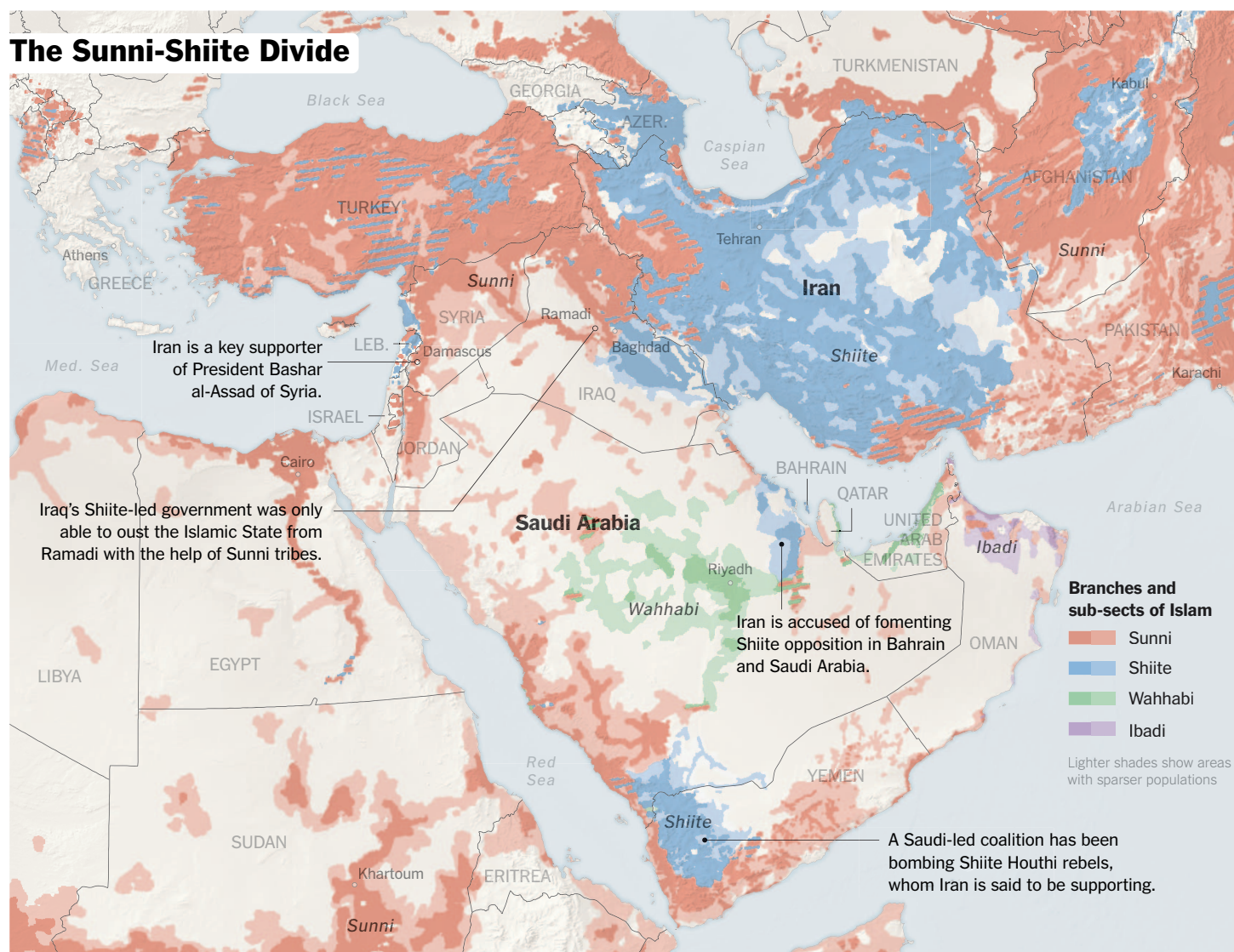


The Sunni-Shiite Divide



Sources: M. Izady, Columbia University's Gulf 2000 project. Note: Non-Muslims and other Islamic sects are not shown. TIMOTHY WALLACE/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tearful Obama Outlines Steps to Curb Gun Deaths

Assortment of Challenges Lie Ahead for a Program of Executive Actions

By ERIC LICHTBLAU and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — As tears streamed down his face, President Obama on Tuesday condemned the gun violence that has reached across the United States and vowed to curb the bloodshed with or without Congress.

"In this room right here, there are a lot of stories. There's a lot of heartache," Mr. Obama said in the White House East Room, flanked by relatives of those struck down in mass shootings, including former Representative Gabrielle Giffords of Arizona. "There's a lot of resilience, there's a lot of strength, but there's also a lot of pain."

For all the emotion he showed, Mr. Obama nonetheless faces legal, political and logistical hurdles that are likely to blunt the effect of the plan he laid out.

A number of the executive actions he plans are only suggested "guidance" for federal agencies, not binding regulations. They were framed mostly as clarifying and enforcing existing law, not expanding it. And many of those measures rely on hefty funding increases that a Republican-led Congress is almost certain to reject.

Among other measures, the plan aims to better define who should be licensed as a gun dealer and thus be required to conduct background checks on cus-

tomers to weed out prohibited buyers.

Even the administration said it was impossible to gauge how big an effect the steps might have, how many new gun sales might be regulated or how many illegal guns might be taken off the streets.

"I don't think anyone can credibly tell you yet what all this means," Charles E. James Jr., a former federal gun crimes prosecutor who now represents gun industry clients, said of Mr. Obama's plan.

Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch told reporters Monday that she could not say whether the new restrictions would have had any effect in a series of recent mass shootings, including last month's attack in San Bernardino, Calif., that left 14 dead. But in the massacre of nine people at a South Carolina church in June, the man charged, Dylan Roof, was able to buy a .45-caliber handgun despite admitting to drug use. The F.B.I. director, James B. Comey, said at the time that a breakdown in the background check system had allowed Mr. Roof to buy the gun.

Mr. Obama voiced irritation over the issue.

"Each time this comes up," Mr. Obama said in his speech, "we

Continued on Page A12



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

"There's a lot of heartache" from shootings, the president said.

Saudi-Iran Feud Poses Threat To Iraq's Effort to Combat ISIS

This article is by Ben Hubbard, Anne Barnard and Somini Sengupta.

BAGHDAD — The fighting has finally stopped in Ramadi, a major city in the Sunni heartland. The Islamic State has been ousted, and the Iraqi flag is flying once again.

But Iraq's government defeated the Islamic State only with the help of Sunni tribes, which soothed local distrust of the Shiite-led central government. Now, as Iraq faces the even greater challenge of routing the Islamic State from other cities, it is confronted with a heated conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia that threatens to inflame sectarian tensions across the entire region.

For Iraq, which barely survived years of sectarian civil war,

TREADING CAREFULLY IN CRISIS

The rift between Saudi Arabia and Iran has yet to shake up Middle East allegiances. Page A8.

the hostilities between Iran and Saudi Arabia could once again foil Sunni-Shiite cooperation — and empower the Islamic State.

"For sure, the rise in sectarian tensions creates a fertile environment for the growth of ISIS," Saad al-Hadithi, a spokesman for Iraq's prime minister said Tuesday, using an acronym for the Islamic State, also known as ISIL. "All of this helps ISIS in building its fighting forces and getting support."

When the Sunni monarchy in Saudi Arabia executed a Shiite cleric along with 46 other prisoners

Continued on Page A9

Attacks on German Women Inflammate Debate on Migrants

By MELISSA EDDY

BERLIN — The tensions simmering beneath Germany's willingness to take in one million migrants blew into the open on Tuesday after reports that scores of young women in Cologne had been groped and robbed on New Year's Eve by gangs of men described by the authorities as having "a North African or Arabic" appearance.

Taking advantage of the New Year's Eve street party, hundreds of young men broke into groups and formed rings around young women, refusing to let them escape, the authorities said. Some groped victims while others stole wallets or cellphones.

Witnesses described the atmosphere around the city's central train station as aggressive

and threatening, with firecrackers being thrown into the crowd. The women who were attacked screamed and tried to fight their way free, a man who had struggled to protect his girlfriend told German public television.

The Cologne police added that they had received 90 complaints from victims, including one who said she had been raped. No arrests have been made.

In Hamburg, the police said 10 women had reported that they were sexually assaulted and robbed in a similar fashion on the same night.

It was not clear that any of the men involved were among those who arrived in Germany over the past year from conflicts in Syria,

Continued on Page A7



JAROD OPPERMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

East-central Oregon near a national wildlife refuge that has been taken over by an armed group.

Protesters Seek to End Policy That Shaped West

By KIRK JOHNSON and JACK HEALY

BURNS, Ore. — They used to call it Bundyville, a dot of the arid Wild West where in 1916, a Mormon pioneer named Abraham Bundy staked out a homestead in a sea of northern Arizona sagebrush. Settlers caught rainwater in tanks and grazed their livestock across public land that had yet to be brought under government control.

That place is mostly a ghost town today, gradually abandoned after the nation set up a system of grazing permits and regulations to curb voracious overgraz-

ing on public lands. But shards of Bundyville have stuck with the branch of the family that made its way to Nevada, where they set up a cattle ranch and became the face of unyielding, armed protest over how Washington manages Western lands.

And now in many ways, a little piece of Bundyville has re-emerged here in east-central Oregon, in the temper and tone of a Bundy-family led crew of armed, antigovernment acolytes who are occupying a federal wildlife reserve, calling for Washington to hand control of federal lands to ranchers and local governments, and seeking to unwind a century

of policy that has shaped the West. The rural economy has stuttered and stumbled in recent years in places like Burns and surrounding Harney County, and the Bundys say it is because of the government. They want to roll it back.

"It is our goal to get the logger back to logging, to get the rancher back to ranching, to get the miner back to mining, the farmer back to farming — and to jumpstart this economy in Harney County," Ammon Bundy, the leader of the occupation group here at the Malheur National Wildlife Refuge, about a five-hour drive

Continued on Page A14

North Korea Says It Detonated Hydrogen Bomb for First Time

By DAVID E. SANGER and CHOE SANG-HUN

WASHINGTON — North Korea declared on Tuesday that it had detonated its first hydrogen bomb.

The assertion, if true, would dramatically escalate the nuclear challenge from one of the world's most isolated and dangerous states.

In a brief announcement, North Korea said that the test had been a "complete success." But it was difficult to tell whether the announcement was true. North Korea has made repeated

claims about its nuclear capabilities that outside analysts have greeted with skepticism.

"This is the self-defensive measure we have to take to defend our right to live in the face of the nuclear threats and blackmail by the United States and to guarantee the security of the Korean Peninsula," a female North Korean announcer said, reading the statement on Central Television, the state-run network.

The North's announcement came about an hour after detection devices around the world had picked up a 5.1 seismic event along the country's northeast coast.

It may be weeks or longer before detectors sent aloft by the United States and other powers can determine what kind of test was conducted. Ned Price, a spokesman for the White House National Security Council, said in a statement that American officials "cannot confirm these claims at this time."

But he said the White House expected, "North Korea to abide by its international obligations



KYODO, VIA REUTERS

North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un, seen in a recently released photograph.

Medical Debt Often Crushing Even for Insured

By MARGOT SANGER-KATZ

Here is the surest way to enjoy the peace of mind that comes with having health insurance: Don't get sick.

The number of uninsured Americans has fallen by an estimated 15 million since 2013, largely because of the Affordable Care Act. But a new survey, the first detailed study of Americans struggling with medical bills, shows that insurance often fails as a safety net. Health plans often require hundreds or thousands of dollars in out-of-pocket payments — sums that can create a cascade of financial troubles for the many households living paycheck to paycheck.

Carrie Cota learned the hard way that health insurance does not guarantee financial security. Ms. Cota, 56, a travel agent from Rosamond, Calif., learned she had the autoimmune disease lupus in 2007. She ran up thousands of dollars in medical and dental bills and ended up losing her job, and eventually her house.

"I had to move in temporarily

Continued on Page A3

NEW YORK A18-21

Mayor Names New Deputy

With homelessness on the rise, Herminia Palacio will oversee health and human services in New York City. PAGE A21

Moonlighting, the Albany Way

Stephen M. Katz, a Republican assemblyman, is among the New York State lawmakers with outside jobs. PAGE A18



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

American Soldier Is Killed

An American soldier died and two others were wounded in fighting in southern Afghanistan. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A11-16

Student Abuse Scandal Grows

Lawyers said more former students had reported abuse at St. George's School in Rhode Island. PAGE A11

OBITUARIES A16-17

Elizabeth Swados Is Dead

The creator and director of musicals including "Runaways" was 64. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Scrutiny for Microsoft in China

Regulators are asking anew about Microsoft's business practices in China, part of an antitrust inquiry of Western companies in 2014. PAGE B1

Racial Identity and Politics

Identity — racial, ethnic and cultural — has returned as a driver of political choice, Eduardo Porter writes. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-14

New Threats in Doping Story

Several athletes linked to doping in a disputed Al Jazeera report had a common connection. PAGE B9

FOOD D1-12

Head of the Table

January is a time to take a hard look at what's on our plates. This need not feel like a punishment. Some people quite enjoy fasting and purging. For those looking to cook healthfully in the new year, a whole roasted cauliflower (with a colorful sauce) makes a striking main course and centerpiece. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-8

Behind Sheen's News on H.I.V.

Charlie Sheen's disclosure of his condition is a study in how celebrity secrets are hidden — and revealed. PAGE C1

It's a Note From Iris

As a collection of her letters shows, the author Iris Murdoch wrote for hours to fans and lovers. A review. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A23



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Iran Seizes U.S. Sailors Amid Claims of Spying

Capture of 2 Boats in Persian Gulf Comes at Delicate Time for Both Countries

By HELENE COOPER and DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — Two United States Navy patrol boats and their crews were seized by the Iranian authorities in the Persian Gulf on Tuesday during what a Tehran news agency alleged was “snooping.”

But the Pentagon and the State Department said that one of the boats had experienced mechanical problems while en route from Kuwait to Bahrain on a routine mission. Administration officials said that the military had lost contact with the boats before they strayed into Iranian territorial waters. They said they had received assurances from Iran that the 10 sailors would be returned soon, perhaps on Wednesday.

The semiofficial Fars news agency in Iran said that the boats had illegally traveled more than a mile into Iranian waters near Farsi Island, the site of a major Iranian naval base. It said that members of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Navy had confiscated GPS equipment, which would “prove that the American ships were ‘snooping’ around in Iranian waters.”

The waters where the boats were sailing are a frequent location for intelligence collection by the United States, Iran and many gulf countries. The American and Iranian navies encounter each other frequently there.

The detention of the sailors comes at a particularly delicate moment in the tense American-Iranian relationship, just days before the formal implementation of a nuclear deal in which the United States is supposed to unfreeze about \$100 billion in Iranian assets.

That step is to be made after international nuclear inspectors verify that Iran has shipped 98 percent of its nuclear fuel out of the country and disabled and removed centrifuges, and taken a

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THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama greeted well-wishers as he left the House chamber Tuesday night after his seventh State of the Union address.

OBAMA URGES U.S. TO EMBRACE CHANGE

NEWS ANALYSIS

A Nation's Political Split Screen

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Over the course of 48 hours, Americans will confront two starkly disparate views of Barack Obama's America that will frame the debate over the future of the country in this election year and beyond.

The country described by the president on Tuesday night in his final State of the Union address is the most powerful nation on earth and on the rise again, with more jobs, better health care and stunning innovation. Although grappling with serious challenges, it is poised for greater progress.

By contrast, the country that

Republican presidential candidates will depict on Thursday night in their next nationally televised debate is a darker place, a once-great power that has lost ground in a dangerous world, surrendered its authority and leadership with allies and enemies alike, and diminished freedom and opportunity at home.

Whichever view ultimately seems more credible to the public will help determine who succeeds Mr. Obama next January and sets the nation's course for the following four years. For months, Republicans led by Donald J. Trump have tapped into a deep river of discontent in the electorate, and Mr. Obama decided to

use the most prominent platform in American politics to push back.

“Tonight was President Obama's morning-in-America response to the malaise speech that the Republican candidates have been delivering for the last year,” said Jon Favreau, the president's former chief speechwriter. “From Reagan to Clinton and Obama, people have never elected a pessimistic president who talks about America like it's a ‘Mad Max’ movie.”

But Republicans said Mr. Obama would have a hard time convincing the public with a rosy picture that conflicts with their own perceptions and experiences.

Continued on Page A14

In Final Address, Both Optimism and Regret

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Obama on Tuesday set forth an ambitious vision for America's future but conceded his own failure to heal the political divisions holding back progress, calling it a lasting disappointment of his tenure.

In a prime-time televised speech that avoided the usual litany of policy prescriptions, Mr. Obama used his final State of the Union address to paint a hopeful portrait of the nation after seven years of his leadership, with a resurgent economy and better standing in the world despite inequality at home and terrorism abroad.

But Mr. Obama, who campaigned for president on promises of hope and change, and vowed when he took office to transform Washington and politics itself, accepted responsibility for falling far short of that goal.

“It's one of the few regrets of my presidency, that the rancor and suspicion between the parties has gotten worse instead of better,” Mr. Obama said, adding that “a president with the gifts of Lincoln or Roosevelt might have better bridged the divide.”

He acknowledged that many Americans feel frightened and shut out of a political and economic system they view as rigged against their interests, even as he offered an implicit rebuke of Republicans who are playing on those insecurities in the race to succeed him.

“As frustration grows, there will be voices urging us to fall back into tribes, to scapegoat fellow citizens who don't look like us, or pray like us, or vote like we do, or share the same background,” Mr. Obama said. “We can't afford to go down that path.”

He repeatedly sought to contrast Republicans' bleak appraisals of the state of the nation with his own upbeat assessment. He called his opponents' version “a fiction” and defended his decisions, many of them flash points

Continued on Page A14

DIVISIONS The reaction to the president reflected the bitter partisanship in Congress. PAGE A15

Rising Zeal by Fans of Sanders Puts Clinton on Attack in Iowa

By PATRICK HEALY and YAMICHE ALCINDOR

DES MOINES — Iowa Democrats are displaying far less passion for Hillary Clinton than for Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont three weeks before the presidential caucuses, creating anxiety inside the Clinton campaign as she scrambles to energize supporters and to court wavering voters.

The enthusiasm gap spilled abundantly into view in recent days, from the cheering crowds and emotional outpourings that greeted Mr. Sanders, and in interviews with more than 50 Iowans at campaign stops for both candidates.

Voters have mobbed Mr. Sanders at events since Friday, some jumping over chairs to shake his hand or snap a selfie. “Did you

get to touch him?” asked one woman who could not get close enough after an event here on Saturday.

“We love you, Bernie! Enough is enough!” Nathan Arentsen, 29, cheered at another event in Des Moines, stamping his feet emphatically.

With a new poll showing Mr. Sanders surging ahead in Iowa, Mrs. Clinton and her aides have dropped any pretense that they can ignore Mr. Sanders or treat him like a gadfly. They have become zealous and combative as they try new ways to undercut his high favorability ratings [Page A12.]

On Monday, Mrs. Clinton proposed raising the income tax by

Continued on Page A13

With Rams, N.F.L. Replants Flag in Los Angeles

By KEN BELSON

HOUSTON — After more than two decades, the N.F.L. has found its way back to Los Angeles.

The St. Louis Rams will move to the Los Angeles area, where they intend to build a new, nearly \$3 billion stadium in an entertainment complex in Inglewood, Calif., just over 10 miles from downtown. The San Diego Chargers will have the option to join them as soon as next season, and if they decline, the Oakland Raiders could make the move.

The Rams, who played in the Los Angeles area for decades, will give the area its first N.F.L. team since 1995, when they moved to St. Louis, followed by the Raiders, who left Los Angeles a few months later that year for Oakland. Owners for both teams could not agree with civic leaders on new or refurbished stadiums.

The announcement came on Tuesday after a series of private meetings spread over 12 hours here among some of the biggest titans of industry, including Robert A. Iger, the chairman of Disney; Paul Allen, the Microsoft co-founder and now owner of the Seattle Seahawks; and E. Stanley Kroenke, the owner of the Rams, whose fortune derives in part from the Walton family of Walmart fame, hashed out the move that had eluded the league for two decades.

“We have the return of the Los Angeles Rams to their home,” the N.F.L. commissioner, Roger Goodell, said in a news conference, looking tired after a day of marathon meetings and deliberations. “We have a facility that is going to be absolutely extraordinary, and that is going to set a new bar.”



RICHARD VOGEL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Rams fans marched at Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum on Saturday. The team is returning after leaving for St. Louis in 1995.

Flanked by the chairmen of the Los Angeles Opportunities committee, Bob McNair of the Houston Texans and Art Rooney of the Pittsburgh Steelers, Goodell said that the facility in Inglewood was “more than just a stadium” and would be a “signature product.”

Moving two N.F.L. teams at once to the same city is unprecedented, and if the Chargers join the Rams, they will be the second current pair to share a stadium, after the Jets and the Giants, who moved to MetLife Stadium in East Rutherford, N.J., in 2010.

The return to Los Angeles fills a void for the nation's most popular sport, which has enjoyed explosive growth over the past two decades even without a team there.

Continued on Page B12

Picasso Bust Sells for Millions, But Did It Go to Two Buyers?

By ROBIN POGREBIN

The high-powered art dealer Larry Gagosian says he bought it. The royal family of Qatar says it bought the sculpture, too. And now they are facing off in court over who owns Picasso's important plaster bust of his muse (and mistress) Marie-Thérèse Walter, a star of the Museum of Modern Art's popular “Picasso Sculpture” show.

The seller, in both cases, was Picasso's daughter Maya Widmaier-Picasso, 80. She declined to comment on why she appears to have sold the artwork twice.

In a legal action filed on Tuesday in federal court in Manhattan against the Qatari family's agent, Mr. Gagosian claims that he bought the 1931 sculpture in May 2015 for about \$106 million from Ms. Widmaier-Picasso, and then sold it to an undisclosed New York collector who expects to receive it after MoMA's show closes on Feb. 7.

But the Qatari family's agent,



2015 ESTATE OF PABLO PICASSO/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK

Pelham Holdings, run by Guy Bennett, maintains in its own court documents that it secured an agreement with Ms. Widmaier-Picasso to buy the work in November 2014 for 38 million euros, or about \$42 million.

The bust, a major work from a highly creative period in Picasso's life, reflects the evolution of a

Continued on Page A3



NATIONAL A9-16

Fear and Fervor in Oregon

While weary residents seek an end to a protest, occupiers like Ammon Bundy, right, and Wes Kjar dig in. PAGE A10

U.S. Seeks Help on Refugees

The White House is turning to the U.N. to help screen migrants fleeing violence in Central America. PAGE A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Bomb Kills Tourists in Turkey

Turkey's government said that the Islamic State group was behind a suicide bombing that killed 10 foreign tourists in a historic district of Istanbul. PAGE A7

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

New Home for 'Sesame Street'

Big Bird, Elmo and the rest of the crew are settling into a renovated set on the premium cable network HBO. PAGE B1

'Serial' Delays Next Episodes

Producers say the popular podcast will switch to a biweekly schedule to make time for additional reporting. PAGE B1



ARTS C1-7

To Fix Penn, Move the Garden

A proposal to update Pennsylvania Station needs bigger, bolder thinking, Michael Kimmelman writes. PAGE C1

The Story Behind an Empire

In “Dark Money,” Jane Mayer shares a persuasive, timely and necessary look at the Koch brothers. A review. PAGE C1

NEW YORK A17-19, 22

Cuomo and Homelessness

A review of efforts since New York's governor took office shows a push and pull between city and state. PAGE A17

Christie's Vow to Legislature

The New Jersey governor said he would not fade away anytime soon. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES B12-13

Baseball Pioneer Is Dead at 96

Monte Irvin, a Negro leagues star, made his major league debut at 30. PAGE B12

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A21



FOOD D1-6

Per Se Loses Some Luster

Thomas Keller's landmark restaurant has failed to live up to its reputation as one of the nation's best, Pete Wells writes in a review. PAGE D1



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A SEAL Officer's Descent In a Grueling Deployment

A Death, Ruled a Suicide, That Comrades Saw as a Cautionary Wartime Tale

By NICHOLAS KULISH and CHRISTOPHER DREW

It was his last night of what his men were already calling a cursed deployment in Afghanistan.

Cmdr. Job W. Price had signed off on the final report on the ambush killing of an enlisted Navy SEAL team member. His staff had completed a plan to turn over American military outposts to their Afghan partners, and Com-

4, did not appear for a meeting the next morning with an Afghan general, his men searched in the mess hall, in the showers and finally along the row of berths called the Green Mile. In his room, they found him lying in his sleeping bag, the pistol in his hand, a pool of blood beneath the bed.

His death was shocking: Suicide was rare among SEALs, unusual during a deployment in a war zone and unprecedented for a high-achieving SEAL officer. He became the last SEAL to die in Afghanistan.

Everything had seemed to go wrong in Commander Price's final deployment, which began in September. In short order, he lost four men — two SEAL team members, two Army soldiers — under his command. Relations with the United States military's Afghan partners were tainted by distrust, and the Taliban were growing dominant in the remote region of southeastern Afghanistan where Commander Price's forces were operating. By then, America's hopes of defeating the Taliban were fading, and the military's ambitions were focused on extricating its troops from daily combat.

For a commander of elite Special Operations troops, whose counterparts in SEAL Team 6 had been celebrated for pulling off daring missions like killing Osama bin Laden and rescuing Capt. Richard Phillips from Somali pirates without taking any casualties, the burdens in Afghanistan may have felt especially heavy. In an era of long-distance drone strikes and a reluctance to commit American

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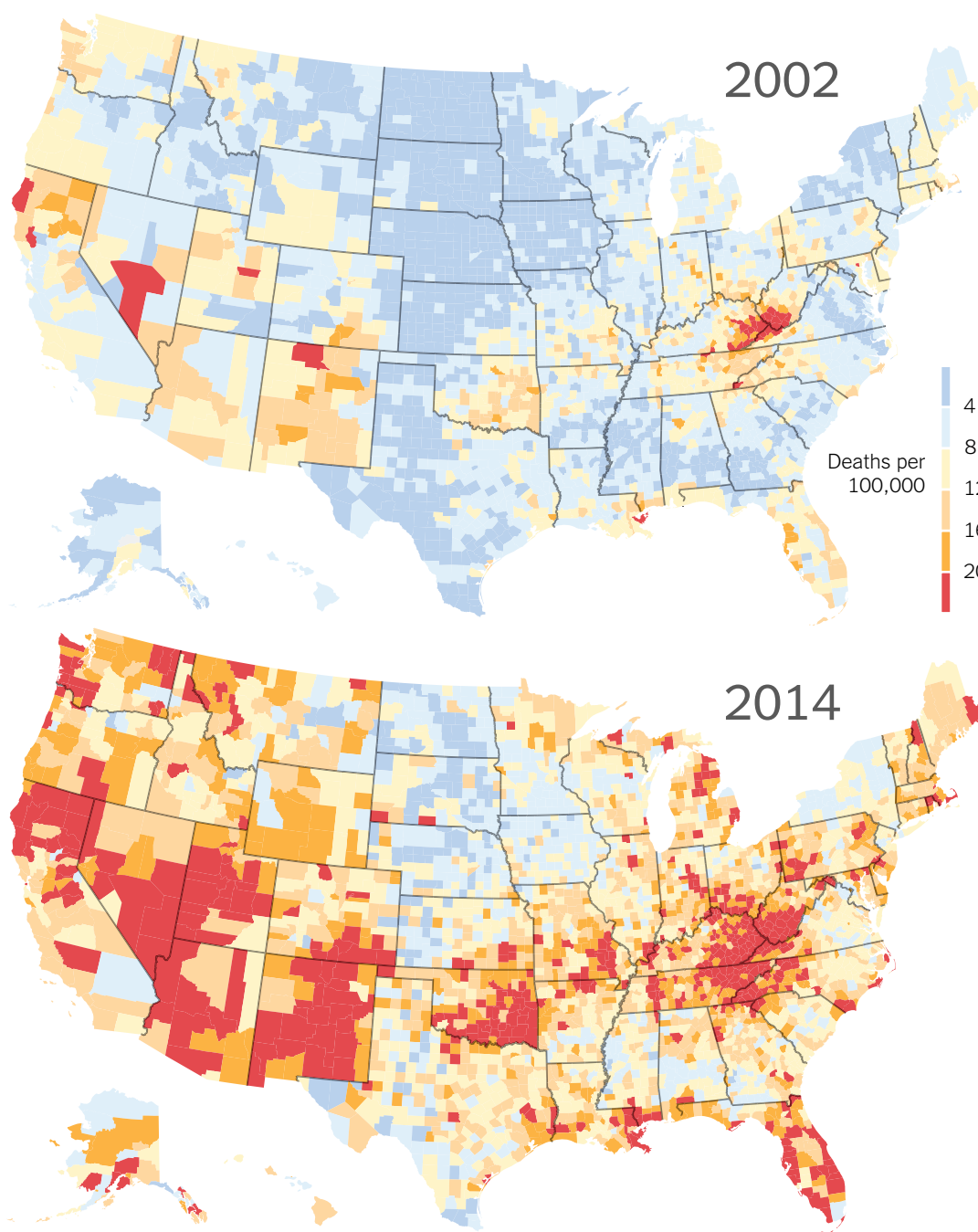


Cmdr. Job W. Price, who led SEAL Team 4 in Afghanistan.

mander Price had given an unusually emotional thanks to his team for its service.

His executive officer noticed that the commander's Sig Sauer pistol was out on his desk that night, Dec. 21, 2012, where he had never seen it before. By the time Commander Price went back to his room, the photograph of his 9-year-old daughter was gone from his desk. In his trouser pocket was a report on the recent death of an Afghan girl in an explosion near an American base.

When Commander Price, the 42-year-old leader of SEAL Team



How America's Drug Overdose Epidemic Spread

Drug deaths have jumped in nearly every United States county, driven largely by an explosion in addiction to prescription painkillers and heroin. The number of these deaths reached a new peak in 2014. Page A13.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

HAEYOUN PARK AND MATTHEW BLOCH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Four Attacks, One Global Refrain: Why Them?

By ANDREW JACOBS

A family of Canadian volunteers dedicated to alleviating poverty in Africa. A group of intrepid German retirees on a tour of Turkey and the Middle East. An Iraqi who had gone to Baghdad seeking refuge from the jihadist violence of his hometown. A Canadian audiologist who had fallen in love with Indonesia.

They were among the scores of people slaughtered by Islamic

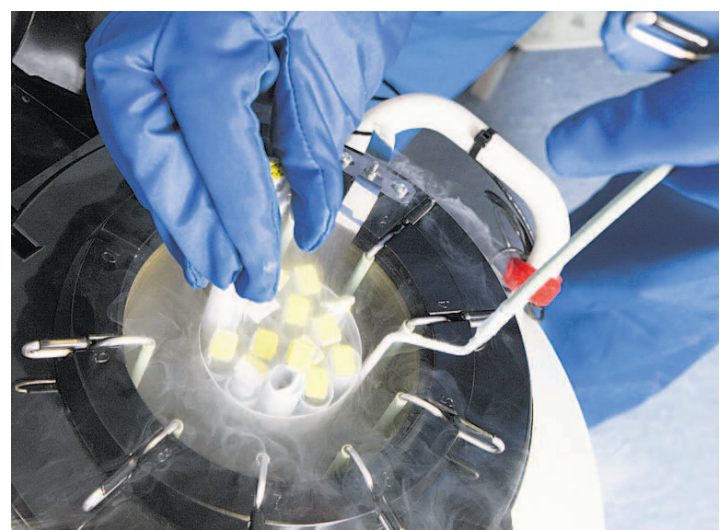
extremists in four countries last week in spasms of bloodshed that left loved ones stunned at the randomness of the killings.

"It will never be understood: 'Why you?' No one can give an answer," observed André Franke, a relative of one victim, Karin Franke-Dütz, 70, a retired teacher who was among the Germans killed by a suicide bomber in Istanbul. Mr. Franke summed up a universal anguish in a Facebook post, saying, "Incomprehensible

that we lost such a cordial, wonderful person in such a terrible way."

The settings for the attacks were the softest of soft targets: a shopping mall in Iraq; a hotel and a cafe in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso; a popular shopping area in Jakarta, Indonesia; and Sultanahmet Square, the historic and cultural heart of Istanbul.

Seemingly uncoordinated, the attacks were strikingly similar. Continued on Page A12



UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Frozen embryos being removed from storage. Custody of unused embryos is becoming an issue in contested divorces.

Groups Opposed to Abortion Join Fights on Frozen Embryos

By TAMAR LEWIN

Anti-abortion groups are seeking a foothold on a new battlefield: custody disputes over frozen embryos.

Take the case of Jalesia McQueen and Justin Gadberry, a divorced Missouri couple in a court fight over the frozen embryos left over after the birth of their twins through in vitro fertilization.

The groups were recruited by Ms. McQueen's lawyer for help in appealing a ruling that she could not use the embryos without the consent of her former husband. "This is the thing that kills me — having to fight to get my own children," she said.

Mr. Gadberry wants no more

children with her, and his lawyer, Tim Schlesinger, said his client resented the involvement of outside groups.

"My client views this as a private matter, between him and his former wife," Mr. Schlesinger said. "They had an acrimonious divorce, and he doesn't want another child with her. He doesn't want his other children involved in a media circus. And he doesn't want pro-life groups meddling in his private affairs." Mr. Gadberry declined to be interviewed.

As scientific advances have made frozen embryos common, they have brought new complications to divorces. Most courts

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Palin Backs Trump With a Dash of Rogue Appeal

By ALAN RAPPEPORT and MAGGIE HABERMAN

AMES, Iowa — Sarah Palin, the former Alaska governor and 2008 vice-presidential nominee who became a Tea Party sensation and a favorite of grass-roots conservatives, endorsed Donald J. Trump in Iowa on Tuesday, providing him with a potentially significant boost just 13 days before the state's caucuses.

"Are you ready for the leader to make America great again?" Mrs. Palin said with Mr. Trump by her side at a rally at Iowa State University. "Are you ready to stump for Trump? I'm here to support the next president of the United States — Donald Trump."

Her support is the highest-profile backing for a Republican so far. It came the same day that Iowa's Republican governor, Terry Branstad, said he hoped that Senator Ted Cruz would be defeated in Iowa. The Feb. 1 caucuses are a must-win for the Texas senator, who is running neck-and-neck with Mr. Trump in state polls.

The endorsement came as Mr. Trump was bearing down in the state, holding multiple campaign events and raising expectations about his performance in the nation's first nominating contest.



SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sarah Palin with Donald J. Trump in Ames, Iowa, on Tuesday. She praised him for shaking up the party and the campaign.

As Mrs. Palin announced her backing, Mr. Trump stood wearing a satisfied smile as she scolded mainstream Republicans as sellouts and praised how Mr. Trump had shaken up the party. "He's been going rogue left and right," Mrs. Palin said of Mr. Trump, using one of her signature phrases. "That's why he's doing so well. He's been able to tear the veil off this idea of the

system." It is not clear that Mrs. Palin's blessing will have a major impact on Mr. Trump's long-term prospects. But in Iowa, where Mrs. Palin spent years developing a network of supporters, it could be helpful. Mr. Trump has faced questions about whether his campaign's organizing muscle can draw the voters to match his poll

Continued on Page A16

JUSTICES TO HEAR STATE CHALLENGE ON IMMIGRATION

A TEST FOR OBAMA RULES

Decision Could Limit Presidential Power on Other Issues

By ADAM LIPTAK and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court said Tuesday that it would consider a legal challenge to President Obama's overhaul of the nation's immigration rules, agreeing to examine the reach of presidential power as it decides the fate of one of his most far-reaching executive actions.

The court, which has twice rejected challenges to Mr. Obama's signature legislative victory by upholding his health care law, will now rule on the president's plan to protect millions of illegal immigrants from deportation and allow them to work indefinitely in the country legally.

The justices raised the possibility of a broad decision by taking the unusual step of adding their own question to the case, asking the parties to address whether Mr. Obama had violated his constitutional obligations to enforce the nation's laws. The answer to that question could significantly alter the scope of presidential power in realms far beyond immigration.

"The court's decision could redefine the balance of power between Congress and the president," said Stephen Yale-Loehr, a law professor at Cornell.

Mr. Obama has repeatedly taken unilateral action during his seven years in office, asserting the power of his office to sidestep a recalcitrant Congress on gun control, gay rights, the minimum wage, contraception and climate change. White House officials said Tuesday that the steps taken by Mr. Obama on immigration were "consistent with the actions

Continued on Page A15

SUIT BY IRAN A Supreme Court case on terrorism victims tests the balance of power. PAGE A15

'DARK MONEY' President Obama may order U.S. contractors to reveal political donations. PAGE A13

'I Let You Down,' Governor Says Of Flint Crisis

By JULIE BOSMAN and MITCH SMITH

LANSING, Mich. — Gov. Rick Snyder of Michigan issued a sweeping apology on Tuesday to the residents of Flint for a contaminated water supply. He pledged to promptly release his emails about the issue, and laid out more specifics than had previously been known about the state's handling of the matter.

"I'm sorry, and I will fix it," Mr. Snyder, a Republican, said in a State of the State address in which he took the unusual step of focusing on a painful issue that has consumed the state in recent weeks and has drawn condemnation from national politicians. "No citizen of this great state should endure this kind of catastrophe. Government failed you — federal, state and local leaders — by breaking the trust you place in us."

Mr. Snyder, who has long boasted of advocating pragmatic solutions over casting blame, was uncharacteristically blunt, con-

Continued on Page A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

Words of Caution From Iran

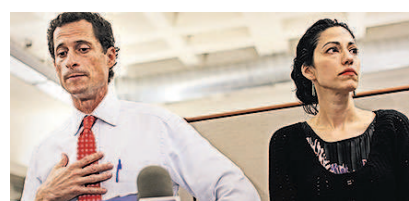
Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader, welcomed the completion of the nuclear deal and the lifting of economic sanctions but reiterated that the United States was not to be trusted. PAGE A8

A Busy American Negotiator

Brett H. McGurk, who led the talks to arrange a prisoner swap with Iran, has also helped organize the global coalition fighting the Islamic State. PAGE A9

Disfigured in Afghanistan

The husband of an Afghan woman cut off her nose during a dispute, said the police and the woman's family. PAGE A11



NATIONAL A13-18

Scandal Unfolds in New Film

A documentary follows Anthony D. Weiner and his wife, Huma Abedin, as they struggle with scandal. PAGE A18

Clinton Strategy Changing

Nervous about Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton's backers warn that he would frighten away swing voters. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-10

Oil Prices Put Banks to the Test

Oil's collapse is rattling markets, but it's also putting pressure on big banks as energy companies struggle to keep up on loan payments. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A19-22

Mayor's Horse Deal Under Fire

Mayor Bill de Blasio's plan to shrink the horse-carriage trade is drawing protests from advocates on both sides. PAGE A21

Ethics Inaction in Albany

Despite talk of reform, New York State ethics panels have not considered a bill on the subject in years. PAGE A19

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B11-15

Questions on Nadal's Future

Rafael Nadal's first-round exit in the Australian Open is the latest result to raise doubts about whether he can reverse his decline. PAGE B11

ARTS C1-7

Send In the Clown

The FX series "Baskets," starring Zach Galifianakis as a clown, explores the tension in modern comedy. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Adel bin Ahmed Al-Jubeir

Saudi foreign minister on Iran. PAGE A25



FOOD D1-8

Tender Contenders in Iowa

The state's big draws this season have no party affiliation: great steaks, sandwiches, pies and even something called a pie milkshake. PAGE D1



Italy Divided Over Allowing Civil Unions

An Outlier in the West Moves on Gay Rights

By JIM YARDLEY

ROME — Six years ago, Andrea Rubera married his partner in Canada, where the couple later became parents of three young children. But when they returned to their native Italy, a transformation occurred. Mr. Rubera suddenly became a single man, and his legally recognized husband in Canada became his single male roommate in Italy. Italian law also divided custody of their children.

The family's journey brought to life the wide divide between Italy and most of the rest of the Western world on civil rights for homosexuals. Like Canada, nearly every Western country has legalized same-sex marriage or some form of civil union for gays and lesbians. Italy is the outlier, partly because of the lingering influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

But on Thursday, after months of delays and political jousting, the Italian Senate will begin voting on legislation to legalize civil unions, several years after a similar effort failed. The outcome remains uncertain, as lawmakers confront an issue that has challenged traditional social mores, jumbled ideological lines and is being debated as the politics of the Catholic Church are in upheaval.

"Certainly, the fact that it was not going to be an easy vote was something we were aware of," said Monica Cirianna, the senator sponsoring the legislation.

The legislation initially seemed headed for a fairly smooth passage. Many Italian cities, including Rome, already offer civil union certifications, though they are mostly symbolic.

Prime Minister Matteo Renzi endorsed the national legislation and predicted that it would be passed in 2015. Some opposition political leaders, including former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, suggested they would

Continued on Page A3



RICKY ROGERS/REUTERS

A resident clearing the path to his home in Union City, N.J. Cities across the region reported snowfalls not seen in generations.

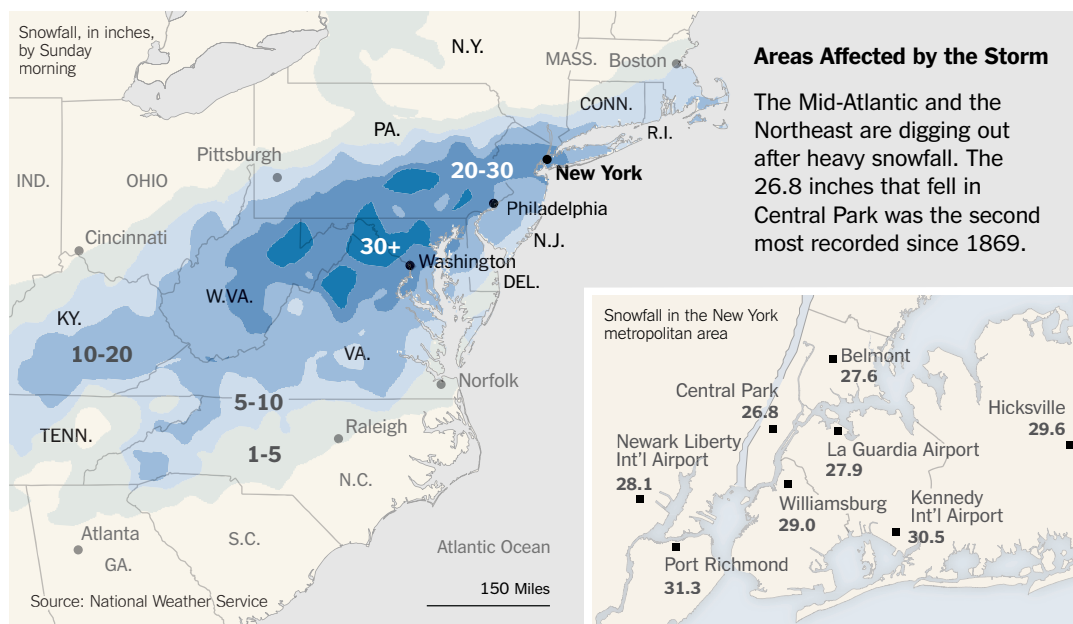
A LONG CLEANUP IN THE NORTHEAST

29 Deaths Tied to Storm — Transit Is Restored

By JAMES BARRON and SARAH MASLIN NIR

The snowbound New York region emerged from its first blizzard of the season on Sunday with relatively little damage despite near-record accumulations, though the toll along the Eastern Seaboard as a whole was more sobering: 29 deaths related to the storm, thousands of homes without power and serious flooding in coastal areas.

The great dig-out began with officials in New York lifting a travel ban, and airlines and commuter railroads slowly resumed service. "We survived, and then some," Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of



Areas Affected by the Storm

The Mid-Atlantic and the Northeast are digging out after heavy snowfall. The 26.8 inches that fell in Central Park was the second most recorded since 1869.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

New York said on Sunday morning.

But in other places, the tone was less upbeat.

In Baltimore, Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake said she could not give a timeline for clearing

the streets. In Washington, the leadership of the House of Representatives — scheduled to convene on Monday for a pro forma session — said no votes would be held this week. Federal offices will be closed on Monday, as will

state offices in Maryland and Virginia.

"This was a major event," Gov. Terry McAuliffe of Virginia said during a news conference. "I caution everybody, this is going to

Continued on Page A14

Throwing Away the Book, a Police Chief Stresses Rehab Over Jail

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

CANTON, Ohio — Leonard Campanello, the police chief of Gloucester, Mass., took the microphone in mid-December and opened with his usual warm-up line: I'm from Gloucester, he said in his heavy Boston accent. "That's spelled 'G-l-o-s-t-a-h.'"

A casually profane man with a philosophical bent, Chief Campa-

nello, 48, first drew national attention last spring when he wrote on Facebook that the old war on drugs was lost and over. Convinced that addiction is a disease, not a crime or moral failing, he became the unusual law enforcement officer offering heroin users an alternative to prison.

"Any addict who walks into the police station with the remainder of their drug equipment (needles, etc.) or drugs and asks for help

will NOT be charged," he wrote. "Instead we will walk them through the system toward detox and recovery" and send them for treatment "on the spot."

That post from a small-town police chief was shared more than 30,000 times and viewed by 2.4 million people. By June, his Police Department had put his promise into action in what became known as Gloucester's Angel program.

Critics said that he did not have the authority to take the law into his own hands and forgo arrests. But other police departments, fed up with arresting addicts and getting nowhere, saw the Gloucester approach as a promising way to address the epidemic of heroin and prescription pain pills, which together killed 47,055 people in 2014 nationwide — more than died in car accidents, homicide

Continued on Page A13

Night in Motel, Day in Church: Trump Means Business in Iowa

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

MUSCATINE, Iowa — Donald J. Trump spent the last seven months saying he wanted to win. Now he is really acting like it.

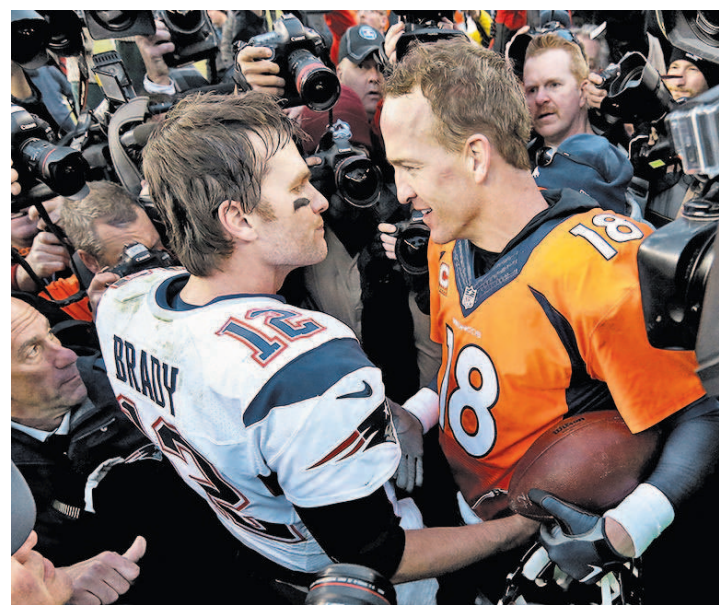
On Thursday night, minutes after National Review published a call-to-arms cover story blasting Mr. Trump as a wrecking ball to the conservative movement, his campaign manager leaned on the Republican National Committee, which promptly dropped the magazine as a co-host of a presidential debate in February. Then Mr. Trump turned a sleepy hunting trade show into breaking national news, calling National Review "a dying paper" and excori-

ating his leading rival, Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, before live television cameras.

On Friday night, the candidate who almost always flies home in his private Boeing 757 to Trump Tower in New York or to his palatial Mar-a-Lago estate in Palm Beach, Fla., instead slept in a Holiday Inn Express in Sioux Center, Iowa. ("Good mattress," he said afterward. "Clean.")

And on Sunday, no doubt mindful that Mr. Cruz is counting on conservative Christians to carry him to victory in this state's caucuses, Mr. Trump showed up for

Continued on Page A11



DAVID ZALUBOWSKI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Super Bowl 50: Broncos vs. Panthers

The Patriots' Tom Brady, left, and Peyton Manning after Denver's 20-18 victory. Carolina blew out Arizona, 49-15. Page D1.

Obscure Tennis Match Draws Big Bets, and Then Suspicion

By BEN ROTHENBERG and JAMES GLANZ

MELBOURNE, Australia — A major sports gambling website suspended betting on Sunday for a mixed doubles match at the Australian Open, raising suspicions of match fixing at one of the world's most prestigious tennis tournaments.

Ahead of a first-round match pitting Lara Arruabarrena and David Marrero against Andrea Hlavackova and Lukasz Kubot, large amounts of money poured in on what would normally be an obscure contest, said Marco Blume, head of sportsbook at the website, Pinnacle Sports, one of the largest and most influential betting websites in the world. Nearly all of the money, Blume

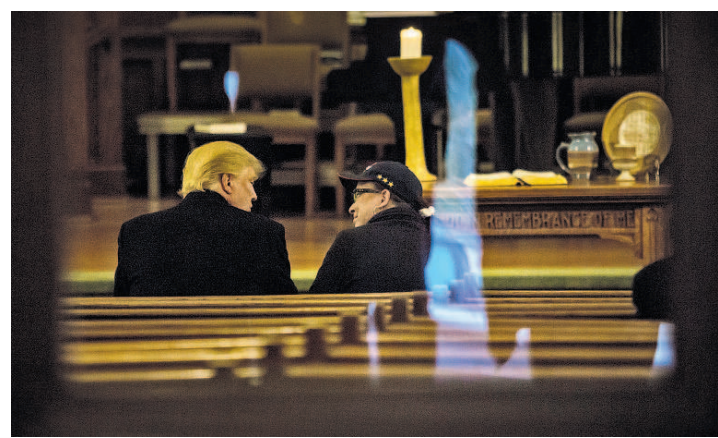
said, came down for Hlavackova and Kubot, which he said was an indication that the match might be fixed.

Hlavackova and Kubot won, 6-0, 6-3. The first set lasted only 20 minutes.

Arruabarrena, the 33rd-ranked doubles player on the women's tour, and Marrero, ranked 32nd among men, rejected any possibility of fixing in an interview after the match. Marrero, who like Arruabarrena is from Spain, cited a knee injury in explaining their performance.

The suspicious gambling activity comes with the sport already under intense international scrutiny

Continued on Page D2



ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump at First Presbyterian Church in Muscatine, Iowa, on Sunday. Mr. Trump attended an hourlong service.

INTERNATIONAL A3-7

Paris Attackers in ISIS Video

Clips of the men who committed a massacre in Paris show them in Syria and Iraq carrying out executions. PAGE A4

China Bolsters Ties With Iran

Presidents Xi Jinping and Hassan Rouhani in Tehran, the first visit by a foreign leader since sanctions ended. PAGE A4



NATIONAL A8-13

A Brazen Jail Escape

A manhunt was underway in California for three men who escaped from a maximum security jail in Orange County after cutting through steel bars. PAGE A8

Housing Woes for Ski Workers

Employees in Western resort towns are piling into apartments, living out of trailers and sleeping in shifts because rental prices are so high. PAGE A8

Obama's Tech Temptations

An admitted technology geek, President Obama has some of the latest gadgets, but security reasons can limit some of their most in-demand features. PAGE A9

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Updated View of Apple

The company reports its earnings this week, and some investors will be looking for signs of waning growth. PAGE B1

A High-Profile Repeat?

The first Super Bowl ad for Avocados From Mexico, featuring a polar bear, did well. So it's trying again. PAGE B1



ARTS C1-7

Art Forgery Trial Is Set to Start

The first trial to arise from the sales of over 30 fake paintings by the Knoedler Gallery, in a lawsuit involving the 2004 purchase of a fraudulent Rothko, opens in Federal District Court in Manhattan. The forged Rothko, above right, sold for \$8.3 million. PAGE C1

The Show Did Go On for Some

BroadwayCon, a theater-themed fan convention, drew nearly 6,000 people from around the world to the New York Hilton Midtown while Broadway was shut down by a blizzard. PAGE C2

SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

Home Country Is a Hindrance

Bob Bradley, an American coach, finds jobs scarce in top-tier soccer. PAGE D1

OBITUARIES D8

Chicago's Civic Connector

Lois Weisberg, whose work deepened cultural life in Chicago, was 90.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

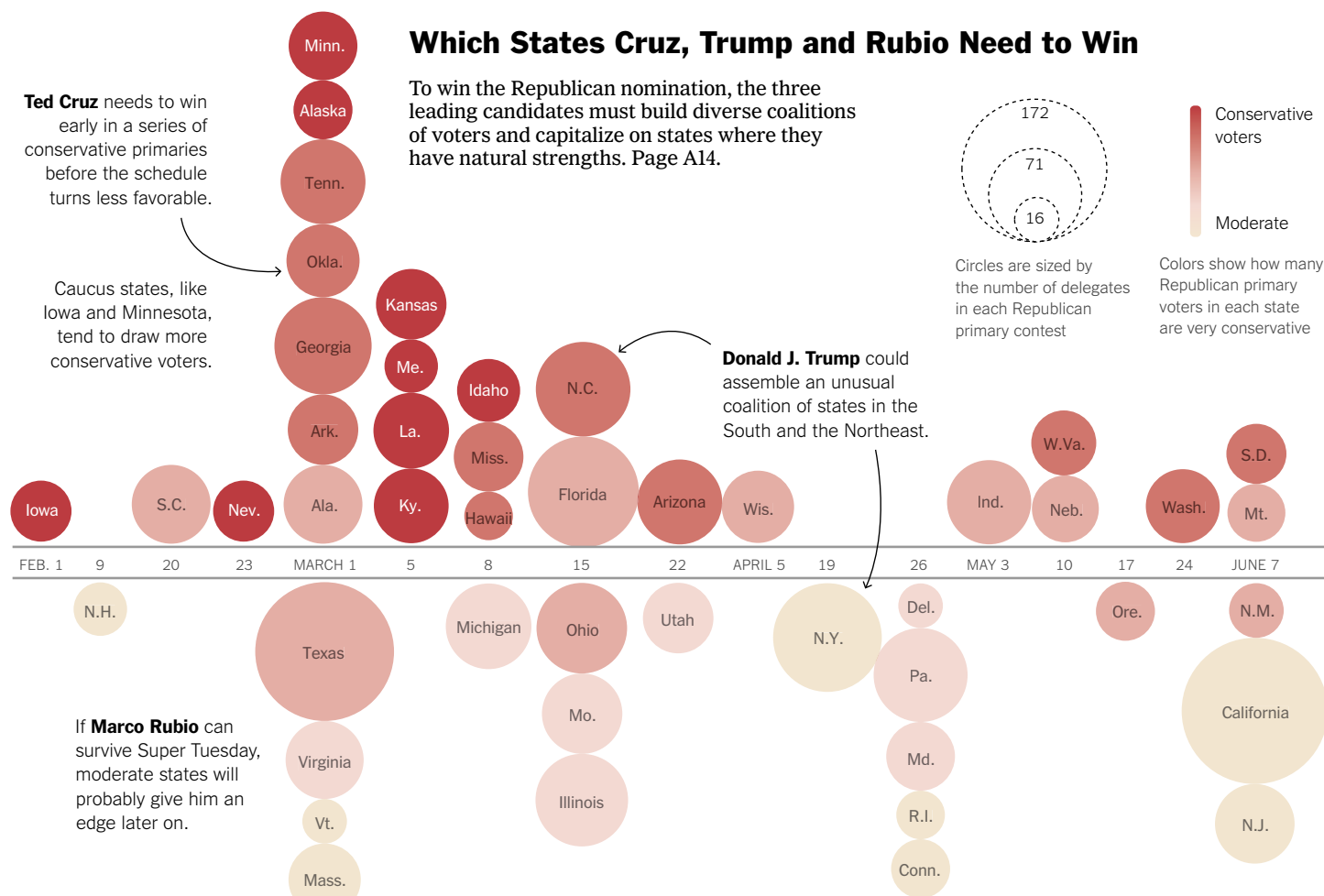
Charles M. Blow

PAGE A21



Which States Cruz, Trump and Rubio Need to Win

To win the Republican nomination, the three leading candidates must build diverse coalitions of voters and capitalize on states where they have natural strengths. Page A14.



Challengers Are Energized By Trump's Loss in Iowa

G.O.P. Leaders Look to New Hampshire — Clinton Vows a 'Contest of Ideas'

By ALEXANDER BURNS

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Emboldened by Donald J. Trump's defeat in the Iowa caucuses, conservative leaders and rival candidates for the Republican presidential nomination began to challenge him aggressively in New Hampshire on Tuesday, aiming to cut into his wide lead here and perhaps even to embarrass him by denying him victory in a second consecutive state.

by Barack Obama. But Mr. Sanders has held a solid advantage in the New Hampshire polls, and his campaign has projected confidence about its prospects. He told reporters that his performance in Iowa was a show of strength against Mrs. Clinton's powerful political operation, and vowed to stay in the race until the Democratic convention in the summer.

Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, having prevailed in Iowa, teased Mr. Trump for having attacked him bitterly on the way to an embarrassing loss. Jeb Bush released a commercial in which he called Mr. Trump a man of "deep insecurity and weakness." Gov. Chris Christie sarcastically called him "Donald the Magnificent." And former Gov. John H. Sununu of New Hampshire, an elder statesman of the state Republican Party, branded Mr. Trump a "loser" with a string of business failures behind him.

It was the Republican race, however, that appeared more unsettled on Tuesday. Mr. Trump has towered over the Republican presidential race for months, but the campaign here took on a distinctly new tenor and urgency in the aftermath of Iowa.

For Mr. Cruz and Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, the third-place finisher in Iowa, the caucus results were a pretext to argue, more forcefully than ever, that it was time for the party to pick them instead of Mr. Trump.

Both senators hope to extend their momentum in New Hampshire, with Mr. Cruz looking to peel away Mr. Trump's supporters on the hard right and Mr. Ru-

Continued on Page A14



Hillary Clinton on Tuesday at Nashua Community College.

Rubio Campaign Dispatches Its Army and New Lines of Attack

By JEREMY W. PETERS

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Senator Marco Rubio of Florida landed here at 2 a.m. on Tuesday, bleary but beaming from a surprisingly strong showing in Iowa, and confronted growing expectations from his party's establishment that he may be the best equipped to unite Republicans. Mr. Rubio's tally in Iowa — where he received 23 percent of the vote and came within one point of Donald J. Trump — gave his campaign another jolt of energy at a time when good fortune seems to be breaking his way. Wall Street financiers are in-

creasingly moving to support him, as disclosures this week by a "super PAC" backing him made clear. He picked up a coveted endorsement in South Carolina from Senator Tim Scott, the lone black Republican in the Senate.

His campaign appears to be leaving little to chance, aware that a lackluster result here would greatly diminish him. He began a week of morning-to-night campaigning early on Tuesday, stopping at a diner before dawn to work the room, field congratulations and issue a plea for support.

"We need your help," he said. "We've got a lot of work to do here in New Hampshire." As he

Seizing the Chance to Shift Donors and Voters His Way

walked from table to table, one well-wisher passed him a clear plastic bag with several cigars in it. Mr. Rubio, who is of Cuban descent, accepted them and smiled. "Maybe we'll save them for Tuesday night," he said.

Many leaders of the Republican establishment, as they praised Mr. Rubio over the past six months, predicted that the

Florida senator would become a major force in the primary and shift the race away from the more conservative candidates. New Hampshire may be that moment. Mr. Rubio will be in the state every day until the primary on Tuesday. Scores of volunteers will hit the streets with the goal of reaching thousands of homes. Last weekend they hit 10,000.

