beyond recognition. It has been like this for nearly three years.

Still, Wednesday — a clear and cold December morning — hit with a special punch. It was one of those "step back" days when history stands out from the pile of routine chaos. The 45th president of the United States would be impeached on Wednesday. Even in a nonstop news cycle, that's a full-stop sentence. "Impeachment" can't be brushed off like a subpoena.

It's happened only twice before. President Trump seemed especially haunted by the "very ugly word, impeachment," as he put it in his letter to the Democrats. He likened his coming impeachment to an "attempted coup," an "election-nullification scheme" and a "lynching," among other things.

Continued on Page A15



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Nancy Pelosi during the voting. She called it "tragic" that impeachment was necessary.

### BUSINESS B1-8

#### Breeding Hollywood's Future

Rideback Ranch, a communal workspace for creative talent, aims to develop new film and TV ideas. PAGE B1

#### Fallout for Boeing Suppliers

Boeing's move to halt production of the Max jet could force cutbacks or layoffs for some of its 600 suppliers. PAGE B1



### INTERNATIONAL A4-10

#### Abandoned by U.N. Troops

Fathered by peacekeepers in Haiti, hundreds of children were left behind with their mothers to face poverty and social stigma, a study says. PAGE A6

#### Seoul Returns 2 Men to North

The North Koreans face likely execution. Before trying to defect, they killed 16 people on their fishing boat. PAGE A9

### ARTS C1-7

#### What Comes After Rikers

Michael Kimmelman asks if new architecture can help heal what ails the city's troubled prison system. PAGE C1

### NATIONAL A11-23

#### Health Mandate Struck Down

A federal appeals court sent the case back to a federal district judge in Texas to determine if other parts of the Affordable Care Act can stand. PAGE A21

#### Gloves Off, Now Taking Heat

Pete Buttigieg's stock in the presidential race didn't rise until he attacked his top rivals. He may face payback. PAGE A22

### THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

#### Silent Night, Sustainable Night

You want festive décor, but also want to save the planet. Here's how to make the holiday season eco-friendly. PAGE D1

### SPORTS THURSDAY B9-14

#### In Rarefied N.B.A. Air

LeBron James and James Harden are flirting with statistical achievements of the Wilt Chamberlain variety. PAGE B9

#### Bird of Prey, With Health Care

A top-flight hospital in Doha, Qatar, has a special clientele: falcons only. And the lines can get long. PAGE B9



### SPECIAL SECTION

#### Curtain Falls on Iron Triangle

Willetts Point, a Queens neighborhood of squalid streets lined with auto repair shops near Citi Field, La Guardia Airport and the National Tennis Center, finally seems about to be tamed.

### EDITORIAL, OP-ED A30-31

#### George T. Conway III, Steve Schmidt, John Weaver and Rick Wilson

PAGE A31