On the fund-raising front, his team has begun a concerted and continuous push to persuade donors who are either undecided or backing candidates like former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida that it is time to climb aboard the Rubio train. The pitch, which support-

Continued on Page A15

Solo Workers Unite to Tame Their Gig Jobs

By NOAM SCHEIBER

Last September, Dallas-area drivers for UberBlack, the company's high-end car service, received an email informing them that they would be expected to start picking up passengers on UberX, its low-cost option.

The next day, when the policy was scheduled to go into effect, dozens of drivers caravanned to Uber's office in downtown Dallas and planted themselves outside until company officials met with them. Many had taken out loans to buy luxury vehicles that cost upward of \$35,000, and worried that the modest per-mile rate for UberX passengers would barely cover gas and wear and tear, to say nothing of their car payments.

The standoff stretched across nearly three more tense days until Uber allowed them to opt out of the policy. "They thought we were just going to give up, walk away," said Kirubel Kebede, a leader of the group. "But we said, 'No, this is our livelihood.'"

In the rapid growth of the online gig economy, many workers have felt squeezed and at times dehumanized by a business structure that promises independence but often leaves them at the mercy of increasingly powerful companies. Some are beginning to band together in search of leverage and to secure what they see as fairer treatment from the platforms that make the work possible.

"We started realizing we're not

Continued on Page A3



Wasil Ahmad, in an image from social media, was celebrated for his role against the Taliban.

A Combat Veteran, Killed in the Fourth Grade

By MUJIB MASHAL and TAIMOOR SHAH

KABUL, Afghanistan — The Afghan government declared Wasil Ahmad a hero for leading a militia's defense against a Taliban siege last year, parading him in front of cameras in a borrowed police uniform too big for him. On Monday, the Taliban triumphantly announced that they had assassinated him with two bullets to the head.

Wasil Ahmad was 10 years old. He was gunned down in Tirin Kot city, the capital of southern Oruzgan Province, just a few months after leaving militia life and enrolling in school as a

Taliban Gun Down a Former Soldier, Age 10, in Afghanistan

fourth grader.

Wasil's story is a painful example of how child combatants continue to be a part of life in Afghanistan, both in the ranks of pro-government forces and among the Taliban insurgents.

Rafiullah Baidar, a spokesman for the Afghan independent human rights commission, said that despite strict orders from President Ashraf Ghani last year

against using children in the military, his commission continues to receive reports of child soldiers in the Afghan Local Police militias. The Taliban, he said, used child soldiers, too, in recent fighting in places like Kunduz and Badakhshan, in the northern part of the country.

Mr. Baidar said the provincial government had broken the law by parading Wasil in a police uniform after the Taliban siege was lifted. But he also condemned the Taliban's killing of Wasil because the boy had moved to a civilian life.

"There was no threat from this child to the armed opposition,"

Continued on Page A3

Streaming Era Wreaks Havoc On TV Raters

By EMILY STEEL

Dennis Cheatham said he felt as if he were receiving a message from the past last May when a package arrived in the mail from Nielsen asking him to participate in the survey that for decades has detailed the television viewing habits of Americans.

He was eager to take part, but quickly ran into a problem. Mr. Cheatham's family canceled its satellite subscription about five years ago, and the roughly 20-page timetable diary Nielsen provided for him to record his family's viewing made no room to log the hours he, his wife and two children spent streaming shows on digital outlets like Netflix.

"I just kind of shoved it in there and wrote Netflix wherever I could," said Mr. Cheatham, 40, a professor of graphic design at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. "Is Nielsen not paying attention to technology? Don't they notice that something has changed?"

Mr. Cheatham is not the only one asking that question.

Nielsen, the 93-year-old company that has long operated an effective monopoly over television ratings in the United States, is facing blistering criticism from TV and advertising executives who see it as a relic of television's rabbit-ears past as the digital revolution transforms how people consume entertainment. New competition — notably the \$768 million merger this week of the media measurement companies comScore and Rentrak — is forcing

Continued on Page B6

Dallas Reports A Case of Zika Spread by Sex

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr. and SABBINA TAVERNISE

A case of Zika virus infection transmitted by sex, rather than mosquito bite, was discovered in Texas on Tuesday, a development sure to complicate plans to contain a global epidemic.

The Dallas County Health and Human Services Department reported that a patient with the Zika virus was infected after having sex with someone who had returned from Venezuela, where Zika is circulating.

After the report, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention changed its advice to Americans visiting regions in which the Zika virus is spreading.

Men having sex after traveling to these areas should consider wearing condoms, officials said, although they did not indicate for how long this would be necessary. Pregnant women should avoid contact with semen from men recently exposed to the virus, federal officials also said. The agency plans to issue further guidelines soon.

Infection of pregnant women with the Zika virus has been linked to birth defects in their infants. But the infection is not usually life-threatening for others, and produces symptoms only in 20 percent of patients.

But sexual transmission, experts said, adds a new level of difficulty to detecting and preventing Zika outbreaks, which may require not just mosquito control but also safe-sex education.

Continued on Page A17



NATIONAL A11-17

Accuser's Credibility Recalled

As Bill Cosby, center, appeared in court, a former district attorney told why he did not prosecute him in 2005. PAGE A12

Seeking Common Ground

President Obama held a rare meeting with top congressional Republicans to assess areas for compromise. PAGE A13

NATIONAL

Hard Times for Hero Police

The force in San Bernardino, Calif., praised after a massacre last year, is laid low by budget cuts. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A18-19, 21

Former Police Officer Charged

A former officer faces charges of transporting women in interstate commerce to engage in prostitution. PAGE A19

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Instead of Death, 800 Lashes

A Saudi court revised the sentence of a poet convicted of apostasy. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Future Yahoo Will Be Smaller

Yahoo said it would lay off about 15 percent of its work force, consider selling some of its core assets and close offices around the world. PAGE B1

An Attack Plan for Poverty

Economists, with disparate views, meet in the middle on an anti-poverty strategy, Eduardo Porter writes. PAGE B1

FOOD D1-8

Reinventing Chinese Food

A new wave of Chinese chefs are trying to fuse the food of their ancestors with more modern flavors. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-7

Stitching a Sense of Place

Works by the African American Quilt Guild of Oakland, Calif., capture many facets of the city and its artists. PAGE C1

Met Maestro Finds Reprieve

Adjusting his medication may help James Levine, who has Parkinson's disease and was facing retirement. PAGE C1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B10-15

Heirloom Is Nuisance to N.F.L.

A North Carolina man has a recording of Super Bowl I, but because of legal threats, it remains in storage. PAGE B10

Super Bowl Is on League's Turf

For about 25 years, the N.F.L. has been replacing the entire field before every Super Bowl played on grass. PAGE B12

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A23



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JUSTICE ANTONIN SCALIA IS DEAD AT 79

IN HIS OWN WORDS

GUN CONTROL

District of Columbia v. Heller
"It has always been widely understood that the Second Amendment, like the First and Fourth Amendments, codified a pre-existing right." (2008)

SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

Obergefell v. Hodges
"A system of government that makes the People subordinate to a committee of nine unelected lawyers does not deserve to be called a democracy." (2015)

PRESIDENTIAL POWER

National Labor Relations Board v. Noel Canning
"The court's decision transforms the recess-appointment power from a tool carefully designed to fill a narrow and specific need into a weapon to be wielded by future presidents against future Senates." (2014)

GAY RIGHTS

Lawrence v. Texas
"Today's opinion is the product of a Court, which is the product of a law-profession culture, that has largely signed on to the so-called homosexual agenda, by which I mean the agenda promoted by some homosexual activists directed at eliminating the moral opprobrium that has traditionally attached to homosexual conduct." (2003)

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Kansas v. Marsh
"It should be noted at the outset that the dissent does not discuss a single case — not one — in which it is clear that a person was executed for a crime he did not commit." (2006)

ABORTION

Planned Parenthood v. Casey
"We should get out of this area, where we have no right to be, and where we do neither ourselves nor the country any good by remaining." (1992)



CHARLES REX ARBOGAST/ASSOCIATED PRESS, ABOVE; RON EDMONDS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Above, Justice Antonin Scalia in 2011. At right, President Ronald Reagan and Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist announcing the nomination of Antonin Scalia in 1986.



Voice of Conservative Renaissance in Three Decades on the Court

By ADAM LIPTAK

Justice Antonin Scalia, whose transformative legal theories, vivid writing and outsize personality made him a leader of a conservative intellectual renaissance in his three decades on the Supreme Court, was found dead on Saturday at a resort in West Texas. He was 79.

"He was an extraordinary individual and jurist, admired and treasured by his colleagues," Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. said in a statement confirming Justice Scalia's death.

The cause was not immediately released. A spokeswoman for the U.S. Marshals Service, which sent personnel to the scene, said there was nothing to indicate the death was the result of anything other than natural causes.

Justice Scalia began his service on the court as an outsider known for caustic dissents that alienated even potential allies.

But his theories, initially viewed as idiosyncratic, gradually took hold, and not only on the right and not only in the courts.

He was, Judge Richard A. Posner wrote in The New Republic in 2011, "the most influential justice of the last quarter century." Justice Scalia was a champion of originalism, the theory of constitutional interpretation that seeks to apply the understanding of those who drafted and ratified the Constitution. In Justice Scalia's hands, originalism generally led to outcomes that pleased political conservatives, but not always. His approach was helpful to criminal defendants in cases involving sentencing and the cross-examination of witnesses.

Justice Scalia also disdained the use of legislative history — statements from members of Congress about the meaning and

Continued on Page 20

Battle Begins Over Successor As Obama Vows to Press On

By MARK LANDLER and PETER BAKER

RANCHO MIRAGE, Calif. — The death of Justice Antonin Scalia on Saturday set off an immediate partisan battle over a vacancy that could reshape the Supreme Court for years to come, as President Obama vowed to nominate a successor and Senate Republicans called on him to let the next president fill the seat.

Within hours of Justice Scalia's death, both sides began laying the groundwork for what could be a titanic confirmation struggle fueled by ideological interest groups. The surprise opening also jolted the presidential campaign hours before a Republican debate in South Carolina, shifting the conversation toward the priorities each candidate would

have in making such a selection.

Speaking to reporters from Rancho Mirage, where he is golfing this weekend with friends, Mr. Obama paid tribute to Justice Scalia, who died earlier in the day in Texas. He described him as "one of the towering legal figures of our time," a jurist who dedicated his life "to the cornerstone of our democracy: the rule of law."

But Mr. Obama also said, "I plan to fulfill my constitutional responsibilities to nominate a

Continued on Page A23

POLITICS The presidential hopefuls weighed in on who should pick the next justice. PAGE 23

Amid Tension, Met and Levine Mull Last Bow

By MICHAEL COOPER

The question of when and how to say farewell to a leader is one that bedevils all kinds of institutions, from Viacom, where the aging chairman Sumner M. Redstone recently stepped down under pressure, to the Denver Broncos, who will soon have to decide whether to ease out their quarterback, Peyton Manning, if he does not retire willingly.

Now the Metropolitan Opera is weighing the future of James Levine, 72, its music director of four decades. Mr. Levine is struggling to hold onto a position that has defined his life — and shaped the company — after continuing health problems have made it difficult for many performers to follow his conducting.

The question of Mr. Levine's status has exposed tensions at the Met, dividing supporters who would like to see him stay on and members of the company and board who believe it is time for him to relinquish his role. They fear that the lack of a strong musical hand could leave the house adrift as opera struggles for relevance.

Continued on Page 14

When the Hospital Fires the Bullet

Arming of Security Guards Raises Fears About Safety

By ELISABETH ROSENTHAL



CHAD BATKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the center of Alan Pean's chest is the scar left by a hospital security officer's bullet last August.

When doctors and nurses arrived at Room 834 just after 11 a.m., a college student admitted to the hospital hours earlier lay motionless on the floor, breathing shallowly, a sheet draped over his body. A Houston police officer with a cut on his head was being helped onto a stretcher, while another hovered over the student.

Blood smeared the floor and walls. "What happened?" asked Dr. Daniel Arango, a surgical resident at the hospital, St. Joseph Medical Center.

The student, 26-year-old Alan Pean, had come to the hospital for treatment of possible bipolar disorder, accidentally striking several cars while pulling into the parking lot. Kept overnight for monitoring of minor injuries, he never saw a psychiatrist and became increasingly delusional. He sang and danced naked in his room, occasionally drifting into the hall. When two nurses coaxed him into a gown, he refused to have it fastened. Following protocol, a nurse summoned security, even though he was not aggressive or threatening.

Soon, from inside the room, there was shouting, sounds of a scuffle and a loud pop. During an altercation, two off-duty Houston police officers, moonlighting as security guards, had shocked Mr. Pean with a Taser, fired a bullet into his chest, then handcuffed him.

"I thought of the hospital as a beacon, a safe haven," said Mr. Pean, who survived the wound just millimeters from his heart last Aug. 27. "I can't quite believe that I ended up shot."

Like Mr. Pean, patients seeking help at hospitals across the country have instead been injured or killed by those

Continued on Page 16

In Fiery Debate, Bush Takes On Scrappy Trump

By PATRICK HEALY

Former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida blasted Donald J. Trump for insulting the Bush family and ridiculed the idea that Mr. Trump could be commander in chief during a contentious and sometimes nasty Republican presidential debate in Greenville, S.C., on Saturday, a week before a crucial primary in the state.

With Mr. Trump leading in the polls in South Carolina and elsewhere after his victory in the New Hampshire primary on Tuesday, he was a ripe target for his Republican rivals, especially Mr. Bush and Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, who are under intense pressure to halt his political momentum. But the vitriol was so intense that it seemed to surprise even Mr. Trump, a combative figure who had not been so roundly pummeled at a debate before.

After a somber opening to the debate that focused on the death of Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, Mr. Bush aggressively took on Mr. Trump — an imperative for the former governor, giving

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INTERNATIONAL 4-12

Pope Rebukes Clergy in Mexico
Pope Francis told bishops in Mexico City they had lost their way, denouncing "trivial materialism" and "conceited schemes of careerism." PAGE 10

MAGAZINE

The Limits of First-Ladyship
With two years in Gracie Mansion behind her, Chirlane McCray has learned the limits of having the second-toughest job in New York City.

SUNDAYBUSINESS

AT&T Tells Workers to Adapt
As the telecom business seeks to become a company that manages all sorts of digital things, it is urging employees to reinvent themselves, too. PAGE 1

SPECIAL SECTION: WEALTH

Leasing Luxury
The sharing economy is being embraced by those who can afford to buy, but just don't want the hassle and potential complications of owning. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof PAGE 1



Feel the warmth.
See what's heating up at your nearby branch or citi.com/warmth

HIGH-RISK DEALS ON SHABBY HOMES ENSNARE BUYERS

MARKET IN FIXER-UPPERS

Many Seeking American Dream Often End Up Facing Eviction

By **MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN**
and **ALEXANDRA STEVENSON**

AKRON, Ohio — Hundreds of broken-down houses still dot the streets of this onetime tire capital of the world, a scar from the financial crisis and housing bust.

The wood has rotted in some; others have black mold, broken windows or failing foundations. Many lack working electrical systems or are missing water pipes and furnaces. The unpaid property taxes mount.

Dozens of these houses were scooped up after the financial crisis by investors, who then make deals with low-income home buyers unable to get traditional mortgages. The arrangement is something like buying a home on an installment plan, with a high-interest, long-term loan called a contract for deed, or land contract.

But for buyers lured by the dream of homeownership, these seller-financed transactions can become a money trap that ends with a quick eviction by the seller, who can flip the home again. Before the housing crisis, low-income buyers got too much of a house that they couldn't afford. Now, they are getting too little of a house that they can't afford to

Continued on Page 16



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Scalia Remembered

Maureen Scalia followed the coffin of Justice Antonin Scalia on Saturday. Page 21.

TRUMP AND CLINTON ARE VICTORIOUS; BUSH DROPS OUT AS FIELD NARROWS

A Diverse Coalition in Nevada Deals a Blow to Sanders

By **AMY CHOZICK**
and **PATRICK HEALY**

LAS VEGAS — Buoyed by the support of minority voters and enthusiastic workers in the city's big casinos, Hillary Clinton defeated Senator Bernie Sanders in the Nevada caucuses on Saturday, thwarting his momentum and proving to an anxious Democratic Party that she can assemble a broad coalition to carry her to the general election.

Mrs. Clinton's team breathed a sigh of relief as the results of the often-unpredictable campaign made clear that she had rebounded after her crushing defeat in the New Hampshire primary. At a caucus at the famed Caesars Palace, blackjack dealers, pit bosses, cooks and housekeepers excitedly declared their support for the former secretary of state.

Voters in many predominantly Hispanic and black neighborhoods backed Mrs. Clinton after she worked hard to connect with them, most notably when she comforted a tearful young Latina who feared her parents would be deported. That moment was turned into a powerful ad here for Mrs. Clinton, whose message of solidarity with minority voters stood in contrast to Mr. Sanders's more esoteric attacks on Wall Street and the campaign finance system.

With votes from 92 percent of caucus precincts counted, Mrs. Clinton had won 52.6 percent, while Mr. Sanders had drawn 47.3 percent in relatively modest turnout. Mrs. Clinton had been far ahead in the polls until recently, when Mr. Sanders became better known here and struck fear into the Clinton campaign that he might prevail in Nevada and deal her a serious setback.

In her victory speech Saturday afternoon, in a ballroom at Caesars Palace, Mrs. Clinton devoted her campaign to "hotel and casino workers who never wavered" and "the thousands of men and women with kids to raise, bills to pay and dreams that won't die." She used plural pronouns like "we" and "us" more than usual, as opposed to leaning on "I," a clear attempt to make her campaign about voters as Mr. Sanders has done powerfully.

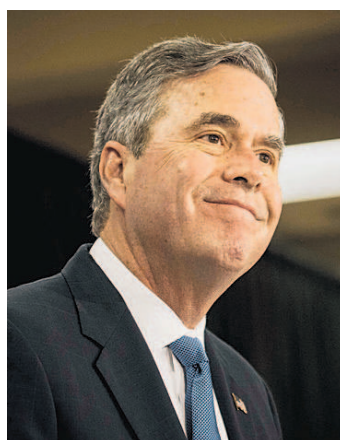
"We look at our country and see so much that isn't working

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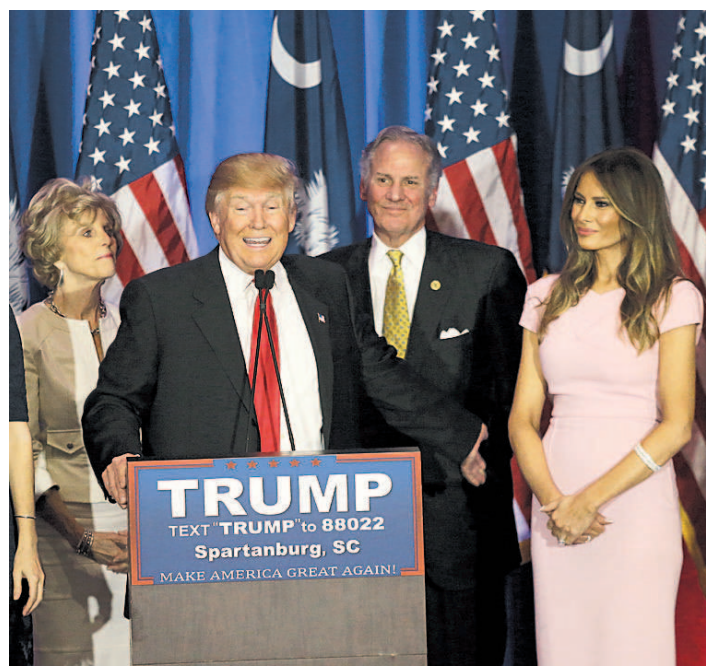
RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton at Caesars Palace on Saturday. She said her run was devoted to working people.



GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jeb Bush telling supporters in Columbia, S.C., that he was suspending his campaign. Donald J. Trump celebrated his second straight primary victory with his wife, Melania, right, in Spartanburg, S.C.



JIM WILSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

NEWS ANALYSIS

Bush Family's Party Is Owned by Others Now

By **MICHAEL BARBARO**
and **ASHLEY PARKER**

In his emotional seven-minute farewell to a Republican Party that elevated his father and brother to the White House, there were two words that a choked-up Jeb Bush could not bring himself to utter: "Donald Trump."

Mr. Bush, the former governor of Florida, had been soundly re-

jected by an electorate he no longer recognized, hobbling his campaign and leaving him little choice but to withdraw from the presidential race.

"The people of Iowa and New Hampshire and South Carolina have spoken," Mr. Bush said, holding back tears. "And I really respect their decision."

It was a stunning turn for the man who a year ago embodied all

the qualities that his party's elders imagined Republican voters wanted in a president: civility, experience, pedigree and tolerance.

They were wrong. The party of Prescott Bush, George Bush and George W. Bush is, for the moment, the party of Donald J. Trump.

For the past year, party leaders

Continued on Page A20

Cruz and Rubio Vie for Second Place in Primary

By **JONATHAN MARTIN**
and **ALEXANDER BURNS**

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Donald J. Trump rolled to a commanding victory in the South Carolina primary on Saturday, solidifying his position as the Republican presidential front-runner after a savage campaign that drove Jeb Bush, the son and brother of presidents, to quit the race.

Mr. Trump ran ahead of Senators Marco Rubio of Florida and Ted Cruz of Texas, who were locked in a battle for second place. Both have struggled to become the principal alternative to Mr. Trump, a larger-than-life candidate from outside the political system whose nomination would upend the Republican Party.

With 99 percent of precincts reporting, Mr. Trump had won 32 percent of the vote and led his nearest rivals by about 10 percentage points. He was likely to capture all 50 delegates at stake in the state.

Mr. Trump has benefited so far from the fractious group of candidates running against him. But the results in South Carolina began to narrow that field to a small and tenacious handful, who may give Mr. Trump a tougher challenge next month in a series of delegate-rich states like Texas, Virginia and Florida.

Celebrating his triumph before a raucous crowd in Spartanburg, Mr. Trump trumpeted the "incredible movement" his campaign had become and looked ahead to the March contests as a chance to lock up the nomination.

"Let's put this thing away and let's make America great again," he said.

Mr. Rubio sought to define the campaign as a contest purely among Mr. Trump, Mr. Cruz and himself. "This has become a three-person race, and we will win the nomination," he told cheering supporters in Columbia.

Surrounding himself with Gov. Nikki R. Haley, an Indian-American, and Senator Tim Scott, an African-American, Mr. Rubio, the son of Cuban immigrants, recounted their biographies and his own, seeking to portray the coming race as a choice between the new faces of the Republican Party and Mr. Trump's brand of resentment politics. Underscoring his frequent theme of generation-

Continued on Page 19

Kanye West's Latest Album: Ever in Flux, Even After Release

When Kanye West first tweeted a handwritten 10-song track list for his seventh album, "The Life of Pablo," late last month, the photo was captioned, "So happy to be finished with the best album of all time."

Best? Could happen. Finished? Not even close.

Instead, the rollout of "Pablo" has been an unprecedented public marathon, with Mr. West, the Grammy-winning rap artist, adding songs, revising lyrics on quick notice, adding and dropping contributors, changing the album's title and release date several times, and gabbing about

it all on Twitter. The process has also included televised live performances, public squabbles, unauthorized leaks of demo recordings — the sort of stuff Dylan archivists typically wait decades to hear — and a fashion show with 1,000 models.

The result is an exemplar of modern celebrity musicmaking: a dramatic, rococo, continuous (and possibly still continuing) narrative that spans music, fashion, theater and politics. Mr. West has turned the album release process — historically a predictably structured event, and lately rewritten by stars like Beyoncé as precise, sudden assault — into

Continued on Page 15



KUNI TAKAHASHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rethinking Female Sterilization

Women waiting at a hospital in Mahendragarh for an exam before sterilization, a long-used practice in India. Page 8.

Apple Sees Its Privacy Stance As Crucial to Its Global Brand

By **KATIE BENNER** and **PAUL MOZUR**

SAN FRANCISCO — It took six years for Apple to persuade China's largest wireless carrier, China Mobile, to sell the iPhone. Apple's chief executive, Timothy D. Cook, made repeated trips to China to meet with top government officials and executives to woo them personally.

The persistence paid off. In 2013, China Mobile relented, a moment Mr. Cook later described as "a watershed day" for Apple.

Today, China is Apple's second-largest market after the United States — Chinese consumers spent \$59 billion on Apple products in the last fiscal year — and the iPhone, the company's

top seller, has become both a status symbol and a form of personal security, given how difficult the device is to break into in a country where people increasingly worry about hacking and cyber-crime.

Apple's success in China helps explain why it is now in a standoff with the United States government over whether to help officials gain access to the encrypted iPhone of one of the attackers in the San Bernardino, Calif., mass shooting last December.

The company is playing the long game with its business. Privacy and security have become

Continued on Page 4

INTERNATIONAL 6-11

Zika and Climate Change

Over the coming decades, global warming is likely to increase the range and speed the life cycle of mosquitoes carrying viruses like Zika and dengue. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 4, 14-23

6 Dead in Michigan Shootings

A man shooting apparently at random from a car in Kalamazoo killed at least six people, including an 8-year-old and a father and son, the police said. PAGE 4

SUNDAYBUSINESS

SiriusXM's Fight for Listeners

The satellite giant proved that people would pay for radio in their cars. But audio apps are bringing a lot of new competition to the dashboard. PAGE 1

MAGAZINE

A Black Officer's Awakening

Edwin Raymond wanted to change the New York Police Department from the inside. He wound up the lead plaintiff in a lawsuit brought by 12 minority officers.

SUNDAY REVIEW

Ross Douthat

PAGE 11



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AMER ALMOHIBANY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

An aid delivery in a rebel-held area of Syria near Damascus on Tuesday. Russia has more than 4,000 troops in the country.

G.O.P. SENATORS SAY OBAMA COURT PICK WILL BE SHUNNED

Republicans on Judiciary Committee Vow Confirmation Hearings Won't Be Held

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

WASHINGTON — Senate Republican leaders said Tuesday that there would be no confirmation hearings, no vote, not even a courtesy meeting with President Obama's nominee to replace Justice Antonin Scalia, all but slamming shut any prospects for an election-year Supreme Court confirmation.

Together with a written vow from Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Committee that they would not hold any confirmation hearings, the pledge was the clearest statement yet from the Senate's majority party that it would do everything it can to prevent Mr. Obama from shifting the ideological balance of the nation's high court.

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, urged Mr. Obama to reconsider even submitting a name. "This nomination will be determined by whoever wins the presidency in the polls," Mr. McConnell said.

Their first full day back at the Capitol since Justice Scalia's death afforded Senate Republicans the opportunity to unite around a message and strategy to thwart Mr. Obama. Huddles in Mr. McConnell's Capitol suite and a lunchtime conclave appeared to stem any wavering and push Republican troops into line.

they needed in a June 1992 floor speech by Joseph R. Biden Jr., then a senator, urging President George Bush against any nomination to the Supreme Court until after that year's presidential election.

The forceful moves that followed, even before Mr. Obama put forward a choice for the court, has the Senate into unprecedented territory: Senators meet with high-court nominees as matters of courtesy and cordiality, but even that tradition has been rejected.

"I don't know the purpose of such a visit," Mr. McConnell said. "I would not be inclined to take that myself."

Senator John Cornyn of Texas, the No. 2 Republican and a member of the Judiciary Committee, concurred. "I don't see the point of going through the motions if we know what the outcome is going to be," he said.

Battles over the Supreme Court have grown increasingly contentious since the 1960s, when Republicans and conservative Democrats blocked President Lyndon B. Johnson's nomination of Justice Abe Fortas to become chief justice, congressional historians said. But the refusal to grant a nominee any consideration was a startling turn.

"What is remarkable is the opposition is not to a particular candidate or even to the notion Obama will only nominate someone too extreme, but that he should

Continued on Page A11

AN EIGHT-MEMBER SUPREME COURT On the prospect of a long vacancy, Justice Samuel A. Alito Jr. said, "We will deal with it." PAGE A11

Obama Submits A Plan to Close Guantánamo

By CHARLIE SAVAGE and JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — President Obama sent Congress a plan on Tuesday to close the United States military prison at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, his latest attempt to deliver on an unfulfilled promise of his presidency, which faces near-certain rejection by Congress.

The prison has come to symbolize the darker side of the nation's antiterrorism efforts, but the series of steps that Mr. Obama outlined at the White House were as much an acknowledgment of the constraints binding him during his final year in office as they were a practical blueprint for transferring prisoners.

In presenting them, the president made little secret of his frustration that his quest to close Guantánamo, once regarded as a bipartisan moral imperative, had become a divisive political issue.

"I am very clear-eyed about the hurdles to finally closing Guantánamo: The politics of this are tough," Mr. Obama said during a 17-minute address. "I don't want to pass this problem on to the next president, whoever it is. And if, as a nation, we don't deal with this now, when will we deal with it?"

Mr. Obama, flanked by Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter, appeared irritated as he spoke. He said the issue had cost

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ERIN HULL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES The grave of Omar Ventura, killed, unarmed, by an officer.

Shot by Police In Houston, Off Camera

By TIMOTHY WILLIAMS

HOUSTON — If the police shooting of Omar Ventura on a February night five years ago had been captured on video, it would have been chilling to watch.

An off-duty Houston police officer would have been seen coming out of a bar at closing time after a night of heavy drinking. The video would have shown the officer, Jose Coronado Jr., firing his gun while trying to break up a brawl. Mr. Ventura, who was unarmed, would have been seen falling to the ground dead and his brother, also unarmed, writhing in pain from a bullet wound.

But there was no video of that shooting or of most of the dozens of other questionable shootings of unarmed people by Houston police officers during the past decade. None of them led to the criminal prosecution of an officer

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Trump in New York: Deep Roots, but Little Sway

By SUSANNE CRAIG and DAVID W. CHEN

It is impossible to miss when you fly into New York City and spot the golf course in the shadow of the Whitestone Bridge. It is hard to avoid when you stroll along Fifth Avenue, or venture past the skating rink or carousel in Central Park. And it is there in bright lights, no less, when you pass the sleek hotel near the entrance to the Holland Tunnel: the name of Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Trump has embraced his roots as a New Yorker as being crucial to his presidential bid, and in so doing, the Republican candidate has given the impression as he crossed the country

Limited Holdings, and Less Impact Than in '80s

that he is a force to reckon with in the city of his birth.

But while Trump remains a visible brand name around the city's five boroughs, it is much harder to discern his imprint as a classic power broker, someone who is feared and can make things happen with a phone call or a quiet aside with the right person at the right time.

His real estate holdings in New York are modest; he did not

make the top 10 in lists of major condominium developers and power players in real estate in the city, as judged by several publications. He does not belong to trade groups like the Real Estate Board of New York or the Association for a Better New York. He rarely interacts with top politicians or government officials, or contributes to campaigns. Discussions about a bid for governor in 2014 never got off the ground.

Though he portrays himself as a major developer, his companies' highest profile ownership stakes in real estate in New York include an office building on Wall Street; part of another on Avenue of the Americas; commercial space at Trump Tower on Fifth

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RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trump Claims Victory in Nevada

Supporters of Donald J. Trump at the Treasure Island casino in Las Vegas watched the Republican caucus results trickle in Tuesday night. Their candidate was declared the winner. Page A13.

The Sharp Elbows Managing Cruz's Campaign

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

For weeks, the labels have hung over Ted Cruz's presidential campaign like dirty laundry: Deceitful. Cynical. Willing to do anything to win.

The attacks from Mr. Cruz's Republican rivals have challenged his core campaign promises of integrity and conservative purity, cresting on Monday when he dismissed his communications director, Rick Tyler, for spreading a misleading video about

Marco Rubio's views on the Bible.

"There is a culture in the Cruz campaign, from top to bottom," a Rubio spokesman, Alex Conant, said, "that no lie is too big and no trick too dirty."

The episode threatened to tarnish Mr. Cruz's brand. But not his campaign manager's.

As Mr. Cruz has elbowed into the top tier of candidates, his campaign has reflected the brand of its principal architect: Jeff Roe, an operative with a reputation for scorching earth,

stretching truths and winning elections.

"When you win campaigns," Mr. Cruz said last month of the man he hired, "the people that lose tend to be unhappy about it."

Mr. Roe's home state, Missouri, teems with people who were made unhappy by him.

At 45, with a lumbering swagger and drawing parables culled from the family farm, Mr. Roe has steered Mr. Cruz's onetime long-shot presidential bid into contention.

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NEW YORK A15-17

Protecting Pieces of History

A neon Pepsi sign in Queens was one of 30 New York City properties recommended for landmark status. PAGE A15

A Little Help From 'Hamilton'

A burst pipe in the Drama Book Shop in Manhattan led Lin-Manuel Miranda to rally his social media fans. PAGE A16

NATIONAL A3, 9-14

More Signs of Zika From Sex

United States health authorities are examining 14 new reports of the Zika virus possibly being transmitted by sex, once thought to be extremely rare. PAGE A3

Fracking Battle in Florida

The discovery that an oil and gas company has used fracturing is roiling the geologically fragile state. PAGE A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Egypt Exonerates 3-Year-Old

The Egyptian military said that the conviction of a 3-year-old boy for murder was a case of mistaken identity. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

More iPhones on Unlock List

Justice Department prosecutors want Apple to unlock at least nine iPhones in cases unrelated to the San Bernardino mass shooting, and Apple is resisting in at least seven of the cases. PAGE B1

Report Shows Takata's Deceit

More than a year after Takata found out its airbags had a deadly defect, officials were falsifying data it presented to Honda, its biggest customer. PAGE B1

\$400 Million Gift for Stanford

The donation by Philip H. Knight, the co-founder of Nike, is one of the largest by an individual to a university. PAGE B1



FOOD D1-10

Seize the Morning

A special issue all about breakfast offers recipes and tips for better eggs, coffee, muffins, toast and more, along with reports on cereal's shaky fortunes and the Los Angeles restaurants where chefs are inventing the future of breakfast.

ARTS C1-7

Creativity Through Kink

The composer Georg Friedrich Haas finds productivity in a dominant-submissive dynamic with his wife. PAGE C1

TodayTix Makes Inroads

With its mobile app, this start-up is trying to corner a share of the byzantine Broadway ticketing business. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Frank Bruni

PAGE A19



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Snapshots From a Year in Space

Scott J. Kelly is scheduled to return from the International Space Station next week, completing the longest stay in space for a NASA astronaut. Here are some ways to measure his mission. Article on Page A13.

713 PHOTOS POSTED	340 DAYS	193 GALLONS	10,944 SUNRISES AND SUNSETS	1 GORILLA SUIT
Whatever earthly things Mr. Kelly may have been missing in orbit, the Internet was not one of them. He has averaged more than two Instagram posts a day during the mission (a small sampling of them is above). And he has connected with his 900,000 followers on Twitter more than 2,000 times.	NASA billed it as a year in space, but Mr. Kelly's trip will actually be a few weeks short of that. (An unexpected delay could extend his stay slightly.) Still, it dwarfs the previous NASA record, held by Michael Lopez-Alegria, who spent 215 consecutive days in space in 2006 and 2007.	That is the amount of recycled urine and sweat that Mr. Kelly will have drunk, according to NASA. Water is heavy and expensive to transport from Earth, so for efficiency, water is continually recycled. That technology will be essential for interplanetary missions in which there is nowhere to stop for supplies.	The International Space Station zips around Earth at more than 17,000 miles an hour, or once every 90 minutes. That means over the course of Mr. Kelly's stay, the space station will have made 5,440 orbits, and the sun will have risen and set 10,944 times from the perspective of the astronauts aboard.	Last week, Mr. Kelly posted a video that raised the question: How does a gorilla suit get to space? "Friends and family are given a certain amount of cargo space to use as they like to send things up to the crew," NASA said. On Twitter, Mr. Kelly wrote: "Needed a little humor to lighten up a #YearInSpace. Go big, or go home. I think I'll do both."

G.O.P. Doubts Electoral Fallout On Court Fight

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN and CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — Senate Republicans, facing fierce criticism from Democrats on Capitol Hill, insisted Thursday that they would face no political retribution from their decision to shun any Supreme Court nomination made by President Obama, expressing confidence that they would not be hurt at the polls in November.

"The American people are pretty much split on it," said Senator Thom Tillis, Republican of North Carolina, citing polls that showed the country divided on whether the Senate should act on a nomination. "For that reason, I don't think it will be a major factor."

But Democrats said the issue would be valuable in motivating turnout and helping them close the gap with conservative Republican voters energized by Donald J. Trump. They said they were excited about polls showing independent voters siding with Democrats because independents could be in a position to decide not only the presidential election, but also Senate elections in swing states.

"To be honest, this is why people hate the Senate," Senator Jon Tester, Democrat of Montana, who is chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said in an interview.

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ULI SEIT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Rescue's Tipping Point

A 25-foot Coast Guard vessel capsized early Thursday, sending its crew swimming to shore, during a rescue after a fishing boat, above, ran aground off Rockaway Beach in Queens. Page A24.

China Boldly Tries to Steer Economic Narrative

By EDWARD WONG and NEIL GOUGH

BEIJING — This month, Chinese banking officials omitted currency data from closely watched economic reports.

Weeks earlier, Chinese regulators fined a journalist \$23,000 for reposting a message that said a big securities firm had told elite clients to sell stock.

Before that, officials pressed two companies to stop releasing early results from a survey of Chinese factories that often moved markets.

Chinese leaders are taking increasingly bold steps to stop rising pessimism about turbulent markets and the slowing of the country's growth. As financial and economic troubles threaten to undermine confidence in the Communist Party, Beijing is tightening the flow of economic information and even criminalizing commentary that officials believe could hurt stocks or the currency.

The effort to control the economic narrative plays into a wide-reaching strategy by President Xi Jinping to solidify support at a time when doubts are swirling

about his ability to manage the tumult. The persistence of that tumult was underscored on Thursday by a 6.4 percent drop in Chinese stocks, which are now down more than a fifth since the beginning of this year alone.

The government moved to bolster confidence on Saturday by ousting its top securities regulator, who had been widely accused of contributing to the stock market turmoil. Mr. Xi is also putting pressure on the Chinese media to focus on positive news that reflects well on the party.

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Foreign Labor Fills Vacancies At Trump Club

Florida Resort Draws On Temporary Visas

By CHARLES V. BAGLI and MEGAN TWOHEY

Donald J. Trump's Mar-a-Lago Club in Palm Beach, Fla., describes itself as "one of the most highly regarded private clubs in the world," and it is not just the very-well-to-do who want to get in.

Since 2010, nearly 300 United States residents have applied or been referred for jobs as waiters, waitresses, cooks and housekeepers there. But according to federal records, only 17 have been hired.

In all but a handful of cases, Mar-a-Lago sought to fill the jobs with hundreds of foreign guest workers from Romania and other countries.

In his quest for the Republican presidential nomination, Mr. Trump has stoked his crowds by promising to bring back jobs that have been snatched by illegal immigrants or outsourced by corporations, and voters worried about immigration have been his strongest backers.

But he has also pursued more than 500 visas for foreign workers at Mar-a-Lago since 2010, according to the United States Department of Labor, while hundreds of domestic applicants failed to get the same jobs.

The visas are issued through one of a handful of legal and often debated programs through which employers can temporarily hire foreign workers when American labor is not available. As part of its applications for the visas submitted to the Labor Department, Mr. Trump's Mar-a-Lago attested that in the vast majority of cases, it was unable to fill the positions with American workers, or, as he told MSNBC's "Morning Joe" in September, "getting help in Palm Beach during the season is almost impossible."

Asked why his club must seek so many foreign workers when Americans have applied for the same positions, Mr. Trump said in a telephone interview from Mar-a-Lago this month: "The only reason they wouldn't get a callback is that they weren't qualified, for some reason. There are very few qualified people during the high season in the area."

Mr. Trump, who supports legal immigration, drew a parallel with grape growers in California who need extra laborers during the harvest.

"I want to protect our borders," he said. "I also want to protect our businesses. They have to

Continued on Page A17

RUBIO AND TRUMP ERUPT IN SHOUTS AT ANGRY DEBATE

LEADER IS CHALLENGED

Senator Seems Revived by Barbed Exchanges in Houston

By MICHAEL BARBARO and MATT FLEGENHEIMER

Senator Marco Rubio, alarmed by Donald J. Trump's ascendancy and worried that his presidential chances were slipping away, unleashed a barrage of attacks on the real estate mogul's business ethics, hiring practices and financial achievements in Thursday's debate, forcefully delivering the onslaught that Republican leaders had desperately awaited.

In a series of acid exchanges, a newly pugnacious Mr. Rubio, long mocked for a robotic and restrained style, interrupted Mr. Trump, quizzed him, impersonated him, shouted over him and left him looking unsettled. It was an unfamiliar reversal of roles for the front-runner, who found himself so frequently the target of assaults from Mr. Rubio and Senator Ted Cruz that he complained they must have been a ploy for better television ratings.

From the opening moments of the debate, Mr. Rubio pounced. Deploying his own up-by-the-bootstraps biography, the Florida senator assailed Mr. Trump for hiring hundreds of foreign workers at his tony resort in Florida and passing over Americans who had applied for the same jobs.

"My mom was a maid in a hotel," Mr. Rubio said. "And instead of hiring an American like her, you've brought over 1,000 people from all over the world to fill in those jobs instead."

Moments later, Mr. Rubio moved to cast Mr. Trump as a huckster who outsourced the manufacturing of the clothing that bears his name to countries

Continued on Page A18



ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Marco Rubio turned the tables on the front-runner.

U.S. Plans to Deploy Advisers To Help in War on Boko Haram

By ERIC SCHMITT and DIONNE SEARCEY

DAKAR, Senegal — The Pentagon is poised to send dozens of Special Operations advisers to the front lines of Nigeria's fight against the West African militant group Boko Haram, according to military officials, the latest deployment in conflicts with the Islamic State and its allies.

Their deployment would push American troops hundreds of miles closer to the battle that Nigerian forces are waging against an insurgency that has killed thousands of civilians in the country's northeast as well as in neighboring Niger, Chad and Cameroon. By some measures, Boko Haram is the world's deadliest terrorist group.

The deployment is a main recommendation of a recent confidential assessment by the top United States Special Operations

commander for Africa, Brig. Gen. Donald C. Bolduc. If it is approved, as expected, by the Defense and State Departments, the Americans would serve only in noncombat advisory roles, military officials said.

Even as President Obama has drawn down the large American armies sent to Iraq and Afghanistan, he has relied heavily on Special Operations forces to train and advise local troops fighting the Islamic State, also known as ISIS or ISIL, and to carry out clandestine counterterrorism missions.

Already, about 50 American commandos are advising fighters battling the Islamic State in eastern Syria. Scores more in a new, secret kill-or-capture unit are hunting Islamic State militants in

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NATIONAL A12-19

Shooting Rampage in Kansas

Four people, including a gunman, were killed at a factory in Hesston. The gunman drove through two towns shooting out his car window. PAGE A12

Anger Over Transgender Issue

A bill on school bathroom access puts South Dakota at the center of a national debate on transgender rights. PAGE A12

NEW YORK A22-27

Video Shows 2014 Shooting

The police, seeking tips and help from the F.B.I., released footage of an attack on a Long Island developer. PAGE A22



INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Syria's Imperiled Hospitals

Medical workers fear that Syrian and Russian aircraft are deliberately targeting hospitals in Syria, above. PAGE A10

New Pressure on North Korea

The United States and China agreed on tougher sanctions against North Korea in response to its nuclear tests. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Apple Asks Court to Drop Order

Apple filed a motion saying that a federal court's demand that it help law enforcement break into an iPhone "would violate the Constitution." PAGE B1

Small Endowments Catch Up

Low-cost strategies are helping small schools outperform the Harvards and Yales, James Stewart writes. PAGE B1

MILAN FASHION WEEK A20

Home-Grown Talent

For the Italian fashion industry, recent initiatives to nurture its own talented young designers seem to be paying off.



SPORTSFRIDAY B9-14

No Regrets for FIFA President

On the eve of the election to succeed him, Sepp Blatter, above, was unbowed regarding his legacy to soccer. PAGE B9

A Russian Vanishing Act

The disappearance of the president of Russia's bobsled federation has put a spotlight on corruption issues. PAGE B9

WEEKEND ARTS C1-28

And, the Oscar Goes to ...

Cara Buckley, the Carpetbagger, who's spent months reporting on the awards season, gives her predictions. PAGE C6

An A-List Actor in a Revival

Forest Whitaker makes his Broadway debut in Eugene O'Neill's "Hughie." Ben Brantley reviews. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A28-29

Paul Krugman

PAGE A29



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Clinton, 'Smart Power' and a Dictator's Fall

Her Winning Argument And Its Consequences

By JO BECKER and SCOTT SHANE

By the time Mahmoud Jibril cleared customs at Le Bourget airport and sped into Paris, the American secretary of state had been waiting for hours. But this was not a meeting Hillary Clinton could cancel. Their encounter could decide whether America was again going to war.

In the throes of the Arab Spring, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi was facing a furious revolt by Libyans determined to end his quixotic 42-year rule. The dictator's forces were approaching Benghazi, the crucible of the rebellion, and threatening a blood bath. France and Britain were urging the United States to join them in a military campaign to halt Colonel Qaddafi's troops, and now the Arab League, too, was calling for action.

President Obama was deeply wary of another military venture in a Muslim country. Most of his senior advisers were telling him to stay out. Still, he dispatched Mrs. Clinton to sound out Mr. Jibril, a leader of the Libyan opposition. Their late-night meeting on March

14, 2011, would be the first chance for a top American official to get a sense of whom, exactly, the United States was being asked to support.

In her suite at the Westin, she and Mr. Jibril, a political scientist with a doctorate from the University of Pittsburgh, spoke at length about the fast-moving military situation in Libya. But Mrs. Clinton was clearly also thinking about Iraq, and its hard lessons for American intervention.

Did the opposition's Transitional National Council really represent the whole of a deeply divided country, or just one region? What if Colonel Qaddafi quit, fled or was killed — did they have a plan for what came next?

"She was asking every question you could imagine," Mr. Jibril recalled.

Mrs. Clinton was won over. Opposition leaders "said all the right things about supporting democracy and inclusivity and building Libyan institutions, providing some hope that we might be able to pull this off," said Philip H. Gordon, one of her assistant secretaries. "They gave us what we wanted to hear. And you do want to believe."

Her conviction would be critical in persuading Mr. Obama to join allies in bombing Colonel Qaddafi's forces. In fact, Mr. Obama's defense secretary, Robert M. Gates, would later say that in a "51-49" decision, it was Mrs. Clinton's support that put the ambivalent president over the line.

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Libya in 2011. Above left, Hillary Clinton greets soldiers. From top, a rebel fighter touring an abandoned military base, opposition members stepping on carpets depicting Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi and rebel volunteers training in Benghazi.



ABOVE LEFT, POOL PHOTO BY KEVIN LAMARQUE; FROM TOP, BRYAN DENTON, MOISES SAMAN AND LYNSEY ADDARIO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SOUTH CAROLINA POWERS CLINTON TO HUGE VICTORY

BLACK VOTERS PIVOTAL

Rout of Sanders Eases Misgivings as Super Tuesday Looms

By AMY CHOZICK and PATRICK HEALY

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Drawing overwhelming support from the African-American voters who deserted her here eight years ago, Hillary Clinton won her first resounding victory of the 2016 campaign in South Carolina on Saturday, delivering a blow to Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont as their fight turns to the 11 states where Democrats vote on Tuesday.

After supporting Barack Obama in 2008, black voters, who will be the dominant force in the coming Southern primaries, turned out in droves for Mrs. Clinton here. They chose her over Mr. Sanders by more than six to one, while white voters narrowly favored her as well, according to exit polls.

The rout was both politically and psychologically meaningful for Mrs. Clinton and her allies, who have been waiting for a moment that validated her candidacy with the level of unqualified intensity that South Carolina delivered. The huge margin of victory — she won nearly 74 percent of the vote — will extend her lead over Mr. Sanders in delegates needed to clinch the Democratic nomination. But the results also helped her extinguish any doubts about her ability to win big with

Continued on Page 22

Frantic Efforts To Halt Trump Fail for G.O.P.

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

The scenario Karl Rove outlined was bleak.

Addressing a luncheon of Republican governors and donors in Washington on Feb. 19, he warned that Donald J. Trump's increasingly likely nomination would be catastrophic, dooming the party in November. But Mr. Rove, the master strategist of George W. Bush's campaigns, insisted it was not too late for them to stop Mr. Trump, according to three people present.

At a meeting of Republican governors the next morning, Paul R. LePage of Maine called for action. Seated at a long boardroom table at the Willard Hotel, he erupted in frustration over the state of the 2016 race, saying Mr. Trump's nomination would deeply wound the Republican Party. Mr. LePage urged the governors to draft an open letter "to the people," disavowing Mr. Trump and his divisive brand of politics.

The suggestion was not taken up. Since then, Mr. Trump has only gotten stronger, winning two more state contests and collecting the endorsement of Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey.

In public, there were calls for the party to unite behind a single candidate. In dozens of interviews, elected officials, political strategists and donors described a frantic, last-ditch campaign to block Mr. Trump — and the agonizing reasons that many of them have become convinced it will fail. Behind the scenes, a desperate mission to save the party sputtered and stalled at every

Continued on Page 21

Scientists Fear Australian Cuts Imperil World Climate Studies

By MICHELLE INNIS

SYDNEY, Australia — Perched on a wild, windy promontory on the rugged tip of northwestern Tasmania, the tiny Cape Grim research station has been measuring airborne greenhouse gases since 1976.

It is one of a handful of such stations in the world, and because the wind that reaches it has traveled more than 6,600 miles across the southern oceans, uncontaminated by cities or factories, the measurements are considered a baseline for tracking changes in the earth's atmosphere.

Now a decision by Australia's science agency to lay off 350 researchers and shift the organization's focus to more commercial enterprise threatens not only

the work done at the station but also climate studies around the globe.

Scientists worldwide have protested the shift, saying the loss of the Australian data — from both Cape Grim and the agency's role in a vital ocean-monitoring program called Argo — could impair their ability to predict severe regional weather and help people prepare for extreme floods, drought, bushfires and cyclones.

"This, for me, is such a big shock," said Ronald G. Prinn, director of the Center for Global Change Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. "To think that you could stop measurements or throw out the people, that doesn't make any sense to me and to many, many other



The Cape Grim research station in Tasmania, Australia.

people around the world." About 3,000 scientists from more than 60 countries have signed a petition calling the cuts "devastating" and saying that research stations like Cape Grim

Continued on Page 10

Rise in Marriages of Equals Helps Fuel Divisions by Class

By CLAIRE CAIN MILLER and QUOCTRUNG BUI

The Don Drapers of the world used to marry their secretaries. Now they marry fellow executives, who could very well earn more than they do.

With more marriages of equals, reflecting deep changes in American families and society at large, the country is becoming more segregated by class.

"It's this notion of this growing equality between husbands and wives having this paradoxical effect of growing inequality across households," said Christine Schwartz, a sociologist who studies the topic at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

From Cinderella to Kate Middleton, fictional and real-life fairytales have told of women marrying up. But it has been a long

time since women said they went to college to earn a "Mrs. degree." In more recent cultural touchstones — like "The Intern," with Anne Hathaway, and "Opening Belle," the novel and soon-to-be Reese Witherspoon movie — the protagonists are highly successful women with husbands who don't work. (Spoiler alert: Conflict ensues.)

These changes have been driven by women's increasing education and labor force participation, new gender roles, and the rise of what social scientists call assortative mating.

Assortative mating is the idea that people marry people like themselves, with similar education and earnings potential and

Continued on Page 4

INTERNATIONAL 6-11

A Lull, and Relief, in Syria

Violence significantly decreased in much of northern and western Syria on the first day of a truce brokered by the United States and Russia, despite scattered violations. PAGE 6

Bolivian Leader Loses Favor

President Evo Morales of Bolivia and other Latin American leftists are facing public discontent, but their policies have taken a lasting hold in the region. PAGE 6

Debating Abbas's Successor

Talk grows about who will replace Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian president, who is 80 and seen as ineffective. PAGE 7

NATIONAL 12-23



Lack of Diversity Is Pervasive

A review of the faces of American power found a roster that was nearly as white as this year's Oscar nominees. PAGE 19

NATIONAL

A Fight for Burial at Arlington

A bill in Congress could give female pilots from World War II, known as WASPs, the right to be interred at Arlington National Cemetery despite a 2015 Army ruling barring them. PAGE 12

SPORTSSUNDAY

One to Go

Breanna Stewart set out to become the first player, female or male, to win four national titles. She has three, and UConn is undefeated. PAGE 1



SUNDAY BUSINESS

The Venture Capital Ceiling

Silicon Valley teems with tales of overnight success. But more typical are start-ups you've never heard of because they never get off the ground. PAGE 1

In Crisis Mode, VW Struggles

Managing its message since it admitted to cheating on emissions tests hasn't been easy for Volkswagen. PAGE 1

METROPOLITAN

Stranded in the Suburbs

Many empty-nesters eager to move to New York City find themselves trapped by high costs. PAGE 1

THE MAGAZINE

The Work Issue

In a report from Charles Duhigg, research reveals surprising truths on why some teams thrive and not others. PAGE 20



SUNDAY REVIEW

Frank Bruni

PAGE 3



TRUMP AND CLINTON FEAST AS 12 STATES VOTE

NEWS ANALYSIS

G.O.P. Split Is Becoming Deep Chasm

By JONATHAN MARTIN and MICHAEL BARBARO

Democrats are falling in line. Republicans are falling apart. The most consequential night of voting so far in the presidential campaign crystallized, in jarring and powerful fashion, the remarkably divergent fortunes of the two major parties vying for the White House.

The steady and seemingly inexorable unification of the Democratic Party behind Hillary Clinton stands in striking contrast with the rancorous and widening schisms within the Republican Party over the dominance of Donald J. Trump, who swept contests from the Northeast to the Deep South on Tuesday.

Now, as the parties gaze ahead to the fall, they are awakening to the advantages of consensus and the perils of chaos. "If the Republican Party were an airplane, and you were looking out a passenger window, you would see surface pieces peeling off and wonder if one of the wings or engines was next," said Tim Pawlenty, the former governor of Minnesota and a Republican candidate for president in 2012.

Even as he rolled up commanding victories in seven states on Tuesday, Mr. Trump confronted a loud and persistent refusal to rally around him as leading figures in his own party denounced his slow disavowal of white supremacists, elected officials boldly discouraged constituents from backing him, and lifelong Republicans declared that they would boycott the election if he is their nominee.

"I could not in good conscience vote for Trump under any circumstance," said Blake Lichty, 33, a Republican who worked in the George W. Bush administration and now lives near Atlanta. "If this becomes the Trump Party," he added, "we're going to lose a lot of people."

Not since the rupture of 1964, when conservatives seized power from their moderate rivals and nominated Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona, has a major party faced such a crisis of identity. "History is repeating itself," said the historian Richard Norton Smith. "The party changed then as permanently and profoundly as can be in politics, effectively becoming two parties."

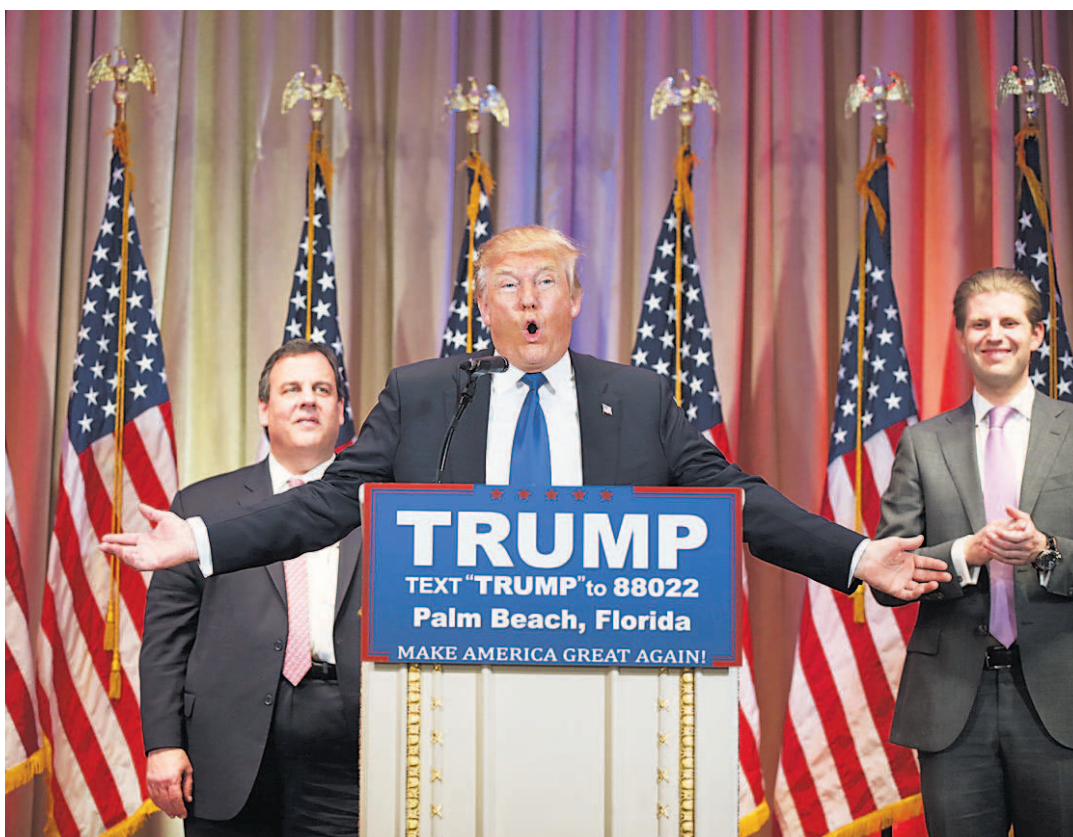
Even as Mr. Trump's performance Tuesday illustrated his strength, Senator Ted Cruz's success in Texas and Oklahoma underscored the broader Republican dilemma: There is no consensus among Republicans about

Continued on Page A22



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Table showing election results for 12 states: Ala., Ark., Colo., Ga., Mass., Minn., Okla., Tenn., Tex., Va., Vt. Winner: Hillary Clinton (79%, 68, 42, 71, 50, 41, 42, 66, 66, 64, 14). Bernie Sanders (19, 29, 58, 28, 49, 59, 52, 32, 32, 35, 86).



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Table showing election results for 12 states: Ala., Ark., Ga., Mass., Minn., Okla., Tenn., Tex., Va., Vt. Winner: Donald J. Trump (44%, 33, 39, 49, 21, 28, 39, 27, 35, 33). Ted Cruz (21, 30, 24, 10, 29, 34, 25, 43, 17, 10). Marco Rubio (18, 25, 24, 18, 37, 26, 21, 18, 32, 19). John Kasich (4, 4, 6, 18, 6, 4, 5, 4, 9, 31). Ben Carson (10, 6, 6, 3, 7, 6, 8, 4, 6, 4).

For Democrats, Minority Vote Is Decisive

By PATRICK HEALY and AMY CHOZICK

Hillary Clinton took full command of the Democratic presidential race on Tuesday as she rolled to major victories over Bernie Sanders in Texas, Virginia and across the South and proved for the first time that she could build a national coalition of racially diverse voters that would be crucial in the November election.

Based on results from Democratic primaries and caucuses in 11 states, Mrs. Clinton succeeded in containing Mr. Sanders to states he was expected to win, like Vermont and Oklahoma, and overpowering him in predominantly black and Hispanic areas that were rich in delegates needed for the Democratic nomination.

Mrs. Clinton, who also won Massachusetts and showed notable strength among Southern white voters, came away with a strong delegate lead over Mr. Sanders — notably larger than the one that Barack Obama had over her at this point in the 2008 presidential race.

"What a super Tuesday!" Mrs. Clinton declared to cheers at a victory rally in Miami. In her recent signature line mocking Donald J. Trump's slogan, she said: "America never stopped being great. We have to make America whole — fill in what's been hollowed out."

"The rhetoric we're hearing on the other side has never been lower," she added. "Trying to divide America between us and them is wrong, and we're not going to let it work." As the crowd broke out in chants of "U.S.A.," she said, "Whether we like it or not, we're all in this together, my friends, and we all have to do our part."

The contests on Tuesday were well suited to Mrs. Clinton's strengths: her popularity with minority voters, her political kinship with Southern Democrats from her two decades in Arkansas, and her success in delegate-rich Texas in 2008. She won sizeable victories in Arkansas as well as Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, with especially big margins in counties with many blacks.

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Cruz Takes Texas, Leaving Rubio Struggling

By ALEXANDER BURNS and JONATHAN MARTIN

Donald J. Trump won sweeping victories across the South and in New England on Tuesday, a show of strength in the Republican primary campaign that underscored the breadth of his appeal and helped him begin to amass a wide delegate advantage despite growing resistance to his candidacy among party leaders.

Mr. Trump's political coalition — with his lopsided victories in Alabama, Georgia, Massachusetts and Tennessee, and narrower ones in Arkansas, Vermont and Virginia — appears to have transcended the regional and ideological divisions that have shaped the Republican Party in recent years.

With strong support from low-income white voters, especially those without college degrees, he dominated in moderate, secular-leaning Massachusetts just as easily as he did in the conservative and heavily evangelical Deep South.

Brandishing his Super Tuesday victories as proof of his political might, Mr. Trump said he expected to consolidate the Republican Party behind his campaign.

"I am a unifier," he told reporters at his Mar-a-Lago resort in Palm Beach, Fla., after the winners of about half the day's contests had been declared. "Once we get all of this finished, I am going to go after one person: Hillary Clinton."

Senator Ted Cruz reasserted himself with victories in his home state, Texas, and in neighboring Oklahoma, earning a reprieve as he fends off questions about his viability. The wins strengthened his case that he is the only alternative capable of overtaking Mr. Trump.

The results were a grievous setback for Senator Marco Rubio of Florida, who has insistently argued that among the Republican candidates, only he has the political standing to compete with Mr. Trump in a head-to-head race. Mr. Rubio's backers have urged other candidates to stand down and allow him a clean shot at Mr. Trump, who is a polarizing figure even among Republican primary voters.

Mr. Cruz outpolled Mr. Rubio in Continued on Page A20

BROAD SUPPORT Exit polls showed a depth and diversity among Trump supporters that could sustain him as a front-runner. PAGE A21

VOICES Democrats explain their votes for Hillary Clinton, from long odds for Bernie Sanders to fears about Donald J. Trump. PAGE A19

CONTINUING THE FIGHT Rivals to the front-runners are devising plans to stay in the race through a winding primary calendar. PAGE A22

Violence at a Homeless Camp Exposes Seattle's Underbelly

By KIRK JOHNSON

SEATTLE — So dangerous is this city's biggest homeless camp, called the Jungle — three ragged miles stitched along the underbelly of Interstate 5 — that if a fire broke out there today, firefighters would not be allowed in without an armed police escort. State lawmakers are considering closing the camp by erecting a razor-wire fence around it, at a cost of \$1 million.

This is Darrel Sutton's world. Mr. Sutton, 52, a slight, soft-spoken former roofing worker who has struggled for years with heroin addiction, said he had been attacked twice in his five years in the Jungle, once with a pipe, another time with a tent pole —

both times for no reason he ever figured out.

"You're always watching your back," Mr. Sutton said in an interview outside a methadone clinic on the camp's edge.

Seattle is booming with tech-driven economic growth, an envy of the nation in many regards. But a recent blood-drenched attack in the Jungle that left two people shot to death and three others wounded has thrown open a window onto a kind of parallel city hidden in the shadows under the highway, and sent a paroxysm of shock through people who had long looked the other way.

The police and Fire Department

Continued on Page A14

Accused of Theft and Gay Sex, Hamas Leader Is Killed by His Own

By DIAA HADID and MAJD AL WAHEIDI

GAZA CITY — The death of Mahmoud Ishtawi had all the trappings of a telenovela: sex, torture and embezzlement in Gaza's most venerated and secretive institution, the armed wing of Hamas.

Mr. Ishtawi, 34, was a commander from a storied family of Hamas loyalists who, during the 2014 war with Israel, was responsible for 1,000 fighters and a network of attack tunnels. Last month, his former comrades executed him with three bullets to the chest.

Adding a layer of scandal to the story, he was accused of moral turpitude, by which Hamas meant homosexuality. And there were whispers that he had carved the word "zulum" —

wronged — into his body in a desperate kind of last testament.

His death has become the talk of the town in the conservative quarters of Gaza, the Palestinian coastal territory, endlessly discussed in living rooms, at checkpoints and in cabs. But to astute Gaza observers, this was more substantive than a soap opera.

Mr. Ishtawi, who is survived by two wives and three children, was not the first member of Hamas's armed wing, the Izzedine al-Qassam Brigades, to be killed by his own. What was unprecedented was the way his relatives spoke out publicly about it.

The family was considered Hamas royalty for having sheltered leaders wanted by Israel, including Mohammed Deif, the Qassam commander in chief lionized by Palestinians. Mr. Ishtawi's mother even sent Mr. Deif, who has lost an eye and limbs but has sur-



WISSAM NASSAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The funeral of Mahmoud Ishtawi, a Hamas commander.

vived repeated assassination attempts by Israel, a tearful video message in which she entreated him to release her son.

Ibrahim al-Madhoun, a writer close to Hamas, the Islamist

group that controls Gaza, said the situation spotlighted shifts since Yehya Sinwar was elected in 2012 to represent Qassam in Hamas's political wing, a role akin to defense minister. Mr. Sinwar's actions, he said, showed that even senior figures were not sacrosanct.

"He is harsher than other leaders — he wants his army to be pure," Mr. Madhoun said in an interview. "Those who are in the Qassam are the most important people in Gaza. There is a need, they say, to show that these people are not untouchable."

Qassam put out a statement on Feb. 7 announcing Mr. Ishtawi's execution, but its spokesman, and those of Hamas over all, have refused to comment since. A senior Hamas official, however, confirmed some facts and the broad

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SPORTSWEDNESDAY B11-15

Coaches Aim to Limit Tackling Ivy League football coaches agreed to eliminate hitting at in-season practices to combat injury concerns. PAGE B11

New Yankees Closer Penalized Aroldis Chapman was suspended for 30 games under Major League Baseball's new domestic violence policy. PAGE B11

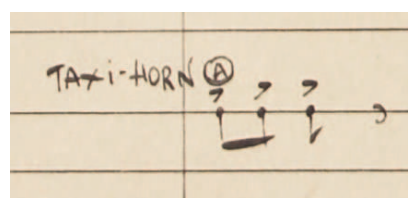
INTERNATIONAL A3-10

U.S. Commandos Take On ISIS An American Special Operations force has captured a significant Islamic State operative in Iraq, signaling a new phase in the fight against the group. PAGE A10

Worries of Al Qaeda's Leader Newly released papers show that Osama bin Laden increasingly feared security breaches before his death. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A12-22

Transgender Bill Is Vetoed Gov. Dennis Daugaard of South Dakota vetoed a bill restricting bathroom access for transgender students. PAGE A12



ARTS C1-8

Rethinking Gershwin's Horns For 70 years, orchestras may have been playing one of the best-known effects of "An American in Paris" wrong. PAGE C1

Adele Plays to a Bigger Crowd The pop superstar made her arena debut, kicking off her world tour in Belfast. A review by Jon Pareles. PAGE C1

BUSINESS DAY B1-10

F.B.I. Admits iPhone Misstep The F.B.I. admitted making mistakes that cost it a chance to capture data from the iPhone used by one of the San Bernardino attackers. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A23-26

New Tool to Fight Wage Theft An immigrant rights group is set to start a smartphone app for day laborers to rate employers, log hours and identify bosses who withhold wages. PAGE A23

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A28-29

Frank Bruni PAGE A29



FOOD D1-6

Sizing Up a Wine Shop Eric Asimov offers tips on finding a good one — cool temperatures, tastings and a staff that draws you out. PAGE D1



Sluggish China Takes a Lesson From Reagan

Calls Grow for Tax Cuts and Deregulation

By CHRIS BUCKLEY

BEIJING — With the world looking to China for assurance that it can manage its slowing economy and tumultuous stock market, President Xi Jinping has begun pushing a remedy that sounds less like Marx and Mao than Reagan and Thatcher.

Mr. Xi is calling his next big economic initiative "supply-side structural reform," a deliberate echo of the nostrums of tax cuts and deregulation advocated by those conservative Western leaders in the 1980s.

The new slogan, expected to receive top billing when China's legislature convenes Saturday, represents an effort to rejuvenate Mr. Xi's faltering plans to overhaul the Chinese economy. But he still faces widespread skepticism that he is committed to thorough restructuring, which would require reducing bloated state enterprises, along with millions of jobs.

"Thatcher and Reagan are highly regarded because it was proven that they made the right choices under heavy pressure," said Jia Kang, an economist in the Ministry of Finance and the most prominent advocate of the new policies. "Their spirit was one of boldly taking on challenges and innovating, and that's certainly worth Chinese people emulating."

The supply side Mr. Xi is referring to would, like Reaganomics, include lowering taxes and reducing the government burden on investors. Yet its main goal appears to be shutting or paring down mines and factories that produce far more coal, steel, ce-

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JIANAN YU/REUTERS

A steel plant in Hefei, China. Production outpaces demand.

DEMOCRATS FOCUS ON IOWA SENATOR IN COURT FIGHT

GRASSLEY UNDER FIRE

Political Openings Seen Amid Scalia Vacancy and Trump's Rise

By JENNIFER STEINHAEUER
and DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

WASHINGTON — Democrats on Thursday unleashed a furious assault on Senator Charles E. Grassley, the Iowa Republican and Judiciary Committee chairman who has become the face of his party's refusal to hold a hearing on President Obama's nominee to the Supreme Court.

As Mr. Grassley listened to his critics in the Senate chamber, a potentially strong Democratic challenger unexpectedly stepped forward in Iowa to run against him. It was another sign of increasing pressure on Mr. Grassley, whose bid for a seventh term had been all but assured before the Supreme Court vacancy arose.

On the Senate floor, several Democrats berated Mr. Grassley for a full hour as Senator Harry Reid of Nevada, the minority leader, has done for much of the last two weeks. "This is obstruction and chaos," Mr. Reid said.

The criticism became so intense that the usually restrained Mr. Grassley took the highly unusual step of taking over as the presiding officer of the Senate to cut off the Democrats.

"Give me a break," Mr. Grassley said later. "We made a decision based on history and our intention to protect the ability of the American people to make their voices heard."

But Democrats also came at Republicans from a second front. They held a news conference featuring lawmakers from several minority groups to press their case that if the Republican front-runner for the party's presidential nomination, Donald J. Trump, were elected, his nominee to the court would not be a strong defender of civil rights.

Continued on Page A12

No Retreat on Nominee

The unveiling of President Obama's Supreme Court pick promises to be a brawl from the start. On Washington, Page A12.

ROMNEY CALLS TRUMP UNFIT AS PARTY ERUPTS IN DISCORD



RICK BOWMER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

'Donald Trump is a phony, a fraud.'

MITT ROMNEY



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'He was a failed candidate — he should have beaten President Obama easily — he failed miserably.'

DONALD J. TRUMP

Living in S.U.V., Transformed From a Menace to a Neighbor

The time had come for Gene to leave the ground-floor apartment, as he knew it would. The owner who let him stay there rent-free had been dead for more than a year, and the estate wanted it back. With the marshal at the door, Gene delivered his cats to a neighbor, then bundled blankets, pillows and some clothes. Parked right outside was his next home: a 1996 Ford Explorer. He moved into the back seat. That was Feb. 27, 2015.

One year later, Gene still sleeps on a mildewing futon in that sport utility vehicle, parked on the same tree-lined street in Park Slope, Brooklyn. He will turn 60 in May.

An organic chemist who did postdoctoral research at Columbia University, Gene shares credit on more than 40 patents for work he did at a major pharmaceutical maker, a job he left 12 years ago. Gene is his middle name, and he asked not to be

further identified.

Although he has not physically moved, what has happened to him over the last year can be mapped as a journey, still in progress, from nameless menace to neighbor, a change both in his trajectory and in the esteem of those with whom he shares one small block of New York City.

"For a while there was a kind of a 'not in my backyard' feeling, but people came through in great ways," said Burkhard Bilger, a Fifth Street resident who, with his wife, Jennifer Nelson, played a central role in gathering support for Gene. The most important things, Mr. Bilger said, Gene "has done for himself, once he got a little help."

Here, then, is a short version of one man's odyssey, heartening and resourceful in parts, unexplained or inexplicable in others.

Few people on Gene's block knew him during the seven years he lived at 375 Fifth Street before moving into his S.U.V., and those were mostly glancing ac-

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Cruz and Rubio Wage Urgent Attacks in Debate

By PATRICK HEALY
and JONATHAN MARTIN

Senators Marco Rubio and Ted Cruz, fighting for their political lives, relentlessly demeaned and baited Donald J. Trump at Thursday's debate, all but pleading with Republicans to abandon a candidate with a long history of business failures, deep ties to the Democratic Party and a taste for personal insults.

Warning that Mr. Trump would lead the party to a historic defeat in November, Mr. Rubio and Mr. Cruz delivered their attacks with

urgency, as if trying to awaken voters who had fallen under Mr. Trump's spell. Mr. Rubio derided Mr. Trump as untrustworthy and uncivil, while Mr. Cruz bashed him for donating money to Hillary Clinton's 2008 presidential campaign and to other Democrats. Mr. Trump looked on with disgust, but as in their 10 previous debates, he seemed impervious and perhaps unstoppable.

At times, the face-off in Detroit also deteriorated into the kind of junior high school taunts that have startled many Republican elders but have done little to dent Mr. Trump's broad appeal. As Mr.

Trump and Mr. Rubio traded insults over their manhood, Mr. Trump recalled Mr. Rubio's innuendo that Mr. Trump's "small hands" correlated with another part of his anatomy.

Mr. Trump, who has boasted about his sexual exploits, insisted that nothing was small about him. "I guarantee you," he continued with little subtlety, "there's no problem. I guarantee you."

The two senators repeatedly urged Republicans to align against Mr. Trump in nominating contests over the next two weeks, saying that Mr. Trump could sew

Continued on Page A14

Beyond Flint, Lead Poisoning Persists Despite Decades-Old Fight

By MICHAEL WINES

CLEVELAND — One hundred fifty miles northwest of here, the residents of Flint, Mich., are still reeling from the drinking water debacle that more than doubled the share of children with elevated levels of lead in their blood — to a peak, in mid-2014, of 7 per-

cent of all children tested. Clevelanders can only sympathize. The comparable number here is 14.2 percent.

The poisoning of Flint's children outraged the nation. But too much lead in children's blood has long been an everyday fact in Cleveland and scores of other cities — not because of bungled decisions about drinking water, but

largely because a decades-long attack on lead in household paint has faltered. It is a tragic reminder that one of the great public health crusades of the 20th century remains unfinished.

"Unless there is some sort of concerted national effort to do something about this problem, it's going to persist for years to come," said Philip J. Landrigan, a

leading expert on lead and professor of preventive medicine and pediatrics at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine.

"Lead is a big problem in this country, and it frustrates me to no end that except in rare cases, it passes unnoticed."

Four decades ago, political leaders declared war on lead, cit-

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NATIONAL A10-16

Divide Grows Over Drilling

Coastal residents fear disaster while lawmakers see opportunity as the Obama administration is expected to propose opening tracts in the southern Atlantic to oil and gas drilling. PAGE A10

A Record Health Care High

President Obama said enrollment under the Affordable Care Act had reached a new high, 20 million, and called the law an overwhelming success. PAGE A12

Gay Rights Foes Try Again

Conservative lawmakers are pushing for new laws that would protect opponents of same-sex marriage. PAGE A10



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

A Stark Warning to Migrants

Citing the strain on Greece, above, a top European leader urged economic migrants to stay away. PAGE A7

Public Shaming With a Smile

Members of an activist group of comedians in Mexico use humor to point out and punish bad behavior. PAGE A8

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Way Forward on Court Seat

A moderate nominee might appeal to Republicans motivated to protect an array of pro-business court rulings, James Stewart writes. PAGE B1

Shale Baron Was Still Dealing

To the end of his life, Aubrey McClelland, facing an indictment, was hustling for investments. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A18-21

St. Patrick's Day Parade Victory

Gay Irish-Americans recall the battle to march in the parade, which Mayor Bill de Blasio will now join. PAGE A18

WEEKEND ARTS C1-30

A Refresher on the Abbey

Did you drift from "Downton Abbey" over the years? If so, Louis Bayard brings you up to speed just in time for the close of the series. PAGE C1

MEN'S STYLE D1-16

A Bloke in Gotham

The British actor Ben Whishaw, appearing in "The Crucible" on Broadway, has taken to life as a New Yorker. See how he dresses for the part. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Joseph R. Biden Jr.

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SPORTSFRIDAY B8-14

Giving Brain for C.T.E. Study

The former American soccer player Brandi Chastain cited concerns about the safety of heading the ball. PAGE B8



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J., a Yazidi woman who survived sexual slavery at the hands of the Islamic State, at a refugee camp outside Dohuk, Iraq.

ISIS' System of Rape Relies on Birth Control

Militants Push Modern Methods to Sustain a Medieval Code

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

DOHUK, Iraq — Locked inside a room where the only furniture was a bed, the 16-year-old learned to fear the sunset, because nightfall started the countdown to her next rape.

During the year she was held by the Islamic State, she spent her days dreading the smell of the ISIS fighter's breath, the disgusting sounds he made and the pain he inflicted on her body. More than anything, she was tormented by the thought she might become pregnant with her rapist's child.

It was the one thing she need not have worried about.

Soon after buying her, the fighter brought the teenage girl a round box

containing four strips of pills, one of them colored red.

"Every day, I had to swallow one in front of him. He gave me one box per month. When I ran out, he replaced it.

STATE OF TERROR

A Culture of Brutality

When I was sold from one man to another, the box of pills came with me," explained the girl, who learned only months later that she was being given birth control.

It is a particularly modern solution to a medieval injunction: According to an obscure ruling in Islamic law cited by

the Islamic State, a man must ensure that the woman he enslaves is free of child before having intercourse with her.

Islamic State leaders have made sexual slavery as they believe it was practiced during the Prophet Muhammad's time integral to the group's operations, preying on the women and girls the group captured from the Yazidi religious minority almost two years ago.

To keep the sex trade running, the fighters have aggressively pushed birth control on their victims so they can continue the abuse unabated while the women are passed among them.

More than three dozen Yazidi women

Continued on Page 10

Messaging App Is Latest Front In Tech Debate

U.S. Adds WhatsApp to Encryption Fight

By MATT APUZZO

WASHINGTON — While the Justice Department wages a public fight with Apple over access to a locked iPhone, government officials are privately debating how to resolve a prolonged standoff with another technology company, WhatsApp, over access to its popular instant messaging application, officials and others involved in the case said.

No decision has been made, but a court fight with WhatsApp, the world's largest mobile messaging service, would open a new front in the Obama administration's dispute with Silicon Valley over encryption, security and privacy.

WhatsApp, which is owned by Facebook, allows customers to send messages and make phone calls over the Internet. In the last year, the company has been adding encryption to those conversations, making it impossible for the Justice Department to read or eavesdrop, even with a judge's wiretap order.

As recently as this past week, officials said, the Justice Department was discussing how to proceed in a continuing criminal investigation in which a federal judge had approved a wiretap, but investigators were stymied by WhatsApp's encryption.

The Justice Department and WhatsApp declined to comment. The government officials and others who discussed the dispute did so on condition of anonymity because the wiretap order and all the information associated with it were under seal. The nature of the case was not clear, except that officials said it was not a terrorism investigation. The location of the investigation was also unclear.

To understand the battle lines, consider this imperfect analogy from the predigital world: If the Apple dispute is akin to whether the F.B.I. can unlock your front door and search your house, the issue with WhatsApp is whether it can listen to your phone calls. In the era of encryption, neither question has a clear answer.

Some investigators view the WhatsApp issue as even more significant than the one over locked phones because it goes to the heart of the future of wiretapping. They say the Justice Department should ask a judge to

Continued on Page 4

TRUMP 2016 BID BEGAN IN EFFORT TO GAIN STATURE

A HUMILIATION RIPPLES

Party Placated Him — Providing Legitimacy for Campaign

By MAGGIE HABERMAN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Donald J. Trump arrived at the White House Correspondents' Association Dinner in April 2011, reveling in the moment as he mingled with the political luminaries who gathered at the Washington Hilton. He made his way to his seat beside his host, Lally Weymouth, the journalist and socialite daughter of Katharine Graham, longtime publisher of The Washington Post.

A short while later, the humiliation started.

The annual dinner features a lighthearted speech from the president; that year, President Obama chose Mr. Trump, then flirting with his own presidential bid, as a punch line.

He lampooned Mr. Trump's gaudy taste in décor. He ridiculed his fixation on false rumors that the president had been born in Kenya. He belittled his reality show, "The Celebrity Apprentice."

Mr. Trump at first offered a drawn smile, then a game wave of the hand. But as the mocking continued and people at other tables craned their necks to gauge his reaction, Mr. Trump hunched forward with a frozen grimace.

After the dinner ended, Mr. Trump quickly left, appearing bruised. He was "incredibly gracious and engaged on the way in," recalled Marcus Brauchli, then the executive editor of The Washington Post, but departed "with maximum efficiency."

That public abasement, rather than sending Mr. Trump away, accelerated his ferocious efforts to gain stature within the political world. And it captured the degree to which his campaign is driven by a deep yearning sometimes obscured by his bluster: a desire to be taken seriously.

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Campaign Trail Violence

Worries that raw anger in the presidential race could explode into violence became a reality over the weekend. Page 22.

Remote Utah Landscape Becomes a Conservation Battleground

By JACK HEALY

SAN JUAN COUNTY, Utah — The juniper mesas and sunset canyons in this corner of southern Utah are so remote that even the governor says he has probably only seen them from the window of a plane. They are a paradise for hikers and campers, a revered retreat where generations of American Indian tribes have hunted, gathered ceremonial herbs and carved their stories onto the sandstone walls.

Today, the land known as Bears Ears — named for twin buttes that jut out over the horizon — has become something else altogether: a battleground in the fight over how much power Washington exerts over federally controlled Western landscapes.

At a moment when much of President Obama's environmental agenda has been blocked by Congress and stalled in the courts, the president still has the power under the Antiquities Act of 1906 to create national monuments on federal lands with the stroke of a pen. A coalition of tribes, with support from conservation groups, is pushing for a new monument here in the red-rock deserts, arguing it would



MARK HOLM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Part of San Juan County, Utah, where a coalition seeks federal protection of 1.9 million acres.

protect 1.9 million acres of culturally significant land from new mining and drilling and become a final major act of conservation for the administration.

But this is Utah, where lawmakers are so angry with federal land policies that in 2012 they passed a law demanding that Washington hand over 31 million

acres managed by the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service to the state. The federal government — the landlord of 65 percent of Utah's land — has not complied, so Utah is now considering a quixotic \$14 million lawsuit to force a transfer.

Conservative lawmakers across the state have lined up to

oppose any new monument. Ranchers, county commissioners, business groups and even some local tribal members object to it as a land grab that would add crippling restrictions on animal grazing, oil and gas drilling and road-building in a rural county

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Proud of Obama's Presidency, Blacks Are Sad to See Him Go

By YAMICHE ALCINDOR

CHICAGO — In his 30s and 40s, the Rev. C.T. Vivian rode with the Freedom Riders, organized sit-ins in Nashville and worked closely with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Many years later, before the 2008 election, he traveled the country along with other civil rights leaders exclaiming to voters that a Barack Obama presidency was exactly the kind of prize that they had been fighting for all their lives.

All of that came back to him during a meeting at the White House three weeks ago between President Obama and several of those leaders. Mr. Vivian told the president how proud he was of

him, and how sad he was to see him go.

And then he began to cry.

"If there was a way I could keep him there I would keep him there for another term," Mr. Vivian, 91, said later from his home in Atlanta. "It is difficult for people who are not African-American to understand what it has been to have someone in the White House that you know understands you."

The 2016 presidential campaign has been mesmerizing the country with its party-crashing personalities, what's-next intrigue and promise of a tantalizing November.

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INTERNATIONAL 6-16

Assessing Syria's Fragile Truce

The partial cease-fire in Syria, a pause in a war that began five years ago this week, has created new opportunities for the government and its foes. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 17-27

Textbooks and the Far Right

In East Texas, a runoff race for a seat on the State Board of Education, which reviews and adopts textbooks, is pushing how far right voters will go. PAGE 17

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Redstone Prepares for Battle

Shari Redstone says she has made up with her media mogul father as a fight looms over the family business, which includes CBS and Viacom. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Hoops and Not Politics

Karam Mashour, an alumnus of two American colleges who is the only Arab in Israel's top league, said, "I just want to be a basketball player." PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE 1



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CLINTON AND TRUMP PILE UP THE DELEGATES

NEWS ANALYSIS

The Leaders Win Votes, Not Hearts

By MICHAEL BARBARO

The victories were lopsided. The celebrations were effusive. The delegates were piling up by the hundreds.

But Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton's resounding triumphs on Tuesday masked a profound, historic and unusual reality: Most Americans still don't like him. Or her.

Both major parties must now confront the depth of skepticism, resistance and distaste for their front-runners, a sentiment that would profoundly shape a potential general election showdown between Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton.

Even as they watched the two candidates amass large margins on Tuesday, historians and strategists struggled to recall a time when more than half the country has held such stubbornly low opinions of the leading figures in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

"There is no analogous election in the modern era where the two top candidates for the nomination are as divisive and weak," said Steve Schmidt, a top campaign adviser to George W. Bush in 2004 and John McCain in 2008. "There is no precedent for it."

Mrs. Clinton's commanding wins in the swing states of Ohio, North Carolina and Florida seemed to hobble the once robust challenge of Senator Bernie Sanders. And Mr. Trump's dominance in Florida, North Carolina and Illinois knocked out Senator Marco Rubio and propelled Mr. Trump even closer to the Republican nomination.

This would be the moment, under normal circumstances, when the de facto nominees, emerging victorious from the intramural skirmishes of their parties' nominating contests, would invite an eager national electorate to take their measure. And in their victory speeches, both tried their

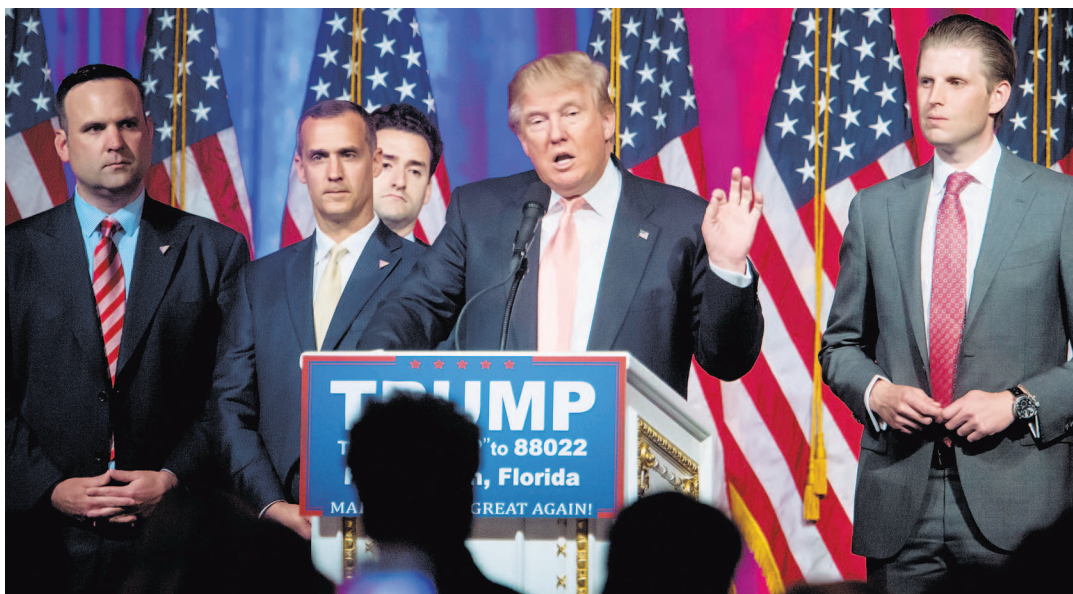
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Behind Rubio's Decision

Senator Marco Rubio of Florida ended his quest for the nomination after losing his home state to Donald J. Trump. Page A16



Hillary Clinton spoke in West Palm Beach, Fla., on Tuesday after winning the Florida primary.



Donald J. Trump held a news conference at his estate in Palm Beach. He won three states.



Gov. John Kasich of Ohio celebrating his home-state victory at Baldwin Wallace University.

Rubio Is Out — Kasich Wins in Ohio

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Donald J. Trump routed Senator Marco Rubio in Florida on Tuesday, driving him from the Republican presidential race, and easily won the primaries in Illinois and North Carolina, amassing a formidable delegate advantage that will be exceedingly difficult for any rival to overcome.

But with a victory in Ohio, his home state, Gov. John Kasich denied Mr. Trump one of the night's biggest prizes and made it considerably harder for him to clinch the nomination outright before primary voting ends in June.

Senator Ted Cruz of Texas finished second in Illinois and North Carolina and was locked in a tight race with Mr. Trump in Missouri, ensuring that he, too, would earn a share of delegates.

Mr. Trump has faced mounting criticism from Republicans for the vitriolic tone of his candidacy, but he struck a defiant note Tuesday night, describing himself proudly as a candidate of the angry and disaffected. "There is great anger," he said. "Believe me, there is great anger."

Republicans opposed to Mr. Trump believe that Tuesday's results may have increased their chances of denying him the nomination at the party's convention in Cleveland. But they are left with a pair of deeply flawed alternatives: Mr. Cruz, who has the second-most delegates but is reviled by many party leaders, and Mr. Kasich, who has so far run the equivalent of a favorite-son campaign, winning only Ohio.

Mr. Kasich must now strain for a larger role in a Republican contest in which he has largely com-

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Voters Reject Bid by Sanders in Rebound

By PATRICK HEALY and AMY CHOZICK

Hillary Clinton swept major primaries in Florida, North Carolina and Ohio on Tuesday, rebounding from her upset loss to Bernie Sanders in Michigan a week earlier and securing a political and psychological victory for her campaign.

The results were a significant setback for Mr. Sanders, who was counting on his fiery arguments against free trade to help him prevail across the industrial Midwest. He spent heavily trying to win Ohio, as well as Tuesday's contests in Illinois and Missouri, but he came away with his presidential bid looking increasingly hopeless, since Mrs. Clinton is far ahead in amassing delegates needed to win the nomination.

Early Wednesday, The Associated Press declared Mrs. Clinton the winner in Illinois, too. Votes were still being counted in Missouri.

For Mrs. Clinton, Tuesday's double-digit victories netted her so many delegates that her lead over Mr. Sanders is now about three times what Barack Obama's was over her in 2008. On a personal level, too, she and her advisers were reassured that regardless of her Michigan defeat, her political arguments about jobs and the economy had potency in states that will be major battlegrounds in November.

The top issue for Ohio Democratic primary voters was the economy, and most of them favored Mrs. Clinton. A majority of voters also said that trade with other nations takes away American jobs, and more than half of them supported Mrs. Clinton. In

Continued on Page A14

		Fla.	Ill.	Mo.	N.C.	Ohio
Republicans	PCT. REPORTING	99%	96	98	99	99
Donald J. Trump		46%	39	41	40	36
Ted Cruz		17	30	41	37	13
Marco Rubio		27	9	6	8	2
John Kasich		7	20	10	13	47
Democrats	PCT. REPORTING	99%	96	99	99	99
Hillary Clinton		65%	50	50	55	57
Bernie Sanders		33	49	49	41	43

Qaeda Branch in West Africa Is Making a Lethal Comeback

This article is by Dionne Searcey, Eric Schmitt and Rukmini Callimachi.

DAKAR, Senegal — Only a few years after French troops broke up its desert stronghold and scattered its fighters into the dunes, Al Qaeda's branch in West Africa has regrouped and extended its reach, storming into new territory across three nations.

The setting for its new attacks: fancy West African hotels where fighters can strike local elites and Westerners, many hundreds of miles from the militants' former base in northern Mali. They have killed dozens of people in recent months, including sunbathers

lounging at a seaside resort in Ivory Coast on Sunday, prompting the American military to call Al Qaeda's West African affiliate one of the world's most enduring Islamist terrorist groups.

Almost four years ago, the group, known as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, had reached its zenith, ruling over a remote stretch of northern Mali the size of Texas. But when it started creeping south toward the capital, Bamako, French troops rushed in, chasing the militants across the desert, where they were believed to have suffered catastrophic losses.

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Game May Never Be the Same As N.F.L. Shifts on Concussions

By KEN BELSON and ALAN SCHWARZ

Perhaps no one will remember the setting, a hearing room for the House Energy and Commerce Committee, or the person who asked the question, a member of the House of Representatives from Illinois. But seven words spoken in the Rayburn House Office Building in Washington on Monday could profoundly affect the country's most popular sport.

After years of the N.F.L.'s disputing evidence that connected football to chronic traumatic encephalopathy, the degenerative brain disease found in nearly 100 former players, a top official for

the league for the first time acknowledged the link. To many, it was an echo of big tobacco's confession in 1997 that smoking causes cancer and heart disease.

Representative Jan Schakowsky, Democrat of Illinois, asked during a round-table discussion about concussions whether "there is a link between football and degenerative brain disorders like C.T.E."

Jeff Miller, the N.F.L.'s senior vice president for health and safety policy, said, "The answer to that is certainly, yes." His response signaled a stunning

Continued on Page B11

New Standards for Painkillers Aim to Stem Overdose Deaths

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

WASHINGTON — In an effort to curb what many consider the worst public health drug crisis in decades, the federal government on Tuesday published the first national standards for prescription painkillers, recommending that doctors try pain relievers like ibuprofen before prescribing the highly addictive pills, and that they give most patients only a few days' supply.

The release of the new guidelines by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention ends months of arguments with pain doctors and drug industry groups, which had bitterly op-

posed the recommendations on the grounds that they would create unfair hurdles for patients who legitimately have long-term pain.

In the end, the agency softened the recommendations slightly but basically held its ground, a testament to how alarmed policy makers have become over the mounting overdoses and deaths from opioid addiction. Opioid deaths — including from heroin, which some people turn to after starting with prescription painkillers — reached a record 28,647 in 2014, according to the most re-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Russian Leader's Shift on Syria
Washington recalibrates as Vladimir V. Putin, above, plans to pull his forces from Syria. News Analysis. PAGE A4

U.S. Lifts Some Cuba Sanctions
The United States eased limits on travel to Cuba and commerce with it ahead of a visit by President Obama. PAGE A6

A U.S. Court Contender's Roots
An Indian village hopes Sri Srinivasan joins the Supreme Court. PAGE A3

NEW YORK A18-21

Addressing Violence in Shelters
To curb violence in homeless shelters, the Police Department will retrain some guards who help with security. PAGE A21

NATIONAL A11-17

Obama Heeded Drilling Foes
Local opposition and concerns by the Pentagon were behind the White House decision not to open the southeastern Atlantic Coast to oil drilling. PAGE A13

Ferguson Agrees to Pact
The Missouri city approved a consent decree with the Justice Department to overhaul its police and courts. PAGE A11

Accusations of Aiding Predator
Former Franciscan leaders are charged with endangering children. PAGE A12

FOOD D1-8

Pittsburgh's Dining Boom
The steel town is becoming known for its innovative restaurants. PAGE D1



BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Valeant's Outlook Worsens
The embattled drug maker issued weak earnings guidance and warned of a possible default on some of its debt, sending shares plummeting 50 percent. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES B15-16

Booker Prize Winner Dies
The author Anita Brookner, 87, was called the "mistress of gloom" for her stories of disappointed lives. PAGE B16

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B10-15

The Foundation of the Cubs
In the 108th year of their rebuilding program, the Chicago Cubs have assembled their team around first baseman Anthony Rizzo. PAGE B10

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Frank Bruni PAGE A23



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OBAMA PICK ENGAGES SUPREME COURT BATTLE

Showdown Felt Across The Capital

WASHINGTON — President Obama's nomination of Judge Merrick B. Garland to the Supreme Court has set off a series of head-spinning political calculations extreme even for a capital that feasts on political intrigue.

CARL HULSE

ON WASHINGTON

But the escalating fight over filling the court vacancy holds the potential to be a confrontation that could also help determine the winner of the White House race, control of the Senate and the ideological balance of the court. It is that rare Washington fight that washes over all three branches of government with the prospect of damaging each of them.

The nomination of Judge Garland, a centrist jurist with proven appeal to Republicans, came just hours after Donald J. Trump edged closer to the Republican presidential nomination, raising new fears among Republicans of a Democratic presidential victory and perhaps even a Senate takeover.

That possibility led some jittery Senate Republicans to suggest they might be willing to take up the nomination of Judge Garland in a postelection lame-duck session, preferring the relatively moderate and known commodity of Mr. Garland to the uncertain choice of a future Democratic president.

"For those of us who are concerned about the direction of the court and wanting at least a more centrist figure between him and somebody that President Clinton might nominate, I think the choice is clear — in a lame duck," said Senator Jeff Flake, an Arizona Republican who sits on the Judiciary Committee, referring to the possibility of a November victory by Hillary Clinton.

He was not alone. Senator Orrin G. Hatch, the senior Utah Republican who also sits on the panel, said he would be open to

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DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Merrick B. Garland with President Obama and Vice President Biden on Wednesday.

Centrist Appellate Judge Is Named — G.O.P. Leaders Refuse to Budge

This article is by Michael D. Shear, Julie Hirschfeld Davis and Gardiner Harris.

WASHINGTON — President Obama on Wednesday nominated Merrick B. Garland to be the nation's 113th Supreme Court justice, choosing a centrist appellate judge who could reshape the court for a generation and become the face of a bitter election-year confirmation struggle.

In selecting Judge Garland, 63, a well-known figure in Washington legal circles who has drawn praise from members of both parties, Mr. Obama dared Republican senators to ignore public pressure and make good on their promise to block consideration of any nominee until after the next president is chosen.

The nomination to fill the seat on the court created by the death of Justice Antonin Scalia sets in motion a standoff that is likely to play out for many months, perhaps without resolution. Its outcome could tip the ideological balance of the nation's highest court, and an array of well-financed interest groups on both sides has already assembled for

the battle over the nomination.

"I've selected a nominee who is widely recognized not only as one of America's sharpest legal minds, but someone who brings to his work a spirit of decency, modesty, integrity, even-handedness, and excellence," Mr. Obama said in a formal Rose Garden ceremony announcing his selection, where the president was flanked by Judge Garland and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. "Presidents do not stop working in the final year of their term; neither should a senator."

Republicans quickly rejected Mr. Obama's challenge. Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, appeared on the Senate floor shortly after the president's remarks to declare an end to Judge Garland's nomination, no matter his qualifications. In case there was any doubt, Mr. McConnell later called Judge Garland personally to say he would not be receiving him in his Capitol office, nor taking any action on his nomination.

"The American people may well elect a president who de-

Continued on Page A12

Amid Scandal, Brazil's Leader Gives Predecessor Legal Shield

By SIMON ROMERO

RIO DE JANEIRO — After the police raided his home and prosecutors sought his arrest, the former president of Brazil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, seemed destined to become the biggest figure caught in the widening corruption investigation upending Latin America's largest country.

But as it turns out, he may have an unusual escape route. Instead of facing jail, he is becoming a cabinet minister: President Dilma Rousseff, his protégée and successor, announced Wednesday that she was making him chief of staff.

The move grants Mr. da Silva,

the founder and face of the governing Workers' Party, broad legal protections, but it quickly intensified the political upheaval rattling the nation.

Brazil is suffering its worst economic crisis in decades. An enormous graft scheme has hobbled the national oil company. The Zika epidemic is causing despair across the northeast. And just before the world heads to Brazil for the Summer Olympics, the government is fighting for survival, with almost every corner of the political system under the cloud of scandal.

Ms. Rousseff is battling to stay in office, with protesters demanding her ouster and lawmakers pursuing impeachment proceedings against her. Demonstrations calling for her to resign flared Wednesday night in cities including Brasília and São Paulo.

But the people aspiring to replace Ms. Rousseff are under threat, too. The heads of both houses of Congress are being investigated for their roles in the national oil company scandal. The leader of the opposition Social Democrats is under fire over revelations that his family main-

Continued on Page A8

G.O.P. Enters Shadow Race For Delegates

By TRIP GABRIEL

COLUMBUS, Ohio — With more than half the states having now held their nominating contests, Donald J. Trump and Senator Ted Cruz are quietly directing their attention to a second, shadow election campaign — one that is out of sight, little understood but absolutely critical if Republicans arrive at their national convention with Mr. Trump short of a majority of delegates.

This parallel campaign is to select the individual delegates who will go to Cleveland in July for what could be the first contested convention in American politics in more than 60 years. Chosen through a byzantine process in each state, most of the delegates will become free agents if no one wins a majority on the first ballot.

The mere prospect that delegates could deny Mr. Trump the nomination led him to predict Wednesday that violence could erupt in such a situation.

"I think you'd have riots," Mr. Trump warned. It seemed no idle speculation after the recent mayhem at Trump rallies. Mr. Trump told CNN that he still expected to

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MAN IN THE NEWS MERRICK BRIAN GARLAND

Deference, With Limits

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — Merrick B. Garland, a Harvard-educated lawyer and classic overachiever, was working in lucrative private practice at Arnold & Porter in the nation's capital when, in 1989, he was offered a position as a federal prosecutor handling criminal cases here. It meant a 50 percent cut in pay and trading a sumptuous office for one that smelled of stale cigarettes.

He jumped at it. "I don't know whether he thought it would be good if he were ever going to become attorney general or a judge," said Earl

Steinberg, a lifelong friend who has known Judge Garland since kindergarten and roomed with him at Harvard. "But he viewed it as an experience he ought to get."

It was one of a series of carefully considered steps that positioned Judge Garland, now the chief judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, to stand in the Rose Garden on Wednesday beside President Obama, who nominated him for a job that friends say he has dreamed of for years: a seat on the United States Supreme Court.

On the bench, Judge Garland has a reputation as a moderate, admired by both Democrats and Republicans, who has come down on the government's side in a number of cases. He has not objected to the death penalty — he said it was "settled law" in a 1995 confirmation hearing — and he deferred to the Bush administration on the rights of detainees at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. He has been notably deferential to executive agencies and is seen as reluctant to second-guess experts.

But Judge Garland's deference

Continued on Page A12



RICK BOWMER/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Merrick B. Garland during the Oklahoma City bombing case.



ANDREA MOHIN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jump-Start to a New Season

Opening night of Paul Taylor's American Modern Dance at Lincoln Center melded old works and new. A review, Page C1.

His Patients in Pain, a Doctor Must Limit Their Use of Opioids

By JAN HOFFMAN

MILFORD, Neb. — Susan Kubicka-Welander, a short-order cook, went to her pain checkup appointment straight from the lunch-rush shift. "We were really busy," she told Dr. Robert L. Wergin, trying to smile through deeply etched lines of exhaustion. "Thursdays, it's Philly cheese-steaks."

Her back ached from a compression fracture; a shattered elbow was still mending; her left hip sciatica was screaming louder than usual. She takes a lot of medication for chronic pain, but today it was just not enough.

Yet rather than increasing her dose, Dr. Wergin was tapering her down. "Susan, we've got to get you to five pills a day," he said gently.

She winced.

Such conversations are becoming routine in doctors' offices across the country. A growing number of states are enacting measures to limit prescription opioids, highly addictive medicines that alleviate severe pain but have contributed to a surging epidemic of overdoses and deaths. This week the federal government issued the first national guidelines intended to reduce use of the drugs.

In Nebraska, Medicaid patients like Ms. Kubicka-Welander, 56, may face limits this year that have been recommended by a state drug review board. "We don't know what the final numbers will be," Dr. Wergin told her, "but we have to get you ready."

As politicians and policy makers decry the opioid crisis, the country's success in confronting it may well depend on the ability

Continued on Page A18

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Kurds Aim to Redraw Syria

Syrian Kurdish parties hope that their plan for a federal region across much of northern Syria will formalize the semi-autonomous zone they have established during five years of war. PAGE A9

A Ph.D. in Persistence

A 90-year-old woman, Colette Bourlier, has become one of the oldest people in France to be awarded a doctorate, 30 years after she began her research, interrupted by "some breaks." PAGE A10

NATIONAL A11-18

Shifting Tactics on Bergdahl

Charges that Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl now faces are far more serious than those that senior Army officials recommended after he was freed from Taliban captivity, new documents show. PAGE A11

Shootings' Election Casualties

Prosecutors in Illinois and Ohio, under fire for their handling of shootings by the police that were captured on video, lost re-election bids. PAGE A11

NEW YORK A20-23

Testing Newark Pupils for Lead

With screening set to start, officials acknowledged that water in the New Jersey city's schools had contained elevated levels of lead for years. PAGE A20

A New School for Officers

The \$950 million Police Academy in Queens has simulated urban settings, like a subway station, apartments and courtrooms. Building Blocks. PAGE A20

MUSEUMS, F SECTION



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Fed Holds Interest Rate Steady

While finding little domestic economic harm in recent market turmoil, officials said they would scale back the rate increases set for later this year. PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-14

Monikers With Some Madness

The N.C.A.A. men's basketball tournament features a throwback element: a lot of players with colorful nicknames (start with Scoochie). PAGE B9

THURSDAY STYLES D1-12

Nike, From Track to Runway

The lines between fashion and athletic-wear are blurring, and Nike aims to be a major global player in both. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Nicholas Kristof

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BRUSSELS ATTACKS SHAKE EUROPEAN SECURITY



TOP, KETEVAN KARDAVA/GEORGIAN PUBLIC BROADCASTER, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS; BELGIAN FEDERAL POLICE, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Aftermath at the Brussels airport, top. Surveillance video, above, showed suspects and may hold clues to ISIS tactics. Page A8.

Heightened Fear of Intelligence Failures

By ADAM NOSSITER

PARIS — Since the November attacks in Paris, the Belgian authorities have conducted dozens of raids, combed whole neighborhoods for well-known militants and even locked down the capital for days, all part of promises to step up efforts to root out jihadists.

Yet none of that evidently disrupted plans for the attacks on Tuesday at Brussels's main international airport and a subway station in the heart of the capital of the European Union.

The new attacks again underscored not only the weaknesses of Belgium's security services, but also the persistence and increasingly dangerous prospect of what several intelligence experts described as a sympathetic milieu for terrorist cells to form, hide and operate in the center of Europe.

The attacks have set off a new round of soul-searching about whether Europe's security services must redouble their efforts, even at the risk of further impinging on civil liberties, or whether such attacks have become an unavoidable part of life in an open European society.

At the very least, they have exposed the enduring vulnerability of Europe to terrorism in an age of easy travel and communications and rising militancy.

Even before the Belgian authorities captured Salah Abdeslam on Friday for his suspected role in the Nov. 13 Paris attacks, which killed 130 people, they had detained or arrested scores of suspects directly or peripherally connected to what they described as a terrorist network linked to the Islamic State.

But despite the success in arresting Mr. Abdeslam, Belgium continues to present a special security problem for Europe.

The country of just 11.2 million people faces widening derision as being the world's wealthiest failed state — a worrying mix of deeply rooted terrorist networks; a government weakened by divisions among French, Dutch and German speakers; and an overwhelmed intelligence service in seemingly chronic disarray.

It is also home to what Bernard Squarcini, a former head of France's internal intelligence, described as "a favorable ecosystem: an Islamist milieu, and a family milieu," which played an important role in sheltering Mr. Abdeslam and also perhaps in Tuesday's attacks.

"It shows that they were in a neighborhood that can shelter

Continued on Page A8

Bomb Blasts Sow Carnage and Mayhem

This article is by Alissa J. Rubin, Aurelien Breeden and Anita Raghavan.

BRUSSELS — Bombs packed with nails terrorized Brussels on Tuesday in the deadliest assault on the European heartland since the Islamic State's attacks on Paris four months ago, hitting the airport and subway system in coordinated strikes that were also claimed by the militant extremist group.

The bombings paralyzed Brussels, the headquarters of the European Union and NATO, prompted international travel warnings to avoid Belgium and reverberated across the Atlantic to the United States, where New York and other major cities raised terrorism threat levels. Anxieties intensified about the inability to prevent mass killings at relatively unprotected places.

At least 30 people were killed by two blasts at the Brussels airport departure area around 8 a.m. and one in a subway station shortly after 9. The police found at least one other unexploded bomb in a search of a Brussels house hours later.

And Europe's most wanted person suddenly became an unidentified man in a white coat and dark hat seen pushing a luggage cart in an airport surveillance photo taken just before the bombings. Two other men in the photo, each wearing a black glove on his left hand, were identified by Belgian prosecutors as suspected suicide bombers who appeared to have died in the explosions.

"To those who have chosen to be the barbaric enemies of liberty, of democracy, of fundamental values, I want to say with the greatest strength that we will remain assembled and united," the Belgian prime minister, Charles Michel, said at a news conference Tuesday evening, declaring a three-day mourning period.

Francis Vermeiren, the mayor of Zaventem, the Brussels suburb where the airport is located, was quoted by Agence France-Presse late Tuesday as saying all three men had arrived in a taxi, putting suitcases that contained the bombs on luggage carts.

CNN reported on Tuesday night that the police removed bags of evidence from an apartment in the northeast Brussels neighborhood of Schaerbeek, after a taxi driver who saw the photograph of the men told the authorities that he had taken them from the building to the airport that morning, with many large bags.

Passengers who had been in

Continued on Page A6

SECURITY LAPSE Porous borders and a calcified security apparatus have helped the Islamic State do harm in Europe, experts say. PAGE A8

FAMILIAR HORROR Witnesses to the blasts in Brussels said they immediately thought about last year's terrorist attacks in Paris. PAGE A9

FUELING A DEBATE The attacks in Brussels were quickly injected into the bitter debate about the influx of migrants into Europe. PAGE A7

In Campaign, Walking a Tightrope Over the Fight Against ISIS

By DAVID E. SANGER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — Ten hours before terrorists struck Brussels, Donald J. Trump was on television describing his strategy for confronting the Islamic State: He would pound it with airstrikes, but any ground action must be taken by the United States' partners in the region. He did not mention, if he knew, that this was a pretty close approximation of President Obama's approach.

But then Mr. Trump went further, saying that the American

contribution to NATO — whose headquarters is in Brussels, smack between the airport and the subway station bombed by the Islamic State on Tuesday — should be scaled back.

It was a surprising signal to Europe at a moment when it is under attack, and a vivid reminder of the risks of running for president in an age of terrorism: What sounds reasonable cautious in the evening can ring weak or strategically incoherent by morning.

Most presidential candidates, with rare exceptions, are tempt-

ed to adopt far more hawkish stances on the campaign trail than presidents do in the Oval Office, where they must confront the realities of building coalitions, sorting through conflicting intelligence and pursuing comprehensive counterterrorism programs. But in the current atmosphere, a strike like the one on Tuesday in Brussels rekindles every debate about whether the United States should use diplomacy, isolation or military might.

Indeed, within hours of seeing images of the carnage in Belgium, Mr. Trump renewed his

calls for a ban on Muslims entering the United States and for legalized torture to extract information from an Islamic State operative captured last week in Brussels. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas went beyond his promise of "carpet-bombing" to demand that the United States "empower law enforcement to patrol and secure Muslim neighborhoods before they become radicalized."

Even Gov. John Kasich of Ohio, who objected to Mr. Cruz's idea, called on Mr. Obama to abandon his trip to Cuba and Argentina,

Continued on Page A7

Town's Anti-Drug Plan: Safe Site to Use Heroin

By LISA W. FODERARO

ITHACA, N.Y. — Even Svante L. Myrick, the mayor of this city, thought the proposal sounded a little crazy, though it was put forth by a committee he had appointed. The plan called for establishing a site where people could legally shoot heroin — something that does not exist anywhere in the United States.

"Heroin is bad, and injecting heroin is bad, so how could supervised heroin injection be a good thing?" Mr. Myrick, a Democrat, said.



HEATHER AINSWORTH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Mayor Svante Myrick seeks to curb drug abuse in Ithaca, N.Y.

But he also knew he had to do something drastic to confront the scourge of heroin in his city in central New York. So he was willing to take a chance and embrace the

radical notion, knowing well that it would provoke a backlash.

And it has. Ever since Mr. Myrick, 29, unveiled a plan last month for what he called a "supervised injection facility," critics have pounced on it as a harebrained idea that would just enable more drug abuse. A Republican state legislator, Tom O'Mara, called it "preposterous" and "asinine," and a Cornell law professor, William A. Jacobson, said it would be a "government-run heroin shooting gallery."

But others, including workers

Continued on Page A17

Why Hackers Might Help F.B.I. and Not Apple

By NICOLE PERLROTH and KATIE BENNER

SAN FRANCISCO — After a third party went to the F.B.I. with claims of being able to unlock an iPhone, many in the security industry said they were not surprised that the third party did not go to Apple.

For all the steps Apple has taken to encrypt customers' communications and its rhetoric around customer privacy, security experts said the company was still doing less than many competitors to seal up its systems from hack-



ANDREW BURTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Security flaws in Apple devices are prized by hackers.

ers. And when hackers do find flaws in Apple's code, they have little incentive to turn them over to the company for fixing.

Google, Microsoft, Facebook,

Twitter, Mozilla and many other tech companies all pay outside hackers who turn over bugs in their products and systems. Uber began a new bug bounty program on Tuesday. Google has paid outside hackers more than \$6 million since it announced a bug bounty program in 2010, and the company last week doubled its top reward to \$100,000 for anyone who can break into its Chromebook.

Apple, which has had relatively strong security over the years, has been open about how security is a never-ending cat-and-mouse

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NATIONAL A12-15

Trump and Clinton Win

Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton won decisive victories in the Arizona primaries, extending their leads in the presidential campaign. Turnout was unusually high. PAGE A14

Advisers Have Low Profiles

When Donald J. Trump finally began to reveal the names of his foreign policy advisers, the Republican foreign policy establishment generally had one reaction: Who? PAGE A14



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Rollout of Chip Cards Lags

Even for some retailers who made the expensive upgrades, the transition to credit cards embedded with security chips has been troublesome. PAGE B1

Elusive Gas Mileage Targets

With gas prices low and S.U.V. sales high, automakers want to relax future fuel-economy targets. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

Hamlet's Traveling Players

Shakespeare's Globe theater sent a shored-down version of the play on a two-year tour to 200 countries. PAGE C1

NEW YORK A16-18

Illicit Diversions as Revenue

New York State lawmakers are legalizing or easing the rules on gambling, mixed martial arts bouts and alcohol as a way to raise revenue. PAGE A16

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

Grave Warning of Climate Shift

Leading climate scientists said that nations were not moving fast enough to reduce global warming. PAGE A11

Love Me Don't

Female burying beetles use chemical signals to curb the desires of males and get them to protect their eggs. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL

A Call for Change in Cuba

President Obama urged Cuba's government to loosen its grip on the economy and political expression. PAGE A4

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B9-13

Cubans Applaud a U.S. Win

President Obama and Rachel Robinson, the widow of Jackie Robinson, were spectators at a landmark exhibition game in Cuba that featured the Tampa Bay Rays. PAGE B10



FOOD D1-8

Rise, Fluffy, Rise!

For many Americans, sourdough starter is like a pet: Adopt it, protect it, keep it fed and it will love you back. PAGE D1

Living the Lowlife

Lowlife on Stanton Street opened in November featuring the talents of the chef Alex Leonard. A review. PAGE D6

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A23





BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Capt. Curt A. Renshaw sat in the captain's chair on the Chancellorsville last month, before its South China Sea patrol mission.

Ice-Sheet Melt Seen Harming Cities by 2100

By JUSTIN GILLIS

For half a century, climate scientists have seen the West Antarctic ice sheet, a remnant of the last ice age, as a sword of Damocles hanging over human civilization.

The great ice sheet, larger than Mexico, is thought to be potentially vulnerable to disintegration from a relatively small amount of global warming, and capable of raising the sea level by 12 feet or more should it break up. But researchers long assumed the worst effects would take hundreds — if not thousands — of years to occur.

Now, new research suggests the disaster scenario could play out much sooner.

Continued high emissions of heat-trapping gases could launch a disintegration of the ice sheet within decades, according to a study published Wednesday, heaving enough water into the ocean to raise the sea level as much as three feet by the end of this century.

With ice melting in other regions, too, the total rise of the sea could reach five or six feet by 2100, the researchers found. That is roughly twice the increase reported as a plausible worst-case scenario by a United Nations panel just three years ago, and so high it would likely provoke a profound crisis within the lifetimes of children being born today.

The situation would grow far worse beyond 2100, the researchers found, with the rise of the sea exceeding a pace of a foot per decade by the middle of the 22nd century. Scientists had documented such rates of increase in the geologic past, when far larger ice sheets were collapsing, but most of them had long assumed it would be impossible to reach

Continued on Page A10

Shadowboxing With China in Disputed Waters

By HELENE COOPER

ABOARD THE U.S.S. CHANCELLORSVILLE, in the South China Sea — The Navy cruiser was in disputed waters off the Spratly Islands when the threat warning sounded over the ship's intercom: "Away the Snooie team. ... Away the Snooie team."

As the sailors of the "Snooie team" went on alert and took up positions throughout the ship, a Chinese naval frigate appeared on the horizon, bearing down on the cruiser Chancellorsville last week from the direction of Mischief Reef. More alarming, a Chinese helicopter that had taken off from the frigate was heading straight for the American cruiser.

"This is U.S. Navy warship on guard," Ensign Anthony Giancana said into his radio from the ship's bridge, trying to contact

The Times Boards a Navy Cruiser on the South China Sea

the helicopter. "Come up on Frequency 121.5 or 243."

Ominously, there was no response.

Here in the hot azure waters off the Spratly and Paracel Islands — which encompass reefs, banks and cays — the United States and China are jockeying for dominance in the Pacific. From Mischief Reef, where China is building a military base in defiance of claims by Vietnam and the Philippines, to Scarborough Shoal, where the Chinese are building and equipping outposts on disputed territory far from the

mainland, the two naval forces are on an almost continuous state of alert.

Although the South China Sea stretches some 500 miles from mainland China, Beijing has claimed most of it. Tensions have risen sharply, and the topic is expected to dominate President Obama's meeting in Washington this week with the Chinese president, Xi Jinping.

America's goal is to keep the South China Sea, one of the world's busiest shipping lanes, open to all maritime traffic. But administration officials are in-

Continued on Page A12

Chilly Forecast for China

Harsh criticism of China by President Obama's would-be successors has Chinese leaders worried, experts say. Page A12.



JERRY HOLT/STAR TRIBUNE, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

No Charges in Minneapolis Police Shooting

"An injustice has been done today," said Nekima Levy-Pounds, left, president of the Minneapolis chapter of the N.A.A.C.P., after the announcement in the death of Jamar Clark. Page A13.

Nursing Home's Sale to Condo Developer Raises Questions for City

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

Late last year, as Mayor Bill de Blasio worked to change zoning codes to compel the creation of more affordable housing, an obscure New York City agency quietly lifted all restrictions on the use of a former nursing home on the Lower East Side of Manhat-

tan.

For decades, the blocklong property had been protected from the neighborhood's transformation by its restrictive deed, which prevented any use for other than nonprofit residential health care. But the agency, the Department of Citywide Administrative Services, was paid \$16.15 million in November by the building owner

to lift those protections, without conditions.

That move came amid a whirlwind series of transactions: The building had been sold months before to Allure Group, a nursing-home operator, which then flipped it in February to a condominium developer for \$116 million.

Mr. de Blasio said he was blindsided and angered by the develop-

ments. But a review of city records, correspondence and lobbying reports suggests that the city mismanaged the situation, accepting more than \$16 million to pave the way for precisely the type of luxury housing it has sought to limit.

Lifting deed restrictions in New York is a rare act in itself. Since

Continued on Page A23

Trump's Call On Abortions Rattles G.O.P.

He Recants Suggestion to Punish Women

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Donald J. Trump said on Wednesday that women who seek abortions should be subject to "some form of punishment" if the procedure is banned in the United States, further elevating Republican concerns that his explosive remarks about women could doom the party in the fall.

The comment, which Mr. Trump later recanted, attracted instant, bipartisan criticism — the latest in a series of high-profile episodes that have shined a light on Mr. Trump's feeble approval ratings among women nationally.

In this case, Mr. Trump also ran afoul of conservative doctrine, with opponents of abortion rights immediately castigating him for suggesting that those who receive abortions — and not merely those who perform them — should be punished if the practice is outlawed.

The statement came as Mr. Trump appeared at a town-hall-style forum with Chris Matthews of MSNBC, recorded for broadcast on Wednesday night. Mr. Matthews pressed Mr. Trump, who once supported abortion rights, on his calls to ban the procedure, asking how he might enforce such a restriction.

"You go back to a position like they had where they would perhaps go to illegal places," Mr. Trump said, after initially deflecting questions. "But you have to ban it."

He added, after a bit more prodding, "There has to be some form of punishment."

Hours later, Mr. Trump recanted his remarks, essentially in full, a rare and remarkable shift for a candidate who proudly extols his unwillingness to apologize or bow to "political correctness."

If abortion were disallowed, he said in a statement, "the doctor or any other person performing this illegal act upon a woman would be held legally responsible, not the woman."

"The woman is a victim in this case, as is the life in her womb," he continued.

Mr. Trump's Republican rivals moved quickly to distance themselves from his initial comments as well. Gov. John Kasich of Ohio said, "Of course women shouldn't be punished."

"I don't think that's an appropriate response," he told MSNBC. "It's a difficult enough situation."

The campaign of Senator Ted

Continued on Page A18

NEW F.D.A. RULES WILL EASE ACCESS TO ABORTION PILL

A DECADES-LONG DEBATE

A Victory for Advocates, and a Rallying Cry for Opponents

By SABRINA TAVERNISE

The Food and Drug Administration has relaxed the guidelines for taking a pill that induces abortion, reviving one of the most contentious issues of the abortion debate. The change allows women to use the drug further into pregnancy and with fewer visits to the doctor.

The announcement on Wednesday came unexpectedly in the final stretch of the Obama administration and amid an election campaign in which both parties covet the women's vote. Some abortion opponents charged that the new regimen was politically motivated. The F.D.A. said its actions were based strictly on medical science.

The change was an unequivocal victory for abortion rights advocates who had been fighting laws in Texas, North Dakota and Ohio, among other states, that require doctors prescribing the pill to follow the directions on the F.D.A. label for using it, which

had been more stringent. The change brings the directions for taking the drug, mifepristone, in line with what has become standard medical practice in most states: reducing the dosage to 200 milligrams from 600 milligrams, decreasing the number of visits a woman must make to a doctor to two from three, and extending the period when she can take the pill to 10 weeks of pregnancy from seven weeks.

The debate over the drug, formerly known as RU-486, has raged for decades, with abortion rights groups demanding access to it in the United States in the 1990s. Medication-induced abortions have increasingly been used to terminate pregnancies in recent years, and limiting access to them has become an important front in the anti-abortion movement. They made up as much as a quarter of all abortions in 2011, according to the most recent figures from the Guttmacher Institute, which tracks women's reproductive health issues. Planned Parenthood said as many as half of eligible women in its clinics requested medication-

Continued on Page A14

Brand Names Under Pressure To Sit Out G.O.P. Convention

By JONATHAN MARTIN and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Some of the country's best-known corporations are nervously grappling with what role they should play at the Republican National Convention, given the likely nomination of Donald J. Trump, whose divisive candidacy has alienated many women, blacks and Hispanics.

An array of activist groups is organizing a campaign to pressure the companies to refuse to sponsor the gathering, which many of the corporations have done for the Republican and the Democratic Parties for decades.

The pressure is emerging as some businesses and trade groups are privately debating whether to scale back their participation, according to interviews with more than a dozen lobbyists, consultants and fund-raisers directly involved in the

conversations.

Apple, Google and Walmart are among the companies assessing their plans for the convention, which will be held July 18 to 21 in Cleveland.

In addition to Mr. Trump's divisive politics, there is the possibility that protests, or even violence, will become a focus of attention at the convention. Mr. Trump has suggested that there will be "riots" if he is not chosen as the party's nominee, and the city of Cleveland recently sought

Continued on Page A19

Clearing the Trump Maze

Attending a Donald J. Trump political rally these days involves negotiating a number of checkpoints. Page A18.



NATIONAL A13-19

Library Doors Closed to Some

Fines and fees on overdue materials keep poorer patrons from using public libraries in San Jose, Calif. PAGE A13

Alabama Governor Digs In

Gov. Robert Bentley says he will not resign over what he describes as inappropriate behavior with an aide. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A4-12

French Charge a Terror Suspect

The arsenal amassed by a French suspect charged with terrorism offenses led officials to believe that he had been plotting an "imminent attack." PAGE A11

Seeking Unity in Libya's Chaos

Members of a unity government returned to Libya to try to get rival groups to yield to their authority. PAGE A8

NEW YORK A20-23

Deal on Newark Police Reforms

A settlement announced by federal officials is meant to address a pattern of unconstitutional police practices. PAGE A20

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

The Lure of Live Online Video

As they try to reach more mobile devices, media companies are diving into a recent Facebook feature that allows the broadcast of live video. PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B9-14

Growing Pains for Chess

Promoters find it difficult to raise the game's profile in advance of the world championship in New York. PAGE B9

Keeping Up With UConn

The Huskies' dominance has forced other women's basketball programs to improve, Harvey Araton writes. PAGE B9



THURSDAY STYLES D1-8

A Success Story, Told in Socks

An Alabama woman is reviving her family's mill with a new brand of fashionable and colorful, organic socks. PAGE D1

Come Out to Play

Experiments with color, texture and form are a testament to the high spirits pervading fashion this spring. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-8

An Elusive Nazi Artifact

Two men spent a dozen years tracking down the diary of Alfred Rosenberg, a member of Hitler's inner circle. PAGE C1

A Soulful Inspiration

The author James McBride has turned a series of profiles into a book about the singer James Brown. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Gail Collins

PAGE A25



ECONOMY PASSES A PEAK IN EUROPE AFTER 8-YEAR DIP

BACK TO PRECRISIS LEVEL

A Recovery May Finally Be Taking Hold, but Gains Are Shaky

By PETER S. GOODMAN

By one measure, the economic crisis that has long ravaged Europe is finally over.

On Friday, the European Union released data showing that the overall economy of the 19 countries that use the euro advanced 0.6 percent over the first three months of the year, compared with the previous quarter.

That gain, equivalent to an annual rate of 2.2 percent, brought the eurozone's gross domestic product for the period — the total value of goods and services produced — to slightly above the previous peak reached in the early months of 2008, before the crisis emerged and Europe's core economy descended into a pair of crippling recessions.

"The long-awaited recovery may finally be consolidating," said Iain Begg, a research fellow at the European Institute of the London School of Economics.

Yet as milestones go, Europe's return to precrisis levels of economic activity came with so many qualifiers that any celebration seemed premature at best, and at worst like a mockery for the tens of millions of ordinary Europeans who have far from recovered. New unemployment data on Friday showed that the eurozone jobless rate, while edging down slightly, remained above 10 percent — more than twice the level in the United States.

"It's almost a lost decade," said Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel laureate economist and a professor at Columbia University. "It's a remarkable testimony to the economic failure of the euro and the eurozone."

The strongest economies in the eurozone — major exporters like Germany and the Netherlands — have moved ahead. But in the worst-hit countries — Greece, Ireland and Italy — ordinary people continue to grapple with the consequences of deep job losses and wage cuts, which have slashed incomes.

In Italy, disposable income for the average household — essentially, take-home pay — shrank 4 percent from 2008 to 2014, according to European Union data. Over those years, Greek households lost 24 percent of their disposable income. At the same time, German households gained more than 15 percent.

So much time has passed with overall European fortunes frozen or even sliding backward that doubts persist about the ability of the Continent to ever again achieve sustained robust growth. In a region of 340 million people that is not just a fount of precise German engineering but also Italian luxury goods and French gastronomic excellence, children have been born and raised to primary school age while commercial life around them has achieved practically no gains.

Continued on Page B5



A Cascade of Errors A U.S. aircraft's targeting system failed, showing its intended target as being in an empty field. The crew attacked a hospital based on a visual description and continued after hospital staff notified U.S. officials.



GREGOR AISCH, JOSH KELLER, SERGIO PEÇANHA/THE NEW YORK TIMES; SATELLITE IMAGES BY ASTRIUM/M.S.F. AND DIGITALGLOBE VIA BING MAPS

PENTAGON DETAILS CHAIN OF ERRORS IN AFGHAN STRIKE

16 Punished in Deadly Hospital Tragedy Described in 3,000-Page Report

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON — Dispatched to eliminate a compound swarming with Taliban fighters, the AC-130 gunship circled above the Afghan city, its crew struggling to figure out where exactly to direct the aircraft's frightening array of weaponry. Missile fire had forced it off course, and now the gunship's targeting systems were pointing it to an empty field, not an enemy base.

About 1,000 feet to the southwest, however, the crew spotted a collection of buildings that roughly matched the description of the Taliban compound provided by American and Afghan forces on the ground. Nine men could be spotted walking between the buildings.

The gunship's navigator called an American Special Forces air controller on the ground seeking guidance. The response was immediate and unequivocal.

"Compound is currently under control of the TB, so those nine PAX are hostile," the air controller said, using common military shorthand for "Taliban" and "people."

The air controller was wrong. His mistake was one link in a chain of human errors and equipment and procedural failures that led to the devastating attack on a Doctors Without Borders hospital in Afghanistan last year that killed 42 people, the Defense Department said Friday, in its first extensive account of what happened in the city of Kunduz, early

on the morning of Oct. 3.

In a heavily redacted report, which runs more than 3,000 pages, military investigators described a mission that went wrong from start to finish. Even after Doctors Without Borders informed American commanders that a gunship was attacking a hospital, the airstrike was not immediately called off because, it appears, the Americans could not confirm themselves that the hospital was actually free of Taliban.

"Immediately calling for a cease-fire for a situation we have no SA — situational awareness, that is — 'could put the ground force at risk,' an American commander whose name and rank were redacted was quoted as saying in the report.

Sixteen American military personnel, including a general officer, have been punished for their roles in the strike, said Gen. Joseph L. Votel, the new top officer of the military's Central Command, who presented the results of the investigation during a Pentagon news conference.

The punishments for the attack will be "administrative actions" only, and none of those being disciplined will face criminal charges because the attack was determined to be unintentional, General Votel said, and neither the gunship crew members nor the Special Forces on the ground who were directing the strike "knew they were striking a medical facility."

Continued on Page A6

As Attacks Surge, Boys and Girls Fill Israeli Jails

By DIAA HADID

HALHOUL, West Bank — Sharing a cell inside an Israeli prison, the Palestinian girls would toss baskets and play a game they called shuffle ball. There were academic classes in the afternoon, and sometimes an Arab-Israeli prisoner known as Auntie Lina would braid their hair.

In the evenings, Dima al-Wawi, a 12-year-old arrested in February with a knife at the entrance to an Israeli settlement in the occupied West Bank, would sing Palestinian nationalist anthems with Istabraq Noor, 14, who was accused of trying to sneak into a different settlement to attack Jewish

Crackdown Renews a Debate on Justice for Palestinians

residents in October.

"Mom, I didn't even cry once!" Dima boasted upon being released on Sunday after serving about half of her four-and-a-half-month sentence.

"Not even for us?" asked her mother, Sabha, 47.

"Only under the covers," she replied. "At night."

There were a dozen such girls with similar cases in Israeli cus-

tomdy before Dima's release, up from one in September — part of a surge in Palestinian minors incarcerated during a wave of violence that has killed about 30 Israelis in the last seven months. Assaf Liberati, a spokesman for the prison service, said the number of Palestinian prisoners under 18 more than doubled, to 430 from 170 before the stabbings, shootings and vehicular attacks began on Oct. 1. Of them, 103 were 16 or younger, up from 32.

"It's the biggest number that we know," Mr. Liberati said.

The increase reflects a broad Israeli crackdown on young Palestinians who throw stones or

Continued on Page A7



Dima al-Wawi, 12, arriving home after serving about half of a four-and-a-half-month sentence.

Small Colleges Are Pressured Over Finances

By ANEMONA HARTOCOLLIS

RINDGE, N.H. — Amber Jackson remembers the moment she learned that both her majors — dance and math — had been cut from the program at Franklin Pierce University. She immediately called her mother, whose reaction was: "They can do that?"

They could. After years of financial crisis, Franklin Pierce, like dozens of other small colleges nationwide, is struggling to survive. It faces huge debt, a junk bond credit rating and an uncertain future. It has even resorted to creative image-buffing, like hanging a banner on a derelict building here saying, "Future Home of the Franklin Pierce Science Center," though there is no money for a science center yet.

This year, there is a glimmer of hope. Applications were up 79 percent, an unlikely side effect of the university's decision to revive a political polling operation in a hot election year. But as Andrew H. Card Jr., who took over as university president about 15 months ago, said, "One year does not a trend make."

Still, he said, "I breathed a sigh of relief."

In the last few years, small liberal arts colleges have been under financial siege, forced to re-examine their missions and justify their existence. Even several established and respected ones — Bard College, Yeshiva University, Mills College and Morehouse College, among others — have received negative financial ratings.

Not that long ago, colleges across the country enjoyed a seemingly endless supply of candidates and were pouring money into expansion plans. Some added

Continued on Page A12



A detail from Walt Whitman's articles on healthy living.

Long-Lost Tips By Whitman: Up, You Idler!

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

In 1858, when Walt Whitman sat down to write a manifesto on healthy living, he came up with advice that might not seem out of place in an infomercial today.

"Let the main part of the diet be meat, to the exclusion of all else," Whitman wrote, sounding more than a little paleo.

As for the feet, he recommended that the comfortable shoes "now specially worn by base-ball players" — sneakers, if you will — be "introduced for general use," and he offered warnings about the dangers of inactivity that could have been issued from a 19th-century standing desk.

"To you, clerk, literary man, sedentary person, man of fortune, idler, the same advice," he declared. "Up!"

Whitman's words, part of a nearly 47,000-word journalistic series called "Manly Health and Training," were lost for more than 150 years, buried in an obscure newspaper that survived only in a handful of libraries. The series was uncovered last summer by a graduate student, who came

Continued on Page A3

Facing Glare of the N.F.L. Spotlight Under an Unexpected Cloud

This article is by Ken Belson, Mark Leibovich and Ben Shpigel.

CHICAGO — An assistant for Jimmy Sexton, the most powerful agent in football, stood face to face with a client, Laremy Tunsil, the 6-foot-5, 310-pound offensive lineman from the University of Mississippi, in a crowded media room

in the Auditorium Theatre at Roosevelt University on Thursday night.

Tunsil had just been selected by the Miami Dolphins with the 13th pick in the first round of the N.F.L. draft. But he was also suddenly at the center of one of the biggest calamities in draft history. Sexton's assistant, Amy Milam, prepped Tunsil for the onslaught he was

about to experience. Sweat was pouring off his brow as soon as reporters began lobbing questions.

After a couple of minutes of questioning, Milam, maybe a foot shorter than Tunsil, quickly barged forward, declared the interview over and pushed him to the door.

The N.F.L. draft, the league's

glitziest showpiece after the Super Bowl, has long produced cringe-worthy drama when highly regarded players are passed over. The farther someone's stock falls on draft night, with millions of TV viewers watching, the greater the spectacle.

But what happened on Thurs-

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NATIONAL A8-13

Shedding Light on Invaders

Warm weather came early in Arizona, and so did the scorpions. Exterminators hunt them under black lights. PAGE A8

Chance for Deals Slips Away

The end of a presidential term normally inspires productivity on policy. Not this year. Congressional Memo. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

In Debt and at Risk in Russia

With their economy in turmoil, Russians are borrowing at astronomical interest rates and then have to deal with menacing debt collectors. PAGE A4

Biden Speaks at the Vatican

Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. talked about his faith and the campaign to cure cancer. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A15-17

Undercutting a Former Inmate

At the trial of guards charged in a beating at Rikers Island, the alleged victim's credibility is questioned. PAGE A15

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Battle Against Payday Lenders

The website NerdWallet tries to help people avoid the trap of short-term loans with punishingly high interest rates, Ron Lieber writes. PAGE B1

Oil Giants a Little Bit Leaner

With prices at lows not seen in a decade, Exxon's and Chevron's quarterly earnings have lost their swagger. PAGE B1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

Batting Champion Suspended

Dee Gordon, who led the National League with a .333 average last season, will miss 80 games for doping. PAGE D1



THIS WEEKEND

A Journey With Alzheimer's

In a special section, N. R. Kleinfeld follows Geri Gordon as she navigates the early stages of the disease with prudence, grace and hope.

ARTS C1-6

Show's Tougher Path to Tonys

"Shuffle Along" had hoped to be classified as a revival for the Tony Awards, but was termed a new musical. PAGE C1

A Genre of One

On his new album, "Views," Drake fends off attacks and keeps his grip on the turf he controls. A review. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Gail Collins

PAGE A19



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TRUMP NEARS NOMINATION AS CRUZ DROPS OUT



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump, with his wife, Melania, on Tuesday, is positioned to clinch enough delegates to avoid a contested convention.

A Rival's Message Was Consistent to the End

By MATT FLEGENHEIMER

INDIANAPOLIS — Less than a month ago, Senator Ted Cruz seemed to have done it.

He had won Wisconsin. Former rivals were holding their noses to support him. He was dominating delegate elections, positioning himself for what seemed increasingly likely to be a floor fight at the Republican convention in July, as the campaign of Donald J. Trump fell into internal disarray.

"Tonight is a turning point," Mr. Cruz said on primary night in Milwaukee. "It is a rallying cry." It was neither.

On Tuesday, Mr. Cruz ended his campaign, his loss in Indiana extinguishing any chance of denying Mr. Trump the nomination.

"Together we left it all on the field in Indiana," Mr. Cruz told supporters here as cries of "Nooo!" rained from the crowd. "We gave it everything we've got. But the voters chose another path."

Yet to dismiss Mr. Cruz as an also-ran would diminish his unlikely feat in outlasting nearly every rival: His calls for conservative purity were, for better or worse, the most consistent message in the field, his rage against the "Washington cartel" a signal of the nation's ever-dimming view of its leaders.

In a year when many voters flocked to the candidate they hoped could startle Washington into submission, Mr. Cruz galvanized millions of supporters drawn to his more ideological conservatism, quoting founding documents and free-market texts. He was the most right-leaning candidate to even sniff the nomination in at least a half-century.

Long before Mr. Trump careered into the race, Mr. Cruz staked perhaps the loudest claim to the boiling national anger among hard-line conservatives in the age of President Obama.

He was half-right.

"Ted Cruz's theory of the race was that conservatives were angry," said Ben Domenech, the publisher of The Federalist, a conservative online journal. "It turns

Continued on Page A13

Kasich Remains — Sanders in Rebound

By JONATHAN MARTIN and PATRICK HEALY

Donald J. Trump became the presumptive Republican presidential nominee on Tuesday with a landslide win in Indiana that drove his principal opponent, Senator Ted Cruz, from the race and cleared the way for the polarizing, populist outsider to take control of the party.

After months of sneering dismissals and expensive but impotent attacks from Republicans fearful of his candidacy, Mr. Trump is now positioned to clinch the required number of delegates for the nomination by the last day of voting on June 7. Facing only a feeble challenge from Gov. John Kasich of Ohio, Mr. Trump is all but certain to roll into the Republican convention in July with the party establishment's official but uneasy embrace.

In the Democratic contest, Senator Bernie Sanders rebounded from a string of defeats to prevail in Indiana over Hillary Clinton, who largely abandoned the state after polls showed her faring poorly with the predominantly white electorate. But the outcome was not expected to significantly change Mrs. Clinton's sizable lead in delegates needed to win the Democratic nomination.

Mr. Trump's victory was an extraordinary moment in American political history: He is now on course to be the first standard-bearer of a party since Dwight D. Eisenhower, a five-star general and the commander of Allied Forces in Europe during World War II, who had not served in elected office.

Mr. Trump, a real estate tycoon turned reality television celebrity, was not a registered Republican until April 2012. He has given hundreds of thousands of dollars to

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Sanders

NEWS ANALYSIS

Past the G.O.P. Race, Severe Tests Loom in November

By NATE COHN

A general election matchup between Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton became all but certain on Tuesday after Mr. Trump's decisive victory in Indiana.

He would begin that matchup at a significant disadvantage.

Yes, it's still a long way until Election Day. And Mr. Trump has already upended the conventional wisdom many times. But this is when early horse-race polls start to give a rough sense of the November election, and Mr. Trump trails Mrs. Clinton by around 10 percentage points in

early general election surveys, both nationally and in key battleground states.

He even trails in some polls of several states where Mitt Romney won in 2012, like North Carolina, Arizona, Missouri and Utah.

Could Mr. Trump overtake Mrs. Clinton? Sure. Mrs. Clinton is very unpopular herself. Her polling lead is a snapshot in time, before the barrage of attack ads that are sure to come her way. There have been 10-point shifts over the general election season before, even if it's uncommon.

But there isn't much of a precedent for huge swings in races with candidates as well known as

Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton. A majority of Americans may not like her, but they say they're scared of him. To have a chance, he'll need to change that.

Mr. Trump's biggest problem is that he would be the most unpopular major party nominee in the modern era, with nearly two-thirds saying they have an unfavorable opinion of him. More than half view him "very unfavorably" or say they're "scared" of his candidacy — figures with no precedent among modern presidential nominees.

Mr. Trump's ratings are worst with the voters who made up the so-called Obama coalition of young, nonwhite and well-edu-

cated voters who propelled President Obama's re-election four years ago.

In some ways, Mrs. Clinton is not a natural fit to reunite Mr. Obama's supporters — especially the younger voters who have overwhelmingly preferred Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primaries. But whatever challenges she may have among these groups dissipate against Mr. Trump. Recent surveys even show her leading among 18- to 29-year-old voters by a larger margin than Mr. Obama's when he won them four years ago.

Mrs. Clinton's strength among

Continued on Page A12

Silver Is Given A 12-Year Term For Corruption

By BENJAMIN WEISER and VIVIAN YEE

Sheldon Silver, who rose from the Lower East Side of Manhattan to become one of the state's most powerful and feared politicians as speaker of the New York Assembly, was sentenced on Tuesday to 12 years in prison in a case that came to symbolize Albany's culture of graft.

The conviction of Mr. Silver, 72, served as a capstone to a campaign against public corruption by Preet Bharara, the United States attorney for the Southern District of New York, which has led to more than a dozen state lawmakers' being convicted or pleading guilty.

But none had the power, cachet or longevity that Mr. Silver, a Democrat, had enjoyed, and prosecutors sought to make an example of him. They asked that he receive a sentence greater than the terms that had been "imposed on other New York State legislators convicted of public corruption offenses."

The longest such sentence cited by the government was 14 years, the term imposed last year in the

Continued on Page A16

A Hero, a Son and Doubts on a Famed Photo

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

WASHINGTON — It is an iconic photograph of American patriotism, depicting the heroism of service members raising the flag over Iwo Jima during World War II, which inspired the book and movie "Flags of Our Fathers."

But while the image has become a symbol of the sacrifices of American troops, the Marine Corps has also had to defend it for 70 years against accusations that it was staged and that some of the men were misidentified.

Now, the man who wrote the best-selling book, which chronicled how his father and five Marines came together to lift the flag in the famous photograph, has raised new doubts about the image, saying that he now believes his father is not actually in it.

The author, James Bradley, revealed his conclusion in an interview on Tuesday, just days after the Marine Corps said that it had opened an inquiry into whether the identifications in the photograph were correct.

He said that his father, John, a Navy corpsman, had participated in raising a flag on Iwo Jima on Feb. 23, 1945, but had not taken part in another flag-raising the same day, which became the famous photograph.

His father, he said, probably thought that the first flag-raising



JOE ROSENTHAL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

James Bradley wrote "Flags of Our Fathers" to honor his father, who was long thought to be in the iconic Iwo Jima photograph.

was the one that was captured in the famous picture taken by Joe Rosenthal, a photographer for The Associated Press. Mr. Bradley's doubts tell a story about the fog of war, the efforts of a son to memorialize his father and the apparent willingness of the Marines to at first brush aside questions about one of their most historic moments.

Mr. Bradley said he had become convinced that his father was not in the photograph after studying

evidence that was published in a 2014 article in The Omaha World-Herald, which described doubts raised by amateur historians who compared that photograph to images of the first flag-raising. They found that the pants, headgear and cartridge belt on the Navy corpsman identified as John Bradley were different from the gear he wore that day.

Mr. Bradley said he had waited a year to examine the evidence in

Continued on Page A11

As Hospitals Come Under Fire, Security Council Says Enough

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

Warplanes level a hospital in the rebel-held half of Aleppo, Syria, killing one of the city's last pediatricians. A Saudi-led military coalition bombs a hospital in Yemen. In Afghanistan, American aircraft pummel a hospital mistaken for a Taliban redoubt.

The rules of war, enshrined for decades, require hospitals to be treated as sanctuaries from war — and for health workers to be left alone to do their jobs.

But on today's battlefields, attacks on hospitals and ambulances, surgeons, nurses and midwives have become common, punctuating what aid workers and United Nations officials describe as a new low in the savagery of war.

On Tuesday, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution to remind warring parties everywhere of the rules, demanding protection for those who provide health care and accountability for violators. The measure urged member states to conduct independent investigations and prosecute those found responsible for violations "in accordance with domestic and international law."

But the resolution also raised an awkward question: Can the world's most powerful countries



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The rubble of a hospital in Maarat al-Noaman, Syria.

be expected to enforce the rules when they and their allies are accused of flouting them?

Russian warplanes were blamed for the bombing of Syrian health centers, for instance, and Syrian soldiers, backed by the Kremlin, continue to remove life-saving medicines, even painkillers, from United Nations aid convoys heading into rebel-held areas.

At the same time, Britain and

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NATIONAL A10-14

Police Wary as Gun Laws Ease

As conservative lawmakers press to weaken state gun laws, they are encountering opposition from a longtime ally: law enforcement. PAGE A10

Moving Youths Out of Solitary

Los Angeles County will severely restrict the use of solitary confinement for juveniles in detention. PAGE A10

NEW YORK A15-17

A Transit System at Its Limits

Subway use in New York City, now at nearly 1.8 billion rides a year, has not been this high since 1948. PAGE A15



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

A Boon for the Taliban

A good opium harvest in Afghanistan, above, will quite likely mean revenue and recruits for the Taliban. PAGE A8

An American Dies in Iraq

A member of the Navy SEALs was killed in a clash with Islamic State militants. PAGE A8

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Takata Doubles Size of Recall

The airbag maker said at least 35 million more inflators would be affected, adding to a recall that is already the largest in automotive history. PAGE B1

Women in Tech Band Together

Prominent Silicon Valley women are working to help diversify the rank and file in the technology industry. PAGE B1

SPORTSWEDNESDAY B8-12

Regal Horse Now Called Sire

American Pharoah, who won the Triple Crown last year, has adapted quickly to life at the breeding farm. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-7

'Hamilton' Earns 16 Tony Nods

Lin-Manuel Miranda's groundbreaking hip-hop Broadway musical about the nation's founding fathers made history, again, breaking the record for Tony Award nominations. PAGE C1

A Speechless Swinton

Cinematic seduction is rarely more heated than in "A Bigger Splash," starring Tilda Swinton as a star recovering from throat surgery. A review by Manohla Dargis. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Frank Bruni PAGE A21



FOOD D1-8

Getting an Edge

A guide to essential knife skills — choosing the right blade, caring for it, wielding it effectively — that can transform your cooking. PAGE D1



Start-Ups Turn To Arbitration In Workplace

Embracing a Tool Used by Big Corporations

By JESSICA SILVER-GREENBERG
and MICHAEL CORKERY

Tara Zoumer thought she had found her dream job when she was hired at WeWork, a \$16 billion start-up that rents office space to young entrepreneurs. The walls were adorned with Pop Art. Neon light fixtures encouraged employees to "Hustle harder," and there was beer on tap.

"It was like walking onto a set of a movie," Ms. Zoumer said.

But shortly after she became an associate community manager in WeWork's office in Berkeley, Calif., reality set in. Ms. Zoumer said she was feeling pinched because her annual salary was only \$42,000, a sum that, on some weeks, left her without money to ride the subway.

She said she thought many of her duties — leading tours for prospective tenants, tidying up, answering phones and changing the kegs — were more suited to an hourly wage with a possibility for overtime.

Ms. Zoumer tried to enlist colleagues to file what she hoped would be a class-action lawsuit to fight for overtime pay. But the company had instituted a policy that could force employees to ultimately resolve disputes through arbitration instead of the courts, which essentially shut down Ms. Zoumer's lawsuit, since arbitration bars individuals from joining in a class action.

When Ms. Zoumer refused to sign the new policy, she was fired.

As once-plucky start-ups like WeWork grow — the company's work force has swelled to 1,500 from 300 a year ago — they are taking a page from the playbook of big corporations, which are increasingly using arbitration to thwart employees from bringing any meaningful legal challenge in

Continued on Page 4

Squatters See New Frontier In Las Vegas

By IAN LOVETT

LAS VEGAS — On a drive through this desert city, the blight from the housing collapse of eight years ago can be seen on almost every block: Overgrown yards and boarded-up windows identify the foreclosed and abandoned homes that still pockmark southern Nevada.

But not all of the dwellings are empty.

Squatters have descended on every corner of the Las Vegas Valley, taking over empty houses in struggling working-class neighborhoods, in upscale planned communities like Summerlin, and everywhere in between. And they often bring a trail of crime with them.

While some unauthorized tenants are families seeking shelter, police officers here say they are more frequently finding chop shops, drug dealers and counterfeiters operating out of foreclosed homes. One man who the police say was squatting has been charged with murdering a neighbor during a burglary.

Even as construction cranes have returned to the Las Vegas Strip and unemployment here has

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Crossing the Line: Trump's Private Conduct With Women



DARREN DECKER/MISS UNIVERSE ORGANIZATION, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Donald J. Trump with Miss USA contestants in 2013. He has long fixated on and evaluated women's looks, associates say.

By MICHAEL BARBARO and MEGAN TWOHEY

Donald J. Trump had barely met Rowanne Brewer Lane when he asked her to change out of her clothes. It was during a pool party in 1990 at Mar-a-Lago, his estate in Palm Beach, Fla., where about 50 models were mingling with 30 men, she recalled.

For some reason Donald seemed a little smitten with me. He just started talking to me and nobody else. He suddenly took me by the hand, and he started to show me around the mansion. He asked me if I had a swimsuit with me. I said no. I hadn't intended to swim. He took me into a room and opened drawers and asked me to put on a swimsuit.

ROWANNE BREWER LANE, former companion

Ms. Brewer Lane, at the time a 26-year-old model, did as Mr. Trump asked. "I went into the bathroom and tried one on," she recalled. It was a bikini. "I came out, and he said, 'Wow.'"

Mr. Trump, then 44 and in the midst of his first divorce, decided to show her off to the crowd. "He brought me out to the pool and said, 'That is a stunning Trump girl, isn't it?'" Ms. Brewer Lane said.

Donald Trump and women: The words evoke a familiar cascade of casual insults, hurled from the safe distance of a Twitter account, a radio show or a campaign podium. This is the public treatment of some women by Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee for president: degrading, impersonal, performed. "That must be a pretty picture, you dropping to your knees," he told a female contestant on "The Celebrity Apprentice." Rosie O'Donnell, he said, had a "fat, ugly face." A lawyer who needed to pump milk for a newborn? "Disgusting," he said.

But the episode at Mar-a-Lago that Ms. Brewer Lane described was different: a debasing face-to-face encounter between Mr. Trump and a young woman he hardly knew. This is the private treatment of some women by Mr. Trump, the up-close and more intimate encounters.

The New York Times interviewed dozens of women who had worked with or for Mr. Trump over the past four decades, in the worlds of real estate, modeling and pageants; women who had dated him or interacted with him socially; and women and men who had closely observed his conduct since his adolescence. In all, more than 50 interviews were conducted over the course of six weeks.

Their accounts — many relayed here in their own words

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FOR PRESIDENT, TWO FULL TERMS OF FIGHTING WARS

AN UNEXPECTED LEGACY

Strikes in 7 Nations After Obama Promised to End Conflicts

By MARK LANDLER

WASHINGTON — President Obama came into office seven years ago pledging to end the wars of his predecessor, George W. Bush. On May 6, with eight months left before he vacates the White House, Mr. Obama passed a somber, little-noticed milestone: He has now been at war longer than Mr. Bush, or any other American president.

If the United States remains in combat in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria until the end of Mr. Obama's term — a near-certainty given the president's recent announcement that he will send 250 additional Special Operations forces to Syria — he will leave behind an improbable legacy as the only president in American history to serve two complete terms with the nation at war.

Mr. Obama, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2009 and spent his years in the White House trying to fulfill the promises he made as an antiwar candidate, would have a longer tour of duty as a wartime president than Franklin D. Roosevelt, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon or his hero Abraham Lincoln.

Granted, Mr. Obama is leaving far fewer soldiers in harm's way — at least 4,087 in Iraq and 9,800 in Afghanistan — than the 200,000 troops he inherited from Mr. Bush in the two countries. But Mr. Obama has also approved strikes against terrorist groups in Libya, Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen, for a total of seven countries where his administration has taken military action.

"No president wants to be a war president," said Eliot A. Cohen, a military historian at Johns Hopkins University who backed the war in Iraq and whose son served there twice. "Obama thinks of war as an instrument he has to use very reluctantly. But we're waging these long, rather strange wars. We're killing lots of people. We're taking casualties."

Mr. Obama has wrestled with this immutable reality from his

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URIEL SINAI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAN vs. MARATHON

To run a marathon faster than two hours would be as monumental in the sports world as sending a person to Mars. In the first of a two-part series, Jeré Longman reports on how one scientist is on a mission to train a runner to break the two-hour barrier and erases doubts about what humans can achieve physically. Above, the scientist, Prof. Yanniss Pitsiladis of the University of Brighton in England, scouted the conditions for training along the Dead Sea in Israel. **SPORTSSUNDAY**

Brazil's Graft-Prone Congress, A Circus That Has Its Own Clown

By ANDREW JACOBS

BRASÍLIA — One of Brazil's longest-running spectacles features a dizzying array of characters whose theatrics appear on millions of television sets most nights.

The ever-changing cast of 594 includes suspects accused of murder and drug trafficking, aging former soccer players, a judo champion, a country music star and a collection of bearded men who have adopted roles as leaders of a women's movement.

The cast even includes a clown who goes by the name Grumpy.

But these are not actors. They are the men and women who serve in the national legislature.

Democracy can be a mystifying, rough-and-tumble affair anywhere, but Brazil's Congress has few equals.

As the nation endures its worst

political upheaval in a generation, the lawmakers orchestrating the ouster of President Dilma Rousseff — who was suspended on Thursday and faces an impeachment trial on charges of manipulating the budget — are coming under renewed scrutiny.

More than half of the members of Congress face legal challenges, from cases in auditing court involving public contracts to serious counts like kidnapping or murder, according to Transparency Brazil, a corruption monitoring group.

The figures under investigation include the president of the Senate and the new speaker of the lower house. Just this month, the previous speaker, an evangelical Christian radio commentator fond of posting biblical verse on Twitter, was ejected to face trial on

Continued on Page 11

INTERNATIONAL 5-11

Haunted by His Father's Death

Chen Shuxiang's father was killed 50 years ago during the Cultural Revolution, but Mr. Chen is still seeking answers and his father's remains. **PAGE 5**

NATIONAL 12-18

Shifting Rules on Youth Crime

Though 17-year-olds cannot vote or buy cigarettes, in nine states they are tried as adults for criminal acts. But that may be changing. **PAGE 12**

A Path to Greenery, at Last

After years of delays, the Randalls Island Connector is open, linking the South Bronx to a park and recreation hub that was hard to reach. **PAGE 14**

SUNDAY BUSINESS

You Can Buy In for \$2,000

New rules will allow anyone, not just the moneyed, to be a venture capitalist and risk money on the next big start-up success — or flop. **PAGE 1**

SUNDAY REVIEW

Ross Douthat

PAGE 11



Making it here doesn't mean
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AN EGYPTIAN JET VANISHES AT SEA AMID DARK FEARS

SPECTER OF TERRORISM

Erratic Turns and Steep Plunge for Airliner With 66 Aboard

By DECLAN WALSH and KAREEM FAHIM

CAIRO — The EgyptAir red-eye from Paris to Cairo, an Airbus A320 jetliner less than half full, had just entered Egyptian airspace early Thursday on the final part of its journey.

Suddenly the twin-engine jetliner jerked hard to the left, then hard to the right, circled and plunged 28,000 feet, disappearing from the radar screens of Greek and Egyptian air traffic controllers.

That began a day of emergency rescuers scrambling, officials issuing conflicting information and experts speculating about the fate of EgyptAir Flight 804, which carried at least 66 people from roughly a dozen nations and was presumed to have crashed into the Mediterranean Sea.

EgyptAir initially said wreckage of the plane had been found with the help of searchers from Greece, but a senior official of the airline speaking on CNN retracted that assertion hours later. Egyptian officials suggested that terrorism was a more likely cause for the disappearance than mechanical failure, but others cautioned that it was premature to make that judgment.

Continued on Page A6



Passengers' relatives gathered at the Cairo airport Thursday.

Crash Rattles Nation Hoping For a Reprieve

Setback Months After Another Air Disaster

By DECLAN WALSH

CAIRO — Egypt seemed poised for a modest comeback. After years of cascading crises that had devastated the lifeblood of its economy, tourism, there were signs of a turnaround.

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia told his Egyptian counterpart, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, that he might soon resume Russian flights to the Red Sea resort of Sharm el Sheikh, which had been suspended after a passenger plane was blown out of the sky more than six months ago.

Then the United Nations World Tourism Organization chose Luxor, home to the famed Valley of the Kings archaeological site, as its world tourism capital for 2016.

But on Thursday, Egypt found itself in a dark, if familiar, place when an EgyptAir passenger jet disappeared from radar and crashed into the Mediterranean with 66 people on board.

For years now, Egyptians have barely had a chance to recover from one crisis before being hit by another: a damaged economy, a diminished currency, a repressive president and a dangerous insurgency waged by a franchise of the Islamic State militant group.

This latest setback was such a shock to the nation that Egypt's leaders abandoned their typical approach to crisis management: obfuscation. Instead, they offered what appeared to be a candid assessment, acknowledging that the disaster might well have been a result of terrorism. And that was even before there was hard evidence of terrorism.

Although visibly strained, Egypt's civil aviation minister, Sherif Fathi, admitted that some Egyptian officials had made errors in dealing with the loss of the plane, EgyptAir Flight 804, and conceded that it might be linked to Islamist militants.

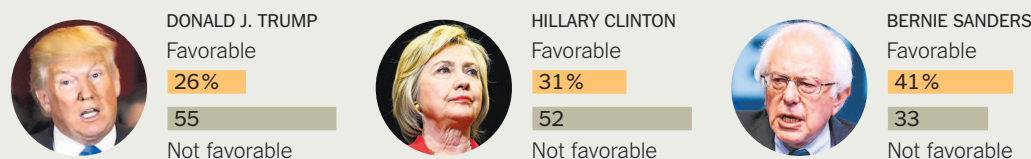
The possibility of a terrorist attack, he said, was "higher than the possibility" of a technical failure.

"The initial response has been different this time," said Michael Wahid Hanna, a senior fellow at the Century Foundation in New

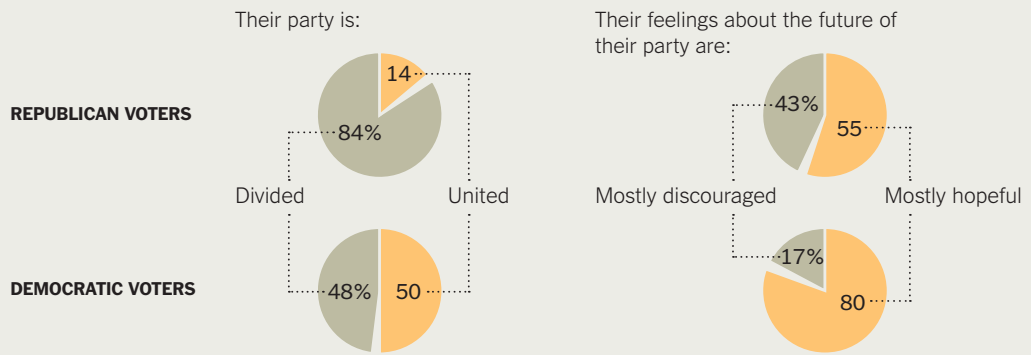
Continued on Page A6

Voters' Views of the Presidential Race

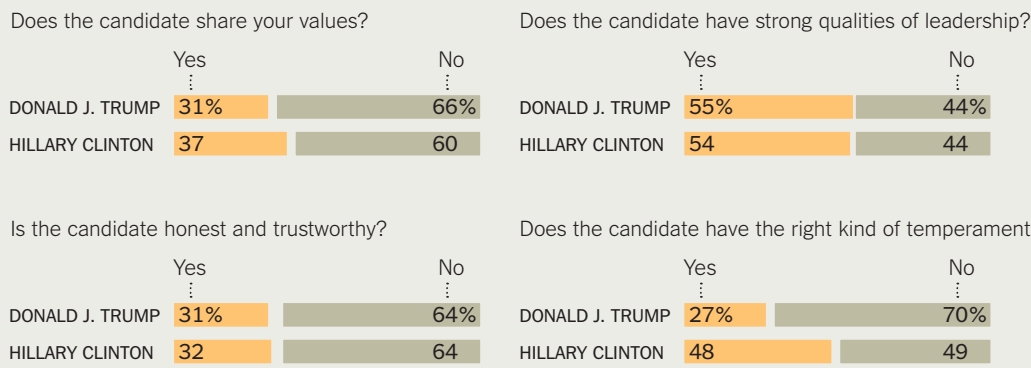
Favorability ratings of the remaining candidates among all registered voters



Views of each party's voters on the parties and their path forward



All registered voters rate the top candidates' qualities



Source: New York Times/CBS News Poll. The nationwide telephone poll was conducted on cellphones and landlines May 13-17 with 1,109 registered voters. Numbers do not add to 100 because all answer categories are not shown.

Experts Find Flaws in Trump Plan for Wall

This article is by Julia Preston, Alan Rappeport and Matt Richtel.

Big promises are to be expected from presidential candidates, but reality often intrudes. The elder George Bush broke the "no new taxes" pledge that helped lead to his election. And Barack Obama's administration has yet to live up to his prediction that his nomination would go down in history as the moment "when the rise of the oceans began to slow and our planet began to heal."

Donald J. Trump's vow to restore what he says is America's lost luster, while perhaps not as

flowery, comes with campaign promises that are equally grandiose. But Mr. Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee, has typically provided scant details on how he might make good on his promises — and ambitious ideas, even the concrete kind, do not always add up.

Central to Mr. Trump's campaign, and to his national security strategy, is his intent to clamp down on illegal immigration, using a vast deportation "force" to relocate people to the other side of a wall, funded by Mexico, that would stretch nearly the length of the southern border.

Mr. Trump has suggested he will flesh out his ideas in a coming speech. But experts across many fields who have analyzed his plans warn that they would come at astronomical costs — whoever paid — and would in many ways defy the logic of science, engineering and law.

Adding Chaos to Dysfunction

Mr. Trump has a simple plan to reduce the population of 11 million immigrants living illegally in the United States: Deport them.

Continued on Page A15

Insider Trading Case Links Golfer, Banker and Gambler

This article is by Matthew Goldstein, Ben Protess and Alexandra Stevenson.

Phil Mickelson has five major golf championships and countless endorsement deals. Thomas C. Davis, a former investment banker, has a Harvard pedigree and a country club lifestyle.

They also had a secret. Both men owed money to William T. Walters, a high-rolling Las Vegas kingmaker, often considered the most successful sports bettor in the country.

Now, federal authorities say those debts were at the center of a long-running insider trading scheme.

Federal prosecutors in Manhattan on Thursday unveiled criminal charges against Mr. Walters, saying that illegal stock tips from Mr. Davis helped him generate

some \$40 million in profits and avoided losses. They also charged Mr. Davis, who has agreed to plead guilty and who is cooperating against Mr. Walters.

Mr. Mickelson was not accused of wrongdoing. But the Securities and Exchange Commission listed him in a civil complaint as a relief defendant, arguing that he was "unjustly enriched" and must disgorge "ill-gotten gains" he made from trades Mr. Walters recommended. Mr. Mickelson, known as "Lefty," agreed to repay nearly \$1 million, and his lawyer said he "takes full responsibility for the decisions and associations that led him to becoming part of this investigation."

The investigation hinged on Mr. Davis's mounting debts, which were far larger than Mr. Mickel-

Continued on Page B4

Taint of Doping Won't Deter Olympics' Viewers. Just Watch.

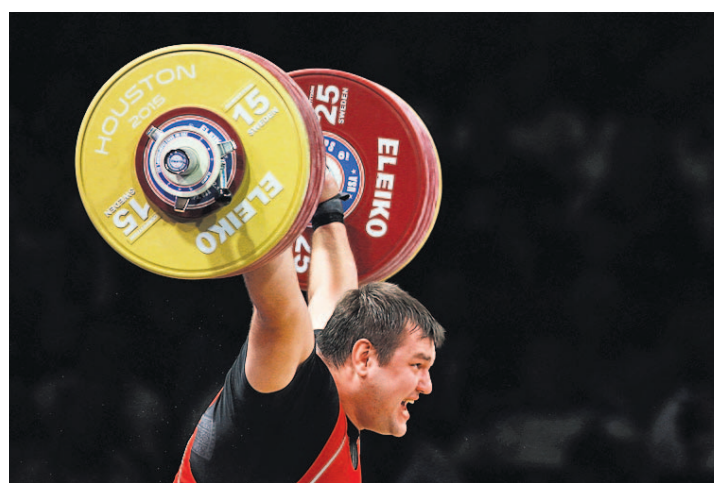
Houston hosted the world weight lifting championships last year. The sport's greatest athletes, many Olympians among them, hoisted staggering

amounts of weight above their heads, and the fans there oohed and aahed.

Could those fans believe what they were seeing? No, not really. The feats looked superhuman. There was good reason for those fans not to believe their eyes.

Seventeen of the weight lifters who competed in Houston — including many medal winners — tested positive for banned drugs. So what the fans were seeing wasn't a credible sport at its best. What they saw was a lot of cheating.

Did that matter? Maybe not. "The die-hard weight lifting fans, they're well aware of what's



Russia's Alexei Lovchev lifting in Houston. He has been banned.

going on, so none of it was a shock to them," said Chris Massey, the director of events at Harris County-Houston Sports Authority. "The other people were just out for the entertain-

ment value of it. I don't even know if any of them have connected the dots."

This applies to Olympic sports more broadly now, in the wake of extraordinary claims by the

former director of Russia's anti-doping laboratory, who said a state-run doping program assisted dozens of dirty Russian athletes during the 2014 Sochi Games.

Those claims drove antidoping officials to re-examine urine samples from previous Olympics, and they said there have been 31 new positive tests from the 2008 Beijing Games so far.

None of that helps the marketing for the Rio Olympics, which are just 79 days away. Tainted or not, the Rio Games now have a doping cloud over them, adding to the Zika virus cloud and political unrest cloud that already hover over Rio de Janeiro. Still, perhaps inexplicably, it's unlikely many people will turn away from the competitions.

It's the same reason fans can be outraged that football has left some former players with severe brain trauma yet still slip on

Continued on Page B10

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Defending the Philippines



The departing president, Benigno S. Aquino III, left, said that if China tried to develop a reef near the Philippines, he would expect the United States to intervene. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A10-16

On a Mission for Mercy

A group of military veterans and law students is trying to win clemency for troops convicted of killing civilians in Iraq and Afghanistan. PAGE A10

Outlawing Abortion Doctors

Oklahoma lawmakers passed a bill making doctors who perform abortions subject to felony charges and the revocation of their licenses. PAGE A10

San Francisco Police Chief Out

Gregory P. Suhr resigned at the mayor's request after another killing by a police officer. PAGE A10

NEW YORK A17-20

Mayor's Move in Schools Fight

Mayor Bill de Blasio, unable so far to win an extension in the State Senate of his control over New York City's schools, reached for a default political strategy: Claiming the moral high ground, he skipped a hearing. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Film Tests McDonald's Image

McDonald's, like most corporations, maintains close control of its brand, but it has steered clear of "The Founder," a film that gives an unflattering portrait of Ray Kroc. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES A22-23

Morley Safer of '60 Minutes'



One of TV's most celebrated journalists, he covered the Vietnam War in the 1960s before becoming a mainstay of the popular CBS news-magazine. He was 84. PAGE A22

WEEKEND ARTS C1-26

Simpson, Beyond the Trial

"O. J.: Made in America" examines the life of O. J. Simpson. A review. PAGE C1

A Couple's Grand Collection



"The Folk Art Collection of Elie and Viola Nadelman" show "is a riveting combination of wealth, visionary thought, aesthetic passion and cruel fate." PAGE C19

SPORTSFRIDAY B9-15

Venerable Course on the Outs

By barring women, Muirfield Golf Club, source of the Rules of Golf, lost eligibility to host the British Open. PAGE B9

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

Paul Krugman

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MONICA ALMEIDA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Many of the nation's poor have long flocked to Skid Row in downtown Los Angeles, drawn by a temperate climate and a cluster of missions and clinics.

On the Street: The Graying of America's Homeless

An Aging Population Adds to the Challenges in Addressing a Crisis of Poverty

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

LOS ANGELES — They lean unsteadily on canes and walkers, or roll along the sidewalks of Skid Row here in beat-up wheelchairs, past soiled sleeping bags, swaying tents and piles of garbage. They wander the streets in tattered winter coats, even in the warmth of spring. They worry about the illnesses of age and how they will approach death without the

help of children who long ago drifted from their lives.

"It's hard when you get older," said Ken Sylvas, 65, who has struggled with alcoholism and has not worked since he was fired in 2001 from a meatpacking job. "I'm in this wheelchair. I had a seizure and was in a convalescent home for two months. I just ride the bus back and forth all night."

The homeless in America are getting noticeable but not as sharp increase

among homeless people ages 18 to 30, many who entered the job market during the Great Recession. They make up 24 percent of the homeless population. Like the baby boomers, these young people came of age during an economic downturn, confronting a tight housing and job market. Many of them are former foster

The demographic shift is mirrored by a

noticeable but not as sharp increase among homeless people ages 18 to 30, many who entered the job market during the Great Recession. They make up 24 percent of the homeless population. Like the baby boomers, these young people came of age during an economic downturn, confronting a tight housing and job market. Many of them are former foster

Continued on Page A14

OBAMA IS PRESSED TO SPEED EFFORT TO ADD MIGRANTS

TARGET: 10,000 SYRIANS

Lag in Admissions Is at Odds With Pledges as World Watches

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — President Obama invited a Syrian refugee to this year's State of the Union address, and he has spoken passionately about embracing refugees as a core American value.

But nearly eight months into an effort to resettle 10,000 Syrian refugees in the United States, Mr. Obama's administration has admitted just over 2,500. And as his administration prepares for a new round of deportations of Central Americans, including many women and children pleading for humanitarian protection, the president is facing intense criticism from allies in Congress and advocacy groups about his administration's treatment of migrants.

They say Mr. Obama's lofty message about the need to welcome those who come to the United States seeking protection has not been matched by action. And they warn that the president, who will host a summit meeting on refugees in September during the United Nations General Assembly session, risks undercutting his influence on the issue at a time when American leadership is needed to counteract a backlash against refugees.

"Given that we've resettled so few refugees and we're employing a deterrence strategy to refugees on our Southern border, I wouldn't think we'd be giving advice to any other nations about doing better," said Kevin Appleby, the senior director of international migration

Continued on Page A11

Vanilla Cones Fuel Turf War In Manhattan

By ANDY NEWMAN and EMILY S. RUEB

Summer in New York City means ice cream trucks: bell-jingling fleets of pleasure craft festooned with pictures of perfectly swirled desserts and beaming children, delivering frozen providence into grateful sweaty hands.

But behind those cheery facades simmer turf wars — long-running, occasionally bloody feuds between ice cream vendors for control of the city's prime selling spots.

And in a recent battle for a lucrative zone of tourist attractions and sunny pedestrian plazas, a place filled with people willing to pay \$4 for a plain vanilla cone, no sprinkles, the king of ice cream land has lost to an upstart.

Mister Softee says he has been muscled out of Midtown.

New York Ice Cream, staffed by drivers who used to cover Midtown Manhattan for Mister Softee, has had the area locked down for at least a year, Mister Softee said. The renegade is enforcing its

Continued on Page A1

Soured Deal With Hong Kong Allies Is Tale of Trump's Extremes

By FARAH STOCKMAN and KEITH BRADSHER

Donald J. Trump, who has made reversing America's trade imbalance a pillar of his campaign, often portrays himself as uniquely capable of wringing concessions out of China through hard-nosed business tactics he has honed over the years.

In fact, he says, he has a person-

al track record to back up his boasts.

"I beat China all the time," Mr. Trump declared in a speech the day he announced his candidacy. "I own a big chunk of the Bank of America building at 1290 Avenue of the Americas that I got from China in a war. Very valuable."

Mr. Trump does have an investment in the building, an office tower near Rockefeller Center. But court documents and inter-

views with people involved in the deal tell a very different story of how he ended up with it.

It began when a group of Hong Kong billionaires, including one who has been called the Donald Trump of China, helped rescue Mr. Trump from the verge of bankruptcy by investing in one of his properties in Manhattan.

For years, the carefully cultivated relationship between Mr. Trump and his Hong Kong part-

ners proved lucrative for both sides, and stands out as perhaps the closest that Mr. Trump has come to international diplomacy.

To strike the deal, Mr. Trump had to attend elaborate dinner parties featuring foreign foods he did not want to eat. He delayed the closing because of Chinese spiritual beliefs and hunted around New York for a "feng shui"

Continued on Page A12

Russia's 'Troll Army' Retaliates Against an Effort to Expose It

By ANDREW HIGGINS

HELSINKI, Finland — Seeking to shine some light into the dark world of Internet trolls, a journalist with Finland's national broadcaster asked members of her audience to share their experiences of encounters with Russia's "troll army," a raucous and often venomous force of online agitators.

The response was overwhelming, though not in the direction that the journalist, Jessikka Aro, had hoped.

As she expected, she received

some feedback from people who had clashed with aggressively pro-Russian voices online. But she was taken aback, and shaken, by a vicious retaliatory campaign of harassment and insults against her and her work by those same pro-Russian voices.

"Everything in my life went to hell thanks to the trolls," said Ms. Aro, a 35-year-old investigative reporter with the social media division of Finland's state broad-

Continued on Page A7



JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jessikka Aro, right, a Finnish journalist, was harassed after reporting on the rise of abusive pro-Russian posts on the Internet.



NATIONAL A10-15

Outrage Over Zoo Killing

The Cincinnati Zoo defended itself after animal rights advocates objected to the killing of a western lowland gorilla, an endangered species, during the rescue of a child who fell into its pen. PAGE A10

Dry Days Aren't Over Out West

Even though water-use restrictions were lifted after a wet winter in California, new problems for the water supply are expected. PAGE A10

NEW YORK A18-21

Making Space for Artists

Artists in Manhattan often feel squeezed out, but a few culturally inclined developers are finding space for some. The Appraisal. PAGE A21

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Syrian Prisoners Fear Reprisal

Inmates who seized control of the main prison in Hama, Syria, were worried that the security forces massed outside would soon storm the facility and massacre them. PAGE A6

Ex-Foes Join Hands on 'Brexit'

After recent heated exchanges, London's Labor Party mayor, Sadiq Khan, and the Conservative prime minister, David Cameron, are pressing to keep Britain in the European Union. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Deal to End Verizon Strike

Verizon reached tentative agreements with unions for nearly 40,000 striking workers, retreating on some points but gaining options to pare its staff. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

A Debate on Rap Rekindled

A fatal shooting during a hip-hop concert in Manhattan last week has reignited talk about both safety and racial profiling at shows. PAGE C1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

Saving the Red-Spotted Newt

Many species of salamanders in the United States may be on the brink of assault by a deadly fungus. PAGE D1

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-11



Warriors Return to Finals

Led by Stephen Curry, Golden State reached its second straight N.B.A. finals, beating the Oklahoma City Thunder, 96-88. PAGE B7

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

PAGE A23



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CLINTON REACHES HISTORIC MARK, A.P. SAYS



Hillary Clinton, in Lynwood, Calif., on Monday. She would be the first woman to lead the national ticket of a major political party.

Hits Nomination Threshold In Survey, Defeating Sanders

By AMY CHOZICK and PATRICK HEALY

Hillary Clinton became the first woman to capture the presidential nomination of one of the country's major political parties on Monday night, according to an Associated Press survey of Democratic superdelegates, securing enough of them to overcome a bruising challenge from Senator Bernie Sanders and turn to a brutal five-month campaign against Donald J. Trump.

In a yearlong nomination fight full of surprise twists, from the popularity of Mr. Sanders to the success of Mr. Trump, the revelation that Mrs. Clinton had clinched the nomination was another startling development — especially coming on the eve of major primaries in California, New Jersey and other states. Mr. Sanders added to the drama by refusing to accept the A.P. survey and vowing to fight on, while Mr. Trump argued that he had done more for women than Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton was ebullient but also restrained as she received the news at an uncanny moment — almost eight years to the day after she ended her campaign against Barack Obama before a crowd of many teary women and girls. On

Monday night, she shared the breakthrough with a jubilant audience at a campaign stop in Long Beach, Calif.

"I got to tell you, according to the news, we are on the brink of a historic, historic, unprecedented moment, but we still have work to do, don't we?" Mrs. Clinton said. "We have six elections tomorrow, and we're going to fight hard for every single vote, especially right here in California."

Like Mr. Obama eight years ago, Mrs. Clinton clinched the Democratic nomination with the support of hundreds of superdelegates — the party insiders, Democratic officials, members of Congress, major donors and others who help select the nominee. Under Democratic rules, these superdelegates — approximately 720 in all — are allowed to back any candidate they wish and can change their allegiance any time before the Democratic National Convention in July.

Mrs. Clinton has had relationships with many of the superdelegates for years, and her campaign began seeking their support

Continued on Page A14

Democrats Assail Trump Allies After His Criticism of Judges

This article is by Patrick Healy, Maggie Haberman and Jonathan Martin.

Democratic leaders nationwide sought to exact a political price from Republican officials and candidates on Monday for continuing to support Donald J. Trump after his explosive remarks challenging the objectivity of judges with Mexican or Muslim backgrounds.

In an unusually coordinated series of attacks leveled from congressional offices and the Senate floor, in state capitols and sidewalk protests, Democrats excoriated Mr. Trump as racist and demanded that Republicans either stand behind his comments or condemn him and even rescind their endorsements of his candidacy.

Democrats received unexpected ammunition from Mr. Trump himself, who, in an extraordinary conference call with allies on Mon-

day, urged them to defend his criticisms of a federal judge's Mexican heritage — and then rebuked his campaign staff for having suggested otherwise.

Mr. Trump's doggedness, and his chastisement of his own aides, contributed to a sense of powerlessness among Republicans who said they increasingly saw no way to influence Mr. Trump's behavior or to convince him that his actions could hurt the party in competitive House, Senate and governor's races.

Reince Priebus, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, has held discussions with Mr. Trump about his attacks on Judge Gonzalo P. Curiel of Federal District Court, who is overseeing a suit against the now-shuttered Trump University, according to a Republican briefed on the talks.

But Mr. Priebus has had similar

Continued on Page A12

Major Lapses Let Killers Flee New York Jail

By MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ and MICHAEL WINERIP

The two murderers who escaped from the Clinton Correctional Facility last year intentionally picked a Friday night when they knew an officer named Ronald Blair was on duty.

They had watched him for months, recording his movements on a calendar and knew he never made the late-night rounds he was supposed to. They were right: Officer Blair did not discover them missing until hours after they had made it through the tunnels under the prison and climbed out a manhole to freedom.

Officer Blair's failure was just one of scores of serious security lapses detailed in a report released on Monday by state investigators to coincide with the first anniversary of the escape at the maximum security prison in northern New York. The breakout touched off a three-week manhunt that drew nationwide attention to the dense woods around Dannemora, home to the prison.

The 150-page report from the New York State inspector general, Catherine Leahy Scott, documented a host of "systemic deficiencies" that gave the two men, Richard W. Matt and David Sweat, time and space to plan and execute an intricate and sophisticated prison break.

At the start of overnight shifts,

Continued on Page A19

Homelessness Stretches a School's Imagination

By ELIZABETH A. HARRIS

There are supposed to be 27 children in Harold Boyd IV's second-grade classroom, but how many of them will be there on a given day is anyone's guess.

Since school began in September, five new students have arrived and eight children have left. Two transferred out in November. One who started in January was gone in April. A boy showed up for a single day in March, and then never came back. Even now, in the twilight of the school year, new students are still arriving, one as recently as mid-May.

At Public School 188, on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, students churn relentlessly in and out. Administrators estimate that nearly half the students enrolled at the school do not last the full year. And how could it be otherwise?

Last school year, 47 percent of the students there were homeless. The percentage was higher at only two schools in New York City.

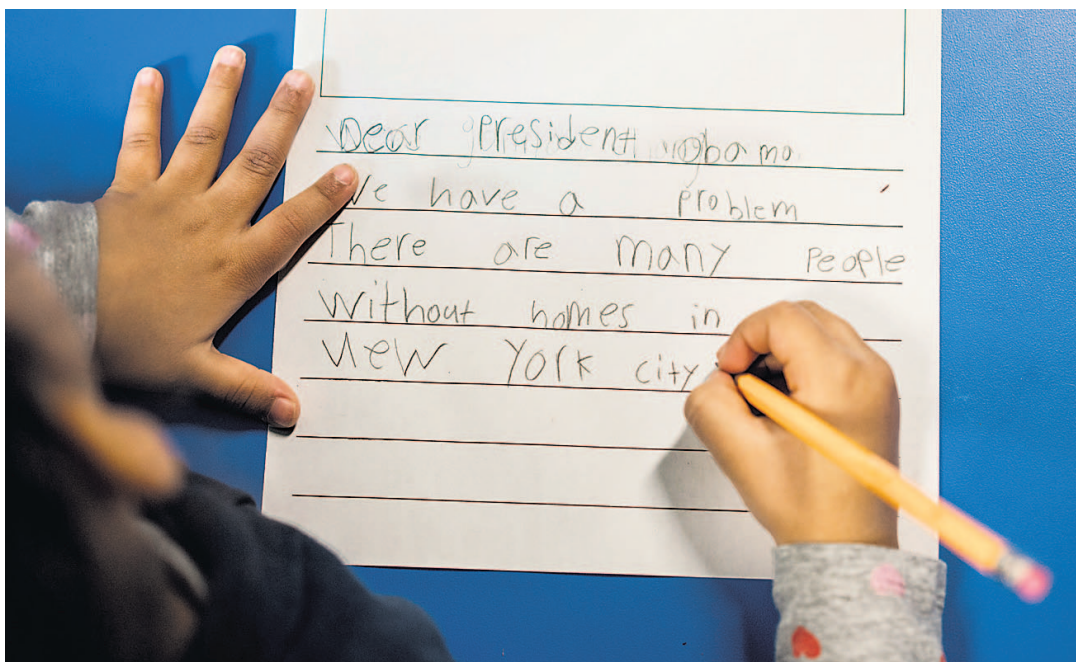
The number of homeless people in the city has never been larger, and to spend months in the classrooms of P.S. 188 is to see that this crisis does not play out just in the grown-up world of streets and shelters. It is lived in lunchrooms

and libraries, in science labs and math classes, or while perched at a tiny desk trying to learn to read.

At P.S. 188, teachers and staff members grapple with problems that stretch the very idea of what a school is supposed to be. Their efforts are visible even in the school's supply closets, where toothbrushes and deodorant are stored along with pencils and paper. A school like P.S. 188 strives to be social worker, advocate, therapist and even Santa Claus.

Shoes, for example, are not usually on the list of things a school provides. But P.S. 188 dis-

Continued on Page A18



A first grader at Public School 188 in Manhattan. Nearly half of the school's pupils are homeless.

Iraqis Escaping a Besieged City Find New Misery

By TIM ARANGO

AMIRIYAT FALLUJA, Iraq — One of the Iraqi civilians who risked an escape from the sprawling battle for Falluja made it as far as the Euphrates River. He was there for all to see on Sunday morning: His body, tied to the side of a boat, bobbed in the muddy waters next to a rickety bridge that separates Baghdad from the violence of Anbar Province.

"Sheikh, sheikh, see this man! He drowned," said a young boy, pointing, as he approached the window of a truck that was slowly crossing the bridge, carrying medicine. "See, see his body."

The thousands of civilians who managed to flee Falluja and its outskirts and make it to government-controlled areas in recent days faced harrowing journeys, often at night and under fire from

Islamic State militants who had been trying to use them as human shields.

Many crossed the wide Euphrates in makeshift boats, and local officials said more than a dozen drowned in the last few days, dying in their own country in the same way that thousands of Syrians and Iraqis have died on the seas trying to reach Europe.

The survivors arrive at aid

Continued on Page A6

\$1 Billion Coal Cleanup, but Who Gets the Bill?

By MICHAEL CORKERY

Regulators are wrangling with bankrupt coal companies to set aside enough money to clean up Appalachia's polluted rivers and mountains so that taxpayers are not stuck with the \$1 billion bill.

The regulators worry that coal companies will use the bankruptcy courts to pay off their debts to banks and hedge funds,

while leaving behind some of their environmental cleanup obligations.

The industry asserts that its cleanup plans — which include turning defunct mines back into countryside — are comprehensive and well funded. But some officials say those plans could prove unrealistic and falter as demand for coal remains weak.

The latest battle is over Alpha Natural Resources, once a high-

flying coal company that borrowed hundreds of millions when the coal market was booming but imploded in the face of competition from cheaper natural gas and tougher environmental regulations.

West Virginia faces perhaps the greatest fallout from the flood of coal bankruptcies that have hit the courts in the last year because many of its mines are scheduled to

Continued on Page B7

NATIONAL A11-15

Anger Over Rape Sentence



A six-month jail sentence for a Stanford swimmer, Brock Turner, and his father's defense of his son provoke outrage. PAGE A15

The Mom 'Was Being Attentive'

An Ohio prosecutor will not charge the mother of a 3-year-old boy whose foray into an exhibit at the Cincinnati Zoo led to the killing of a gorilla. PAGE A11

Court to Look at Capital Cases

The Supreme Court will hear two appeals raising questions about the roles race and intellectual disability might play in death penalty cases. PAGE A11

OBITUARIES B9-10

Of Genius and Horses

Peter Shaffer, the British-born playwright who explored the male psyche in his Tony-winning dramas "Equus" and "Amadeus," has died at 90. PAGE B9

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Ukraine Grapples With Graft

The resignation of the nation's economy and trade minister, amid claims of cronyism, was a worrying sign in the fight against corruption. PAGE A4

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Rethinking Interest Rate Plans

The Fed chairwoman, Janet Yellen, took June off the table for an interest rate increase, but expressed confidence that the economy was improving. PAGE B1

AK-47 Maker Rebrands

The maker of Kalashnikov rifles has shifted from serving conflict to serving consumers since American sanctions cut off a major market. PAGE B1

NEW YORK A16-19

De Blasio Retools His Strategy

Mayor Bill de Blasio seems to have shifted away from his "one city" reelection theme. PAGE A16

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Lin-Manuel Miranda

PAGE A21

SCIENCE TIMES D1-8

Escaping the Black Hole

Calculations by Stephen Hawking and others suggest that some of whatever falls into these pits may survive. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-8

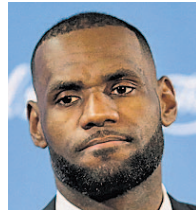
Giving Prozac Its Due

In his new book "Ordinarily Well," Peter D. Kramer sets out to prove that antidepressants don't deserve the bad rap they get and are helpful. A review by Jennifer Senior. PAGE C1

SPORTSTUESDAY B11-16

A Team the King Courted

LeBron James helped assemble the Cavaliers team being embarrassed in the N.B.A. finals, Harvey Araton writes. PAGE B11



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CLINTON CLAIMS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton spoke Tuesday night at the Brooklyn Navy Yard after beating Senator Bernie Sanders in the New Jersey primary.

A Long Journey, Fueled by Grit, to the Finish

By AMY CHOZICK

If there was a single moment that captured what would carry Hillary Clinton to the 2016 Democratic nomination, it came not during her sun-splashed campaign kickoff in New York last June, or in any of her speeches celebrating hard-fought primary victories over Senator Bernie Sanders.

No, it was the unscripted instant in which a blasé Mrs. Clinton coolly brushed from her shoulder a speck of lint, dirt — or perhaps nothing at all — as a Republican-led House panel subjected her to more than eight hours of questioning in October over her handling of the 2012 terrorist attack in Benghazi, Libya.

She may not be the orator President Obama is, or the retail politician her husband was. But Mrs. Clinton's steely fortitude in this campaign has plainly inspired older women, black voters and many others who see in her perseverance a kind of mirror to their own struggles. And Mrs. Clinton's very durability — her tenacity, grit and capacity for enduring and overcoming adversity — could be exactly what is required to defeat Donald J. Trump.

As a politician's wife, first lady, senator and secretary of state — and as a two-time candidate for president — Mrs. Clinton, 68, has redefined the role of women in American politics each time she has reinvented herself. She has transfixed the nation again and again, as often in searing episodes of scandal or setback as in triumph.

"She came on the public stage as someone who was a little different," said Ann Lewis, a longtime adviser. "She attracted fascination, devotion and attacks — and the partisan attacks haven't stopped."

"Even as first lady, it was 'Who does she think she is?'" said

Continued on Page A12

Sanders Prepares to Trim Much of His Staff

By PATRICK HEALY and JONATHAN MARTIN

Hillary Clinton claimed the Democratic presidential nomination on Tuesday night after decisive victories in the New Jersey and New Mexico primaries, and quickly appealed to supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont to unite with her against Donald J. Trump.

At a rally in Brooklyn, Mrs. Clinton took the stage with her hands clasped over her heart in gratitude, then threw open her arms in joy and savored a long moment as a jubilant crowd waved American flags and chanted "Hillary."

Reaching for history as she became the first woman to win a major party's nomination, Mrs. Clinton pledged to build on the achievements of pioneers like the 19th-century leaders at Seneca Falls, N.Y., who began the fight for women's rights in America.

"Tonight caps an amazing journey — a long, long journey," Mrs. Clinton said, nearly a century after women won the right to vote nationwide. "We all owe so much to those who came before, and tonight belongs to all of you."

She also lavished praise on Mr. Sanders, saying that their "vigorous debate" had been "very good for the Democratic Party and America."

With six states voting on Tuesday, Mr. Sanders was holding out hope for a huge upset in the California primary to justify staying in the race and lobbying Democratic officials to support him in a contested convention next month.

Mr. Sanders won the North Dakota caucuses, while Mrs. Clinton won South Dakota; Montana Democrats also voted. Republicans voted in several states.

Though Mr. Sanders made plans to lay off much of his campaign staff, he appeared reluctant to let go completely after months

Continued on Page A13

Ryan Calls Trump's Comments 'Racist,' and Party Alarm Grows

This article is by Jennifer Steinhauer, Jonathan Martin and David M. Herszenhorn.

WASHINGTON — Speaker Paul D. Ryan, the nation's highest-ranking Republican, on Tuesday called Donald J. Trump's remarks about a Latino judge "racist," an extraordinary indictment that generated a fresh wave of criticism and panic from other Republicans. By the end of the day, Mr. Trump was forced into a rare moment of damage control and said that his words had been "misconstrued."

Mr. Trump, who said last week that a Mexican-American judge in a case involving Trump University was biased against him be-

cause of his heritage, issued a statement Tuesday saying, "I do not feel that one's heritage makes them incapable of being impartial." He added that he was simply questioning whether he was receiving a fair trial, but he did not apologize for his remarks, something many Republicans had urged him to do.

On Capitol Hill, Republicans faced an increasingly difficult task — giving Mr. Trump their support while still keeping their distance from his inflammatory language. While many Republicans continued to affirm their support for Mr. Trump, others appeared ready to abandon him, throwing the once stolid party further into disarray.

"I cannot and will not support my party's nominee for presi-

A Candidate Says He Was 'Misconstrued' — No Apology

dent," said Senator Mark S. Kirk, Republican of Illinois, becoming the first Republican senator running for re-election to break with Mr. Trump. "After much consideration, I have concluded that Donald Trump has not demonstrated the temperament necessary to assume the greatest office in the world" or to control the nation's nuclear arsenal.

Mr. Kirk is perhaps the most vulnerable incumbent Republi-

can, in a state where Mr. Trump is likely to be a drag on the ticket. Mr. Kirk, who still speaks with difficulty from a stroke in 2012, also noted that Mr. Trump has mocked a disabled reporter.

Others were close to following Mr. Kirk. "If Donald remains Donald, I will not vote for him," declared Senator Jeff Flake, Republican of Arizona, who echoed Mr. Ryan's denunciation of Mr. Trump's comments.

In a victory speech in Westchester County on Tuesday night, Mr. Trump struck a measured tone, saying he understood the responsibility of carrying the mantle of the Republican Party. "I will never, ever let you down," he said.

But Mr. Trump's more incendi-

Continued on Page A12

Resisting Peace, Assad Pledges To Retake 'Every Inch' of Syria

By DAVID E. SANGER and RICK GLADSTONE

WASHINGTON — Syria's president promised to retake "every inch" of the country from his foes on Tuesday in a defiant speech that appeared to reject the humanitarian relief effort and peaceful transition of power that the United States, Russia and more than a dozen other nations have pressed for since last fall.

The speech by President Bashar al-Assad was his first major address since the effort to mediate an end to the civil war broke down in Geneva in April. It reflected his sense that Russian intervention in the war has bolstered his position — and his ability to remain in power for the foreseeable future — as the war enters its sixth year.

Mr. Assad's defiance was notable partly because of efforts in recent months by Secretary of State John Kerry and other leaders of a 17-nation collaboration, known as the International Syria Support Group, to set a series of deadlines



SYRIAN ARAB NEWS AGENCY

President Bashar al-Assad appeared to reject relief efforts.

and limits that Syria could not violate.

Every one of the directives has been broken. A cease-fire devised in Munich in February collapsed. Mr. Kerry's demand at that time — that humanitarian access had to begin within weeks — was briefly observed in a few towns before access was again largely blocked.

"The speech was, unfortunately, vintage Assad — unrepentant,

Continued on Page A10

A Wizard Comes to the Stage: 'Harry Potter' Magic Continues

By SARAH LYALL

LONDON — When we last left Harry Potter, in the final pages of J. K. Rowling's "Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows," he was a middle-aged wizarding bureaucrat sending his second child, Albus Severus, off to Hogwarts for the first time. His life, marked in part by violence, danger and grief, seemed to have settled down, and those of us who had worried about him through so many pages for so many years felt relieved at his apparently happy ending.

Now Harry is back — in a play, this time — and we have to reconsider the whole thing. All is no longer well in Potter-world. But though it is full of new difficulties for its famous protagonist, "Harry Potter and the Cursed Child," which had its first preview in the West End in London on Tuesday, felt like an author sending a Valentine to her longtime fans. Here on stage were all the characters we'd come to know so intimately: Harry, now married to Ginny



TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A young fan in line for "Harry Potter and the Cursed Child."

Weasley; Hermione and Ron, now married to each other and behaving, at least until Ms. Rowling worked her mischief, in their old familiar ways.

For those of us in the audience, it was jarring to see the reanimation of characters we thought had been put to rest, who in our minds had been suspended forever in time and place. We had to readjust

Continued on Page A6

Once Last Resort, F.B.I. Stings Become Common in ISIS Fight

By ERIC LICHTBLAU

WASHINGTON — The F.B.I. has significantly increased its use of stings in terrorism cases, employing agents and informants to pose as jihadists, bomb makers, gun dealers or online "friends" in hundreds of investigations into Americans suspected of supporting the Islamic State, records and interviews show.

Undercover operations, once seen as a last resort, are now used in about two of every three prosecutions involving people suspected of supporting the Islamic State, a sharp rise in the span of just two years, according to a New York Times analysis. Charges have been brought against nearly 90 Americans believed to be linked to the group.

The increase in the number of these secret operations, which put operatives in the middle of purported plots, has come with little public or congressional scrutiny, and the stings rely on F.B.I. guidelines that predate the rise of the Is-



NANCY BOROWICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael German, a former undercover agent with the F.B.I.

lamic State.

While F.B.I. officials say they are careful to avoid illegally entrapping suspects, their undercover operatives are far from bystanders. In recent investigations from Florida to California, agents have helped people suspected of being extremists acquire weapons, scope out bombing targets and find the best routes to Syria to join the Islamic

Continued on Page A3

NEW YORK A16-19

5 Officers Guilty in Rikers Case

Five New York City correction officers were convicted on all charges in the brutal beating of a Rikers Island inmate in 2012, a case that aimed a harsh spotlight on the jail complex. PAGE A16

Homes' Slow-Motion Disaster

Homeowners across Connecticut fear financial ruin from cracking 1980s-era foundations, damage that state officials have linked to a quarry business and related concrete maker. PAGE A16



NATIONAL A11-15

A Ballot Tactic for Builders

Developers are using California's initiative system to sidestep state environmental laws and speed major construction projects. PAGE A11



INTERNATIONAL A4-10

India Plans to Join Paris Pact

Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India announced at the White House a step toward ratification of the Paris accord to limit greenhouse gases, bringing it closer to full implementation. PAGE A9

Brazil's Leader Awaits Trial

With Dilma Rousseff stripped of her authority as president, a sense of powerlessness pervades the presidential palace as her impending impeachment trial has her on edge. PAGE A6

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Cancer Clues in Web Searches

Microsoft researchers analyzing search engine queries say they may be able to identify pancreatic cancer sufferers before a diagnosis. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

Stephen King at His Best

"End of Watch," the last installment of the "Mr. Mercedes" trilogy, is a smashing, terrifying tale in which a murderer's victims kill themselves. PAGE C1

FOOD D1-8

The Brownie Authorities

The founders of Baked, two bakeries in New York City, perfected the brownie, but they could not leave it alone. Recipe Lab. PAGE D1



EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Thomas L. Friedman

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PRAISING ISIS, GUNMAN ATTACKS GAY NIGHTCLUB, LEAVING 50 DEAD IN WORST SHOOTING ON U.S. SOIL



Friends and relatives of shooting victims consoled one another on Sunday outside the Police Headquarters in Orlando, Fla.

STEVE NESIUS/REUTERS

'We Will Not Give In to Fear,' Obama Says as Florida Aches

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ and RICHARD PÉREZ-PEÑA

ORLANDO, Fla. — A man who called 911 to proclaim allegiance to the Islamic State terrorist group, and who had been investigated in the past for possible terrorist ties, stormed a gay nightclub here Sunday morning, wielding an assault rifle and a pistol, and carried out the worst mass shooting in United States history, leaving 50 people dead and 53 wounded.

The attacker, identified by law enforcement officials as Omar Mateen, a 29-year-old who was born in New York, turned what had been a celebratory night of dancing to salsa and merengue music at the crowded Pulse nightclub into a panicked scene of unimaginable slaughter, the floors slicked with blood, the dead and the injured piled atop one another. Terrified people poured onto the darkened streets of the surrounding neighborhood, some carried wounded victims to safety, and police vehicles were pressed into service as makeshift ambulances to rush people to hospitals.

Joel Figueroa and his friends "were dancing by the hip-hop area when I heard shots, bam, bam, bam," he said, adding, "Everybody was screaming and running toward the front door."

Pulse, which calls itself "Orlando's Latin Hotspot," was holding its weekly "Upscale Latin Saturdays" party. The shooting began around 2 a.m., and some patrons thought at first that the booming reports they heard were firecrackers or part of the loud, thumping dance music.

Some people who were trapped inside hid where they could, calling 911 or posting messages to social media, pleading for help. The club posted a stark message on its Facebook page: "Everyone get out of pulse and keep running."

Hundreds of people gathered in the glare of flashing red lights on the fringes of the law enforcement cordon around the nightclub, and later at area hospitals, hoping desperately for some word on the

Continued on Page A12

Last Call, and Shots Ring Out: In the Bathroom, 'He Has Us'

By MARC SANTORA

It was nearing last call. The music was still pounding but the night was drawing to a close at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando when shots rang out.

At first, the crack of gunfire did not really register.

"I thought it was firecrackers," said Ray Rivera, 42, who was working at the club as a D.J. He lowered the reggae song he was playing to get a better listen.

The gunfire did not let up. As round after round was fired early Sunday, people started dropping, some in panic, some because they were wounded, and others because they were dead.

"I saw bodies on the floor, people on the floor everywhere," Mr. Rivera said. "It was a chaos, ev-

erybody trying to get out." A man, identified by law enforcement officials as Omar Mateen, had come to the club to kill. And over the course of the next three hours, until he was shot and killed himself, he executed dozens of people.

By the time the shooting ended, it would rank as the deadliest mass shooting in American history. Inside the club, there were 39 dead people along with the gunman, who was killed around 5 a.m. after a shootout with the police.

Nine more people died either at hospitals or on their way to them. Another two bodies were discovered on the street just outside the club, according to Mayor Buddy Dyer of Orlando. Fifty-three people were wounded.

Even in a post-Columbine world, where mass shootings have become so frighteningly common that the phrase itself is now a part of the lexicon, the bloody rampage at a small nightclub in Central Florida was shocking not only in its brutality but for the seemingly methodical fashion in which it was carried out.

One out of every three people in

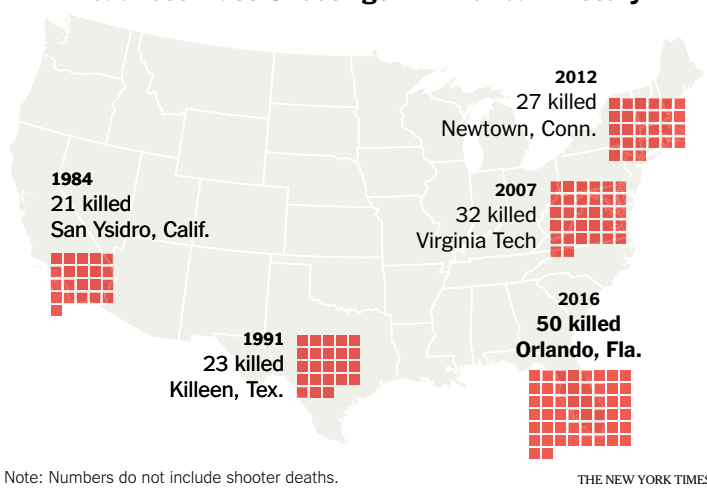
Continued on Page A13



DOUG CLIFFORD/TAMPA BAY TIMES, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Investigators from the office of the medical examiner at the Pulse nightclub, where a gunman opened fire early Sunday.

Deadliest Mass Shootings in American History



Note: Numbers do not include shooter deaths.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Tie to ISIS? Uncertainty As a Strategy

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

PARIS — The revelation that the 29-year-old man who opened fire on Sunday in a gay nightclub had dedicated the killing to the Islamic State has prompted a now-familiar question: Was the killer truly acting under orders from the Islamic State, or just seeking publicity and the group's approval for a personal act of hate?

For the terror planners of the Islamic State, the difference is mostly irrelevant.

Influencing distant attackers to pledge allegiance to the Islamic State and then carry out mass murder has become a core part of the group's propaganda over the past two years. It is a purposeful blurring of the line between operations that are planned and carried out by the terror group's core fighters and those carried out by its sympathizers.

The attacker, Omar Mateen, told a 911 operator that he was pledging allegiance to the Islamic State. That pledge is a central part of the ISIS protocol. The Orlando killing was the third time the loyalty pledge was known to be invoked in the United States.

Continued on Page A15

F.B.I. Studied Shooter Years Before Attack

This article is by Alan Blinder, Jack Healy and Richard A. Oppel Jr.

FORT PIERCE, Fla. — Omar Mateen's life seemed to be on a successful trajectory a decade before he carried out one of the worst cases of mass murder in American history.

He earned an associate degree in criminal justice technology in 2006. A year later, he was hired by one of the world's premier private security companies, G4S. And then, in 2009, he got married and bought a home.

Soon, though, signs of troubles emerged. His wife, an immigrant from Uzbekistan, divorced him in 2011, after he abused her.

Two years after that, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was called in after reports from Mr. Mateen's co-workers that he, the American-born son of Afghan immigrants, had suggested he may

Continued on Page A13

For Gays Across America, a Massacre Punctuates Fitful Gains

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

At 3 o'clock in the morning on Sunday, Benjamin Newbern, a gay rights activist in northern Alabama, arrived home from a gay pride dance party he had organized, glanced at his cellphone and spotted an unsettling social media post: "Prayers for our

brothers and sisters at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando."

Mr. Newbern flipped on the television to news, he said, that "just kind of took my breath away." And instantly, he knew that his life, as an activist and a gay person in America, had changed.

By Sunday afternoon, Mr. Newbern, 38 — who has spent two years working to build a gay

rights community in his home city, Florence, in part by persuading people that it is safe to come out of the closet — was struggling, as were gay people nationwide, to make sense of the worst mass shooting in American history, committed on a Latin-themed night in a gay nightclub by a Muslim gunman.

What did it mean that it hap-

pened in June, Gay Pride Month? Was it a hate crime against gay people or simply evidence that gun violence is out of control — or both? Gay rights have been advancing at a rapid clip. Has that lessened homophobia? Or maybe made it worse? And most of all: Should gay people be afraid?

Continued on Page A14

MORE COVERAGE

THE CAMPAIGN "I said this was going to happen," Donald J. Trump said, while attacking Hillary Clinton and reiterating his call for a ban on Muslim migration to the United States. PAGE A15

THE RIFLE The gunman had a version of a weapon widely used by the military and that has been tied to other shootings, including San Bernardino, Calif. PAGE A14



For President Obama, another grim task. Page A15.

INTERNATIONAL A4-7

Cut Off by a Bridge

A long battle between Canadian officials and the owner of a bridge that connects Detroit and Windsor, Ontario, has left Windsor with a ghost neighborhood of over 100 boarded-up houses. PAGE A4

Stand Right and Stand Left

To address overcrowding at a London subway station, officials have asked people to stand side by side on escalators and not walk. London Journal. PAGE A7

NATIONAL A8-15

Reconsidering Big Farming

North Dakotans are reconsidering a state ban on corporate farming in a ballot initiative on Tuesday. The debate is also focused on maintaining their agricultural heritage. PAGE A8

NEW YORK A16-17, 20

Issues on Tap in Albany

The legislative session could close in a whirlwind this week, with possible bills on the heroin epidemic, mayoral control of schools and other issues. PAGE A16

ARTS C1-8

A Father's Sex Change

Gender identity is only one reason for a sex change, according to Susan Faludi's "In the Darkroom," which makes its point using her father's story. A review by Jennifer Senior. PAGE C1



Tonys Undeterred by Tragedy

As the show began, the host, James Corden, center, paid tribute to victims of the shootings in Orlando, Fla. "Hate will never win," Mr. Corden said. "Tonight's show stands as a symbol and a celebration of that principle." PAGE C1

SPORTSMONDAY D1-8

Savoring Wins Off the Course

Ernie Els was once viewed as the future of golf, but his son's autism made him look instead to a better future for other children like his son. PAGE D1

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

The Calm at Gawker's Center

Heather Dietrick, Gawker Media's president and general counsel, has taken a lead role in dealing with the Hulk Hogan case and the company's bankruptcy and sale. PAGE B1

Theranos Loses Key Customer

In another blow to Theranos, the embattled blood-testing company, Walgreens said it would no longer offer its laboratory services. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Frank Bruni

PAGE A19

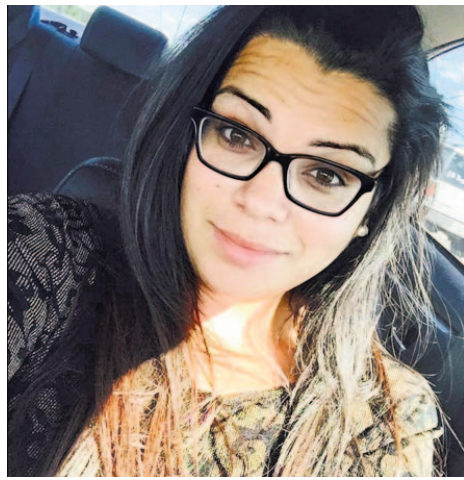


Advertisement for the Netflix movie 'Master of None' featuring Aziz Ansari. The ad lists various awards and critical acclaim, including 'Winner AFI Television Program of the Year', 'Winner Peabody Award', 'Winner Critic's Choice Award Best Comedy', and 'Winner Best Comedy Rotten Tomatoes 100%'. It also features quotes from 'The New Yorker' and 'The New York Times'.

TWICE SCRUTINIZED BY F.B.I., ORLANDO KILLER EXPOSES GAPS IN FIGHTING ISIS-INSPIRED ACTS



OSCAR A. ARACENA-MONTERO
26, just returned from vacation



AMANDA ALVEAR
25, caught first gunshots on video



STANLEY ALMODOVAR III
23, pharmacy technician



LUIS DANIEL WILSON-LEON
37, left Puerto Rico alone



EDWARD SOTOMAYOR JR.
34, led gay cruise to Cuba



DARRYL ROMAN BURT II
29, financial aid officer



LUIS OMAR OCASIO-CAPO
20, Starbucks barista



XAVIER EMMANUEL SERRANO ROSADO
35, father and dancer



KIMBERLY MORRIS
37, bouncer at Pulse

NINE OF THE VICTIMS The authorities have identified all but one of the 49 victims killed in Sunday's massacre at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Fla. They ranged in age from 18 to 50. On Monday, remembrances rippled across a stunned city and nation. Page A19.

FROM THEIR FACEBOOK PAGES, VIA REUTERS

Branding Muslims as Threats, Trump Tosses Pluralism Aside

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

Donald J. Trump left little doubt on Monday that he intends to run on the same proposals on immigration and terrorism that animated his primary campaign, using his first speech after the massacre in Orlando, Fla., to propose sweeping measures against Muslims that pay little heed to American traditions of pluralism. Without distinguishing between mainstream Muslims and Islamist terrorists, Mr. Trump suggested that all Muslim immigrants posed potential threats to America's security and called for a ban on migrants from any part of the world with "a proven history of terrorism" against the United States or its allies. He also

insinuated that American Muslims were all but complicit in acts of domestic terrorism for failing to report attacks in advance, asserting without evidence that they had warnings of shootings like the one in Orlando. Mr. Trump's speech, delivered at St. Anselm College in Manchester, N.H., represented an extraordinary break from the longstanding rhetorical norms of American presidential nominees. But if his language more closely resembled a European nationalist's than a mainstream Republican's, he was waging that voters are stirred more by their fears of Islamic terrorism. *Continued on Page A18*

Tragedy Strengthens a Bond Within Families of Gay Latinos

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

ORLANDO, Fla. — One of the survivors of Sunday's attack at the nightclub Pulse, a man closeted from his family, called his Latin American parents abroad to tell them that a close friend — who was actually his partner — had died in the bar. Their response: "You weren't in that bar, were you?" That attitude, a throwback to an earlier era, seemed the rare exception as relatives of those gunned down in the club, many of them Puerto Rican, mourned their deaths and celebrated their lives on the streets of Orlando. The moments of mourning seemed to show how far gay culture has progressed from a time

when it was frequently hidden from loved ones. And so Eddie Justice, a 30-year-old gay accountant, texted his mother, Mina, "Mommy, I love you," as bullets flew and the gunman, Omar Mateen, headed toward the Pulse bathroom where he was hiding, according to The Associated Press. Mr. Justice was confirmed dead on Monday. In the hours since the attack, there have been countless homages on social media posted by friends and relatives, who extolled the accomplishments of their loved ones and embraced their sexual identity. And there were the families of *Continued on Page A14*

Conflict and Contradictions Before Massacre at Gay Club

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Eric Lichtblau and Alan Blinder.

WASHINGTON — When a young American man from coastal Florida drove a truck packed with explosives into a hilltop restaurant in Syria in May 2014, F.B.I. agents scoured his online postings and interviewed his contacts in Florida in a scramble to determine who, if anyone, might try to launch a similar attack inside the United States.

One of the people they spoke to was Omar Mateen, a young security guard from a nearby town who had attended the same mosque as the suicide bomber and had been on a terrorism watch list for incendiary comments he once made to co-workers at a local courthouse. But the F.B.I. soon ended its examination of Mr. Mateen after finding no evidence that he posed a terrorist threat to his community.

That hopeful conclusion was upended in a bloody spasm of violence early Sunday morning when Mr. Mateen fatally shot dozens of people at a nightclub in Orlando, Fla., before being killed by police officers who stormed the club to end the standoff. The horrific events at the Pulse nightclub left 49 dead and have left family members, neighbors and federal investigators trying to piece together clues about what might have led Mr. Mateen, 29, to carry out such unspeakable violence.

The government investigation could take months, but an early examination of Mr. Mateen's life reveals a hatred of gay people and a stew of contradictions. He was a man who could be charming,

loved Afghan music and enjoyed dancing, but he was also violently abusive. Family members said he was not overly religious, but he was rigid and conservative in his view that his wife should remain mostly at home. The F.B.I. director said on Monday that Mr. Mateen had once claimed ties to both to Al Qaeda and Hezbollah — two radical groups violently opposed to each other.

Investigators now face the question of how much the killings were the act of a deeply disturbed man, as his former wife and others described him, and how much he was driven by religious or political ideology. Whatever drove him to carry out the shootings, his actions highlight the difficulty for the American government in trying to address a new style of terrorism — random acts of violence that may have been at least partly inspired by the Islamic State but were not directed by the group's

Continued on Page A11



HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Flowers were left in remembrance of those killed on Sunday in Orlando, Fla.

Held Hostage in the Restroom, And Playing Dead to Stay Alive

By JACK HEALY and MARC SANTORA

ORLANDO, Fla. — As the sound of gunfire in the nightclub grew louder, a patron named Orlando and a female friend took cover in a cramped bathroom stall, contorting their bodies on top of the toilet so their feet could not be seen. The gunman burst into the bathroom, went straight to the stall next to them and shot the people inside.

"People were screaming, begging for their lives," Orlando, 52, said in a telephone interview, asking that his last name not be used out of fear of retaliation from terrorist sympathizers.

The gunman, Omar Mateen, was silent, then left the bathroom. "He went out and started shooting outside again," Orlando said.

For three sickening hours on Sunday morning, a life-or-death game of deception played out in a bathroom where the assailant holed up with hostages after killing dozens of people inside the Pulse nightclub. Orlando and his friend desperately tried to avoid becoming two more victims.

Orlando said he listened as the gunman warned his hostages not to text anyone, took their cellphones, called 911 to calmly pledge

Survivors describe chaos, surreal quiet and 'an evil laugh.'

his allegiance to the Islamic State, spoke about a need to stop American bombing in Syria and threatened greater bloodshed if the police moved in.

Orlando described moments of surreal quiet as the siege went on and the killer fiddled with his weapon and used the sink and the hand dryer. Mr. Mateen checked on the bodies around him, Orlando said. At one point, Orlando switched positions and played dead, and he felt something poking him. He believed it was the gunman, checking to see if he was dead.

Around 5 a.m., the police blew a hole in the wall, enabling some of the hostages to escape, and officers engaged in a fatal final confrontation with the assailant.

Much of Orlando's account corresponds with new information released by the police on Monday, other witness accounts and video evidence, which combined to paint a chilling picture of the *Continued on Page A12*

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Microsoft to Buy LinkedIn

The \$26.2 billion deal is a sign that Microsoft is moving away from its traditional software business. PAGE B1

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

ISIS Claims French Killings

A police captain and his companion were killed near Paris, and the Islamic State took responsibility. PAGE A9

Pistorius Is Said to Be Unfit

A psychologist told a judge in South Africa that Oscar Pistorius should be hospitalized, not imprisoned. PAGE A8

New Pollution in Mexico City

Officials link tailpipe emissions and air quality, but residents say they need cars. Mexico City Journal. PAGE A4



SPORTS TUESDAY B9-13

Cleveland Avoids Elimination

LeBron James, above, and Kyrie Irving each scored 41 points as the Cavaliers won, 112-97, to stay alive in the N.B.A. finals against the Warriors, who were missing Draymond Green. PAGE B9

Basic Stat With Broad Reach

In an era of increasingly complex statistics and analytics, the premise for player ratings — soccer's most discussed scale — has remained remarkably rudimentary. PAGE B9

NEW YORK A21-25

A Cuomo Aide's Fast Fall

Gov. Andrew Cuomo's split with Joseph Percoco, once his troubleshooter and now under investigation, is an emotional Waterloo for both men. PAGE A21

ARTS C1-8

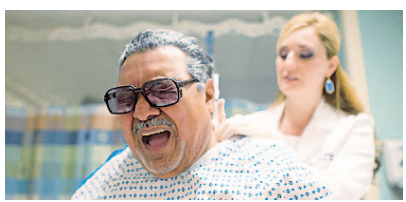
Prime Times Past

Norman Lear and Aaron Sorkin were the big stars at the ATX Television Festival, where old shows are celebrated alongside the new. PAGE C1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

An E.R. Looks Past Opioids

Dr. Alexis DiPietra and others at a New Jersey hospital treat many pain patients with trigger-point injections and other non-opioid alternatives. PAGE D1



EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

PAGE A27



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BRITISH STUN WORLD WITH VOTE TO LEAVE E.U. SPLIT COURT STIFLES OBAMA ON IMMIGRATION

A 9-Word Ruling Erases a Shield for Millions

By ADAM LIPTAK and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court announced on Thursday that it had deadlocked in a case challenging President Obama's immigration plan, effectively ending what Mr. Obama had hoped would become one of his central legacies. The program would have shielded as many as five million undocumented immigrants from deportation and allowed them to legally work in the United States.

The 4-4 tie, which left in place an appeals court ruling blocking the plan, amplified the contentious election-year debate over the nation's immigration policy and presidential power.

When the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case in January, it seemed poised to issue a major ruling on presidential power. That did not materialize, but the court's action, which established no precedent and included no reasoning, was nonetheless perhaps its most important statement this term.

The decision was just nine words long: "The judgment is affirmed by an equally divided court."

But its consequences will be vast, said Walter Dellinger, who was acting solicitor general in the Clinton administration. "Seldom have the hopes of so many been crushed by so few words," he said.

Speaking at the White House, Mr. Obama described the ruling as a deep disappointment for immigrants who would not be able to emerge from the threat of deportation for at least the balance of his term.

"Today's decision is frustrating to those who seek to grow our economy and bring a rationality to our immigration system," he said before heading to the West Coast for a two-day trip. "It is heartbreaking for the millions of immi-

Continued on Page A14

Justices Uphold Race-Aware Admissions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Thursday rejected a challenge to a race-conscious admissions program at the University of Texas at Austin, handing supporters of affirmative action a major victory.

The decision, *Fisher v. University of Texas*, No. 14-981, concerned an unusual program and contained a warning to other universities that not all affirmative action programs will pass constitutional muster. But the ruling's basic message was that admissions officials may continue to consider race as one factor among many in ensuring a diverse student body.

The decision, by a 4-to-3 vote, was unexpected. Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, the author of the majority opinion, has long been skeptical of race-sensitive programs and had never before voted to uphold an affirmative action plan. He dissented in the last major affirmative action case.

Supporters of affirmative action hailed the decision as a landmark.

"No decision since *Brown v. Board of Education* has been as important as *Fisher* will prove to be in the long history of racial inclusion and educational diversity," said Laurence H. Tribe, a law professor at Harvard, referring to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision striking down segregated public schools.

Roger Clegg, the president of the Center for Equal Opportunity, which supports colorblind policies, said the decision, though disappointing, was only a temporary setback.

"The court's decision leaves plenty of room for future challenges to racial preference policies at other schools," he said. "The struggle goes on."

President Obama hailed the decision. "I'm pleased that the Su-

Continued on Page A16



WHITE HOUSE President Obama called the Supreme Court's immigration decision "heartbreaking."



SUPREME COURT Supporters of Mr. Obama's immigration plan after the court's 4-4 deadlock.



CAPITOL HILL Representative John Lewis of Georgia, left, who led a sit-in for gun control.

3 Separate, Equal and Dysfunctional Branches

WASHINGTON — The continuing breakdown in Washington's ability to govern seemed to spread like a contagion Thursday through all three branches of government.

The dysfunction somehow managed to reach new levels. The Supreme Court, left short-handed by a Republican refusal to act on President Obama's nominee in the final year of his presidency, deadlocked on a major immigration case. The inaction validated a lower court finding against the

administration's attempt to allow millions of unauthorized immigrants to live legally in the United States.

Mr. Obama, who sought to address the nation's immigration crisis through his executive powers because of a persistent impasse on Capitol Hill, was unable to achieve one of his major goals — which pleased Republicans but left the president angry and disappointed.

Democrats ended a raucous 25-hour protest on the House floor, failing to gain a vote on gun safety issues but exulting in the attention they received via a

breakout social media campaign that threw the House rule book out the Capitol's neoclassical windows. Republican leaders accused Democrats of trying to capitalize on the Orlando, Fla., shooting while destroying the decorum of the House.

The decision by Democrats to act out in the House was just the latest attempt to upend the political status quo in a year distinguished by political disruption, from Donald J. Trump rattling the Republican establishment to Senator Bernie Sanders — the democratic socialist who made

Continued on Page A12

'Brexit' Outcome Rattles Fiscal Markets

By SEWELL CHAN

LONDON — Britain has voted to leave the European Union, a historic decision sure to reshape the nation's place in the world, rattle the Continent and rock political establishments throughout the West.

With all but a handful of the country's cities and towns reporting Friday morning, the Leave campaign held a 52 percent to 48 percent lead. The BBC called the race for the Leave campaign shortly before 4:45 a.m., with 13.1 million votes having been counted in favor of leaving and 12.2 million in favor of remaining.

The value of the British pound plummeted as financial markets absorbed the news.

Despite opinion polls ahead of the referendum on Thursday that showed either side in a position to win, the outcome nonetheless stunned much of Britain, Europe and the trans-Atlantic alliance, highlighting the power of anti-elite, populist and nationalist sentiment at a time of economic and cultural dislocation.

"Dare to dream that the dawn is breaking on an independent United Kingdom," Nigel Farage, the leader of the U.K. Independence Party, one of the primary forces behind the push for a referendum on leaving the European Union, told cheering supporters just after 4 a.m.

Britain will become the first country to leave the 28-member bloc, which has been increasingly weighed down by its failures to deal fully with a succession of crises, from the financial collapse of 2008 to a resurgent Russia and the massive influx of migrants last year.

The result left Prime Minister

Continued on Page A6

MARKETS REACT The "Brexit" results could lead to turmoil for the global economy. PAGE A6

Zeppelin Riff On 'Stairway' Is an Original

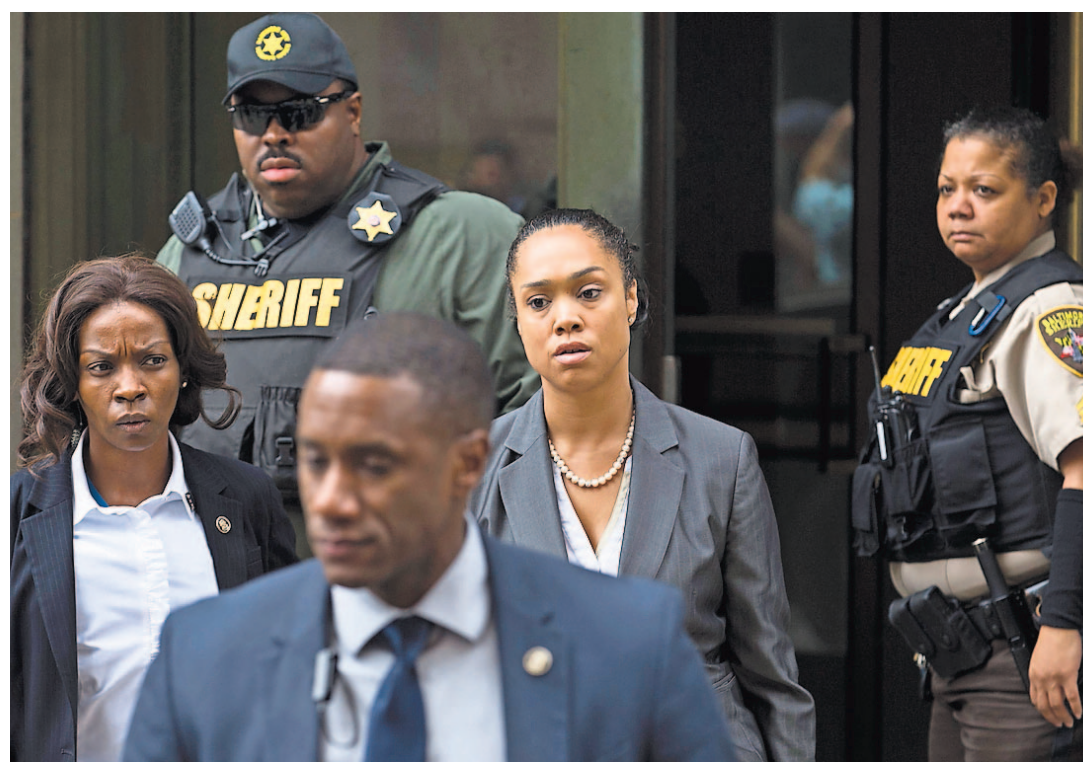
By NOAH GILBERT and BEN SISARIO

LOS ANGELES — It's long, it's classic and, a jury decided on Thursday, it's an original.

Led Zeppelin did not steal the opening riff of its rock anthem "Stairway to Heaven," a federal jury ruled here, giving the band a victory in a copyright case in which millions of dollars were at stake.

The case pitted an obscure song from the margins of rock history against one of the canonical hits of the genre. The suit was filed two years ago by Michael Skidmore, a trustee for the songs of Randy Wolfe, a member of the band Spirit. It contends that the Led Zep-

Continued on Page B3



The state's attorney, Marilyn Mosby, center, after the verdict was issued on Thursday.

Another Acquittal in Gray Case Casts Doubts About Future Trials

By JESS BIDGOOD and SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

BALTIMORE — The acquittal on Thursday of a Baltimore police officer charged with murder and six other crimes in the death of Freddie Gray has dealt a devastating blow to the prosecution, legal experts say, and raises questions about whether the state should press ahead with the trials of four other officers.

Officer Caesar R. Goodson Jr., who drove the police transport van in which Mr. Gray suffered the spinal cord injury that killed him, faced the most serious charges of any of the six officers indicted in the fatal arrest. His acquittal on seven counts leaves the state without any convictions after three trials, in one of the nation's most closely watched police misconduct cases — and continues to leave open the question of what,

exactly, happened to Mr. Gray inside the van.

Judge Barry G. Williams, who presided over the Goodson trial, issued the verdicts to a hushed, packed courtroom. He drew no conclusions about exactly when during the van ride Mr. Gray got hurt, saying there were several "equally plausible scenarios." And he rejected the state's contention that the officer had given Mr. Gray an intentional "rough ride" and knowingly endangered him by failing to buckle him into the van or provide medical help.

Mr. Gray was detained after fleeing, apparently unprompted, from officers in the downtrodden Sandtown neighborhood of West Baltimore, and loaded into a po-

Continued on Page A3

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Biggest Banks Pass Stress Test

In its yearly checkups, the Federal Reserve concluded that the nation's 33 largest banks would emerge from a recession with heavy losses but still in relatively good financial health. PAGE B1

New Artistic Director at Dior

Maria Grazia Chiuri, part of a celebrated design duo at Valentino, is expected to become the first woman to take the reins at Dior. PAGE B3

INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Facebook Posts Lure Egyptians

A lack of opportunity at home and images, below, of young Egyptians who have successfully reached Europe are adding to the high-risk exodus across the Mediterranean. PAGE A4



NEW YORK A20-25

Few Penalties in Prison Break

There have been few, if any, serious consequences for 18 employees singled out in the escape last year from the prison in Dannemora, N.Y. PAGE A20



NATIONAL A10-19

Revisiting Iwo Jima Image

The Marine Corps said it misidentified one of the men in the picture of the flag being raised over Iwo Jima. PAGE A10

OBITUARIES B14-15

Pioneer in Mountain Music

Ralph Stanley was also a pivotal figure in bluegrass. He was 89. PAGE B14

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-14

Sparring Over Boxing Secrets

The demotion of an agent for change in boxing in New York is the latest controversy to envelop the state athletic commission. PAGE B8

Celtics Shape N.B.A. Draft

Boston, starting with eight picks, chose Jaylen Brown, a versatile forward from California, No. 3 over all. PAGE B8

ARTS C1-26

Rebelling Against the Rebels

Matthew McConaughey plays a Confederate soldier in "Free State of Jones." A review by A.O. Scott. PAGE C1



GLOBAL SHOCKS AFTER UPHEAVAL IN BRITAIN

Investors Gripped by a Panic Last Seen in '08

By PETER S. GOODMAN

LONDON — First came the shock. Then fear seized world markets. As frenzied selling accelerated in Tokyo, Hong Kong and London, unfathomable amounts of wealth vanished in a matter of hours.

In crudest outlines, the panic that followed Britain's vote to quit the European Union traced the 2008 collapse of Lehman Brothers, an event that turned an unfolding financial crisis into the bleakest economic downturn since the Great Depression. The similarities hung uneasily over markets on Friday, presenting a grim question: How ugly might things get?

As economists pored over the rout like accident investigators dispatched to the scene of a crash, most offered assurances that a Lehman-style financial panic was not unfolding. In that debacle, investors indiscriminately fled all assets connected to the disastrous American housing bubble. Mortgages had been carved into exotic investments and peddled around the globe, meaning they lurked everywhere. Distrust spread like a virus.

This time, the source of the trouble is both identifiable and relatively confined. Britain and the 27 remaining members of the European Union face significant uncertainty in their economic and financial dealings as they embark on complex divorce proceedings.

Fears that drawn-out negotiations could disrupt trade prompted investors to push their money toward safety. As night fell in London, the British pound was down more than 7 percent. Stock markets plummeted around the globe; the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index closed down 3.6 percent in New York. London closed down a similar margin, and Tokyo surrendered more than 4 percent.

Continued on Page B2



HANNAH MCKAY/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

A taxi driver in London on Friday, a day after Britons voted to leave the European Union. The withdrawal process may take years.

Cameron to Quit as E.U. Aims for Rebirth

By STEVEN ERLANGER

LONDON — Britain's startling decision to pull out of the European Union set off a cascade of aftershocks on Friday, costing Prime Minister David Cameron his job, plunging the financial markets into turmoil and leaving the country's future in doubt.

The decisive win by the "Leave" campaign exposed deep divides: young versus old, urban versus rural, Scotland versus England. The recriminations flew fast, not least at Mr. Cameron, who had made the decision to call the referendum on membership in the bloc to manage a rebellion in his own Conservative Party, only to have it destroy his government and tarnish his legacy.

The result of the so-called Brexit vote presented another stiff challenge to the leaders of the other leading European powers as they confront spreading populist anger. It was seized on by far-right and anti-Brussels parties across Europe, with Marine Le Pen of the National Front in France calling for a "Frexit" referendum and Geert Wilders of the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands calling for a "Nexit."

European officials met in Brussels to begin discussing a response and to emphasize their commitment to strengthening and improving the bloc, which will have 27 members after Britain's departure.

"At stake is the breakup, pure and simple, of the union," Prime Minister Manuel Valls of France said, adding, "Now is the time to invent another Europe."

Germany urged calm. "Today marks a turning point for Europe," Chancellor Angela Merkel said. "It is a turning point for the European unification process."

Financial markets swooned as it became apparent that the Leave forces would prevail, with the

Continued on Page A8

Strength of Populist Revolt Is Felt on Both Sides of the Atlantic

By JIM YARDLEY

LONDON — From Brussels to Berlin to Washington, leaders of the Western democratic world awoke Friday morning to a blunt, once-unthinkable rebuke delivered by the flinty citizens of a small island nation in the North Atlantic. Populist anger against the established political order had finally boiled over.

The British had rebelled.

Their stunning vote to leave the European Union presents a political, economic and existential crisis for a bloc already reeling from entrenched problems. But

the thumb-in-your-eye message is hardly limited to Britain. The same yawning gap between the elite and mass opinion is fueling a populist backlash in Austria, France, Germany and elsewhere on the Continent — as well as in the United States.

The symbolism of trans-Atlantic insurrection was rich on Friday: Donald J. Trump, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee and embodiment of American fury, happened to be visiting Britain.

"Basically, they took back their country," Mr. Trump said Friday morning from Scotland, where he was promoting his golf courses.

Rebellious Voters Lash Out Against Elites

"That's a good thing."

Asked where public anger was greatest, Mr. Trump said: "U.K. U.S. There's plenty of other places. This will not be the last."

Even as the European Union began to grapple with a new and potentially destabilizing period of political uncertainty, the British vote will also inevitably be seized upon as further evidence of deepening public unease with the

global economic order. Globalization and economic liberalization have produced winners and losers — and the big "Leave" vote in economically stagnant regions of Britain suggests that many of those who have lost out are fed up.

Time and again, the European Union has navigated political crises during the past decade with a Whac-a-Mole response that has maintained the status quo and the bloc's lumbering forward momentum toward greater integration — without directly confronting the roiling public discontent beneath the surface.

Continued on Page A6

Will Pullout Echo in U.S. Election? Not So Fast

By JONATHAN MARTIN and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — Britain's vote to withdraw from the European Union sent a shudder through the capital on Friday as the forces of economic nationalism and working-class fury forced American political leaders to wonder: Could it happen here?

Driving the "Brexit" vote were many of the same impulses that have animated American politics in this turbulent election year: anger at distant elites, anxiety about a perceived loss of national sovereignty and, perhaps most of all, resentment toward migrants and refugees.



CARLO ALLEGRI/REUTERS

Donald J. Trump said Britain's vote would help his golf resort.

These are the themes that Donald J. Trump harnessed during the Republican presidential primaries to explosive effect, and that he aims to wield to his advantage again in his race against Hillary

Clinton. Mr. Trump endorsed Britain's abandonment of the European Union and hailed the vote during a stop in Scotland on Friday.

Veteran Republican and Democratic strategists say that Mr. Trump, and to a lesser extent, Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic contest, represent an American echo of the inward-looking politics that have swept across Europe in recent years.

"There's a fundamental issue that all developed economies have to confront, which is that globalization and technological changes have meant millions of people have seen their jobs marginalized

Continued on Page A8

Young Britons Feel Left Out as Generations Split

By CLAIRE BARTHELEMY and KIMIKO DE FREYTA-TAMURA

LONDON — As the bands played on at the Glastonbury music festival in Somerset, England, Lewis Phillips and his friends drowned their sorrows in song and alcohol.

"We're the ones who've got to live with it for a long time, but a group of pensioners have managed to make a decision for us," Mr. Phillips, 27, said on Friday of Britain's decision to withdraw from the European Union. He said he was now "terrified" about the country's economic prospects.

Louise Driscoll, a 21-year-old barista in London, spent most of



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Watching results at a pub in north London on Thursday.

the day crying. "I had a bad feeling in my gut," she said of Britain's referendum on Europe. "What do we do now? I'm very scared." Her parents both voted to leave the bloc, she said, and "will probably

be gloating."

The vote to leave the European Union exposed tensions and fault lines in British society, but perhaps none more gaping than its generational divisions.

According to pre-election surveys by the polling organization Survation, 57 percent of Britons between the ages of 18 and 34 who intended to take part in Thursday's referendum supported remaining in the bloc, while an identical proportion — 57 percent — of Britons over 55 supported the opposite: leaving Europe behind.

For those under 25, the desire to remain in the union was especially high: Three-quarters

Continued on Page A12



JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES
The government says its top priorities for deportation include foreigners who pose a threat to national security or public safety.

Low-Priority Immigrants, Still Swept Up in U.S. Deportation Net

By JULIA PRESTON

WASHINGTON — Three agents knocked on the door of a modest duplex in a Wisconsin town just after dawn. The Mexican immigrant living on the ground floor stuck his head out.

They asked his name and he gave it. Within minutes José Cervantes Amaral was in handcuffs as his wife, also from Mexico, silently watched. After 18 years working and living quietly in the

United States, Mr. Cervantes, who did not have legal papers, rode away in the back seat, heading for deportation.

It is a routine that continues daily. The Supreme Court on Thursday effectively ended initiatives by President Obama that would have given protection from deportation to more than four million immigrants in the country illegally, most of them parents of American citizens. Mr. Obama showed his frustration with the decision, saying his goal was to

help immigrants who had raised families here and helped the country with their work. The president said immigrants who might have qualified for the programs would still be safe from deportation.

Still, deportations continue, thousands every week.

In November 2014 when Mr. Obama first announced the protection programs, he also set new priorities for enforcement. Since then, immigration authorities say, their focus is on removing convicted criminals and foreigners

who pose national security threats. But the administration's priorities also include deporting migrants from Central America, including children, who came in an influx since 2014. And immigrants who committed minor offenses — or none at all — are often swept up in the operations.

After Thursday's Supreme Court decision, the president's protections are gone, but the enforcement plan remains in effect. It is part of a particularly edgy

Continued on Page A3

SPORTSATURDAY D1-6

Trouble at Rio Doping Lab

The world's antidoping agency has suspended the lab that was to handle drug tests at this summer's Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. PAGE D1

OBITUARIES A18-19

Author of a Vietnam Classic

Michael Herr, who wrote "Dispatches," a glaringly intense and personal account of being a correspondent during the Vietnam War, was 76. PAGE A18

ARTS C1-6

Baroque Meets Psychedelic

Jimi Hendrix's London apartment was next to a house where the composer Handel once lived. The Handel & Hendrix museum celebrates both. PAGE C1

THIS WEEKEND

Republicans Face the Nation

In The Times Magazine, Mark Leibovich looks at how Republican leaders are contending with Donald Trump and the identity crisis rolling their party.

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Gail Collins

PAGE A21



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Paul, former Verizon customer

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SAM HODGSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

We Are One

The attack in Orlando, Fla., two weeks ago weighed heavily on the gay pride march in Manhattan on Sunday. New York, Page A15.

THEFTS REDIRECT ARMS FROM C.I.A.

Guns for Syrian Rebels Hit Black Market

By **MARK MAZZETTI** and **ALI YOUNES**

AMMAN, Jordan — Weapons shipped into Jordan by the Central Intelligence Agency and Saudi Arabia intended for Syrian rebels have been systematically stolen by Jordanian intelligence operatives and sold to arms merchants on the black market, according to American and Jordanian officials. Some of the stolen weapons were used in a shooting in November that killed two Americans and three others at a police training facility in Amman, F.B.I. officials believe after months of investigating the attack, according to people familiar with the investigation.

The existence of the weapons theft, which ended only months ago after complaints by the American and Saudi governments, is being reported for the first time after a joint investigation by The New York Times and Al Jazeera. The theft, involving millions of dollars of weapons, highlights the messy, unplanned consequences of programs to arm and train rebels — the kind of program the C.I.A. and the Pentagon have conducted for decades — even after the Obama administration had hoped to keep the training program in Jordan under tight control.

The Jordanian officers who were part of the scheme reaped a windfall from the weapons sales, using the money to buy expensive S.U.V.s, iPhones and other luxury items, Jordanian officials said.

The theft and resale of the arms — including Kalashnikov assault rifles, mortars and rocket-propelled grenades — have led to a flood of new weapons available on the black arms market. Investigators do not know what became of most of them, but a disparate collection

Continued on Page A3

Private Equity Hits Close to Home

Mortgage Companies Repeat Mistakes the Banks Made

This article is by **Matthew Goldstein**, **Rachel Abrams** and **Ben Protess**.

When the housing crisis sent the American economy to the brink of disaster in 2008, millions of people lost their homes. The banking system had failed homeowners and their families.

New investors soon swept in — mainly private equity firms — promising to do better.

But some of these new investors are repeating the mistakes that banks committed throughout the housing crisis, an investigation by The New York Times has found. They are quickly foreclosing on homeowners. They are losing families' mortgage payments

BOTTOM LINE NATION Homeowners Squeezed Again

perwork, much as the banks did. And many of these practices were enabled by the federal government, which sold tens of thousands of discounted mortgages to private equity investors, while making few demands on how they treated struggling homeowners.

The rising importance of private equity in the housing market is one of the most consequential transformations of the post-crisis American financial landscape. A home, after all, is the single largest investment most families will ever make.

Private equity firms, and the

mortgage companies they own, face less oversight than the banks. And yet they are the cleanup crew for the worst housing crisis since the Great Depression.

Out of the more than a dozen private equity firms operating in the housing industry, The Times examined three of the largest to assess their impact on homeowners and renters.

Lone Star Funds' mortgage operation has aggressively pushed thousands of homeowners toward foreclosure, according to housing data, interviews with borrowers and records obtained through a Freedom of Information request. Lone Star ranks among the country's biggest buyers of delinquent

Continued on Page A12

British Politics in Chaos As Vote Result Sinks In, Sidelining Key U.S. Ally

Washington's Direct Line to Continent Suddenly Frays

By **DAVID E. SANGER**

American officials struggling to reimagine their strategy after Britain's decision to divorce the European Union say the most urgent challenge will be to find a way to replace their most reliable, sympathetic partner in the hallways of European capitals. It will not be easy.

No country shares Washington's worldview quite the way Britain does, they say; it has long been the United States' most willing security ally, most effective intelligence partner and greatest enthusiast of the free-trade mantras that have been a keystone of America's internationalist approach. And few nations were as willing to put a thumb as firmly on the scales of European debates in ways that benefit the United States.

Now that quiet diplomatic leverage — including moderating European trade demands and strong-arming nations to contribute more to NATO military missions — is suddenly diminished.

Even if Britain eventually regains its influence on the Continent, a big if, it will be deeply distracted for years. Moreover, the loss of Britain's strong voice in Europe comes at a particularly bad moment: just as the United States and its allies are debating how to handle a revanchist Russia and reinvigorate NATO, hurry along an American-European trade pact that has been languishing, and work through a diplomatic settlement in Syria that could relieve the migrant crisis in Europe.

"When Vladimir Putin is cheering," David Miliband, the former British foreign minister, said on "Meet the Press" Sunday, "then you know you have got a problem in the international system."

And then, of course, there is the

Continued on Page A7

Labour Party Erupts in Revolt as Head Is Challenged

By **STEVEN ERLANGER**

LONDON — Britain's political crisis intensified on Sunday after the nation's vote to leave the European Union, with the opposition Labour Party splitting into warring camps, Scotland's leader suggesting that its local Parliament might try to block the departure and many Britons wondering if there was a plausible way for the nation to reconsider its drastic choice.

The hostilities in the Labour Party broke out as the battle lines became clearer among the governing Conservatives, left in turmoil by the referendum on Thursday and the subsequent announcement by Prime Minister David Cameron that he would resign once his party chose a successor.

Michael Gove, the justice minister and one of the leaders of the Leave campaign, threw his support to the former London mayor Boris Johnson, the most prominent figure in the anti-Europe movement. Aides to Theresa May, the home secretary, who backed Remain were calling legislators to seek their support to take on Mr. Johnson.

The British news media reported that close allies of Mr. Cameron were also working to stop Mr. Johnson, reflecting the sense of betrayal on Downing Street over Mr. Johnson's decision to tie his political ambitions to the movement to leave Europe. Other cabinet ministers were considering whether to run, including Nicky Morgan, the education secretary

Continued on Page A7

London's Finance Sector

Unease has set in about what the future holds for the City of London as a global financial capital and economic engine. Page B1.

Wary of a Convention Coup, Trump and Party Get Tough

By **JEREMY W. PETERS**

The Trump campaign and the Republican National Committee are moving quickly and aggressively to head off the fledgling effort to stage a revolt at their convention next month in Cleveland, hoping to spare the party an embarrassing spectacle that could deeply wound the presumptive nominee.

They are employing hard-nosed tactics, warning delegates that attempting to undermine Donald J. Trump's claim to the nomination violates party rules, and threatening to deny speaking slots to Republicans they deem disloyal for not backing him.

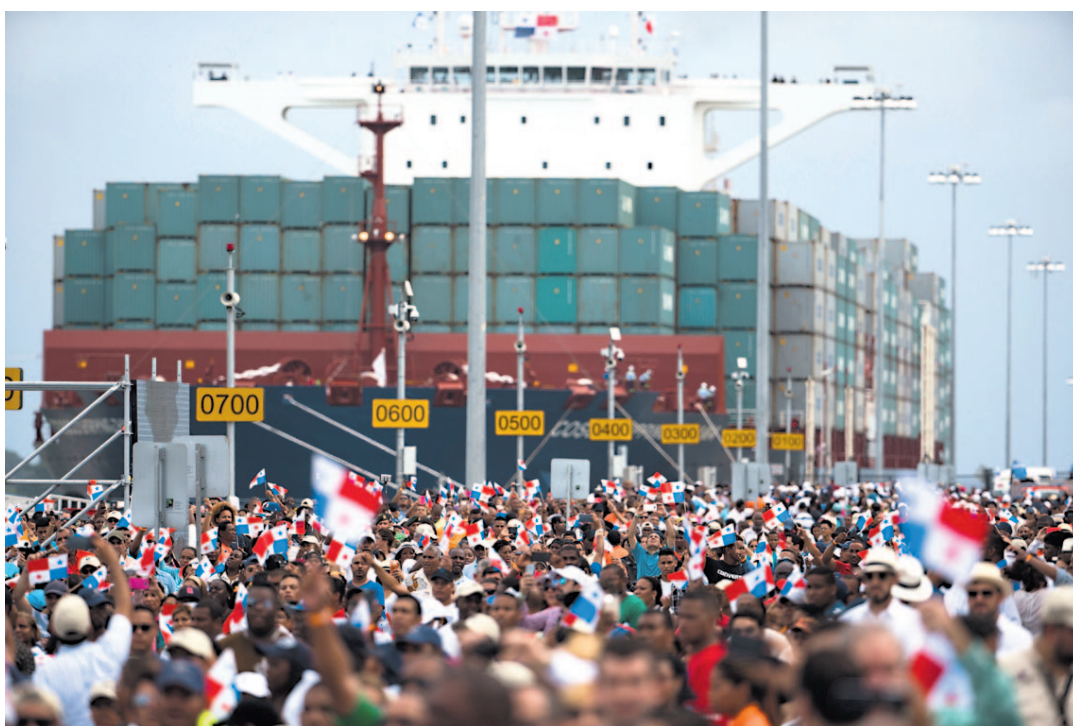
"If there's no endorsement, then I would not invite them to speak," Mr. Trump said in an interview, adding that former rivals like Senator Ted Cruz of Texas and Gov. John Kasich of Ohio should not expect to address the conven-

tion if they continue to withhold their support.

The R.N.C. and the Trump campaign are also installing loyal party stalwarts in key party positions to help ensure that they maintain control of the convention if rogue delegates attempt a disruption. And they are trying to discredit Republicans who are advocating an interpretation of party rules that would allow delegates to vote for anyone they want on the first ballot.

Their moves are intended to buttress Mr. Trump as he confronts a faction of Republicans who, emboldened by his recent missteps, say their efforts to stage a convention coup are gaining more support. In the last week, prominent Republicans like House Speaker Paul D. Ryan and Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin

Continued on Page A10



MOISES CASTILLO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A Maiden Voyage in Panama

As thousands cheered and heads of state watched, Cosco Shipping Panama became the first commercial vessel to cross the newly expanded Panama Canal. It carried about 9,000 containers.



NATIONAL A9-14

A Frightening Forecast

After storms in West Virginia caused flooding that killed at least 24 people and left hundreds homeless, more rain is forecast for some of the worst-hit areas, like Clendenin, above. PAGE A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Teachers' Protest in Mexico

With students going without school in Oaxaca State for months, a teachers' movement gained steam after a clash with Mexican forces last week. PAGE A4

Pope Urges Apology to Gays

Francis said that the Roman Catholic Church and Christians should seek forgiveness from gays for the way they had treated them. PAGE A8

NEW YORK A15-18

When a Body Goes Unclaimed

New York's written-consent bill would restrict the use of bodies for teaching, showing a significant shift in attitudes toward the dead and human remains considered to be unclaimed. PAGE A16



BUSINESS DAY B1-5

'Happier' Birds, for Dinner

Perdue Foods is planning to announce an ambitious overhaul of the way it raises its chickens, with rules similar to those in Europe. PAGE B1

A VW Deal Won't End Woes

A Volkswagen in the civil case over the Volkswagen emissions scandal is set to go before a judge Tuesday, but the company's troubles are not over. PAGE B1



SPORTSMONDAY D1-7

Star Plays Part in Cup Loss

Lionel Messi missed Argentina's first shootout attempt, and Chile soon secured the Copa América title. PAGE D1

ARTS C1-6

Escaping Mommie Dearest

In her painful, mesmerizing memoir, Ariel Leve tells the story of her childhood, Jennifer Senior writes. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Charles M. Blow

PAGE A23



FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION

"DEFTER, DARKER, AND MORE TERRIFYING THAN IT'S EVER BEEN BEFORE"

SLATE

HOUSE of CARDS

MRC NETFLIX

JUSTICES OVERTURN TEXAS ABORTION LIMITS

Court Puts Curbs on Prosecuting Corruption

By ADAM LIPTAK
WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday made it harder to prosecute public officials for corruption, unanimously overturning the conviction of Bob McDonnell, a former governor of Virginia.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., writing for the court, narrowed the definition of what sort of conduct can serve as the basis of a corruption prosecution. He said only formal and concrete government actions counted — filing a lawsuit, say, or making an administrative determination. Routine political courtesies like arranging meetings or urging underlings to consider a matter, he added, generally do not, even when the people seeking those favors give the public officials gifts or money.

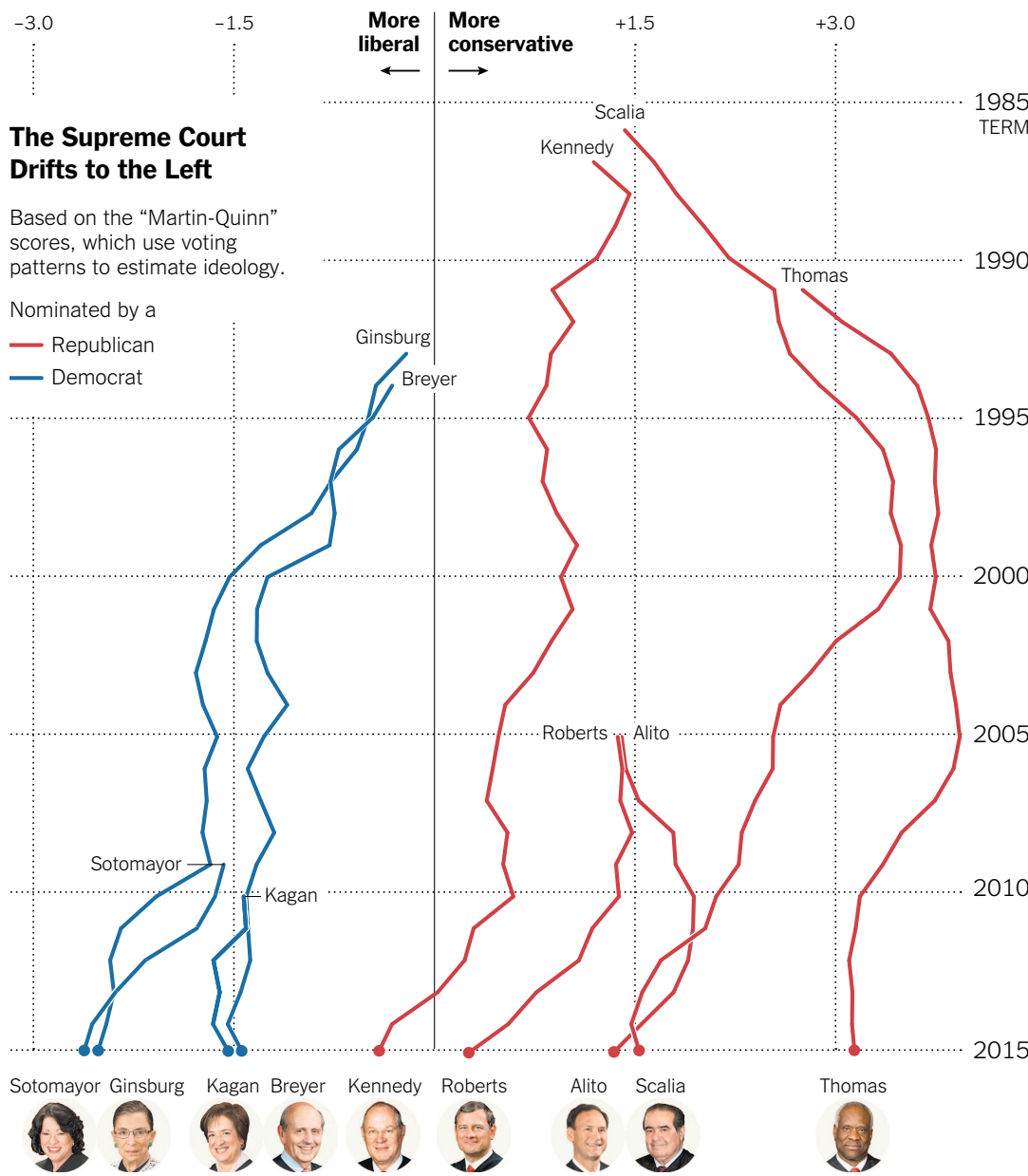
That still leaves prosecutors plenty of room to pursue classic bribery and kickbacks. But there was widespread agreement among prosecutors and defense lawyers on Monday that the decision would make it harder for the government to prove corruption.

The alternative to the new limits, Chief Justice Roberts

Continued on Page 14

New Tack for Defendants

Defense lawyers were quick to cite the justices' ruling on corruption to challenge cases from Illinois to New York. Page A14.



Paving a Path for Future Legal Challenges

By ERIK ECKHOLM
From Texas to Alabama to Wisconsin, more than a dozen Republican-run states in recent years have passed laws requiring that abortion clinics have hospital-grade facilities or use doctors with admitting privileges at nearby hospitals.

Now, Monday's Supreme Court ruling — that those provisions in a Texas law do not protect women's health and place an undue burden on a woman's constitutional right to an abortion — will quickly reverberate across the country.

It will prevent the threatened shutdown of clinics in some states, especially in the Deep South, that have been operating in a legal limbo, with Texas-style laws on temporary hold. But legal experts said the effect over time was likely to be wider, potentially giving momentum to dozens of legal challenges, including to laws that restrict abortions with medication or ban certain surgical methods.

"The ruling deals a crushing blow to this most recent wave of state efforts to shut off access to abortion through hyper-regulation," said Suzanne B. Goldberg, the director of the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law at Columbia Law School.

Adopting stringent regulations on abortion clinics and doctors that are said to be about protecting women's health has been one of the anti-abortion movement's

Continued on Page A12

'Burden' Is Found — 10 Clinics to Stay Open

By ADAM LIPTAK
WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Monday reaffirmed and strengthened constitutional protections for abortion rights, striking down parts of a restrictive Texas law that could have drastically reduced the number of abortion clinics in the state, leaving them only in the largest metropolitan areas.

The 5-to-3 decision was the court's most sweeping statement on abortion since *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* in 1992, which reaffirmed the constitutional right to abortion established in 1973 in *Roe v. Wade*. It found that Texas' restrictions — requiring doctors to have admitting privileges at nearby hospitals and clinics to meet the standards of ambulatory surgical centers — violated *Casey*'s prohibition on placing an "undue burden" on the ability to obtain an abortion.

If *Casey* limited the right established in *Roe*, allowing states to regulate abortion in ways *Roe* had barred, Monday's decision effectively expanded that right. It means that similar requirements in other states are most likely also unconstitutional, and it imperils many other kinds of restrictions on abortion. It is also sure to energize anti-abortion forces and make abortion a central issue in the presidential campaign.

The decision concerned two
Continued on Page A13

Heroin Market Shapes Enforcer's Rise and Fall

By BENJAMIN MUELLER and AL BAKER

Up the block came three young men, shoelaces lapping at the sidewalk, faces half-hidden in hoods, to pay their respects to a fallen street soldier.

They stopped at a mural splashed with rubber-banded rolls of \$100 bills, next to calligraphy spelling out "Heart of the Hood" and "Money come & go but Legends Live Forever." The face of Francisco Perez, six feet high and sun-dappled, stared out coolly over his old haunts. A red die showing five sat on a discarded

MURDER IN THE 4-0 A Cycle of Violence

bureau nearby.
"Cisco, 12-26-78 — 4-4-16," the mural read, referring to Mr. Perez's street name.

Over nearly three decades, Mr. Perez held court on this block of East 157th Street off Melrose Avenue in the South Bronx. It was here that he climbed the rungs of the street heroin trade, wooed women, muscled out drug rivals from nearby public housing projects and, as he got closer to middle age, counseled young men

to save themselves and to get honest work.

By turns brutal and vain, comedic and exacting, Mr. Perez survived police raids, stickups, territorial incursions and a transformation of the city's drug trade as it came to rely less than it once had on hand-to-hand street sales.

All the while, his crew and a former dealer shot at each other and tallied the hits. The bad blood led to the 2005 murder of a female bystander and, Mr. Perez's friends said, spawned a round of tit-for-tat shootings in the months before his death. As he turned the corner to

Continued on Page A18



A memorial mural for Francisco Perez, who was shot on March 18 and died a few weeks later.

VW Will Pay \$14.7 Billion In Diesel Case

By HIROKO TABUCHI and JACK EWING

Volkswagen has agreed to pay up to \$14.7 billion to settle claims stemming from its diesel emissions cheating scandal, in what would be one of the largest consumer class-action settlements ever in the United States.

The proposed settlement, involving the federal government and lawyers for the owners of about 475,000 Volkswagen vehicles, includes a maximum of \$10.03 billion to buy back affected cars at their pre-scandal values, and additional cash compensation for the owners, according to two people briefed on the settlement's terms.

The cash compensation offered to each car owner will range from \$5,100 to \$10,000. Both the buy-back price and amount of the additional compensation will depend on the cars' value before Volkswagen's public admission last September that its supposed "clean diesel" cars had been deliberately designed to cheat on air-quality tests.

Despite the scope of the deal, which would still require the approval of the federal judge overseeing the case, the settlement would cover only a small fraction of the 11 million diesel cars worldwide — most of them in Europe — that Volkswagen has acknowledged contained the cheating software.

Continued on Page B3

Confusion Over What's Next Paralyzes British Leadership



Boris Johnson on Monday. He and other "Brexit" leaders notably modulated their tone and some positions on Europe.

This article is by Steven Erlanger, Stephen Castle and Sewell Chan.

LONDON — Four days after a decisive vote to leave the European Union, Britain was consumed on Monday with questions of when and how the country's departure from the bloc would happen — and increasingly, of whether it would happen at all.

The immediate outcome of Thursday's referendum was not the promised clarity but an epic political muddle and a policy vacuum that invited more confusion and turmoil throughout the day in Britain, on the Continent and in the financial markets.

Leaders on both sides of the Channel said there was no viable option but to move gradually to-

ward the withdrawal process. Yet the day's developments did little to dispel the possibility that the crisis could drag on for a long time, possibly generating enough economic and political damage to encourage negotiation of a new arrangement between Europe and Britain that would sidestep the need for a formal withdrawal or at least minimize its effects.

Prime Minister David Cameron and leaders of the campaign to
Continued on Page A9

Making Matters Worse

Britain's looming exit from the European Union deepens economic problems that have been building. The Upshot. Page B1.

INTERNATIONAL A4-10

Diplomatic Fence Mending

On the day it announced a rapprochement with Israel, Turkey apologized for downing a Russian jet near its border with Syria last year. Turkey had said the plane violated its airspace. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A11-15

Synchronizing Their Message

Senator Elizabeth Warren brought her populist roar to the service of Hillary Clinton in their first joint campaign event in Cincinnati. PAGE A15



NEW YORK A17-21

'Spy House' Sits Empty

Since two Russian spies were arrested in Montclair, N.J., their home has fallen into a bureaucratic tangle. PAGE A17

SPORTS TUESDAY B10-15

Stunned England Exits Euros

Iceland, a tiny nation in its first major tournament, ended England's chances at the Euros. Iceland's Aron Gunnarsson, below, celebrated. PAGE B15



BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Giant Gem Seeks Rich Bidder

Hoping to appeal to the superrich, Sotheby's is selling a 1,109-carat white diamond at auction instead of offering it exclusively to top dealers. PAGE B3

A Fight to Fend Off Generics

A drug maker tries extending the patent for a top drug because it also treats a rare children's disease. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Linda Greenhouse

PAGE A23

ARTS C1-6

A More Caffeinated 'Thrones'

If Season 6 of "Games of Thrones" on HBO was not the series's best season, it was its most flat-out entertaining, writes James Poniewozik. PAGE C1

SCIENCE TIMES D1-6

Clams That Catch Cancer

New findings about contagious cancer in animals indicate that it may be more common than believed. PAGE D3

The Jump to Jupiter

NASA's Juno spacecraft nears the planet on a mission that may yield clues to the solar system's origins. PAGE D1



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STERN REBUKE, BUT NO CHARGES, FOR CLINTON



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Together on the Campaign Trail

President Obama and Hillary Clinton shared a ride on Air Force One to Charlotte, N.C., for a joint campaign appearance. Page A14.

Class Anger Fuels Town's Pro-'Brexit' Defiance

By ANDREW HIGGINS

WIGAN, England — After jobs as a garbage man, a bakery worker and now a packer at a canned food factory, Colin Hewlett, like most people in Wigan, a gritty northern English town, takes great pride in his working-class credentials. He plays snooker and drinks pints at the Working Mens Club across the road from his red brick rowhouse,

'BRITAIN IS NO HOME TO ME'

Artists talk about the vote to leave the European Union. Page C1.

and at every election that he can remember, he has voted, like his father before him, for the Labour Party.

The governing Conservative Party, which last won a parliamentary election in Wigan in 1910, is "for rich sods and second raters

on the make," he explained.

On June 23, however, Mr. Hewlett broke with the habits of a lifetime and bucked the Labour Party line. Ignoring its stand that the European Union is good for Britain, he voted to bolt from the European bloc, along with 64 percent of the population in a town that, according to Will Patterson, a local Green Party activist, would normally "vote for a cow if Labour put one up for election."

Continued on Page A6

Muslims Stung By Indifference To Their Losses

By ANNE BARNARD

PARIS — In recent days, jihadists killed 41 people at Istanbul's bustling, shiny airport; 22 at a cafe in Bangladesh; and at least 250 celebrating the final days of Ramadan in Baghdad. Then the Islamic State attacked, again, with bombings in three cities in Saudi Arabia.

By Tuesday, Michel Kilo, a Syrian dissident, was leaning wearily over his coffee at a Left Bank cafe, wondering: Where was the global outrage? Where was the outpouring that came after the same terrorist groups unleashed horror in Brussels and here in Paris? In a supposedly globalized world, do nonwhites, non-Christians and non-Westerners count as fully human?

"All this crazy violence has a goal," Mr. Kilo, who is Christian, said: to create a backlash against Muslims, divide societies and "make Sunnis feel that no matter what happens, they don't have any other option."

This is not the first time that the West seems to have shrugged off massacres in predominantly Muslim countries. But the relative indifference after so many deaths caused by the very groups that have plagued the West is more

Continued on Page A7

An Attack Ad, Ready-Made

By PATRICK HEALY

Hillary Clinton may not be indicted on criminal charges over her handling of classified email, but the F.B.I. director, James B. Comey, all but indicted her judgment and competence on Tuesday — two vital pillars of her presidential candidacy — and in the kind of terms that would be politically devastating in a normal election year.

The silver lining for Mrs. Clinton is that this is not a normal election year.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign is built on the premise that she has the national security experience and well-honed instincts to keep Americans safe in the age of terrorism, and that Donald J. Trump does not. Nearly every day, she seeks to present herself as a more thoughtful and responsible leader.

She has spent months describing Mr. Trump as "reckless," "unprepared" and "temperamentally unfit" to be president, and she has pointed to her four years as secretary of state and eight in the Senate as unparalleled preparation for becoming commander in chief.

Yet in just a few minutes of remarks, Mr. Comey called into question Mrs. Clinton's claims of superiority more memorably, mightily and effectively than Mr. Trump has over the entire past year. And with potentially lasting consequences.

To her charge that he is "reck-

Continued on Page A14

F.B.I. Calls Email Use 'Extremely Careless'

By MARK LANDLER and ERIC LICHTBLAU

WASHINGTON — The F.B.I. director, James B. Comey, on Tuesday recommended no criminal charges against Hillary Clinton for her handling of classified information while she was secretary of state, lifting an enormous legal cloud from her presidential campaign less than two hours before she boarded Air Force One for her first joint campaign appearance with President Obama.

But on a day of political high drama in Washington, Mr. Comey rebuked Mrs. Clinton as being "extremely careless" in using a private email address and server. He raised questions about her judgment, contradicted statements she has made about her email practices, said it was possible that hostile foreign governments had gained access to her account, and declared that a person still employed by the government — Mrs. Clinton left the State Department in 2013 — could have faced disciplinary action for doing what she did.

To warrant a criminal charge, Mr. Comey said, there had to be evidence that Mrs. Clinton intentionally transmitted or willfully mishandled classified information. The F.B.I. found neither, and as a result, he said, "our judgment is that no reasonable prosecutor would bring such a case."

The Justice Department is highly likely to accept the F.B.I.'s

Continued on Page A12



CLIFF OWEN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

James B. Comey, the F.B.I. director, explained his decision Tuesday not to recommend charges against Hillary Clinton.

Public Scolding of Clinton Fits A Pattern of Taking On Power

By MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT and ERIC LICHTBLAU

WASHINGTON — Shortly after Hillary Clinton was interviewed on Saturday by agents at the F.B.I.'s headquarters, its director, James B. Comey, heard from his deputies that Mrs. Clinton had been truthful and forthcoming in the three-and-a-half-hour meeting.

Mr. Comey, who had been regularly briefed on the progress of the yearlong investigation into Mrs. Clinton's email account as secretary of state, had known for some time that his agents had not uncovered enough evidence to charge her or anyone else with a crime. Now, with the interview done, he told his deputies, according to F.B.I. officials, that he

wanted to move forward with a plan he had been working on for months to explain the findings from such a politically contentious investigation to the public. And he did not wait to do it.

At 11 a.m. on Tuesday, Mr. Comey walked into a conference room on the first floor of the F.B.I.'s headquarters, where he stood behind a lectern for 15 minutes and laid out in clinical detail how Mrs. Clinton's use of the account was "extremely careless." But, he said, the bureau would recommend to the Justice Department that she not be charged with a crime because his investigators had found no clear evidence that

Continued on Page A13



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Abandoned stores in Wigan, England, a Labour stronghold frustrated with hard times.

Small Steps, but No Major Push, to Integrate New York's Schools

By ELIZABETH A. HARRIS

For all its kaleidoscopic diversity, New York City has one of the most segregated school systems in the country, with divisions created and reinforced by decades of policy decisions. But over the past year, some areas of the system have begun experimenting with

ways to desegregate, if not by the color of children's skin, at least by their families' wealth.

A middle school in Boerum Hill, Brooklyn, hopes to set aside seats for poor children in fall 2017. A small district on the Lower East Side of Manhattan is looking to shake up admissions so that poor and middle-class students will learn together. And a popular ele-

mentary school in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan has reserved more than 60 percent of its seats this coming school year for students from low-income families.

In a system in which about 75 percent of students are poor and nearly 70 percent are black or Hispanic, these efforts depend on some degree of local socioeco-

nomics diversity. In gentrifying sections of Brooklyn, rich and poor live near one another, as they do in parts of Manhattan where public housing projects are next to expensive apartment buildings. But in most city school districts, where poor children live near other poor children, no such diver-

Continued on Page A3

NATIONAL A9-15

Philadelphia Trains Sidelined

Commuters faced delays and crowded trains when 120 regional rail cars were pulled out of service after cracks were found in the fleet. PAGE A9



Big Prize in This Game of Clue

A poem with 24 verses has nine clues to what may be \$2 million in hidden treasure; 65,000 people so far have been on the hunt for it in four Rocky Mountain states. PAGE A9

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

Anti-Gay Violence in Brazil

A recent surge in attacks has earned Brazil the ignominious ranking of the world's deadliest place for lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people, clashing with its tolerant image. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A16-17

Mystery in a Disclosure Form

An inquiry into Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo's economic programs turns in part on whether a top aide failed to disclose income properly. A disclosure form only raises questions. PAGE A16

Death of a Pizzeria Owner

As mourners gathered for the funeral of the owner of L&B Spumoni Gardens in Brooklyn, the police released a video of a man sought for questioning. PAGE A17

OBITUARIES A18-19

Lawmaker, Judge, Mentor

Abner J. Mikva, one of the nation's leading liberal politicians for decades, was 90. He served in Congress from Chicago and as a federal judge, and was a mentor to Barack Obama. PAGE A18

ARTS C1-6

The Case for a Peeping Tom

Gay Talese's "The Voyeur's Motel" has drawn criticism, but as literature, this book succeeds. A review by Dwight Garner. PAGE C1

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Bright Spot in Heart of Athens

An airy new complex for the country's national library and opera is nearing completion in one of the city's oldest neighborhoods. PAGE B1



FOOD D1-8

Making Veggies Sexy

The crackle in the air at Nix is what you get when you liberate vegetables from the ideology of vegetarianism, writes Pete Wells. PAGE D4

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Frank Bruni

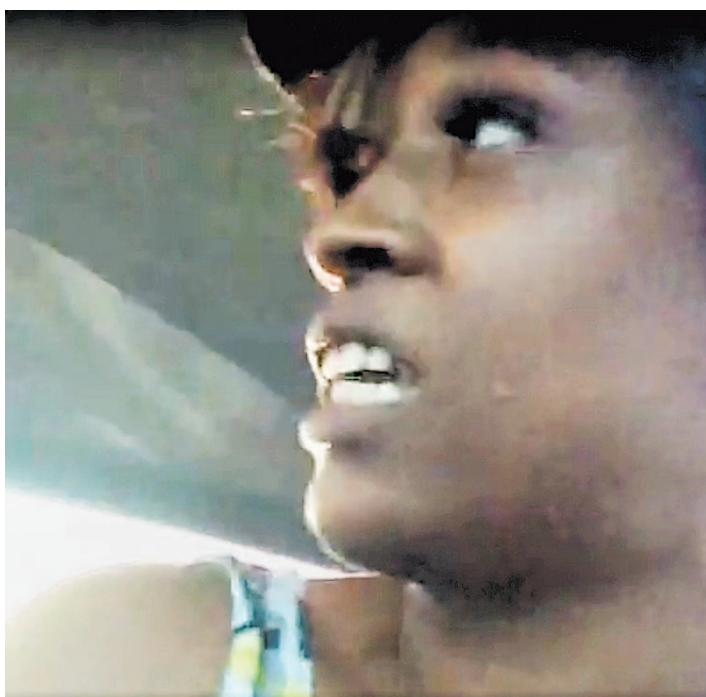
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DIAMOND REYNOLDS, VIA FACEBOOK

Diamond Reynolds captured video after Philando Castile was shot. With her daughter in the car, she narrated the events.

11 OFFICERS SHOT, 4 FATALLY, AT RALLY AGAINST VIOLENCE

Chaos in Dallas — Earlier, Obama Called Police Shootings an 'American Issue'

This article is by **Manny Fernandez, Matt Furber and Richard Pérez-Peña.**

HOUSTON — Gunfire broke out in Dallas on Thursday evening at a demonstration over the police shootings captured on video in Louisiana and Minnesota, turning a vocal but peaceful rally into chaos as two snipers shot at police officers, killing four of them, the police said.

Chief David O. Brown said that the snipers shot the officers from elevated positions during the rally. Seven officers were wounded by the snipers. The conditions of the wounded officers were unknown. Several of the shot officers were Dallas Area Rapid Transit police.

The police said late Thursday that a "person of interest" had turned himself in and that another person had been taken into custody.

The chief said that 10 officers were shot by the snipers and that an 11th was shot during an exchange of gunfire with one of the suspects and was hospitalized.

He said that some of the officers were shot in the back and that investigators believed the shooters had positioned themselves in a way to get a triangulated firing po-

sition on the officers.

The gunmen "planned to injure and kill as many law enforcement officers as they could," Chief Brown said.

The shooting occurred after President Obama, reacting with the same horror as many Americans to a grisly video of a bloody, dying man in Minnesota who was shot by the police, begged the nation to confront the racial disparities in law enforcement while acknowledging the dangers that officers face.

"When incidents like this occur, there's a big chunk of our citizenry that feels as if, because of the color of their skin, they are not being treated the same, and that hurts, and that should trouble all of us," Mr. Obama said in a statement on Thursday after arriving in Warsaw for a NATO summit meeting. "This is not just a black issue, not just a Hispanic issue. This is an American issue that we all should care about."

A few hours earlier, Gov. Mark Dayton of Minnesota, who seemed shaken by the video showing the man, Philando Castile, as he died, also pointed to the role of race. "Would this have happened if the driver were white,

Continued on Page A17

In 10 Terrible Minutes, a Tale Of Race, the Police and Death

By **JAMES PONIEWOZIK**

"Stay with me."

These are the first words that Diamond Reynolds speaks to her dying boyfriend, Philando Castile, in her video on Facebook Live. He's slumped in the driver's seat, blood soaking his white T-shirt, a police officer pointing a gun through the car window, as Ms. Reynolds's 4-year-old daughter sits in the back seat.

We're sadly used to seeing videos of police violence against black citizens: chaotic, abrupt images of a deadly moment. This one, showing a killing's aftermath, is different — narrative, personal and terrifyingly intimate.

We listen as a woman talks us through her nightmare and tries to talk herself and her daughter out of it alive. In about 10 minutes, it tells a story of race and law enforcement in America, plays out a life-or-death interac-

tion between a black woman and armed police and shows us a little girl's heartbreaking education.

First Ms. Reynolds calmly gives her description of what happened: They were pulled over on Wednesday for a broken taillight in Falcon Heights, Minn.; Mr. Castile told the officer that he had a licensed firearm and reached for his identification, and the officer shot him.

When the video begins, Mr. Castile is moving. A minute later, he's still and slack. She worries that he is already gone.

We stay with her. "We" here refers to the worldwide audience of the video, which had some four million views as of Thursday evening. We have seen this sort of thing too many times. We saw it just this week, when cellphone video

Continued on Page A17

Some Senators In G.O.P. Feel Trump's Wrath

This article is by **Alan Rappeport, Jennifer Steinhauer and Maggie Haberman.**

WASHINGTON — A peace-making summit meeting between Republican lawmakers and their renegade presidential nominee, Donald J. Trump, descended on Thursday into an extraordinary series of acrid exchanges, punctuated by Mr. Trump's threatening one Republican senator and deriding another as a "loser."

Mr. Trump arrived in the capital with hopes of courting skeptical House and Senate Republicans and mending his relationship with



MICHAEL REYNOLDS/E.P.A.

Donald J. Trump arriving to meet with House Republicans.

Senator Ted Cruz, his former rival for the nomination, in a blitz of face-to-face meetings. But the friendly atmosphere turned fraught when Mr. Trump lashed out in the face of direct criticism.

The tension reflects the lingering fissures in a Republican Party that continues to grapple with Mr. Trump as its standard-bearer, and underscores Mr. Trump's limitations when it comes to unifying the party and moving beyond political grudges.

He has disappointed some members of the party who have hoped his campaign would become more disciplined, but instead have seen him dwell on and even repeat his own missteps rather than maintaining a focused

Continued on Page A15

Colleges Chase Out-of-State Students, and Cash

By **STEPHANIE SAUL**

SACRAMENTO — Over three generations, the Michael family forged a deep bond with the University of California, dating back nearly 50 years to when Jay Dee Michael Sr. was the university system's vice president and chief lobbyist.

Family members proudly displayed degrees from the campuses in Los Angeles, Davis, Berkeley and Santa Barbara. And when Mr. Michael died last year, his family asked that memorial donations go to a U.C. Davis institute. Recently, though, the relationship has soured, a victim of the economic forces buffeting public universities.

Jay Dee Michael Jr. said he might never feel the same again after his son was rejected from several U.C. campuses.

"I have blue and gold running

Budget Cuts Affecting Access for Residents

through my blood," Mr. Michael told a State Assembly hearing here in March. "But I can tell you that when I get calls now from U.C. Davis, as an alum, I'm not giving a dime."

A state audit in March reinforced what many California parents already suspected: On a constant hunt for more revenue, the prestigious University of California system gave favorable admissions treatment to thousands of higher-paying out-of-state and foreign students, to the detriment of Californians.

As a result, admissions to the system have become a bipartisan political issue in California, where the Legislature recently moved to

link university funding to enrolling additional California residents.

But at its core, the discontent in California, which is also developing in other states, reflects a broader, fundamental breakdown in the traditional operation of the public university. And it highlights troubling questions about affordability and access, much of the impetus behind the announcement by Hillary Clinton on Wednesday that she was embracing a large part of Bernie Sanders's proposal to provide free tuition at in-state public colleges.

Since the 2008 recession, states have reduced spending on public higher education by 17 percent, while tuition has risen by 33 percent, according to a recent report by the nonpartisan Center on Budget and Policy Priorities.

The University of California system relied on state money for

Continued on Page A19

Climate Change Claims a Lake And a Centuries-Old Identity

By **NICHOLAS CASEY**

LLAPALLAPANI, Bolivia — The water receded and the fish died. They surfaced by the tens of thousands, belly-up, and the stench drifted in the air for weeks.

The birds that had fed on the fish had little choice but to abandon Lake Poopó, once Bolivia's second-largest but now just a dry, salty expanse. Many of the Uru-Murato people, who had lived off its waters for generations, left as well, joining a new global march of refugees fleeing not war or persecution, but climate change.

"The lake was our mother and our father," said Adrián Quispe, one of five brothers who were working as fishermen and raising families here in Llapallapani. "Without this lake, where do we go?"

After surviving decades of water diversion and cyclical El Niño droughts in the Andes, Lake Poopó basically disappeared in December. The ripple effects go beyond the loss of livelihood for the Quispes and hundreds of other fishing families, beyond the migration of people forced to leave homes that are no longer viable.

The vanishing of Lake Poopó threatens the very identity of the Uru-Murato people, the oldest indigenous group in the area. They adapted over generations to the conquests of the Inca and the Spanish, but seem unable to adjust to the abrupt upheaval climate change has caused.

Only 636 Uru-Murato are esti-

Continued on Page A10



JOSH HANER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Felix Condori, mayor of Llapallapani, has turned to construction jobs since Lake Poopó dried up.

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

Attack Strikes Iraqi Pilgrims

Dozens of worshippers were killed at a Shiite shrine in Balad, north of Baghdad, where they had been celebrating the end of Ramadan. PAGE A7

A Woman Will Lead Britain

The race to succeed David Cameron as prime minister has been narrowed to two women. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A12-19

F.B.I. Chief Testifies

James B. Comey Jr. took heat from House Republicans for ending the inquiry into Hillary Clinton's email. PAGE A14

NEW YORK A22-25

A 'Bridgeway' Mystery Solved

An infamous New Jersey traffic jam, a court case and Gov. Chris Christie's missing cellphone. PAGE A25

Young Inmates 'in the Box'

New York City is still struggling to reach a goal announced in January

2015: the end of solitary confinement for inmates younger than 22 at Rikers Island. Some of them describe what time "in the box" is like. PAGE A22



BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Fox News Buffeted by Lawsuit

The gender discrimination suit against Roger Ailes of Fox News is part of a gale force sweeping through the workplace, Jim Rutenberg writes. PAGE B1

Ralph Lauren's 'Way Forward'

Ralph Lauren's shrink-to-grow strategy seems to have been inspired by Ford Motor, James Stewart writes. PAGE B1

SPORTSFRIDAY B9-14

Hurdler Pushes Disease Aside

Aries Merritt, a gold medalist in 2012 and a kidney recipient in 2015, is seeking to defend his title. PAGE B9

WEEKEND ARTS C1-22

A Ride Gone Wrong

In HBO's "The Night Of," a man driving a taxi picks up a fare and regrets it. A review by James Poniewozik. PAGE C1

High-End Art Out Front

In a marriage of art and architecture, high-end New York developers are adding major art pieces — some of them whimsical — to their signature projects. A tour reveals lobbies and courtyards with a museum feel. PAGE C15



MEN'S STYLE D1-8

Breaking Through Borders

Hiroki Nakamura, once considered a cult designer, has propelled his label, Visvim, into a big business. PAGE D7

Summer by the Sea

Headed to the beach? Try a look somewhere between midcentury rebel and Cosmo Kramer. PAGE D5

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Brooks

PAGE A27



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FIVE OFFICERS KILLED AS PAYBACK, CHIEF SAYS



SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

Chief David O. Brown at a prayer vigil for officers Friday. "Our profession is hurting," he said. "Dallas officers are hurting."



LORNE AHRENS



MICHAEL KROL



MICHAEL J. SMITH



BRENT THOMPSON



PATRICK ZAMARRIPA

City's Chief, Known as Reformer, Becomes Face of Nation's Shock

By JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN

After the killings in Dallas, David O. Brown, the city's police chief, became the face of the nation's shock.

At multiple news conferences, he sorted through a jumble of reports, some of them wrong, as he narrated the standoff between his officers and the gunman. But he also offered simple, emotional words: "We're hurting," he said on Friday morning, in a moment of shared public grief.

His appearances may also have evoked a more personal grief. Just weeks after he became the leader of the Dallas Police Department in 2010, Chief Brown's own son fatally shot a police officer after

killing another man in a random attack.

"My family has not only lost a son, but a fellow police officer and a private citizen lost their lives at the hands of our son," he said in a statement at the time. "That hurts so deeply I cannot adequately express the sadness I feel inside my heart."

Since taking over the Dallas department, one of the nation's largest, Chief Brown, 55, has earned a national reputation as a progressive leader whose top priority is improving relations and reducing distrust between the police department and the city's minority

Continued on Page A13

Obama Grapples for Balance After Word of Dallas Killings

By MARK LANDLER and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WARSAW — As Air Force One headed for Europe on Thursday afternoon, President Obama holed up in the plane's office editing a Facebook post meant to express his anguish at two deadly shootings by police officers. Given what had happened, he told his aides, he did not think it was enough.

Wrestling with what the appropriate thing to do instead was the start of a wrenching 10 hours in which Mr. Obama would find himself whipsawed by grim events back home, forcing him to once again search for the right tone in a moment of national shock and mourning.

In that time, Mr. Obama delivered a trans-Atlantic call for racial justice after the gruesome deaths of two black men at the hands of the police, only to face the same television cameras hours later to denounce the killings of five officers by a black sniper.

For Mr. Obama, the killing of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, La., and Philando Castile in suburban St. Paul and the bloody reprisal in Dallas encapsulated the challenge he has faced throughout his presidency: how to confront a justice system that he views as tilted against the very people whom he, as the nation's first black presi-

Continued on Page A12

Three Summer Days Further Split Nation Already in Deep Turmoil

By TIMOTHY WILLIAMS and MICHAEL WINES

First came the cellphone video of an African-American man being fatally shot by a Louisiana police officer, and the astonishing live feed of a Minnesota woman narrating the police killing of her African-American boyfriend during a traffic stop. Then came the horrific live television coverage of police officers being gunned down by a sniper at a march protesting the police shootings.

And suddenly, the panoply of fears and resentments that have made this a foreboding summer had been brought into sharp relief.

Police accountability and racial bias have been at the center of the civic debate since August 2014, when a black teenager was killed

by a white officer in Ferguson, Mo., a suburb of St. Louis. Mass murders in Newtown, Conn.; Charleston, S.C.; Orlando, Fla., and too many other locales have revived gun violence as a social issue and national shame. Both black anger at police killings and the boiling frustrations of some whites who feel they are ceding their long-held place in society have been constant undercurrents in politics since January and the Iowa presidential caucuses.

Now, in the space of three days, the killings of two black men by Louisiana and Minnesota police officers and the retaliatory mur-

Continued on Page A10

A More Personal Clinton Tries To Rebuild Trust With Voters

By AMY CHOZICK

For most of her presidential campaign, whenever Hillary Clinton has been confronted with polls showing that a majority of voters do not trust her, she has attributed the problem to decades of wild Republican attacks and right-wing conspiracy theories.

Last week, speaking to a sympathetic crowd in Chicago, she also pointed a finger in a surprising new direction: at herself.

"I personally know I have work to do on this front; a lot of people tell pollsters they don't trust me," Mrs. Clinton said in a speech to the Rainbow/Push Coalition on June 27. "It is certainly true I have made mistakes," she said a moment later, adding, "So I understand people having questions."

The questions grew far more in-

tense after the F.B.I. director, James B. Comey Jr., on Tuesday bluntly contradicted numerous statements Mrs. Clinton and her aides had made over the past year in defending her email practices as secretary of state.

Though Mr. Comey's stark critique of her actions as "extremely careless" came after he recommended that she not be criminally charged, it cast a harsh light on perhaps the central challenge to Mrs. Clinton and her campaign: how to get skeptical voters to trust her.

Yet the snippet of introspection last week from Mrs. Clinton, a candidate not known for public soul-searching, may have signaled an important shift in how she and her

Continued on Page A15

Jobs Surge, Easing Worries and Reframing the Political Debate

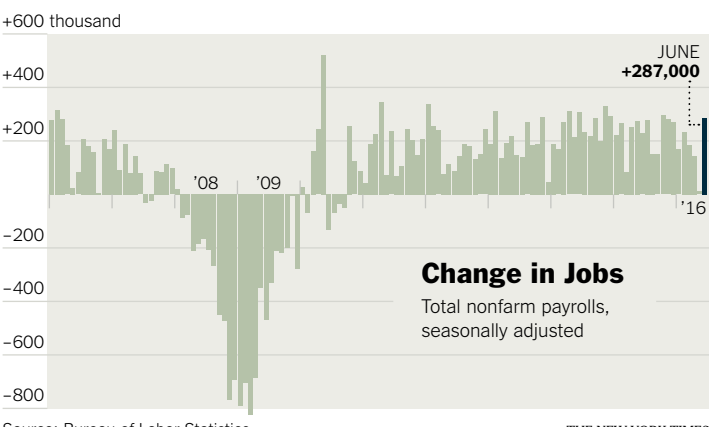
By PATRICIA COHEN

Quashing worries that job growth is flagging, the government on Friday reported that employers increased payrolls by 287,000 in June, an arresting surge that could reframe the economic debate just weeks before Republicans and Democrats gather for their conventions.

The official unemployment rate did rise to 4.9 percent, from 4.7 percent, but that was largely because more Americans rejoined the work force and not all of them found jobs. And average hourly earnings ticked up again, continuing a pattern of rising wages that brought the yearly gain to 2.6 percent.

"Wow, this one takes my breath away," said Diane Swonk, an independent economist in Chicago.

An unexpectedly grim employment report in May combined with Britain's vote to leave the Eu-



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

THE NEW YORK TIMES

ropean Union had fanned wider concerns that the American economy was in danger of stalling.

During its meeting last month, the Federal Reserve unanimously decided to postpone increasing the benchmark interest rate.

But the latest Labor Department report, Ms. Swonk said,

gives the Fed "a cushion" to consider a bump in rates later this year.

Financial markets rallied on the announcement, with the Standard & Poor's 500-stock index gaining 1.5 percent to end the day just short of the record close it recorded last year.

But the political response was relatively muted, in deference to the shootings of police officers in Dallas. Both presidential candidates canceled campaign events, and the presumptive Republican nominee, Donald J. Trump, tweeted that he had postponed a scheduled speech on economic opportunity.

At the moment, though, the Democrats are best poised to take advantage of the positive employment news.

Lynn Vavreck, a professor of political science at University of California, Los Angeles, said that when it came to presidential elections, the economic trend was more important than any particular number. "As long as it's going in the right direction," she said, "that's a good sign for the incumbent party."

Concerns persist about the vitality of the economic recovery,

Continued on Page B3



INTERNATIONAL A3-8

NATO Unity Shows Cracks

At a summit meeting in Poland, above, leaders had differing strategies for dealing with Russia. PAGE A7

A Setback for China

South Korea's plan to deploy an American missile defense system suggested Beijing's wooing had failed. PAGE A8

NATIONAL A9-15

Another Suit Over Bathrooms

Ten more states sued the federal government on Friday over a directive to public schools on bathroom use by transgender students. PAGE A9

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Rebuke for Chief of Theranos

Federal regulators barred the embattled start-up's chief, Elizabeth Holmes, from laboratories for two years. PAGE B1

Strategy in Fox News Lawsuit

Gretchen Carlson's legal case against Fox News's Roger Ailes focuses on retaliation, not discrimination. PAGE B1



NEW YORK A16-18

Tackling Gender Gap in Chess

Four girls, including Maggie Feng, above, are masters in a game in which boys are more prominent. PAGE A16

City Hall to Focus on Deeds

After the sale of a nursing home, the mayor's office said it would overhaul its policy on deed modifications. PAGE A16

SPORTSATURDAY D1-6

Doping Watchdog Questioned

The World Anti-Doping Agency told United States lawmakers that it did not have the authority to investigate accusations of a government-run doping program in Russia. PAGE D2

Wimbledon Men's Final Is Set

Milos Raonic defeated Roger Federer in five sets to reach his first Grand Slam final. The other slot went to Andy Murray, who dispatched Tomas Berdych in three sets. PAGE D5

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Timothy Egan

PAGE A21



ARTS C1-6

Reviving China's Villages

Architects like Chen Haoru, above, are redesigning rural areas, hoping to enhance their appeal to young people, farmers and educated workers. PAGE C1



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AMERICA GRIEVES, TENSE AND WARY



Left, demonstrators in Phoenix on Friday protested police shootings of black men. Right, Veronica Jones and her boyfriend, Kenneth Parson, on Friday at a memorial at Dallas Police Headquarters.

Seeking Unity, Nation Debates Racial Chasm

By JACK HEALY and NIKOLE HANNAH-JONES

Long after her two sons were in bed, Shanel Berry kept vigil in front of the television at her home in Waterloo, Iowa, watching the week's horror unfold and obsessing over a single question: Was the gunman who killed five Dallas police officers black?

"I just thought, 'Please, please don't let him be black,'" because if he was, she worried that police shootings of black men could become easy to justify. Ms. Berry, an elementary school teacher, said she hurt for the officers and their families. But when the gunman was identified and his photo flashed on the screen, she sank even lower.

"I told my boys, 'Now, this will make it even harder.'"

Fifteen hundred miles away, David Moody, a retired Las Vegas police officer, woke on Friday morning to fellow officers writing messages of anger and condolence on their Facebook pages, posting black-clad badges in solidarity with the Dallas Police Department. He had seethed at what he called the anti-police sentiment of protests over the deaths of two black men fatally shot last week by the police in Louisiana and Minnesota. And now this.

"The atmosphere that's out there right now," Mr. Moody said. "We don't get up in the morning thinking how can we violate somebody's rights today, how can we pick on this type of person. Every guy I know that's out there working is getting up every day and thinking he's going to make a difference."

Even as political leaders, protesters and law enforcement officials struggled to find common ground and lit candles of shared grief, there was an inescapable fear that the United States was being pulled farther apart in its anger and anguish over back-to-back fatal shootings by police officers followed by a sniper attack by a military veteran who said he wanted to kill white police officers.

Just days after the United States celebrated its 240th birthday, people in interviews across

Continued on Page 14

Officers Confront Dual Role: Villain and Victim

By MICHAEL WILSON and MICHAEL SCHWIRTZ

Police barricades wrapped around the headquarters at One Police Plaza and other department buildings in New York. Many cities issued new marching orders: no solo patrols. No officers should be alone.

In Burlington, Vt., during roll call, some officers blinked away tears. In Los Angeles, the chief did the same.

In the break room at a Manhattan station house, officers — behind closed doors, comfortable among themselves — debated what they saw on the videos of the recent fatal police shootings in Louisiana and Minnesota. Some said race had played a role. Others, one officer said, "put on blinders."

A rookie officer in Manhattan, five days on the job, texted her mother on Friday. She was on her way to work at a protest. A protest against the police.

And a Queens detective quietly seethed.

"This is insanity," said the detective, speaking on the condition of anonymity because he was not



GERALD HERBERT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Police officers in Dallas after a gunman killed and wounded many of their colleagues.

authorized to do so publicly. "It's just freaking horrendous."

Reactions to Thursday's deadly ambush in Dallas swept through roll-call rooms and squad cars in police departments across the country. Contempt for the shooter was universal. But behind it followed other, varying observations about what it means to be a police

officer in 2016, with the attending fears and frustrations, and amid a seemingly growing gulf between the police and the policed.

"We have broken into tribes," Charlie Beck, chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, told a class of cadets who graduated on Friday. "All of a sudden it becomes more important who your parents are, what the color of your skin is, than whether you are American."

"This is not about black lives, or brown lives or blue lives," he added. "This is about America."

Police culture all but forbids one officer from publicly criticizing or second-guessing the actions of others. For that reason, officers interviewed on Friday would not comment directly on the videos taken during and immediately after the shootings in Louisiana and Minnesota.

But one fact was clear: When a new video showing what appears to be police misconduct surfaces, it affects officers everywhere.

"One of the worries that cops have is that no cop can control what another cop does, but all cops will be judged by what the other cop does," Chief Brandon del

Continued on Page 17

Gunman Honed Military Skills To Deadly Conclusion in Dallas

This article is by Richard Fausset, Manny Fernandez and Alan Blinder.

GARLAND, Tex. — There was a time when he was known as a well-mannered young man — a regular at his church and a pleasant presence on a tree-lined, suburban, multicultural street in a neighborhood called Camelot. He grew up to serve his country in Afghanistan.

But on Thursday night, 25-year-old Micah Johnson, an African-American, drove his car to a rally against police violence and began killing officers in downtown Dallas, hoping to single out the white ones. In the process, he also managed to bring his war back home, killing at least one fellow military veteran and heightening fears that the nation he had been deployed to protect overseas was now failing to address its growing racial divide at home.

The Dallas police remained on edge Saturday. In the late afternoon, officers drew their weapons and cleared an area near the back of their headquarters after a report of a suspicious person in a de-

partment parking garage. The agency later said that no one had been found.

In the past several days, as demonstrators jammed the streets in a number of American cities, protesting police violence, new details emerged about Mr. Johnson's life. They revealed a young man who had returned in disgrace from his stint abroad in the Army Reserve, but then continued a training regimen of his own devising, conducting military-style exercises in his backyard and reportedly joining a gym that offered martial arts and weapons classes.

A Dallas County official also revealed Saturday that Mr. Johnson — who killed five officers and wounded seven others, as well as two civilians, before the police killed him with a robot-delivered explosive device — had kept an extensive journal and described a method of attack in which a gunman fired on a target and then

Continued on Page 16

Strides of Black Lives Matter Halt in an Instant

By MICHAEL BARBARO and YAMICHE ALCINDOR

It felt like a watershed moment for a scattered and still-young civil rights movement.

Inside Black Lives Matter, the national revulsion over videos of police officers shooting to death black men in Minnesota and Louisiana was undeniable proof that the group's message of outrage and demands for justice had finally broken through.

Even the white governor of Minnesota, Mark Dayton, in a pained public concession, embraced the movement's central argument. "Would this have happened if those passengers — the driver and the passengers — were white?" he asked. "I don't think it would've."

Then, in an instant, everything changed.

Black Lives Matter now faces perhaps the biggest crisis in its short history: It is both scrambling to distance itself from an



ERIC MILLER/REUTERS

The daughter of Diamond Reynolds, whose boyfriend was shot by the police. Children are being caught up in violence. Page 14.

African-American sniper in Dallas who set out to murder white police officers and trying to rebut a chorus of detractors who blame the movement for inspiring his deadly attack.

"What I saw in Dallas was devastating to our work," said Jeditiah Brown, a Chicago pastor who has emerged as an outspoken Black Lives Matter activist over

Continued on Page 17

Heal Discord? 2016 Candidates Are Seen as a Main Source of It

By PATRICK HEALY

No moment in the 2016 presidential campaign has cried out more for a unifying candidate than the police shootings of two black men last week and the ensuing national uproar, followed by the shocking sniper ambush that killed five police officers in Dallas.

And no other moment has revealed more starkly how hard it is for Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton to become that candidate.

Never have two presidential nominees been as unpopular as Mr. Trump and Mrs. Clinton, and they are neither fully trusted by their own parties nor showing significant crossover appeal in the polls. Mr. Trump, the self-described champion of law and order, is also the political figure many people blame for sowing division and hatred with his attacks on illegal immigrants, Muslims, Mexicans and others. Rather than defuse ten-

sion, he electrifies crowds and vanquishes rivals through provocations that he delights in calling politically incorrect.

Of the two, Mrs. Clinton would seem more able, and driven, to try to bring the country together. She has a large following among black voters and speaks ardently about the need for "respect" and "love and kindness." After Dallas, she called on "white people to understand how African-Americans feel every day." Yet many on the right and some on the left dislike her intensely, and even her admirers say she lacks the public emotion, oratorical skills and reputation for honesty to persuade large numbers of Americans to see things her way.

The need for a reassuring and healing voice has come at a partic-

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INTERNATIONAL 4-9

Jordan, Syrians and the West

Jordan agreed to take in thousands of Syrian refugees in return for interest-free loans from the World Bank. But is it robbing Peter to pay Paul? PAGE 5

NATIONAL 12-18

Anti-Abortion Strategies

After a Supreme Court defeat, leaders of the National Right to Life Committee are renewing a focus on the "humanity of the unborn child." PAGE 12

OBITUARIES 19-21

Chronicler of Cambodia Terror

Sydney Schanberg covered Cambodia's fall to the Khmer Rouge for The New York Times and helped inspire the 1984 film "The Killing Fields." PAGE 19

SPORTSSUNDAY

Serena Williams Ties Graf

Serena Williams won her 22nd Grand Slam singles title, matching Steffi Graf's total, and avenged a loss to Angelique Kerber in Australia. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Frank Bruni

PAGE 1



WHEN WE SAY DOUBLE WE MEAN DOUBLE.



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TRUCK ATTACK ON FRENCH CROWD; SCORES DIE



ERIC GAILLARD/REUTERS

At least 80 died in Nice. There was no immediate claim of responsibility, but the French president called it a terrorist assault.

Vibrant Holiday Ends in a Trail of Carnage

By ANDREW HIGGINS

NICE, France — A red ambulance, its lights flashing, sped down the road and jerked to a stop. The driver jumped out, asking, "Where are the wounded?"

"We only have dead here," replied two men, trying to comfort a young man who was weeping over the body of his mother and imploring Allah to accept her into heaven.

An eerie tableau of death and dying extended along a mile-long stretch of the graceful, crescent-shaped Promenade des Anglais on Thursday night, running from Nice's airport to the oldest part of the coastal city.

One moment, there was a great street celebration for France's Bastille Day holiday — and the next, a truck came barreling through at high speed, leaving a trail of bodies, shock and despair through a French Riviera fiesta.

Among the first people killed by the speeding truck on the sidewalk next to Lenval Beach was the middle-aged Muslim woman. Two of her sons and other family members stood, weeping or frozen in stunned silence, around her body, which was covered in a pale blue tartan blanket.

Nearby there was another victim, an unidentified man sprawled on the sidewalk next to the beach beneath a bloodied sheet.

So numerous were the bodies that to protect their dignity, people had covered some of them with tablecloths snatched from the restaurants lining the Promenade des Anglais.

It was windy, with a slight, sporadic drizzle, and the celebration of just a few moments earlier was already a distant memory. Crowds had gathered to celebrate Bastille

Continued on Page A10

'The Horror Has, Once Again, Hit France'

This article is by Alissa J. Rubin, Adam Nossiter and Christopher Mele.

PARIS — A Bastille Day fireworks celebration was shattered by death and mayhem on Thursday night in the southern French city of Nice when a large truck barreled for more than a mile through an enormous crowd of spectators, crushing and maiming dozens in what France's president called a terrorist assault. It came eight months after the Paris attacks that traumatized the nation and all of Europe.

Officials and witnesses in Nice said at least 80 people, including children, were killed by the driver of the rampaging truck, who mowed them down on the sidewalk. He was shot to death by the police as officers scrambled to respond on what is France's most important annual holiday.

Graphic television and video images showed the truck accelerating and tearing through the crowd, dozens of victims sprawled in its path, and the bullet-riddled windshield of the vehicle. Municipal officials and police officers described the truck as full of weapons and grenades.

"The horror, the horror has, once again, hit France," President François Hollande said in a nationally televised address early Friday. He said the "terrorist character" of the assault was undeniable, and he described the use of a large truck to deliberately kill people as "a monstrosity."

"France has been struck on the day of her national holiday," he said. "Human rights are denied by fanatics, and France is clearly their target."

Mr. Hollande, who only hours earlier had proclaimed the im-

Continued on Page A10

Trump Delays Naming a No. 2, But Pence Appears No. 1 in Line

This article is by Alexander Burns, Maggie Haberman and Ashley Parker.

Donald J. Trump's presidential campaign signaled strongly on Thursday that he would name Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana as his running mate, but abruptly postponed a long-planned unveiling of the Republican ticket after an attack that left dozens dead in France.

Mr. Trump said on Twitter that he was delaying his announcement after the "horrible attack" in Nice. He did not specify when the event would go forward.

Before the attack in southern France, Mr. Pence, a mild-mannered Midwesterner popular with conservatives and evangelical Christians, appeared to be all but locked in as the Republican nominee for vice president — the last man standing after a madcap selection process unlike any in recent presidential politics.

But a resolution to the process remained elusive after several days of unusually frenzied and public deliberations by Mr. Trump and his family, as well as extraor-

dinary campaigning for the job by several potential running mates. After huddling with Mr. Pence in Indiana, flying multiple other candidates to Indianapolis for last-minute interviews, hinting to party leaders that his decision had been made and then denying it to the news media, Mr. Trump delayed his decision entirely.

In a television interview, Mr. Trump insisted that he had not settled on a running mate yet. "I haven't made my final, final decision," he told Fox News by telephone.

Against a backdrop of images from Nice, Mr. Trump repeatedly described himself as the "law-and-order candidate" in the presidential race.

Mr. Trump's advisers told national Republican officials that

Continued on Page A14

No Strict Script

Donald Trump's impulsive nature makes the G.O.P. convention one of the most unpredictable in recent history. Page A16.

Ginsburg Says Her Remarks on Trump Were 'Ill Advised'

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg's indignant dissents from the bench have turned her into a heroine of the left, beloved for methodically skewering her conservative colleagues. On the internet, she has become the Notorious R.B.G.

But after being roundly criticized for a remarkable series of interviews in which she mocked Donald J. Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee for president, Justice Ginsburg on Thursday did something highly unusual for a member of the nation's highest court: She admitted making a mistake.

"Judges should avoid commenting on a candidate for public office," she wrote in a brief statement issued by the court, admitting her remarks were "ill advised" and expressing regret. "In the future I will be more circumspect."

A revered figure at some of the nation's most elite law schools since her appointment to the court in 1993, Justice Ginsburg, 83, flabbergasted many in the legal com-

munity when she called Mr. Trump a "faker," and said she could not really imagine what it would be like if he became president.

Barry Friedman, a professor of law at New York University who describes himself as a friend of Justice Ginsburg's, said her comments were a stark example of a breach in the neutrality that justices must adhere to.

"The price you pay for being on the bench is that you withdraw from politics," Mr. Friedman said. "You need to be extremely circumspect."

Mark Tushnet, a law professor at Harvard, said Justice Ginsburg's comments reflected the divisive nature of today's politics, which had already affected the legislative and executive branches of government.

"Maybe this is an example of how hyperpolarization affects the court," he said.

In expressing her disdain for Mr. Trump, Justice Ginsburg was

Continued on Page A15



VALÉRY HACHE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The police killed the truck's driver, who wasn't immediately identified. The truck was said to contain weapons and grenades.

How Private Equity Firms Quietly Cash In on Political Capital

This article is by Ben Protess, Jessica Silver-Greenberg and Rachel Abrams.

PHOENIX — Inside a cramped committee room on the cactus-dotted campus of Arizona's Capitol, Kelsey Lundy stepped to the podium to detail new legislation and the higher costs it would impose on struggling borrowers.

But Ms. Lundy is not a lawmaker, a government employee or even a statehouse intern.

She is a lobbyist for one of the nation's largest lenders.

That lender — controlled by the Fortress Investment Group, one of Wall Street's most powerful private equity firms — wrote the bill. Months later, in 2014, the state's legislators passed the law, making it easier to charge interest of 36 percent to borrowers living on the financial margins.



JASON HENRY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A passenger rail project in Florida by the private equity firm Fortress has prompted outcry in coastal towns like Gifford.

BOTTOM LINE NATION Harnessing Lobbying Power

The political access in Arizona was just one component of a broader effort to loosen consumer protection laws, according to emails obtained through public records requests. In nine other states, Ms. Lundy's client helped win legislative changes, persuading lawmakers that it needed to raise costs to stay in business and serve borrowers.

Since the 2008 financial crisis, Fortress and other private equity firms have rapidly expanded their influence, assuming a pervasive, if under-the-radar, role in daily American life, an investigation by The New York Times has found. Sophisticated political maneuver-

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A Christie Ally, in Court, Admits To Bribery Over an Airline Route

By PATRICK MCGEEHAN

David Samson, a longtime friend of Gov. Chris Christie, pleaded guilty to a felony count of bribery on Thursday and admitted that he had pressured United Airlines to operate a weekly flight to South Carolina for his personal convenience.

The plea, which was offered before Judge Jose L. Linares of United States District Court in Newark, appears to put an end to Mr. Samson's career as a public official and power broker. And it casts a shadow over the political fortunes of Mr. Christie, a New Jersey Republican who until this week had been considered a potential running mate for Donald J. Trump, the party's presumptive

nominee for president.

"One of the problems with Chris Christie is there are skeletons in his closet that still have skin on the bones," Patrick Murray, director of the Monmouth University Polling Institute, said.

The prosecution of Mr. Samson grew out of a federal investigation into the closing of access lanes to the George Washington Bridge in 2013. Federal prosecutors contend that allies of Mr. Christie at the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey conspired to tie up traffic on the New Jersey side of the bridge to punish a local mayor for declining to endorse Mr. Christie's bid for re-election as

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INTERNATIONAL A3-10

The Undiplomatic Diplomat

Boris Johnson, Britain's new foreign secretary, is infamous for his public insults of world leaders. PAGE A8

Putin-Kerry Talks on Syria

The men met in Moscow on coordinating American and Russian air attacks on ISIS and the Nusra Front. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A12-18

7-Week Rest After Inertia

Congress limped out of town on recess, leaving behind partisan fights, a failed Zika virus bill, a gun control stalemate and a few accomplishments they hoped voters would find awesome. PAGE A12

Discontent With Candidates

Voters are rallying around their parties' presumptive nominees but have deep misgivings, a New York Times/CBS News poll shows. PAGE A15

Officer's Training Scrutinized

The Minnesota officer who killed a driver had training that critics say can lead to combative encounters. PAGE A17

SPORTSFRIDAY B10-14

An Olympic Journey to Rio

The swimmer Kathleen Baker, 19, reached the 2016 Games despite a long battle with Crohn's disease. PAGE B10

Putt for a Record Just Misses

Phil Mickelson, playing at the British Open, nearly recorded the first round of 62 at a major tournament. PAGE B10



NEW YORK A20-22

K2 Overdoses Spike

The tally for Monday through Wednesday nearly matched the total for all of June, a rise in use of the synthetic drug that is alarming officials. PAGE A20

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Microsoft Wins Search Appeal

The ruling limits the ability of American authorities to demand data stored by technology companies outside the United States. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A24-25

David Brooks

PAGE A25



WEEKEND ARTS C1-24

Offbeat From Arbus

The new show at the Met Breuer gives early images by Diane Arbus, most never seen publicly, a terrific presentation, writes Holland Cotter. PAGE C17



TURKEY IS BATTLEFIELD IN A COUP ATTEMPT



GURCAN OZTURK/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge in Istanbul was closed as supporters of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan gathered early Saturday.

Erdogan Back in Istanbul — Signs Insurgency Is Failing to Take Hold

By TIM ARANGO and CEYLAN YEGINSU

ISTANBUL — A military coup attempt plunged Turkey into a long night of violence and intrigue on Friday, threatening its embattled president and injecting new instability into a crucial NATO member and American ally in the chaotic Middle East.

The coup attempt was followed hours later by an equally dramatic public appearance by the president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whose whereabouts was unknown for hours after the plotters claimed to have taken control. Flying into Istanbul Ataturk Airport from an undisclosed location early Saturday, Mr. Erdogan signaled the coup was failing.

"A minority within the armed forces has unfortunately been unable to stomach Turkey's unity," Mr. Erdogan said, after the private NTV television channel showed him greeting supporters. Blaming political enemies, Mr. Erdogan said: "What is being perpetrated is a rebellion and a treason. They will pay a heavy price for their treason to Turkey."

There were indications that the coup's leaders, at a minimum, did not have a tight grip on many parts of the country. Supporters of Mr. Erdogan took to the streets of Istanbul to oppose the coup's plotters. More than 130 people have been arrested in connection with the coup attempt, Prime Minister Binali Yildirim said in comments to CNN Turk.

Nonetheless, the abrupt turn of events in Turkey left Mr. Erdogan's grip on power uncertain. The country has been reeling from a wave of deadly extremism by the Islamic State militant group, struggling to accommodate hundreds of thousands of refugees from the war in neighboring Syria

and fighting a resurgent Kurdish rebellion in the Turkish southeast.

Martial law was declared in the country, which has been convulsed by military takeovers at least three times in the past half-century. Mr. Erdogan, an Islamist who has dominated politics for more than a decade and sought to exert greater control over the



CNN TURK, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Mr. Erdogan spoke to the public on Friday via FaceTime.

armed forces, was forced to use his iPhone's FaceTime app from a secret location to broadcast messages beseeching the public to resist the coup attempt.

"There is no power higher than the power of the people," he said amid contradictory accounts of who was in control. "Let them do what they will at public squares and airports."

After Mr. Erdogan spoke, many of his followers obeyed his orders to go into the streets, and mosque loudspeakers urged his supporters to go out and protest the coup attempt.

The state-run Anadolu News Agency said 17 police officers had

Continued on Page A6

In France, 'Classic Delinquent' With No Known Ties to Terrorism

By ANDREW HIGGINS

NICE, France — He lived on the 12th floor of a high rise in a heavily immigrant housing project and was known to his neighbors only as a moody and aggressive oddball. He never went to the local mosque, often grunted in response to greetings of "bonjour" and sometimes beat his wife — until she threw him out.

The French authorities had much the same view of the man, Mohamed Lahouaiej Bouhlel, a heavyset 31-year-old from Tunisia — definitely trouble but not a grave menace to the security of the nation.

At 10:45 on Thursday evening, however, Mr. Bouhlel was starting

an attack that would stun and horrify his old neighbors, the French security forces and much of the world: stepping on the accelerator of a 19-ton refrigerated truck he had rented, he turned the vehicle into a highly efficient instrument of mass murder.

Zigzagging so as to hit as many people as possible as the vehicle careered down the Promenade des Anglais, alongside the Mediterranean, Mr. Bouhlel transformed the celebrated French Riviera boulevard, crammed with people who had just watched a fireworks show celebrating Bastille Day, into a vast tableau of carnage and panic.

By the end of his murderous drive, when he was shot to death by the police, 84 lifeless bodies

Linked to Domestic Violence but Not Radicalism

Among the victims were two German students and their teacher; two Americans; two Tunisians, and one Russian. Of the 202 people wounded, 52 had serious injuries and 25 were in intensive care, Mr. Molins said.

His rampage-by-truck, the third large-scale act of terrorism in France in a year and a half, highlighted the difficulties of guarding against unconventional attacks.

Yet it also left the French government facing uncomfortable questions about whether it had provided sufficient security in Nice even as it urged citizens to recognize that the terrorist threat would not be eradicated quickly or easily.

"I want to tell my fellow countrymen that we are not alone," Mr. Molins said. "We were all like zombies, just running and screaming," recalled Alexia Carbonne, a 20-year-old who had gone out Thursday evening with a girlfriend to watch the fireworks.

The dead included 10 children and teenagers, François Molins, the prosecutor who oversees terrorism cases, said on Friday.

"There was a white truck that was advancing slowly. Then it started to plow into the crowd, zigzagging and crushing people. I could not believe it. I saw him aiming at people and crushing them."

RAJA EL-KAMEL, 43

"One lady passed out on the floor and fainted. They shut the door of the restaurant and told us not to leave. When you are in that situation you don't know what to do. You freeze."

LUCY NESBITT-COMASKEY



ANDREW TESTA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"We tried to walk to the car. We were trembling. For me, Paris is the most vulnerable city, and every time I go to a public event in Paris I think there could be an attack. But we never thought it could happen here in Nice."

IRIS PIRES, 16

On an unusually windy summer night in Nice, "someone lost control of their truck." Witnesses describe the attack. PAGE A10

Rolling Mainstay of Commerce, Reinvented as a Tool of Death

By RUKMINI CALLIMACHI

More than five years ago, Al Qaeda called on its followers to use cars as tools of terror. Soon after, the terrorist group that had brought down the twin towers scrapped the idea, feeling that the tactic was too indiscriminate, too likely to kill Muslims.

But the idea of the car as a weapon was revived by the Islamic State shortly after it broke with Al Qaeda in 2014 following years of discord over the Islamic State's brutal methods.

"If you are not able to find an I.E.D. or a bullet, then single out the disbelieving American, Frenchman or any of their allies," the group's spokesman, Abu Muhammad al-Adnani, said in a speech. "Smash his head with a rock, or slaughter him with a knife, or run him over with your car," he said, according to a translation provided by the SITE Intelligence Group.

None of the vehicle attacks carried out in the name of the terrorist groups resulted in mass casualties, possibly because the at-

tackers used S.U.V.s and smaller cars.

On Thursday, however, the attack in Nice, France, demonstrated the devastating power of using a truck as a weapon. Though the driver's motivations remained unknown on Friday, his attack opened a frightening new landscape of terrorism in Western Europe and the United States, where trucks are the lifeblood of the economy and are ubiquitous features of densely populated areas.

Nearly 70 percent of the freight

transported in the United States is carried on trucks, according to the American Trucking Associations, an industry group. They haul more than nine billion tons each year, the group says, using millions of drivers to deliver goods to every corner of the country. "Without trucks," the group says, "America stops."

And their ubiquity means that the trucks would be difficult to spot, and stop, if an attacker used one as an instrument of violence.

The attacker in Nice used a 19-

Continued on Page A9



NATIONAL A12-15

Life and Death on the Streets

San Diego's homeless population has been shaken by a series of killings. An arrest was announced. PAGE A12

Saudi View in 9/11 Report

Mysteries linger after a document on possible Saudi ties to the terror plot is released. News Analysis. PAGE A13

INTERNATIONAL A3-11

Syria Tightens Siege on Aleppo

As Russian and American officials debated how to end the Syrian war, new carnage threatened the northern city of Aleppo and other areas. PAGE A5

NEW YORK A16-18

A Twist in Zika Transmission

The first case of female-to-male sexual transmission of the Zika virus has been documented, in New York City. PAGE A16

Chris Christie's Very Bad Time

Donald Trump's vice-presidential snub was one of many humiliations for New Jersey's governor this week. PAGE A17



BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Growth Push Falters in China

The traditional tactics China uses to stimulate its economy don't seem to be working these days. PAGE B1

Sense of Urgency in VW Deal

Despite clashing cultures and egos, a settlement over Volkswagen's diesel deception came together quickly. PAGE B1

SPORTSSATURDAY D1-6

No Paper Trail in Baylor Inquiry

Outside lawyers investigated sexual violence at Baylor University, but a full accounting of the inquiry was never written down — at the university's request. PAGE D1

'Deflategate' Comes to an End

Rather than appeal to the Supreme Court, Tom Brady, the Patriots quarterback, said he would serve his four-game suspension at the start of the coming N.F.L. season. On Pro Football. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED PAGES A20-21

Gail Collins

PAGE A21

THIS WEEKEND



TRUMP, AS NOMINEE, VOWS: 'I AM YOUR VOICE'

NEWS ANALYSIS

Failed Chance To Humanize Outsize Image

By MICHAEL BARBARO

CLEVELAND — It was Donald J. Trump's best chance to escape his own caricature. He did not.

After 40 years in the public eye, Mr. Trump decided on Thursday night that he was not interested in revealing himself to America with disarming tales of his upbringing, hard-earned lessons from his tumultuous career or the inner struggles masked by his outward pomposity.

In the most consequential speech of his life, delivered 401 days into his improbable run for the White House, Mr. Trump sounded much like the man who had started it with an escalator ride in the lobby of Trump Tower: He conjured up chaos and promised overnight solutions.

To an electorate that remains anxious about his demeanor, his honesty and his character, Mr. Trump offered no acknowledgment, no rebuttal, no explanation.

It was a speech that might be remembered, ultimately, as much for what it lacked as for what it contained — and for the message those absences seemed to convey: He is content with the angry voters he has won, who thunderously cheered him on here, and indifferent about wooing those he has not.

For those grasping for new signs of humility, generosity and depth, Mr. Trump offered the thinnest of reeds.

Inside the Quicken Loans Arena, a thicket of American flags behind him, he portrayed himself, over and over, as an almost messianic figure prepared to rescue the country from the ills of urban crime, illegal immigration and global terrorism.

"I alone," he said, "can fix it." But Mr. Trump made no real case for his qualifications to lead the world's largest economy and strongest military. He is, he said, a very successful man who knows how to make it all better.

Campaign speechwriters from both parties were stupefied.

"It's a lost opportunity," said Matt Latimer, who wrote speeches for President George W. Bush. He said he had expected Mr. Trump to plumb his personal life and career for the kind of anecdotes that would turn him, in the eyes of his doubters, from a cartoon into a flesh-and-blood human being.

"A little humanity and self-Continued on Page A15



Donald J. Trump and Mike Pence took the stage with family members as the convention closed Thursday night.

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Focuses on Threats to Nation as He Takes G.O.P. Mantle

By PATRICK HEALY and JONATHAN MARTIN

CLEVELAND — Donald John Trump accepted the Republican presidential nomination on Thursday night with an unusually vehement appeal to Americans who feel that their country is spiraling out of control and yearn for a leader who will take aggressive, even extreme, actions to protect them.

Mr. Trump, 70, a New York real estate developer and reality television star who leveraged his fame and forceful persona to become the rare political outsider to lead the ticket of a major party, drew exuberant cheers from Republican convention delegates as he strode onto the stage of the Quicken Loans Arena and delivered a speech as fiery as his candidacy.

With dark imagery and an almost angry tone, Mr. Trump portrayed the United States as a diminished and even humiliated nation, and offered himself as an all-powerful savior who could resurrect the country's standing in the eyes of both enemies and law-abiding Americans.

"Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation," an ominous-sounding Mr. Trump said, standing against a backdrop of American flags. "The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country."

Mr. Trump nearly shouted the names of states where police officers had been killed recently, as the crowd erupted in applause, and returned repeatedly to the major theme of the speech: "Law and order," he said four times, each time drawing out the syllables.

Mr. Trump challenged Republican orthodoxy as he promised to end multilateral trade deals and limit American intervention in global crises. He denounced "15 years of wars in the Middle East" — a rebuke of his party's last president, George W. Bush — and pledged to help union members, coal miners and other low-wage Americans who have historically supported Democrats.

"These are the forgotten men and women of our country," said Mr. Trump, a billionaire with a mixed record of job creation and layoffs. "People who work hard but no longer have a voice — I am your voice."

He even vowed "to do everything in my power to protect our L.G.B.T.Q. citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology." As the audience applauded, Mr. Trump made a deviation from his prepared text, observing: "I have to say, that as a Republican, it is so nice to hear you cheering for what I just said."

Facing a restive party on the final night of a convention that has been unusually turbulent and divided, Mr. Trump seemed to make headway in galvanizing and unifying at least those Republicans gathered in the hall. The nearly-full arena was rapt as Mr. Trump spoke, and when he began discussing illegal immigration, a familiarContinued on Page A14



Moneyed Class Finds Place in Current G.O.P.

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

CLEVELAND — In his unlikely rise to the Republican nomination Donald J. Trump attacked lobbyists, disparaged big donors and railed against the party's establishment. But on the shores of Lake Erie this week, beyond the glare of television cameras, the power of the permanent political class seemed virtually undisturbed.

Though Mr. Trump promises to topple Washington's "rigged system," the opening rounds of his

party's quadrennial meeting accentuated a more enduring maxim: Money always adapts to power.

At a downtown barbecue joint, lobbyists cheerfully passed out stickers reading "Make Lobbying Great Again" as they schmoozed on Monday with Republican ambassadors, lawmakers and executives. At a windowless bar tucked behind the Ritz-Carlton hotel, whose rooms were set aside for the party's most generous benefactors, allies of Mr. Trump pitched a clutch of receptive party

donors on contributing to a pro-Trump "super PAC."

And on Tuesday night, as Republican delegates formally made Mr. Trump their presidential nominee, a few dozen lobbyists and their clients instead sipped gin and munched on Brie puffs in an oak-paneled room at the Union Club. They had come to witness a more urgent presentation: Newt Gingrich, a top Trump adviser and Beltway fixture, painting an upbeat picture of the deals they could help sculpt on infrastruc-

Continued on Page A13

ELECTION 2016

THE FAMILY Mobbed by fans, the Trump children are emerging in Ohio as celebrities in their own right. PAGE A10

POLICIES What the candidate's unconventional approach to foreign policy would mean in practice. PAGE A11

THE CLINTON TICKET One of Hillary Clinton's vice-presidential contenders may not thrill liberals. PAGE A10

As Accusations Build, Murdoch Ushers Ailes Out at Fox News

This article is by John Koblin, Emily Steel and Jim Rutenberg.

In the dark for days, Fox News staffers finally got word on Thursday about the future of their network.

The news was delivered in person by Rupert Murdoch, the 85-year-old media mogul who started Fox News with Roger Ailes 20 years ago.

It was an unexpected visit, and with stunned employees listening in Fox's Midtown Manhattan headquarters, Mr. Murdoch announced that Mr. Ailes was out as chairman and chief executive. Mr. Murdoch himself would be taking over Fox News in the interim.

Mr. Ailes was not there. Mr. Murdoch had barred him from the building starting on Wednesday, according to one person briefed on the matter. The person said Fox



Roger Ailes, Fox News chairman, leaving the News Corporation building on Tuesday. He was barred from his office the next day.

News's parent company, 21st Century Fox, had learned Mr. Ailes was trying to get some of his on-air stars to criticize those who

cooperated with investigators looking into accusations of sexual harassment against him.

The announcement was the cul-

POWERFUL TRANSFORMATION

At Fox News, Roger Ailes exploited the close connection of TV and politics. Page B1.

mination of an unsettling 15-day stretch for the network that began on July 6, when Gretchen Carlson, a former Fox anchor, filed a lawsuit accusing Mr. Ailes of sexual harassment. That led to an internal investigation by 21st Century Fox.

It was a stunning fall for one of the most powerful people in the media industry, who built Fox News into a ratings juggernaut and a hugely influential platform for Republican politics.

Mr. Ailes will walk away with about \$40 million as part of a settlement agreement, according to two people briefed on the matter,

Continued on Page B5

N.B.A. to Move All-Star Game In Protest Over Bathroom Law

By SCOTT CACCIOLA and ALAN BLINDER

The National Basketball Association on Thursday dealt a blow to the economy and prestige of North Carolina by pulling next February's All-Star Game from Charlotte to protest a state law that eliminated anti-discrimination protections for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

The move was among the most prominent consequences since the law, which also bars transgender people from using bathrooms in public buildings that do not correspond with their birth gender, was passed in March.

The league, which has become increasingly involved in social issues, said that both it and the Hornets, the N.B.A. team based in

Charlotte, had been talking to state officials about changing the law but that time had run out because of the long lead time needed to stage the game. The N.B.A. said it hoped the game could be played in Charlotte in 2019, with the clear implication that the law would have to be changed before then.

"While we recognize that the N.B.A. cannot choose the law in every city, state and country in which we do business, we do not believe we can successfully host our All-Star festivities in Charlotte in the climate created by the current law," a statement by the league said.

Gov. Pat McCrory of North Car-

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Terror Suspects Held in Brazil

The arrests of 10 Islamist militant group members raised tensions two weeks before the Olympic Games. PAGE A4

Behind Attacker's Plot in Nice

The Tunisian man who killed 84 people in France had gotten help from at least five people, a prosecutor said. PAGE A9

NATIONAL A16-19

Fixing Texas' Voter ID Law

One court found the measure discriminatory; another must devise a solution in time for November. PAGE A16

Army Seeks Bergdahl Tapes

Prosecutors want interviews that Sgt. Bowe Bergdahl made for the "Serial" podcast about his captivity. PAGE A18

NEW YORK A21-24

Opioids in Immigrant Enclaves

The country's epidemic abuse of heroin and prescription pills is taking hold, or even worsening, in New York's immigrant neighborhoods. PAGE A21

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Concern Over Data Contractor

The F.C.C. picked a unit of Ericsson, a Swedish tech giant, to manage the system that routes wireless calls and texts in the United States. PAGE B1

Sun, Sky and Pokémon Go

Dozens gather in the heart of San Francisco, their arms outstretched and their eyes glued to tiny screens. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES A20

Betsy Bloomingdale, 93

The socialite and fashion leader was the widow of the department store heir Alfred S. Bloomingdale.



WEEKEND ARTS C1-24

Drake Enters Sneering

Opening his tour, the performer signaled he has battles to fight, some back home in Toronto. A review. PAGE C1

Hoarding for Immortality

At the New Museum, "The Keeper" shows why we can't take our eyes off other people's collections. PAGE C17

SPORTSFRIDAY B8-12

Players Fined for Speaking Out

W.N.B.A. players have been fined for wearing T-shirts that raise awareness about recent police shootings. PAGE B8

Russia Doping Ban Is Upheld

A court finds a penalty against an Olympic track team is sound. PAGE B8

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Paul Krugman

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CLINTON WARNS OF 'A MOMENT OF RECKONING'



STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton took the stage Thursday night as the Democratic presidential nominee after being introduced by her daughter, Chelsea.

Accepts Historic Nomination, Promising to Repair the 'Bonds of Trust'

By PATRICK HEALY and AMY CHOZICK

PHILADELPHIA — Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton, who sacrificed personal ambition for her husband's political career and then rose to be a globally influential figure, became the first woman to accept a major party's presidential nomination on Thursday night, a prize that generations of American women have dreamed about for one of their own.

Declaring that the nation was at "a moment of reckoning," Mrs. Clinton, 68, urged voters to reject the divisive policy ideas and combative politics of the Republican nominee, Donald J. Trump. She offered herself as a steady and patriotic American who would stand up for citizens of all races and creeds and unite the country to persevere against Islamic terrorists, economic troubles, and the chaos of gun violence.

"Powerful forces are threatening to pull us apart, bonds of trust and respect are fraying," said Mrs. Clinton, who worked on the speech until the early hours of Thursday morning. "And just as with our founders there are no guarantees. It truly is up to us. We have to decide whether we all will work together so we all can rise together."

Mrs. Clinton radiated confidence, from her pungent delivery and easy laugh to the unusually expressive ways she shifted her tone and delighted in her own best lines. She smoothly acknowledged her own limitations and trust issues as a public figure and forcefully challenged Mr. Trump over his claims that he alone could fix America's problems.

And after 25 years in a sometimes brutal national spotlight, Mrs. Clinton tried to explain who she is and what drives her — from her Methodist faith to her passion for government policy that could mean all the difference for people.

"I sweat the details of policy," Mrs. Clinton said. "Because it's not just a detail if it's your kid — if it's your family. It's a big deal. And it should be a big deal to your president."

It was one of several contrasts she drew with Mr. Trump, who has barely explained how he would carry out his policy goals. And she received help from several Republicans and military veterans who took the convention stage earlier in

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ELECTION 2016

FAMILY DUTY Chelsea Clinton may help her father with the duties of a first spouse if her mother wins. PAGE A9

READINESS In her speech, Hillary Clinton sought an acknowledgment of her competence. News Analysis. PAGE A13

Top Donors Leave Sidelines, Ready to Open Checkbooks

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and AMY CHOZICK

PHILADELPHIA — In a luxury suite high above the convention floor, some of the Democratic Party's most generous patrons sipped cocktails and caught up with old friends, tuning out Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont on Monday as he bashed Wall Street in an arena named after one of the country's largest banks.

On Tuesday, when Hillary Clinton became the first female nominee of a major party, a handful of drug companies and health insurers made sure to echo the theme, paying to sponsor an "Inspiring Women" panel featuring Democratic congresswomen.

And in the vaulted marble bar of the Ritz-Carlton downtown, wealthy givers congregated in force for cocktails and glad-handing as protesters thronged just outside to voice their unhappiness with Wall Street, big money in politics and Mrs. Clinton herself.

"This is a good place to be — for a lot of reasons," said former Gov. Charlie Crist of Florida, a Democrat now running for Congress, as he glided through the room on Tuesday. "We must have set up

five fund-raisers today. This is the bank."

After a wrenching yearlong nominating battle with searing debates over the influence of Wall Street and the ability of ordinary citizens to be heard over the din of dollars changing hands, the party's moneyed elite returned to the fore this week, undeterred and mostly unabashed.

While protesters marched in the streets and blocked traffic, Democratic donors congregated in a few reserved hotels and shuttled between private receptions with A-list elected officials. If the talk onstage at the Wells Fargo Center was about reducing inequality and breaking down barriers, Center City Philadelphia evoked the world as it still often is: a stratified society with privilege and access determined by wealth.

"The Clinton people would always argue, 'Well, there's no connection between the money and the actions that we take,'" said Jonathan Tasini, a liberal organizer and Sanders delegate from

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After 240 Years, Women See a Female President Lifting Them All

By JODI KANTOR

The president would know what it is like to be pregnant. Top military leaders would answer to a female boss, when there has never even been a woman on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Workplaces and home life could be transformed through expanded parental leave and pay equity. Or nothing could change. The symbolism would be supernova-level. The backlash could be withering.

On Thursday night, 240 years into an unbroken chain of all-male leadership, Hillary Clinton accepted the Democratic nomina-

tion for president. The country may be one hard-fought election away from a woman in charge, making a question that has always been abstract more concrete: How could having a woman as president alter the experience of being an American woman?

"Women will get fair wages," said Tammy Keith, 53, a case-worker who lives in East New York, Brooklyn, and estimated that she has been paid about \$20,000 less than her male counterparts over the last 14 years.

The more boldly Mrs. Clinton acted, the more empowered women would feel, said Marqui Wilcher, 25, a supervisor at a Pitts-

burgh call center and a single mother. "Don't go in there and cower down," she said, as if speaking to the nominee.

The election of the first woman



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

to the White House could revitalize stalled issues of workplace equality, said Jeanne Crain, 56, the chief executive of a bank in St. Paul. "I think there are ways for me as a leader here to use this as a springboard — shame on me — in ways I haven't done," she said.

All week, cameras at the convention hall in Philadelphia have captured images of women weeping, hugging and cheering on Mrs. Clinton. Dozens of other women across the country, in interviews at their offices or alongside their children, also said they felt on the cusp of a major, collective step for-

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Democrats Methodically Woo the Republicans Wary of Trump

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE

PHILADELPHIA — They saluted the valor and vigor of the American armed forces. They quoted Ronald Reagan and Theodore Roosevelt, iconic Republican presidents of the 20th century, as well as a beloved Republican former first lady. They talked plainly about faith, about instilling good

family values, about the uniqueness of the American experiment.

Over four days here, the Democratic Party sought to flip the magnetic poles of American politics, seizing on Donald J. Trump's unlikely rise to invade intellectual and rhetorical terrain held by the Republican Party for most of the last four decades.

While Mr. Trump's convention in Cleveland described the United

States as cheated, hapless and weak, a parade of prominent Democrats here summoned a country of limitless ingenuity, profound strength and majestic moral authority.

For the Democrats, it was a carefully calibrated, precisely drafted assault on the Republican coalition. For months, they have sought to tar Republican politicians with Mr. Trump's essence,

arguing that the New York developer and reality star was the true id of a Republican Party marbled with political extremism and racial antagonism.

But in Philadelphia, they presented Mr. Trump to Republican voters as a dangerous rogue, offering adherents of the party of Lincoln a "home for you right here in the Democratic Party," as Tim

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INTERNATIONAL A3-8

Beijing's License Plate Lottery

As China tries to improve air quality and ease congestion, competition for license plates in Beijing has become ferocious, with creative and determined efforts to circumvent the rules. PAGE A4

Turkish Military in Disarray

Chaos after the failed coup attempt and discord in the military, long a venerated and unifying force, are psychological blows to a splintered nation. PAGE A3

NEW YORK A18-21

Questioning Lethal Force

The longstanding deference given police officers in lethal-force cases, enshrined in the laws of some states and Supreme Court rulings, is receiving public scrutiny. PAGE A19

NATIONAL A15-16

A Call for Healing in Louisiana

Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. and Attorney General Loretta E. Lynch joined those mourning three law enforcement officers who were killed by a gunman in Baton Rouge, La. PAGE A15

Finger-Pointing in Baltimore

After failing to win convictions of officers in the death of Freddie Gray, prosecutors accused the Baltimore police of undermining them. PAGE A15

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

Beetles That Sing the Beatles

Music licensing in TV is nothing new, but "Beat Bugs" is one of three new animated shows on Netflix that go a step further, using classic pop songs as part of the story. PAGE B1



SPORTSFRIDAY B10-14

Jason Day Toughs It Out

Despite battling fatigue and a cold, the defending champion Jason Day shot 68, three strokes off the pace, in the P.G.A. Championship's first round. PAGE B12



WEEKEND ARTS C1-26

Art in the Age of AIDS

A Bronx Museum of the Arts exhibition and three smaller shows look back at fear, pain and bigotry during the pandemic. A review. PAGE C21

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Paul Krugman

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The 2016 Summer Olympics, fraught with troubles ranging from pollution to planning, began Friday at the Maracanã stadium.

World Begins Gilded Games In Gritty Rio

By SIMON ROMERO

RIO DE JANEIRO — If there was a nation in need of an uplifting spectacle at this moment, even in the form of a public relations exercise, it was Brazil.

The first South American country to host the Olympics is reeling from an astonishing combination of political upheaval and economic crisis. Its efforts to stage the world's biggest sporting event met trouble at every turn, from the Zika virus to polluted waters to budget cuts so deep that basic operations became strained.

So the opening ceremony of the Summer Games arrived Friday night as a salve, disguising the wounds for a few hours and letting Brazilians celebrate everything from the waves of immigrants still putting down stakes here to Alberto Santos-Dumont, the aristocratic bon vivant whom Brazilians credit with inventing the airplane.

Over the past several Olympic cycles, the gigantic cost of hosting the Games has drawn as much attention as the athletic performances. Host countries like China and Russia have used the Olympics as a show of force. The vibe, and the budget, are different here. These are a no-frills, budget-conscious Olympics — even if the opening ceremony dazzled.

"The show was magnificent, its portrayal of Brazil's history through images and movement," said Luis Gustavo da Silva Teixeira, 24, a worker at a car factory who watched the ceremony at a cafe in Rio. "I don't know if it's something my children will witness again in this country of ours so I feel fortunate."

The organizers of the ceremony even chose a word in Portuguese, gambiarra, to describe their own

Continued on Page D4

Amid Afghan Chaos, Karzai Keeps Power in Play

By MUJIB MASHAL

KABUL, Afghanistan — Hamid Karzai, the former Afghan president and current antagonist to his successor's government, likes to describe Afghan politics as a marathon.

To the long roll call of visitors he meets each day — regional power brokers and elders, government officials, religious leaders, well-wishers who reminisce longingly about his years in power — the metaphor is clear. Mr. Karzai has never stopped running, never stopped maneuvering, and he won't.

Mr. Karzai's critics, especially those close to President Ashraf Ghani, accuse him of working from the wings to destabilize the government and exploit a moment of national crisis to try to return to power — or at least to force

Critical of Officials, While Denying a Plot to Return

some concessions. They say Mr. Karzai is actively undermining a vulnerable president, maintaining an alternate pole of political influence and patronage, and stoking protest movements that some fear could turn violent.

So what is Mr. Karzai's answer? He flatly denies that he is trying to harm the government. But then there's the hint of a wry smile: "If there are some people running faster, those who are falling behind should not complain."

Following Mr. Karzai through days of meetings — dozens of discussions, and interviews on and

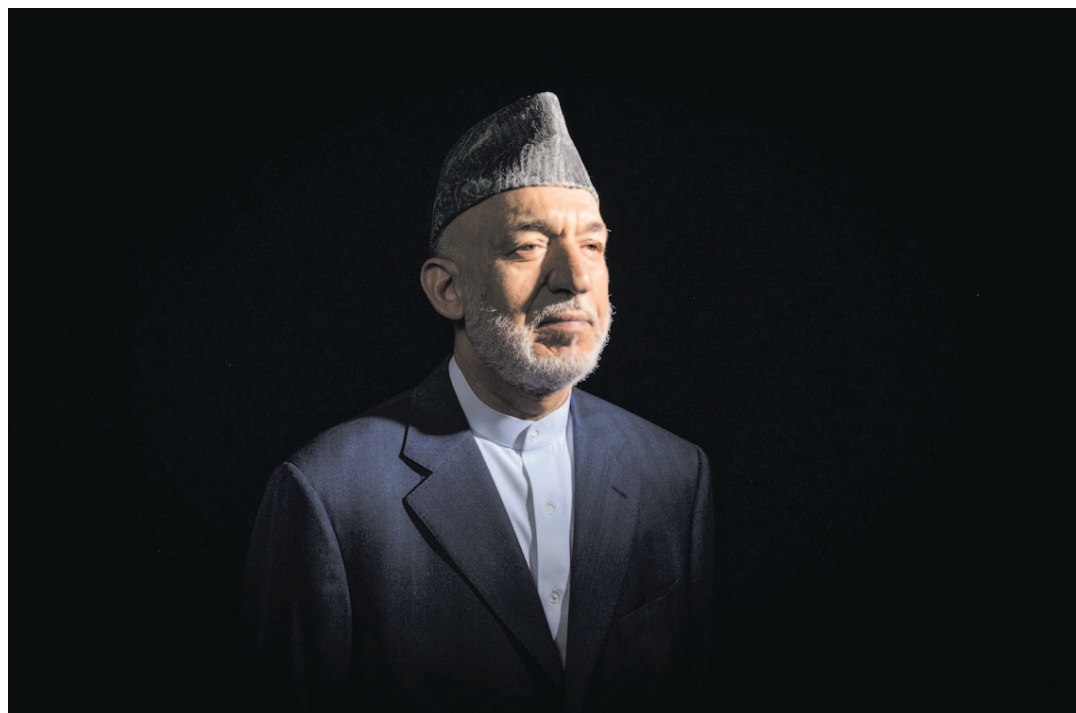
off camera — it becomes clear that he is still operating like a man in power.

His many visitors come to seek his leverage in the government, and he is happy to pick up the telephone to call a minister, a governor or an ambassador. He still communicates with world leaders, signing letters to them on a weekly basis.

Much of Mr. Karzai's politics happens around noon, when a larger crowd gathers for a group prayer on the grass outside and then follows him upstairs to a sunlit dining table for lunch. On a given day, there are former and current government officials, generals, judges, bankers, tribal elders, former members of the Taliban and preachers from Kabul's major mosques.

A master storyteller and conversationalist, Mr. Karzai takes

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ADAM FERGUSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former President Hamid Karzai has put pressure on an Afghan government already on the brink.

Big Job Gains for Second Month Shape Debate Over the Economy

By NELSON D. SCHWARTZ

The American jobs machine has moved back into high gear.

After a long stretch of conflicting reports, the Labor Department said on Friday that the economy in July delivered a second consecutive month of robust hiring and rising wages in a signal that the expansion is strengthening, not ebbing, as it enters its eighth year.

Stocks surged, experts ex-

pressed more confidence that the Federal Reserve was likely to raise interest rates before the end of the year, and it was clear that long-stagnant wages for ordinary workers were advancing at a healthier pace.

"This was everything you could have asked for, maybe more," said Michelle Meyer, head of United States economics at Bank of America Merrill Lynch. "We're seeing new entrants into the labor market, which implies a longer runway for the business cycle."

July Data Offers Fuel for Both Candidates

With the political conventions completed, the buoyant jobs numbers also have major implications for the presidential campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump.

Not only does the new data undercut Republican arguments

that the recovery is faltering, it also suggests that after years of paltry gains, deeply frustrated workers are finally seeing some benefits from the drop in unemployment, which was unchanged last month at a relatively low 4.9 percent.

Wages are up 2.6 percent over the last 12 months, a faster pace than earlier in the recovery, and many economists expect that the gain in incomes, adjusted for infla-

Continued on Page B4

G.O.P. Pushed To Alter Views To Aid Workers

Shift in Thinking Gains From Trump's Rise

By JACKIE CALMES

WASHINGTON — By riding his appeal among working-class whites to the top of the Republican Party, Donald J. Trump has emboldened conservative thinkers to press their party of business and the privileged to reshape its economic canon to more directly benefit poorer workers it has often taken for granted.

The policy prescriptions of these so-called reform conservatives, or "reformcons," would not only break with some longtime Republican orthodoxy — disavowing tax cuts that disproportionately benefit the rich, for example — they would also counter more recent stances by Mr. Trump on trade and immigration.

And because of a lack of policy specifics in Mr. Trump's personality-centered campaign, reform conservatives see an opening through which to push their prescriptions.

"What it means to be a conservative is up for grabs," said Reihan Salam, the executive editor of the conservative National Review.

Whether Mr. Trump prevails or the party is left to rebuild from defeat, these conservatives in think tanks, advocacy groups and the news media — and a few in political office — will be pressing for a new agenda: to update the Reagan-era playbook with an eye to working-class voters without a college education who form the Republican base. Ronald Reagan's notions that policies that benefit the rich and big business lift all incomes now appear outmoded in an era of rising wealth inequality and stagnant wages.

The challenge to the party could be every bit as contentious as Mr. Trump's ascent has been. Beyond conservative think tanks and activist circles, the new breed of conservatives has not made significant inroads among House Republicans, for instance. And even these Republicans do not agree on

Continued on Page A10

Elite Circles Are Her Turf

Anne Holton, Tim Kaine's wife, has spent her life in a world of politics and power, but those who know her say she is not impressed by privilege. Page A9.

Moment in Convention Glare Stirs Parents' American Life

This article is by N. R. Kleinfield, Richard A. Oppel Jr. and Melissa Eddy.

Six minutes and one second. That was all it took for the 66 years of Khizr Khan's life to become an American moment.

It was not something that he could have anticipated. For years, he and his wife, Ghazala, had lived a rather quiet existence of common obscurity in Charlottesville, Va. He was known in circles that dealt with electronic discovery in legal proceedings. Another overlapping sphere was the rotating cast of cadets that passed through the Army R.O.T.C. program at the University of Virginia. His wife was a welcoming face to the customers of a local fabric store.

And the last dozen years for the Khans were darkened by their heartbreak over the death of a military son, Humayun, whose body lies in Arlington National Cemetery, his tombstone adorned with an Islamic crescent. Their grief brought them closer to a university and to a young woman in Germany whom their son loved. It also gave them a conviction and expanded the borders of their

TRUMP ENDORSES RYAN AND MCCAIN IN BID FOR UNITY

SEEKING G.O.P. 'BIG TENT'

After Week of Turmoil, Nominee Also Offers Truce to Ayotte

By NICK CORASANITI

GREEN BAY, Wis. — Donald J. Trump belatedly endorsed the re-elections of Speaker Paul D. Ryan and Senators John McCain and Kelly Ayotte on Friday, moving to heal a deepening rift within the Republican Party touched off by Mr. Trump's feud with the parents of a slain American soldier.

"I support and endorse our speaker of the House, Paul Ryan," Mr. Trump said at a rally here after announcing his backing of the senators. "He's a good man. We may disagree on a couple of things, but mostly we agree."

Mr. Trump ignited a controversy within his party on Tuesday when he said he was not "quite there yet" in supporting Mr. Ryan, echoing a similar line of doubt that Mr. Ryan, the nation's most powerful elected Republican, had cast before eventually endorsing Mr. Trump for president.

The endorsement on Friday, in Mr. Ryan's home state, Wisconsin, had the rollout of a carefully crafted campaign event. A fundraising email was sent to supporters immediately after Mr. Trump's announcement. Moments later, subscribers to Trump campaign texts received an alert that said, "Party unity will help Make America Great Again."

He read the endorsement from a script. But before he got to those words, he spent several minutes in the off-the-cuff mode he is known for. He predicted that the Green Bay Packers would have a strong season, excoriated Hillary Clinton and argued that the news media had misconstrued his suggestion at a previous event that a crying baby be escorted out.

"The baby that had a voice that was superior to Pavarotti," he said, adding, "I want to sponsor that baby."

Mr. Trump turned the speech into a hatchet-burying trifecta. He threw his support to Ms. Ayotte, who is facing a tight race in New Hampshire to retain her Senate seat. Mr. Ryan and Mr. McCain, an

Continued on Page A10



U.S. ARMY
Capt. Humayun Khan, 27, died serving in Iraq in 2004.

lives. Some of their neighbors knew Mr. Khan liked to carry a \$1 pocket Constitution around with him. In the Khan home, a stack of them always lay at the ready. Guests showed up and they were handed one, in the way other hosts might distribute a party favor. Mr. Khan wanted it to stimulate a conversation about liberty, a cherished topic of his. He liked to point out that he lives nearly in the shadow of Monticello, home of one of his heroes, Thomas Jefferson. Mrs. Khan liked to say, "We need Thomas Jefferson."

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INTERNATIONAL A3-8

For Physicists, So Close

At the Large Hadron Collider, realizing that data did not support the possibility of a new particle. PAGE A8



Cold Shoulder For Syrians

Wary of Muslim immigrants after attacks in Europe, South Korea has restricted visas for 670 Syrians. PAGE A4

China's New Attack on Rights

Legal experts called hearings in Tianjin grotesque show trials. PAGE A3

NATIONAL A9-15

Police Shooting Video Released

Police dashboard and body camera footage of Chicago officers chasing an unarmed man who had been riding in a car reported stolen do not show their fatal shooting of the man. PAGE A9

Resettlement Effort Is On Track

The Obama administration is expected to meet, and perhaps exceed, its goal of resettling 10,000 Syrian refugees by the end of September. PAGE A14

Veterans Health Care Still Lags

A \$15 billion bill to end delays at veterans hospitals has resulted in less improvement than expected. PAGE A9

ARTS C1-6

Animating 'The Little Prince'

Mekado Murphy explores the intricate and labor-intensive process used to animate this film adaptation of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's novella. PAGE C5



NEW YORK A16-18

After a Killing, a Warning

Residents near a Queens park where a runner was strangled are advising others not to go there alone. PAGE A16

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

How Dell Did It

It took Dell months of complicated financial maneuvering during a tumultuous time in the markets to raise \$67 billion to buy EMC in the biggest tech deal ever. PAGE B1

Zen With the 401(k)

How often should you check the performance of your investments? As seldom as possible, especially when the markets are in a rough patch, writes Ron Lieber. PAGE B1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A20-21

Gail Collins PAGE A21

THIS WEEKEND

On the Big Blackfoot River

A fly fisherman, right, finds faith of sorts in Montana, where the waters still tell tales. TRAVEL



Architectural Inspiration?

Universities are investing in high-tech buildings on campus in the hope of inspiring creativity. EDUCATION LIFE



Secret Ledger in Ukraine Lists Cash for Trump Aide

Benefiting From Powerful Interests While Mixing Business and Politics

This article is by **Andrew E. Kramer, Mike McIntire and Barry Meier.**

KIEV, Ukraine — On a leafy side street off Independence Square in Kiev is an office used for years by Donald J. Trump's campaign chairman, Paul Manafort, when he consulted for Ukraine's ruling political party. His furniture and personal items were still there as recently as May.

And Mr. Manafort's presence remains elsewhere here in the capital, where government inves-

tigators examining secret records have found his name, as well as companies he sought business with, as they try to untangle a corrupt network they say was used to loot Ukrainian assets and influence elections during the administration of Mr. Manafort's main client, former President Viktor F. Yanukovich.

Handwritten ledgers show \$12.7 million in undisclosed cash payments designated for Mr. Manafort from Mr. Yanukovich's pro-Russian political party from 2007 to 2012, according to Ukraine's newly formed National Anti-Corruption Bureau. Investigators assert that the disbursements were part of an illegal off-the-books system whose recipients also included election officials.

In addition, criminal prosecutors are investigating a group of offshore shell companies that helped members of Mr. Yanukovich's inner circle finance their lavish lifestyles, including a palatial presidential residence with a private zoo, golf course and tennis court. Among the hundreds of murky transactions these companies engaged in was an \$18 mil-

Continued on Page A12



ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Paul Manafort, Donald J. Trump's campaign chairman.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Carlos Freydel, 26, at a Venezuela mine. He says he has had malaria numerous times in the nine years he has mined for gold.

Seeking Gold, Getting Malaria

Once Beaten in Venezuela, a Disease Returns in Hard Times

By **NICHOLAS CASEY**

THE ALBINO MINE, Venezuela — The 12th time Reinaldo Balocha got malaria, he hardly rested at all. With the fever still rattling his body, he threw a pick ax over his shoulder and got back to work — smashing stones in an illegal gold mine.

As a computer technician from a big city, Mr. Balocha was ill-suited for the mines, his soft hands used to working keyboards, not the earth. But Venezuela's economy collapsed on so many levels that inflation had obliterated his salary, along with his hopes of preserving a middle-class life.

So, like tens of thousands of other people from across the country, Mr. Balocha came to these open, swampy mines scattered across the jungle, looking for a future. Here, waiters, office workers, taxi drivers, college graduates and even civil servants on vacation from their government jobs

are out panning for black-market gold, all under the watchful eyes of an armed group that taxes them and threatens to tie them to posts if they disobey.

It is a society turned upside down, a place where educated people abandon once-comfortable jobs in the city for dangerous, backbreaking work in muddy pits, desperate to make ends meet. And it comes with a steep price: Malaria, long driven to the fringes of the country, is festering in the mines and back with a vengeance.

Venezuela was the first nation in the world to be certified by the World Health Organization for eradicating malaria in its most populated areas, beating the United States and other developed countries to that milestone in 1961.

It was a huge accomplishment for a
Continued on Page A6



Maribel Supero with her son Daniel Guzmán, who had malaria, as he waited in a San Félix clinic in May.

Some Liberals Worry Clinton Faces Risks in Focus on Trump

By **MATT FLEGENHEIMER**

Liberal Democrats and progressive activists have grown wary of the state of the 2016 presidential race, chafing at Hillary Clinton's big-tent courtship of Republican leaders they have long opposed and fearing the consequences of shaping the contest as a referendum on Donald J. Trump.

While few have questioned the electoral strategy of bringing Republicans into the fold by casting Mr. Trump as a singular threat to democracy, both skeptics and some admirers of Mrs. Clinton have come to view her decisive advantage in the polls with mixed emotions.

She may win by a mandate-level margin, they say. But what, exactly, would the mandate be for?

In a matter of weeks, beginning with the conventions, the policy-driven debates that animated the Democratic primary race have largely disappeared from the political foreground, giving way to discussions of Mr. Trump's temperament, his inflammatory remarks and even his sanity.

"If she's going to get anything done as president, she is going to have to have a mandate," said Robert B. Reich, a secretary of labor in Bill Clinton's administration
Continued on Page A13

Bolt Slows From '08 and '12. Still, No One on Earth Can Catch Him.

By **JERÉ LONGMAN**

RIO DE JANEIRO — As the king of sprinting and the biggest global star at the Rio Games, Usain Bolt of Jamaica held aloft his index finger, signaling that he was No. 1, during introductions Sunday night as a smitten crowd chanted his name.

Then Bolt proved it again, winning the 100 meters in 9.81 seconds, a coronation that secured his place as the greatest sprinter ever. He is the only person to win the Olympic 100 three times, which he accomplished at three consecutive Games.

His main rival, Justin Gatlin of the United States, the 2004 Olympic champion who later served a suspension for doping and was booed on Sunday, took the silver medal in 9.89. Andre De Grasse of Canada claimed the bronze in 9.91.

After the exuberant Bolt ran

down Gatlin in the final 40 meters, he pounded his chest. He then blew kisses to the crowd, hugged some spectators and carried a toy Olympic mascot around the track before giving it away. Finally, Bolt struck his signature pose, known as To Di World, cocking an elbow and aiming his fingers toward the sky, as if launching an arrow or a lightning bolt.

He is also favored to win a third straight gold medal at 200 meters in Rio and yet another as a member of Jamaica's 4x100 relay team.

"Somebody said I can become immortal," Bolt said. "Two more medals to go and I can sign off. Immortal."

Gracious in defeat, Gatlin said of Bolt: "He rises to the occasion. He is a great runner."

Even an athlete as great as Bolt, though, can be upstaged on rare occasions. That happened Sunday when Wayne van Niekerk of South Africa set a world record in



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Usain Bolt of Jamaica after becoming the first athlete to win the 100 meters at three Olympics, doing so in consecutive Games.

winning the 400 in 43.03 seconds, shattering Michael Johnson's 17-year-old record of 43.18.

Running on the outside in Lane 8, where he could not see his competitors, van Niekerk astonish-

ingly shaved more than four-tenths of a second from his previous career best of 43.48 and more than a second from his season's fastest race before the final.
Continued on Page D6

Already Loaded With Debt, Young Americans Shun More

By **NATHANIEL POPPER**

Kids these days: They just aren't pulling out the plastic like they did in the past.

Data from the Federal Reserve indicates that the percentage of Americans under 35 who hold credit card debt has fallen to its lowest level since 1989, when the Fed began collecting data in a standardized way, according to an analysis by The New York Times.

Some older Americans have also been shedding credit card debt since the financial crisis that began in 2008. But for no other age group has the decline in the proportion holding credit card debt been more rapid than it has been for young Americans — who are often referred to as millennials — the data from the Survey of Consumer Finances shows.

"It's pretty clear that young people are not interested in becoming indebted in the way that their parents are or were," said David Robertson, the publisher of The Nilson Report, a newsletter that tracks the payment industry.

Their reluctance could have lasting repercussions for millennials, as well as for the financial system and the economy. Early use of credit cards has, in the past, helped young Americans develop a comfort level with credit that can last a lifetime and lead to a succession of big purchases financed by debt. Without a substantial credit history, it is much harder to take out a home mortgage, for example.

"It will probably take them
Continued on Page B2



INTERNATIONAL A3-9

Social Media Helps Save Baby

Two digital acquaintances, one in Israel and one in Afghanistan, became Facebook friends and collaborated to save a baby in Pakistan with life-threatening congenital heart problems. PAGE A4

Trying to Hold Off the Taliban

Afghanistan's elite forces are struggling to hold their ground near Lashkar Gah, the capital of Helmand Province, against Taliban fighters. PAGE A4

NEW YORK A15-17

Suit Claims Bias in Mortgages

A federal lawsuit in New York claims that investors who have bought up federally insured mortgages are putting blacks at risk of foreclosure. PAGE A15

NATIONAL A10-14

Heavy Flooding in Louisiana

At least four people have died and thousands have had to be rescued because of weekend flooding. New areas are expected to flood as swollen waters roll south. PAGE A10

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

Twitter Streams Its Ambitions

The social network will live-stream its first N.F.L. game on Sept. 15 and hopes that helps it become a mainstream internet destination and provides a new way to sell lucrative video ads. PAGE B1

Tech Mogul's Newspaper Fight

Michael W. Ferro Jr., the chairman of the former Tribune Publishing, has clashed with investors while trying to fend off a Gannett takeover. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES D11

Pillar of Yiddish Theater

Fyush Finkel, who had been a mainstay in Yiddish entertainment, won an Emmy for his role on the 1990s show "Picket Fences." He was 93. PAGE D11

SPORTSMONDAY D1-10

Gladiator Raised an Olympian

Carli Lloyd, a member of the United States volleyball team, was molded by her uncle, the TV star Turbo on "American Gladiators" in the 1990s. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-8

Becoming Olivia Onstage

The actor Mark Rylance tells Ben Brantley how he developed his Tony-winning role in "Twelfth Night." PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A18-19

Paul Krugman

PAGE A19



Salvatore Ferragamo

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U.S. Concedes It Postponed Iran Payment

G.O.P. Cites 'Ransom' to Free 3 Americans

By DAVID E. SANGER

The State Department conceded for the first time on Thursday that it delayed making a \$400 million payment to Iran for several hours in January "to retain maximum leverage" and ensure that three American prisoners were released the same day.

For months the Obama administration had maintained that the payment was part of a settlement over an old dispute and did not amount to a "ransom" for the release of the Americans. Instead, administration officials said, it was the first installment of the \$1.7 billion that the United States intends to pay Iran to reimburse it for military equipment it bought before the Iranian revolution that the United States never delivered.

But at a briefing on Thursday, John Kirby, the State Department spokesman, said the United States "took advantage of the leverage" it felt it had that week-end in mid-January to obtain the release of the hostages and "to make sure they got out safely and efficiently."

Republicans opposed to the nuclear deal President Obama reached with Iran have described the payment as ransom and a further sign of his administration's feckless dealings with Tehran.

Administration officials have said that the two transactions were negotiated entirely separately over a period of years. That they came together on one weekend reflected a desire on the part of Secretary of State John Kerry and his counterpart, Mohammad Javad Zarif, the Iranian foreign minister, to set aside a series of disputes, complete the nuclear deal and try to remove irritants from the relationship between two longtime rivals.

The acknowledgment by Mr. Kirby on Thursday touched off a torrent of criticism from Republicans.

"It was ransom," said Representative Ed Royce of California, chairman of the House Foreign

Continued on Page A8



MAHMOUD RASLAN/ALEPPO MEDIA CENTER

Five-year-old Omran Daqneesh was rescued Wednesday after an airstrike in Aleppo, Syria.

An Injured Child, Symbol of Syrian Suffering

By ANNE BARNARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — In the images, he sits alone, a small boy coated with gray dust and encrusted blood. His little feet barely extend beyond his seat. He stares, bewildered, shocked and, above all, weary, as if channeling the mood of Syria.

The boy, identified by medical workers as Omran Daqneesh, 5, was pulled from a damaged building after a Syrian government or Russian airstrike in the northern city of Aleppo. He was one of 12 children under the age of 15

Plight Attracts World's Focus to Carnage

treated on Wednesday — not a particularly unusual figure — at one of the hospitals in the city's rebel-held eastern section, according to doctors there.

But some images strike a particular nerve, for reasons both obvious and unknowable, jarring even a public numbed to disaster. Omran's is one.

Within minutes of being posted

by witnesses and journalists, a photograph and a video of Omran began rocketing around the world on social media. Unwittingly, Omran — like Alan Kurdi, the Syrian toddler who drowned last September and whose body washed up on a Turkish beach — is bringing new attention to the thousands upon thousands of children killed and injured during five years of war and the inability or unwillingness of global powers to stop the carnage.

Maybe it was his haircut, long and floppy up top; or his rumpled

Continued on Page A8

Seattle's Young Face a Future In Scary Flux

Millennials Unsettled by Debt and Politics

By KIRK JOHNSON

SEATTLE — Part of Jillian Boshart's life plays out in tidy, ordered lines of JavaScript computer code, and part in a flamboyant whirl of corsets and crinoline. She's a tech student by day, an enthusiastic burlesque artist and producer by night. "Code-mode" and "show-mode," she calls those different guises.

"My mother got stage fright for me," she said on a recent night while talking about her childhood performances and dreams. She looked like a 1940s starlet in a tight black sequined dress, a red rose pinned into her red hair. "I like to be prepared," she said. "I like to be in control."

ANXIOUS IN AMERICA Coming of Age

At age 31, she seems to be. This year she won a coveted spot here at a nonprofit tech school for women, whose recent graduates have found jobs with starting salaries averaging more than \$90,000 a year. Seattle, where she came after college in Utah to study musical theater, is booming with culture and youthful energy.

But again and again, life has taught Ms. Boshart, and others in her generation, that control can be elusive. In the dot-com crash of the early 2000s, her family lost the college savings they had been putting aside for her. Her father, a nurse, was laid off after 35 years on the job. Her sister and brother-in-law lost their house during the Great Recession. And very little in the world around Ms. Boshart has led her to feel a sense of comfort and ease: not the soaring costs of living in Seattle, not the whirlwind roar of reinvention in the tech world, certainly not the barbed clamor of national politics.

Even for someone who seems to have drawn one of her generation's winning hands, it feels like a daunting time to be coming of age

Continued on Page A12

TRUMP'S DECLINE IS SEEN AS THREAT TO G.O.P. CONTROL

SENATE SHIFT POSSIBLE

Fears That Demoralized Voters Won't Show Up at Polls

By JONATHAN MARTIN

Donald J. Trump's struggling candidacy has now become a direct threat to Republican control of Congress, significantly increasing the likelihood that Democrats will take control of the Senate and cut substantially into the House Republican majority next year.

Mr. Trump's string of inflammatory statements in the weeks since his nominating convention last month has sent him tumbling in nearly every state with a contested Senate race, raising Republican fears that their own demoralized voters will not show up to vote, independents will abandon the entire Republican ticket and energized Democrats will flock to the polls.

While Republicans anticipate that their down-ballot candidates will be able to outpace Mr. Trump's share of the vote, national and local party officials and strategists are increasingly concerned that he is in danger of being so soundly defeated that even their best-prepared candidates will not be able to withstand the backlash to the top of the ticket.

"People are getting pretty nervous about our candidates because he's in a death spiral here and nobody knows where the bottom is at," said Senator Lindsey Graham, a South Carolina Republican who is close to many of his colleagues facing re-election.

Mr. Trump's move this week to overhaul his campaign by hiring the head of a conservative website known for its incendiary writings on race and ethnic identity only

Continued on Page A14

VOW ON DONATIONS Bill Clinton said the family charity would stop taking foreign or corporate funds if Hillary Clinton wins. PAGE A15

Accused of Fabricating Robbery, Swimmers Fuel Tension in Brazil

By SIMON ROMERO

RIO DE JANEIRO — Soon after the first news media reports surfaced Sunday morning of an armed assault on four American swimmers, the athletes were interviewed at the United States Olympic team's hospitality house by State Department officials, national swim team officials and Olympic officials. They all agreed that the swimmers should avoid further attention and that the United States Olympic Committee would soon put out a statement.

But Ryan Lochte, a 12-time medal winner, left the hospitality house and walked across the street to Ipanema Beach, where he gave a lurid interview to NBC, describing a gun-to-head holdup by men identifying themselves as police officers.

Mr. Lochte's account touched off a dispute that quickly transcended sports, emerging as a point of tension between the United States and Brazil as the authorities in Rio de Janeiro faced scrutiny over their security preparations for the Olympics in a city on edge over a crime wave and gun battles between drug gangs and the police.

On Thursday, Mr. Lochte's account came under siege by the Brazilian police in an internationally televised news conference. They said he had fabricated his description of the episode, damaging Rio's image at its moment on the global stage.



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Rio2016 Triple Double

With gold in the men's 200-meter dash, Usain Bolt of Jamaica became the first to win the 100 and 200 meters in three consecutive Olympics. Page B10.

"We saw our city stained by a fantastical version," said Fernando Veloso, the Civil Police chief for the state of Rio de Janeiro.

Beyond the sensitive issues of sovereignty and nationalism around the Rio Olympics, the

episode unleashed a discussion around Brazil about perceptions of privilege, accountability and danger in a society where many Brazilians themselves often lament their exposure to alarming levels of violent crime and police corruption.

The episode "has tapped into one of Brazilians' biggest pet peeves — gringos who treat their country like a third-rate spring break destination where you can lie to the cops and get away with it," said Brian Winter, vice presi-

Continued on Page B16

A Grim Fight for Viacom Ends With the Redstones in Control

By EMILY STEEL

The fight over Sumner M. Redstone's \$40 billion media empire is over, and the 93-year-old mogul has won.

A truce has been reached in the vicious corporate battle that pitted Mr. Redstone, who controls Viacom and CBS, and his daughter, Shari Redstone, against his longtime confidants and directors at Viacom, according to two people briefed on the agreement.

The two sides have completed a settlement agreement that puts an end to messy legal battles in Massachusetts, Delaware and California over whether Mr. Redstone had the mental capacity to make decisions about his businesses and whether he was being manipulated by Ms. Redstone, who was long estranged from her father before they recently reconciled.

Terms of the settlement — which firmly put the future of the corporate empire under the control of Mr. Redstone and his daughter — include the dismissal of Philippe P. Dauman as chief executive of Viacom, the beleaguered media company that owns the MTV, Comedy Central and Nickelodeon cable television networks and the Paramount Pictures film and television studio. Mr. Dauman will depart with a to-



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Shari Redstone allied with her father, Sumner M. Redstone.

tal severance package valued at about \$72 million.

Viacom's board met on Thursday and approved the settlement, said the people briefed on the agreement, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because it had not been made public.

Mr. Redstone, who is in poor health, controls about 80 percent of the voting shares in Viacom and CBS through National Amusements, the private theater chain company started by his father.

The fight over Mr. Redstone's empire erupted in May, when he unexpectedly ousted Mr. Dauman and another longtime confidant, George S. Abrams, from the National Amusements trust that will gain control of his companies after

Continued on Page B6

NATIONAL A10-15

Fallout Over Chicago Killing



Police Superintendent Eddie Johnson called for the firing of seven officers accused of filing false reports about a fatal shooting by a colleague. PAGE A10

Zika Cluster in Miami Beach

A cluster of Zika cases most likely transmitted by local mosquitoes has been identified in the city, and officials are considering whether to tell pregnant women to avoid the area. PAGE A10

INTERNATIONAL A3-9

China Dismayed by Rio Tally

Racking up the gold, silver and bronze medals at the Olympics has long been considered a measure of China's rising global power, and an uneven showing in the Rio Games has smarted. PAGE A9

Explorers Hunt Nazi Train

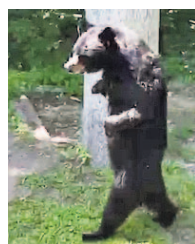
A group is digging in southern Poland for a Nazi train said to be filled with stolen gold and art, despite experts' doubts that the train exists. PAGE A4

Decision in U.N. Cholera Case

An appeals court ruled for the United Nations in a lawsuit brought on behalf of thousands of Haitian victims. PAGE A9

NEW YORK A17-20

How to Help a Walking Bear



New Jersey sightings of Pedals, a bear who walks upright, have stirred debate on whether he would be better off in a sanctuary or in the woods. PAGE A17

A 'Gift' From a False Alarm

The chaotic scene at Kennedy International Airport on Sunday caused by false reports of an active gunman has given officials a case study in security and the gaps within. PAGE A17

BUSINESS DAY B1-7

Rebound in Mid-Income Jobs

An analysis by the New York Fed shows that employers were adding better-paying jobs at a faster clip from 2013 to 2015, balancing out a weak spot in the economy. PAGE B1

Uber to Test Self-Driving Cars

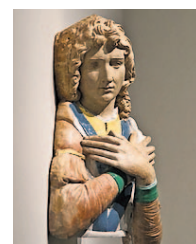
The ride-hailing service plans to do testing in Pittsburgh and also said it had acquired a start-up focused on self-driving truck technology. PAGE B1

Silence of Harassment Victims

A confidential settlement for a sexual harassment claim can look like a cover-up, James Stewart writes. PAGE B1

WEEKEND ARTS C1-22

From Earth and Water, Beauty



"Della Robbia," at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, features a glazed technique that became a sculpting specialty. A review by Holland Cotter. PAGE C17

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, sunshine and patchy clouds warm, high 86. Tonight, mostly clear, warm, low 70. Tomorrow, some sunshine, very warm, high 90. Details, SportsSunday, Page 8

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\$6 beyond the greater New York metropolitan area.

\$5.00

An Airman Left for Dead, But Signs He Fought On

Medal of Honor Recommended After Video Analysis of 2002 Retreat by SEALs

By SEAN D. NAYLOR and CHRISTOPHER DREW

Britt Slabinski could hear the bullets ricochet off the rocks in the darkness. It was the first firefight for his six-man reconnaissance unit from SEAL Team 6, and it was outnumbered, outgunned and taking casualties on an Afghan mountaintop.

A half-dozen feet or so to his right, John Chapman, an Air Force technical sergeant acting as the unit's radioman, lay wounded in the snow. Mr. Slabinski, a senior chief petty officer, could see through his night-vision goggles an aiming laser from Sergeant Chapman's rifle rising and falling with his breathing, a sign he was alive.

Then another of the Americans was struck in a furious exchange of grenades and machine-gun fire, and the chief realized that his team had to get off the peak immediately.

He looked back over at Sergeant Chapman. The laser was no longer moving, Chief Slabinski recalls, though he was not close enough to check the airman's pulse. Chased by bullets that hit a second SEAL in the leg, the chief said, he crawled on top of the sergeant but could not detect any response, so he slid down the mountain face with the other men. When they reached temporary

cover, one asked: "Where's John? Where's Chappy?" Chief Slabinski responded, "He's dead."

Now, more than 14 years after that brutal fight, in which seven Americans ultimately died, the Air Force says that Chief Slabinski was wrong — and that Sergeant Chapman not only was alive, but also fought on alone for more than an hour after the SEALs had retreated. The Air Force secretary is pushing for a Medal of Honor, the military's highest award, after new technology used in an examination of videos from aircraft flying overhead helped officials conclude that the sergeant had killed two fighters with Al Qaeda — one in hand-to-hand combat — before dying in an attempt to protect arriving reinforcements.

The new account of Sergeant Chapman's last act reopens old wounds for SEAL Team 6, the elite Navy unit that would later kill Osama bin Laden. The findings could rekindle tensions between Team 6 and other Special Operations organizations that lost men in the March 4, 2002, mission, which they felt the SEALs had planned and executed poorly, according to current and former military officials.

Like some other military units, Continued on Page 6



Donald J. Trump with his father, Fred, visiting a tenant in one of their apartment buildings in Brooklyn in January 1973.

'No Vacancies' for Blacks

Trump's Start in Real Estate Included Accusations of Bias

By JONATHAN MAHLER and STEVE EDER

She seemed like the model tenant. A 33-year-old nurse who was living at the Y.W.C.A. in Harlem, she had come to rent a one-bedroom at the still-unfinished Wilshire Apartments in the Jamaica Estates neighborhood of Queens. She filled out what the rental agent remembers as a "beautiful application." She did not even want to look at the unit.

There was just one hitch: Maxine Brown was black.

Stanley Leibowitz, the rental agent, talked to his boss, Fred C. Trump.

"I asked him what to do and he says, 'Take the application and put it in a drawer and leave it there,'" Mr. Leibowitz, now 88, recalled in an interview. It was late 1963 — just months before

IMMIGRATION POLICY ABSENT KEY DETAIL

Donald J. Trump laid out his latest immigration plan, but it did not address how to handle millions here illegally. Page 15.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the landmark Civil Rights Act — and the tall, mustachioed Fred Trump was approaching the apex of his building career. He was about to complete the jewel in the crown of his middle-class housing empire: seven 23-story towers, called Trump Village, spread across nearly 40 acres in Coney Island.

He was also grooming his heir. His son Donald, 17, would soon enroll at Fordham University in the Bronx, living at his parents' home in Queens and spending much of his free time touring construction sites in his father's Cadillac, driven by a black

chauffeur. "His father was his idol," Mr. Leibowitz recalled. "Anytime he would come into the building, Donald would be by his side."

Over the next decade, as Donald J. Trump assumed an increasingly prominent role in the business, the company's practice of turning away potential black tenants was painstakingly documented by activists and organizations that viewed equal housing as the next frontier in the civil rights struggle.

The Justice Department undertook its own investigation and, in 1973, sued Trump Management for discriminating against blacks. Both Fred Trump, the company's chairman, and Donald Trump, its president, were named as defendants. It was front-page news, and for Donald, amounted to his debut in the public eye.

"Absolutely ridiculous," he was quoted Continued on Page 14



Tech Sgt. John Chapman in Afghanistan. The circumstances of his death in a battle there in 2002 are being re-examined.

'No One Is Safe': Zimbabwe Threatens to Take Foes' Farms

By NORIMITSU ONISHI

BINDURA, Zimbabwe — Dozens of angry young men jumped off a truck in front of Agrippah Mutambara's gate, shouting obscenities and threatening to seize his 530-acre farm in the name of Zimbabwe's president. They tried to scale the fence, scattering only when he raised and cocked his gun.

Zimbabwe made international headlines when it started seizing white-owned farms in 2000. But Mr. Mutambara is not a white farmer. Far from it, he is a hero of this country's war of liberation who served as Zimbabwe's ambassador to three nations over two decades.

But when he defected from President Robert Mugabe's party to join the opposition a few months ago, he immediately put his farm at risk.

"When it was happening to the whites, we thought we were redressing colonial wrongs," said Mr. Mutambara, 64, who got his farm after it had been seized from a white farmer. "But now we real-

ize it's also coming back to us. It's also haunting us."

Zimbabwe is suffering one of its worst economic crises in years. Banks have run out of cash. The government is struggling to pay its workers. Public protests, including one in July that shut down the capital and a united show of force by the nation's biggest opposition figures on Friday, have rattled Mr. Mugabe's government.

Desperately seeking loans, Zimbabwean officials have visited Washington and European capitals in recent months, swallowing years of resentment toward the West to promise economic and political reforms, including ending the tortured pattern of farm seizures. Even Mr. Mugabe, now 92 years old and increasingly frail, has pledged to compensate white farmers.

But despite the promises, prized farms are at the center of heated political infighting in Zimbabwe. As the battle to succeed Mr. Mugabe intensifies, dozens of Continued on Page 10

At La Guardia, Check-In Line Starts at Highway

By PATRICK MCGEEHAN

Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s bleak assessment of La Guardia Airport as "third-world" propelled a complete reconstruction. But the path to a modern La Guardia was not supposed to include travelers dragging luggage through gridlocked traffic on a highway to catch their flights.

Now it does. The most ambitious airport project in the country, an eight-

year, \$8 billion plan to turn La Guardia into a first-class travel hub, has barely begun, but social media has already been flooded with tales and images of taxis and buses mired in traffic jams, unable to get anywhere near terminals to pick up and drop off passengers.

On Monday, a particularly bad day, some harried travelers abandoned cars and navigated the clogged Grand Central Parkway — the main highway serving La Guardia — on foot with suitcases

in tow. Such traffic debacles have become so common that seasoned fliers and travel bloggers have recommended avoiding La Guardia altogether, perhaps for years to come.

The Transportation Security Administration has warned travelers to arrive at La Guardia "a minimum of 2-2 1/2 hours" before takeoff, and maybe even earlier around holiday weekends.

Under any circumstances, turning the La Guardia that Mr. Biden derided in 2014 into the "globally renowned, 21st-century airport" that Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo of New York has promised would be an impressive feat. Doing it within the airport's confined space without disrupting the steady flow of planes and travelers is shaping up to be a monumental one.

Alan Snitow, a marketing and brand strategy consultant from Chicago, said he might steer clear of La Guardia, after the traffic jam on Monday made him late for a meeting with new clients in Manhattan.

"It was a disaster, and so much so that I'm literally planning to avoid it," Mr. Snitow, 40, said later that day as he waited to catch a Continued on Page 12



Gridlock on the main route serving La Guardia Airport in New York prompted some to walk to the terminals on Monday.



Texas Grapples With Guns On Campus

Texas law allows concealed weapons on university campuses. Universities — public and private, liberal and conservative — are confronting how that could change academic life in a state that prizes its gun culture. Many students are protesting that guns could threaten an environment built on free expression, while others say they are reassured to have more people exercising their Second Amendment rights on campus. Four people at the University of Texas speak out. Page 16.

INTERNATIONAL 4-10

From Too Little to Too Much

What is it about women's swimwear that has impelled societies to legislate or regulate women's choices? Memo From France. PAGE 5

METROPOLITAN

Hip-Hop Icon Beats Back Time

As a nerdy teenager in the Bronx with a pair of turntables, Grandmaster Flash helped change the course of pop culture. He is 58 now. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

The 124-Year-Old Start-Up

The industrial giant General Electric is investing big to adopt the digital wizardry of Silicon Valley. Its chief executive says there's no Plan B. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Big 4 in Tennis: Over and Out?

Obituaries for the dominance of men's tennis by Roger Federer, Rafael Nadal, Novak Djokovic and Andy Murray are still a bit premature. PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

PAGE 5



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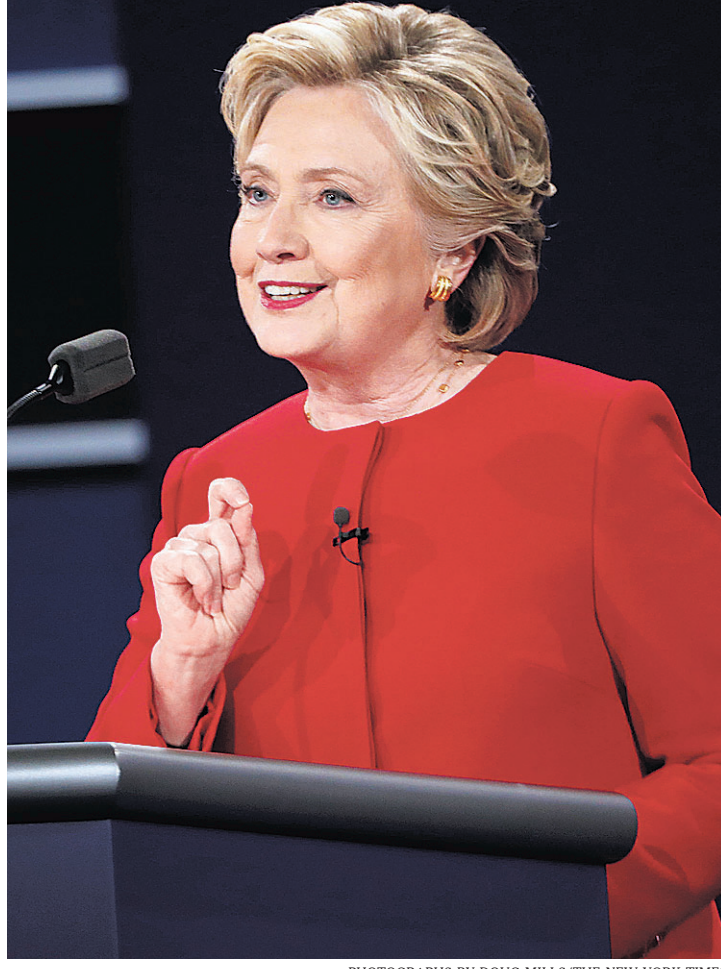
Today, a bit of morning rain, clouds breaking for afternoon sun, high 74. Tonight, partly cloudy, low 58. Tomorrow, clouds and limited sun, high 74. Weather map, Page D8

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2016

\$2.50



CANDIDATES PRESS POINTED ATTACKS IN ACERBIC DEBATE

Trump Raps Clinton on Trade and Email — She Counters on His Fitness

By PATRICK HEALY and JONATHAN MARTIN

In a relentlessly antagonistic debate, Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton clashed over trade, the Iraq war, his refusal to release his tax returns and her use of a private email server, with Mr. Trump frequently showing impatience and political inexperience as Mrs. Clinton pushed him to defend his past denigration of women and President Obama.

Mr. Trump repeatedly interrupted Mrs. Clinton and at times talked over her throughout the 90-minute debate, making slashing attacks that surely pleased his Republican base but may have been off-putting to women and undecided voters. He also left unchallenged her assertion that he paid no federal taxes for years.

For her part, Mrs. Clinton repeatedly chided Mr. Trump for bungling his facts while accusing him of hiding information about his debts to Wall Street and foreign banks.

Mr. Trump's strongest moments came early in the evening, when he put Mrs. Clinton on the defensive over her support for free trade agreements that he argues have cost Americans jobs.

But on issues of race and gender, Mr. Trump was less sure-footed. When he was pressed about what he would say to people

offended by his years of questions about whether Mr. Obama was born in the United States, Mr. Trump did not respond directly, instead claiming credit for Mr. Obama's releasing his birth certificate.

"I say nothing because I was able to get him to produce it," he said of the birth certificate.

Mrs. Clinton also tried to drive a wedge between Mr. Trump and the president, whose approval ratings are on the rise. "Barack Obama is a man of great dignity and I could tell how much it bothered him," she said of the controversy, in a clear appeal to voters who deeply admire Mr. Obama but are less enthusiastic about her.

She also broadened the issue beyond so-called birtherism, which she called a "racist lie," and accused Mr. Trump of having "a long record of engaging in racist behavior." She singled out his family's real estate company for being sued by the Justice Department in 1973 for racial discrimination.

Mr. Trump did little to rebut her charges of racism. He instead said that he had recently watched some of her debates with Mr. Obama in the 2008 Democratic primary and that she had been

Continued on Page A12

Hillary, I'd just ask you this. You've been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you've been doing it, and now you're just starting to think of solutions.

DONALD J. TRUMP

We know the I.R.S. has made clear there is no prohibition on releasing it when you're under audit. So you've got to ask yourself, why won't he release his tax returns?

HILLARY CLINTON

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hesitant at Start, Clinton Sought to Leave Trump Out Cold

By MICHAEL BARBARO and MATT FLEGENHEIMER

It started with a mystifying missed opportunity on race. It ended with a piercing attack on gender.

Hillary Clinton's performance in the first presidential debate on Monday veered from uncertain and tentative to firm and, ultimately, scorching.

No amount of practice, it

seemed, could fully prepare her — or perhaps anyone — for Donald J. Trump's hurricane of factual distortion, taunting interruptions and blustery generalities.

Mrs. Clinton seemed to slowly but steadily learn how to confront and subdue Mr. Trump on the fly, as tens of millions of Americans watched.

No moment seemed to better encapsulate her early misfires than an improbable and audacious

NEWS ANALYSIS

icious line of attack from Mr. Trump, who has openly lied about President Obama's place of birth and brazenly told black Americans that their communities, schools and job opportunities are uniformly awful.

It was Mrs. Clinton, he said, who had grievously offended African-Americans when she described youthful violent criminals

in the inner cities as "super-predators." No matter that the line was 20 years old, or that it was uttered in an entirely different era when America's cities were ravaged by crime, or that Mrs. Clinton has expressed regret for saying it.

"It's been horribly met, as you know," Mr. Trump said. "I think it was a terrible thing to say."

Yet Mrs. Clinton never answered the blistering taunt.

Continued on Page A15

Street Violence Fuels 11% Jump In U.S. Murders

By TIMOTHY WILLIAMS and MONICA DAVEY

The country's murder rate jumped more last year than it had in nearly half a century, newly released federal crime data showed, although the number of homicides remained far below the levels of the 1980s and '90s.

The data, part of an annual report released on Monday by the F.B.I., showed that the murder rate rose 10.8 percent across the United States in 2015, part of a nearly 4 percent increase in violent crime.

Fueling the surge in murders was street violence in a handful of major cities, notably Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Washington and Milwaukee, where most of the victims were young African-American males. The F.B.I. reported that guns were used in nearly three-quarters of the nation's 15,696 murders during 2015.

Police officials and criminologists say there is no single explanation for the increase nationally, but point to disputes that more often end in gun violence and turf battles over a growing, and highly

Continued on Page A11



Afghan boys in the unauthorized camp known as the Jungle on the French side of the Channel.

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Inside 'the Jungle': Migrant Crisis on Full View

By ADAM NOSSITER and TYLER HICKS

CALAIS, France — The migrants from Afghanistan, Sudan, Eritrea and elsewhere keep coming. Almost 100 a day arrive at this dusty, ramshackle camp perched at the edge of the English Channel, just 31 miles from Britain, their ultimate goal.

The French authorities have

tried for 18 months to dismantle the vast camp, known as the Jungle. In their last attempt, in March, when about 4,000 people lived here, they leveled almost half of it. But since then, the camp has almost doubled in size. It is larger than ever, and it remains one of the most visible symbols of Europe's inability to cope with the influx of so many desperate people.

Dazed and ragged, new mi-

grants stumble up the industrial road from nearby Calais every day, past the graphite electrode factory and underneath the well-guarded highway overpass that serves as the entrance to the camp.

Space has grown so tight that the fresh arrivals, overwhelmingly young men, spend hours looking for a free spot to pitch

Continued on Page A6

In His Life, Charlotte Chief Had Cause to Distrust Police

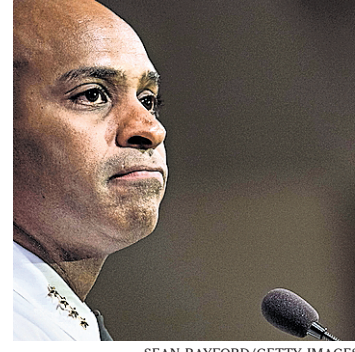
This article is by Richard Fausset, Alan Blinder and Yamiche Alcindor.

CHARLOTTE, N.C. — Kerr Putney, who 15 months ago was sworn in as Charlotte's second black police chief, has spoken openly of his own lingering, lifelong distrust of the police.

He has invoked the "racist bigoted history" in American policing. And he has publicly stated that he believes his father's death was an unacknowledged murder, one poorly investigated by officials in his hometown, Roanoke Rapids, N.C., because the police there "didn't care about the value of a black life."

In short, little in his life has led naturally to this moment when he has become the prime target of protesters, who gathered in a church here on Monday to demand his resignation and to claim that he was protecting his officers at the expense of the family seeking justice for the death of Keith Lamont Scott, the black man shot to death by an officer last Tuesday.

Chief Putney received withering nationwide criticism for his refusal to release videos of the shooting, only to relent after days of protest. His predicament dem-



SEAN RAYFORD/GETTY IMAGES

Chief Kerr Putney took questions from the media Friday.

onstrates the immense challenges facing even the most progressive-minded police chiefs trying to keep the trust of their officers and also of minority communities in an age of growing rage over police shootings of black men.

"This past week has completely dissolved whatever trust we were attempting to build between Chief Putney and C.M.P.D. and the community, and so for that reason he needs to resign," Bree Newsome, who spoke at the church, said in an interview, using the initials of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department. "Because he is not in

Continued on Page A16



INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Skepticism Over Moonshot

North Korea says a rocket test was part of a mission to reach the moon, but intelligence agencies wonder if it was the beginnings of a missile that could reach the American mainland. PAGE A7

Iran Ex-President Can't Run

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's supreme leader, ruled out a candidacy in May elections by the former hard-liner president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. PAGE A5

BUSINESS DAY B1-6

Ex-Workers Sue Wells Fargo

Former employees are filing lawsuits against the banking giant, claiming they were fired or demoted because they would not open bogus accounts to pad sales figures. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A10-17

Drought Vexes New England

Wells have dried up, rivers have become ponds and farmers face big losses as the region struggles with a dry spell that is not expected to abate before the end of the year. PAGE A10

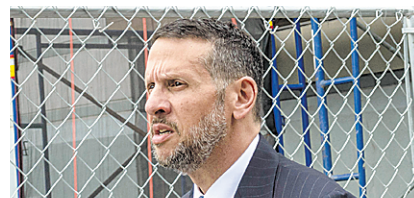
NEW YORK A18-21

Aid for the Poor Facing Eviction

A bill backed by a majority on the City Council would guarantee a lawyer for some low-income residents when they go up against landlords in Housing Court. PAGE A20

When Bridge Plot Was Born

In federal court, David Wildstein explained where the idea came from and how it was used to get the attention of the mayor of Fort Lee, N.J. PAGE A20



ARTS C1-6

A Sense of Pride and Pain

On its first full day open, visitors to the National Museum of African American History and Culture celebrated the display. There were tears, too. PAGE C2



SCIENCE TIMES D1-7

Using Trees to Save the Planet

Small private forests are seen by environmentalists as an untapped resource for combating the effects of climate change. PAGE D1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

David Brooks

PAGE A23



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Today, morning rain, breezy, clouds breaking for sunshine, high 64. Tonight, clear, cool, low 46. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, seasonably cool, high 64. Details, SportsSunday, Page 12

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\$6 beyond the greater New York metropolitan area.

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LASTING SCARS



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Younous Chekkouri says he was beaten and then held in isolation. Today in Morocco he imagines seeing guards in crowds.

U.S. Torture Leaves a Legacy Of Detainees With Damaged Minds

This article is by Matt Apuzzo, Sheri Fink and James Risen.

Before the United States permitted a terrifying way of interrogating prisoners, government lawyers and intelligence officials assured themselves of one crucial outcome. They knew that the methods inflicted on terrorism suspects would be painful, shocking and far beyond what the country had ever accepted. But none of it, they concluded, would cause long-lasting psychological harm.

Fifteen years later, it is clear they were wrong.

Today in Slovakia, Hussein al-Marfadi

describes permanent headaches and disturbed sleep, plagued by memories of dogs inside a blackened jail. In Kazakhstan, Lutfi bin Ali is haunted by nightmares of suffocating at the bottom of a well. In Libya, the radio from a passing car spurs rage in Majid Mokhtar Sasy al-Maghrebi, reminding him of the C.I.A. prison where earsplitting music was just one assault to his senses.

And then there is the despair of men who say they are no longer themselves. "I am living this kind of depression," said Younous Chekkouri, a Moroccan, who fears going outside because he sees faces in crowds as Guantánamo Bay guards. "I'm

not normal anymore."

After enduring agonizing treatment in secret C.I.A. prisons around the world or coercive practices at the military detention camp at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, dozens of detainees developed persistent mental health problems, according to previously undisclosed medical records, government documents and interviews with former prisoners and military and civilian doctors. Some emerged with the same symptoms as American prisoners of war who were brutalized decades earlier by some of the world's cruelest regimes.

Continued on Page 18



Guantánamo detainees ultimately freed without charges include, from left, Lutfi bin Ali, held 12 years and now living in Kazakhstan; Hussein al-Marfadi, 12 years, Slovakia; Mr. Chekkouri, more than 13 years, Morocco; Ahmed Errachidi, five years, Morocco; Tarek El Sawah, 14 years, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

LEWD TRUMP TAPE IS BREAKING POINT FOR MANY IN G.O.P.

Pence Frames Tonight's Debate as Urgent Chance to Turn Around Campaign

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

WASHINGTON — Republican leaders began to abandon Donald J. Trump by the dozens on Saturday after the release of a video showing him speaking of women in vulgar sexual terms, delivering a punishing blow to his campaign and plunging the party into crisis a month before the election.

Fearing that his candidacy was on the verge of undermining the entire Republican ticket next month, a group of senators and House members withdrew support for him, with some demanding that he step aside. Mr. Trump, however, vowed to stay in the race.

The list of party figures publicly rejecting Mr. Trump included a host of prominent elected officials, perhaps most notably Senator

John McCain of Arizona, the 2008 nominee.

"I thought it important I respect the fact that Donald Trump won a majority of the delegates by the rules our party set," Mr. McCain said in a statement. "But Donald Trump's behavior this week, concluding with the disclosure of his demeaning comments about women and his boasts about sexual assaults, make it impossible to continue to offer even conditional support for his candidacy."

And in an unheard-of rebuke by a running mate, Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana, the Republican vice-presidential candidate, declined to appear on Mr. Trump's behalf at

Continued on Page 28

MEN RESPOND Language varies, but a line was crossed. PAGE 29

Donald J. Trump on Saturday outside Trump Tower in Manhattan. Many influential Republicans withdrew their support for him on Saturday.



SPENCER PLATT/GETTY IMAGES

NEWS ANALYSIS

Why Republicans Burst Out In Sudden Revolt This Time

By MICHAEL BARBARO and PATRICK HEALY

When Donald J. Trump promised to turn Muslims away from American shores, they wagged their fingers.

When he mimicked a journalist for his lifelong disability, they tsked-tsked.

When he mocked the mother of a valorous soldier killed in combat, they threatened to walk away from him.

But Republican leaders never did. They justified his behavior, they minimized his offenses, they excused his insults.

So why this?

Why did a decade-old three-

minute video provoke a sudden revolt by party officials against their nominee, an uprising that could very well destroy their chances of taking the White House?

Because the glee with which he bragged about sexually assaulting women, by forcibly kissing them and grabbing their genitals, turned a boorish man into an outright predator.

Because the voice captured on a microphone and the face caught on camera are indisputably Mr. Trump's, breaking through to a distrustful public that doubts much news media coverage but believes powerfully

Continued on Page 30

Lox Masters Answer Annual Call for Perfect Slice

By COREY KILGANNON

Frank Cabrera was tending his garden and enjoying retirement at home in the Dominican Republic when his phone rang.

It was Zabar's — he was needed at the lox counter.

"Every year I know Zabar's will call me," Mr. Cabrera, 64, said. "They fly me up, pay for my plane ticket."

Mr. Cabrera is not Jewish, but he has always observed the High Holy Days by putting in long hours during the mad holiday rush at Zabar's, that temple of smoked fish on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

Even after he left the store in 2009, after 26 years, Zabar's still

summons him, and several other seasoned veterans who have a way with a lox knife, out of retirement every fall to satisfy the throngs preparing for Yom Kippur.

Jerry Sze, 63, a lox cutter who worked at Zabar's for 30 years, lives much closer, in Queens. He too gets the call.

There he was late last week, next to five other lox men wielding long, narrow knives to carve sides of smoked salmon with a surgeon's precision.

Mr. Sze's hours vary, but there's no question about where he stands — the second board, his old position along the counter.

"And I know that when he gets

Continued on Page 23



ALEX WRÓBLEWSKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Slicing fish at Zabar's in Manhattan this month during the Jewish High Holy Days.

'Nothing to Live For' as Haiti Seeks Body Count

By AZAM AHMED

PORT-SALUT, Haiti — The loss in this coastal town is all but entire. Dead animals float in tidal pools. Cinder-block heaps mark where homes once stood. Trees, stripped of leaves, branches and tops, impale the earth like ragged posts.

But the loss here runs deeper. The local hospital has registered 13 deaths since Hurricane Matthew flung 145-mile-per-hour winds and a wall of water at Port-Salut, but many more have died without so much as an official word.

Emilien Clerveaux died trying to save his daughter, his head split open by flying debris. Elouse

Maitre's aunt and four cousins were swept out to sea when the water claimed her beachfront shack. Destine Rosevald's two children, 6 and 4, died in his arms as he tried to rush them to safety.

"When I think about them, I cry," Mr. Rosevald said as he stood in a neighbor's yard on Saturday, water filling his eyes. "She was just in elementary school. My son, he was going to start kindergarten this year."

As access and information to cut-off areas of Haiti increase after the hurricane, the news only gets worse. The death toll has climbed to nearly 900 people, while an outbreak of cholera in three southern towns has killed 13

Continued on Page 26



ORLANDO BARRIA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Days after Hurricane Matthew struck Haiti, a mother sought shelter Saturday in Les Cayes.

INTERNATIONAL 6-20

Defining the Law in Bhutan

For isolated Bhutan, long ruled by a monarch and guided by Buddhist traditions, the formation of its first law school entails striking challenges. PAGE 6

NATIONAL 22-31

2 Officers Killed in Shooting

Two police officers in Palm Springs, Calif., were fatally shot and a third was wounded after responding to a call of a domestic disturbance. PAGE 31

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Global Network of Hospitals

An investment firm bets that a growing middle class in places like India, Pakistan, Ethiopia and Kenya will be willing to pay for better medical care. PAGE 1

SPORTSSUNDAY

Cubs Take 2-0 Series Lead

Chicago defeated San Francisco, 5-2, in Game 2 of their National League division series as pitcher Travis Wood homered into left field. PAGE 2

SUNDAY REVIEW

Maureen Dowd

PAGE 2



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PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton met Wednesday night at the University of Nevada-Las Vegas for their third and last debate.

TRUMP WON'T SAY IF HE WILL ACCEPT ELECTION'S RESULT

*'I Will Keep You in Suspense,' He Says
— Clinton Calls It 'Horrifying'*

By PATRICK HEALY and JONATHAN MARTIN

In a remarkable statement that seemed to cast doubt on American democracy, Donald J. Trump said Wednesday that he might not accept the results of next month's election if he felt it was rigged against him — a stand that Hillary Clinton blasted as "horrifying" at their final and caustic debate on Wednesday.

Mr. Trump, under enormous pressure to halt Mrs. Clinton's steady rise in opinion polls, came across as repeatedly frustrated as he tried to rally conservative voters with hard-line stands on illegal immigration and abortion rights. But he kept finding himself drawn onto perilous political territory by Mrs. Clinton and the debate's moderator, Chris Wallace.

He spluttered when Mrs. Clinton charged that he would be "a puppet" of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia if elected. He lashed out repeatedly, saying that "she's been proven to be a liar on so many different ways" and that "she's guilty of a very, very serious crime" over her State Department email practices. And by the end of the debate, when Mrs. Clinton needed him over Social Security, Mr. Trump snapped and said, "Such a nasty woman."

Mrs. Clinton was repeatedly forced to defend her long service in government, which Mr. Trump charged had yielded no real accomplishments. But she was rarely rattled, and made a determined effort to rise above Mr. Trump's taunts while making

overtures to undecided voters.

She particularly sought to appeal to Republicans and independents who have doubts about Mr. Trump, arguing that she was not an opponent of the Second Amendment as he claimed, and promising to be tougher and shrewder on national security than Mr. Trump.

But it was Mr. Trump's remark about the election results that stood out, even in a race that has been full of astonishing moments.

Mr. Trump insisted, without offering evidence, that the general election has been rigged against him, and he twice refused to say that he would accept its result.

"I will look at it at the time," Mr. Trump said. "I will keep you in suspense."

"That's horrifying," Mrs. Clinton replied. "Let's be clear about what he is saying and what that means. He is denigrating — he is talking down our democracy. And I am appalled that someone who is the nominee of one of our two major parties would take that position."

Mrs. Clinton then ticked off the number of times he had deemed a system rigged when he suffered a setback, noting he had even called the Emmy Awards fixed when his show, "The Apprentice," was passed over.

"It's funny, but it's also really troubling," she said. "That is not the way our democracy works."

Mrs. Clinton also accused Mr. Trump's taunts while making

Continued on Page A17

NEWS ANALYSIS

Interrupting, Mocking and Taunting, Clinton Turns the Tormentor

By AMY CHOZICK and MICHAEL BARBARO

She mansplained him. "Let me translate that if I can," Hillary Clinton said dryly after Donald J. Trump talked up his tax plan.

She interrupted him. When Mr. Trump boasted of the gilded Las Vegas hotel that bears his name, Mrs. Clinton leaned into her microphone. "Made with Chinese

steel," she quipped with a smile.

She mocked him. After Mr. Trump said President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia had "no respect" for her, Mrs. Clinton slyly posited why Mr. Putin seemingly preferred Mr. Trump: "He'd rather have a puppet as president of the United States," she said.

In the third and final presidential debate, Mrs. Clinton outmaneuvered Mr. Trump with a surprising new approach: his

Flipping the script, she turned herself into his relentless tormentor, condescending to him repeatedly and deploying some of his own trademark tactics against him.

The relatively subdued and largely defanged Republican nominee who showed up onstage in Las Vegas was a different figure from the candidate America has watched for the past 16 months.

Mr. Trump was, for much of the

night, oddly calm and composed. He minimized his name-calling. His interruptions were relatively rare.

In a debate that his allies and aides had predicted would represent 90 minutes of scorched-earth verbal warfare, Mr. Trump seemed deserted by his most bellicose instincts.

He repeatedly gave up chances to respond to pointed taunts from

Continued on Page A16

De Blasio Calls Police Shooting 'Unacceptable'

By ELI ROSENBERG and ASHLEY SOUTHALL

Deborah Danner's essay recounted her long, aching struggle with schizophrenia, a battle that had begun some 30 years earlier.

Filed away last year by a lawyer who had been helping Ms. Danner, the neatly typed, six-page composition depicted a disturbing roll of memories, like the early morning spent roaming the streets of New York City with a knife, searching for a place to end her own life.

And at one point, Ms. Danner described the fate that seemed to often befall people like her. "We are all aware of the all too frequent news stories about the mentally ill who come up against law enforcement instead of mental health professionals," she wrote, "and end up dead."

On Tuesday, Ms. Danner, 66, was fatally shot by a police sergeant in her Bronx apartment in a confrontation that was condemned in swift and striking terms by Mayor Bill de Blasio and Police Commissioner James P. O'Neill.

Both the mayor and the commissioner said the officer had failed to follow the Police Department's protocol for dealing with

Continued on Page A22



YASIN AKGUL/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

On the Horizon, the Battle for Mosul

Smoke from an oil fire blackened the sky south of Mosul on Wednesday as Iraq attacked ISIS.

Hacking Tools Among Data Stolen From U.S.

This article is by Scott Shane, Matt Apuzzo and Jo Becker.

WASHINGTON — Investigators pursuing what they believe to be the United States' largest case of mishandling classified documents have found that a National Security Agency contractor's trove of documents included top-secret hacking tools that were offered for sale on the Internet two months ago, according to officials

with knowledge of the case.

They have been hunting for electronic clues that could link those cybertools — computer code posted online for auction by an anonymous group calling itself the Shadow Brokers — to the home computers of the contractor, Harold T. Martin III, who was arrested in late August on charges of theft of government property and mishandling of classified information.

But so far, the investigators have been frustrated in their attempt to prove that Mr. Martin deliberately leaked or sold the hacking tools to the Shadow Brokers or, alternatively, that someone hacked into his computer or otherwise took them without his knowledge. While they have found some forensic clues that he might be the source, the evidence is not conclusive, according to a dozen officials

Continued on Page A19

A.G. Sulzberger Is Appointed Deputy Publisher of The Times

By SYDNEY EMBER

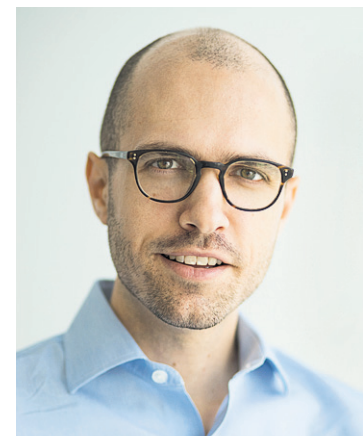
Since 1896, when Adolph S. Ochs bought The New York Times, the Ochs-Sulzberger family has controlled the newspaper. It led the company through two world wars, the publication of the Pentagon Papers, labor strife and severe financial challenges, striving to maintain the paper's importance even as new forms of media threatened to overtake it.

"The Times," Arthur Hays Sulzberger said in 1963 when he named his son publisher, "is a family enterprise."

On Wednesday, The Times continued that tradition, naming Arthur Gregg Sulzberger, a member of the fifth generation of the family, the deputy publisher. The appointment positions him to succeed his father as publisher and chairman of The New York Times Company.

The selection of Mr. Sulzberger, 36, comes at a crucial moment for The Times, converging with a shake-up in the newsroom leadership and the impending release of the so-called 2020 Report, a blueprint for reconfiguring the company for a digital and mobile future. Dean Baquet, the executive editor of The Times, is reviewing a draft of the report and is expected to release it in some form in a matter of weeks.

At the same time, a downsizing



TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A member of the fifth generation of the paper's owners.

of the newsroom looms early next year, stirring anxiety among employees, who are already being instructed to embrace changes in the pace, tone and form of The Times's journalism.

The competition for the deputy publisher position was closely watched in the newsroom, and the fact that the selection came earlier than expected — the company had said it would happen by next May — will most likely be interpreted as further evidence that the pace of change is quickening.

Mr. Sulzberger, the son of Arthur Sulzberger Jr., who took over

Continued on Page B8

NEW YORK A20-24

Your Own Piece Of Liberty

Copper from one man's trove of about 50,000 pounds of discarded parts from the Statue of Liberty's \$87 million restoration in the 1980s is being featured in a new line of jewelry, which includes a sterling-silver medallion with a raised copper flame, above. PAGE A20



INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Scrutiny of Russian Missiles

U.S. officials say Russia appears to be moving toward production of a ground-launched cruise missile in violation of a landmark arms control treaty. PAGE A4

NATIONAL A14-19

Water Use Rises in California

After state regulators lifted restrictions following a relatively wet winter, water conservation has slipped in California — to some officials' dismay. PAGE A14

BUSINESS DAY B1-9

A Lender With People Skills

The lender SoFi, short for Social Finance Inc., is using events like singles mixers and wine tastings to attract younger, high-earning clients. PAGE B1

SPORTSTHURSDAY B12-17

Cleveland Clinches in Toronto

The Indians, without a title since 1948, reached the World Series with a 3-0 win over the Blue Jays in Game 5 of the A.L. Championship Series. PAGE B12



OBITUARIES A24-25

Phil Chess, Music Executive

The co-founder of the blues-rich Chess Records helped lay the foundation for rock 'n' roll. He was 95. PAGE A25

THURSDAY STYLES D1-10

Dressed for Bill

At a memorial service this week for The Times photographer Bill Cunningham, the outfits reflected the idiosyncratic styles that filled his pages. PAGE D1



ARTS C1-8

A Bid to Save Dorothy's Slippers

The Smithsonian hopes to raise \$300,000 to repair the "Wizard of Oz" shoes and display them in a temperature-controlled case. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Gail Collins

PAGE A27



SOME STYLE IS LEGENDARY

INTRODUCING TIFFANY T TWO RINGS

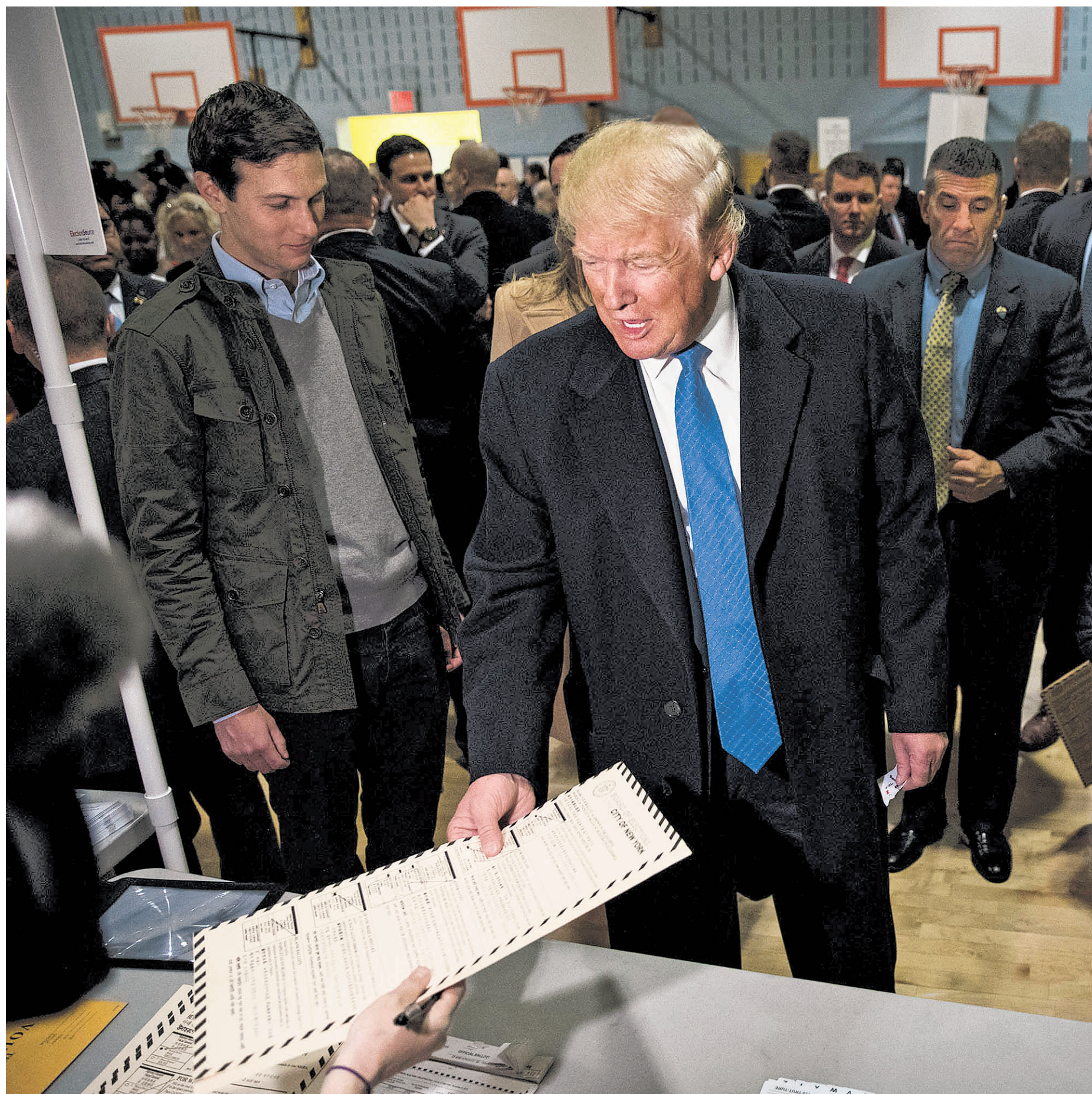
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TRUMP TRIUMPHS

OUTSIDER MOGUL CAPTURES THE PRESIDENCY, STUNNING CLINTON IN BATTLEGROUND STATES



By DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump voting on Tuesday at P.S. 59 in Manhattan. His defeat of Hillary Clinton defied late polls and was a repudiation of the establishment.

WORKING CLASS SPEAKS

Blue-Collar Whites Give Stinging Rebuke to Democratic Party

By PATRICK HEALY and JONATHAN MARTIN

Donald John Trump was elected the 45th president of the United States on Tuesday in a stunning culmination of an explosive, populist and polarizing campaign that took relentless aim at the institutions and long-held ideals of American democracy.

The surprise outcome, defying late polls that showed Hillary Clinton with a modest but persistent edge, threatened convulsions throughout the country and the world, where skeptics had watched with alarm as Mr. Trump's unvarnished overtures to disillusioned voters took hold.

The triumph for Mr. Trump, 70, a real estate developer-turned-reality television star with no government experience, was a powerful rejection of the establishment forces that had assembled against him, from the world of business to government, and the consensus they had forged on everything from trade to immigration.

The results amounted to a repudiation, not only of Mrs. Clinton, but of President Obama, whose legacy is suddenly imperiled. And it was a decisive demonstration of power by a largely overlooked coalition of mostly blue-collar white and working-class voters who felt that the promise of the United States had slipped their grasp amid decades of globalization and multiculturalism.

In Mr. Trump, a thrice-married Manhattanite who lives in a marble-wrapped three-story penthouse apartment on Fifth Avenue, they found an improbable champion.

Mr. Trump's strong showing helped Republicans retain control of the Senate. Only one Republican-controlled seat, in Illinois, fell to Democrats early in the evening. And Senator Richard Burr of North Carolina, a Republican, easily won re-election in a race that had been among the country's most competitive. A handful of other Republican incumbents facing difficult races were running better than expected.

Continued in Election 2016, Page 5

AMBRIDGE JOURNAL

A Blue-Collar Town in Decline And in Despair Turns to Trump

By TRIP GABRIEL

AMBRIDGE, Pa. — As Donald J. Trump's surprisingly strong showing played out on a television above Fred's Divot bar, the men who by day carry pipes, hang dry-wall and drive locomotives watched the returns with mounting satisfaction.

"He's killing it — that's our next president," said John Gaguzis, 50, who had affixed an "I voted" sticker to the blue uniform shirt he wears in a bottling plant. "We need a change. We've got to get rid of the Democrats that support people that don't want to work."

Jerry Kormick, a disabled construction worker engaged in a serious darts competition, said he had voted for the first time in his life, at age 37. He never believed polls showing Hillary Clinton ahead, he said, not after visiting friends in rural North Carolina.

This former steel town west of Pittsburgh was for decades a Democratic stronghold, where Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms are proclaimed on a memorial in the small town park. But industrial decline and what is perceived as too-fast cultural



By HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
John Gaguzis, a Trump supporter, at a bar on Tuesday.

change in the country at large has transformed Ambridge and the rest of Beaver County around it, with the yards of faded brick homes presenting a river of Trump signs.

When votes were still being counted early Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Trump were essentially tied in Pennsylvania, but it was clear who had won Beaver County: Mr. Trump by 20 points.

Joann and Mark Crano, both retired, switched their registrations to Republican this year after a lifetime as Democrats, and they reeled off the names of many other friends and family members who did likewise.

Continued in Election 2016, Page 8

NEWS ANALYSIS

Around the World, Uncertainty And Fear That 'All Bets Are Off'

By PETER BAKER

JERUSALEM — Donald J. Trump's stunning election victory on Tuesday night rippled way beyond the nation's boundaries, upending an international order that prevailed for decades and raising profound questions about America's place in the world.

For the first time since before World War II, Americans chose a president who promised to reverse the internationalism practiced by predecessors of both parties and to build walls both physical and metaphorical. Mr. Trump's win foreshadowed an America more focused on its own affairs while leaving the world to take care of itself.

The outsider revolution that propelled him to power over the Washington establishment of both political parties also reflected a fundamental shift in international politics evidenced already this year by events like Britain's referendum vote to leave the European Union. Mr. Trump's success could fuel the populist, nativist, nationalist, closed-border movements al-



By DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES
Supporters of Donald J. Trump in Sioux City, Iowa.

ready so evident in Europe and spreading to other parts of the world.

The results of Tuesday's election left many around the world scrambling to figure out what it might mean in parochial terms. For Mexico, it seemed to presage a new era of confrontation with its northern neighbor. For Europe and Asia, it could rewrite the rules of modern alliances, trade deals, and foreign aid. For the Middle East, it foreshadowed a possible alignment with Russia and fresh conflict with Iran.

"All bets are off," said Agustin Barrios Gómez, a former congressman in Mexico and presi-
Continued in Election 2016, Page 9

MAN IN THE NEWS

Clarion of White Populist Rage Who Vowed 'I Am Your Voice'

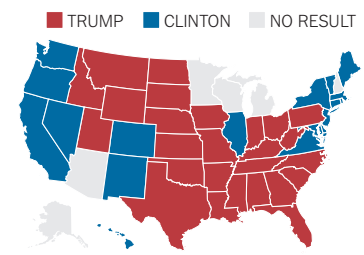
By ALEXANDER BURNS

Donald John Trump defied the skeptics who said he would never run, and the political veterans who scoffed at his slapdash campaign.

He attacked the norms of American politics, singling out groups for derision on the basis of race and religion and attacking the legitimacy of the political process. He ignored conventions of common decency, employing casual vulgarity and raining personal humiliation on his political opponents and critics in the media.

And in the ultimate act of defiance, Mr. Trump emerged victorious, summoning a tidal wave of support from less educated whites displaced by changes in the economy and deeply resistant to the country's shifting cultural and racial tones. In his triumph, Mr. Trump has delivered perhaps the greatest shock to the American political system in modern times and opened the door to an era of extraordinary political uncertainty at home and around the globe.

The slashing, freewheeling campaign that took him to the



By THE NEW YORK TIMES
Donald J. Trump attacked the norms of American politics.

doorstep of the White House reflected a familiar pattern from Mr. Trump's life, but on an Olympian scale.

The son of a wealthy real estate developer in Queens, Mr. Trump, 70, spent decades pursuing social acceptance in upscale Manhattan and seeking, at times desperately, to persuade the wider world to see him as a great man of affairs. But Mr. Trump was often met with scoffing disdain by wealthy elites and mainstream civic leaders, culminating in a mortifying roast by President Obama at the White House Correspondents Dinner in 2011.

So Mr. Trump fashioned himself
Continued in Election 2016, Page 9

REPORTER'S NOTEBOOK

Disruption, Thy Name Is Trump

Disruption in the form of Donald J. Trump starred in what initially seemed a standard election, Mark Leibovich writes.

ELECTION 2016, PAGE 1

FAILED PREDICTIONS

Media Didn't See It Coming

The elaborate polling models deployed by the major news outlets failed to detect an angry, seismic shift in the electorate.

ELECTION 2016, PAGE 15

SENATE STAYS RED

G.O.P. Rides Trump's Coattails

Democrats gained one seat, but the Republicans, pulled along by Donald Trump's success, retained control of the Senate.

ELECTION 2016, PAGE 10

WATCHING THE HOUSE

Still Republican Territory

Republicans appeared to keep their grip on the House of Representatives, though Democrats were likely to make modest gains.

ELECTION 2016, PAGE 12

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A27



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DEMOCRATS, STUDENTS AND FOREIGN ALLIES FACE THE REALITY OF A TRUMP PRESIDENCY



Donald J. Trump and his family on election night. He has shown a willingness to entertain two contradictory thoughts at once.

Grief and Glee as an Administration Once Unthinkable Takes Shape

By PATRICK HEALY and JEREMY W. PETERS

The American political establishment reeled on Wednesday as leaders in both parties began coming to grips with four years of President Donald J. Trump in the White House, a once-unimaginable scenario that has now plunged the United States and its allies and adversaries into a period of deep uncertainty about the policies and impact of his administration.

Democrats, who will be out of power in both the White House and Congress for the first time since 2006, were particularly crestfallen that Hillary Clinton had a slender lead in the popular vote but lost in the Electoral College, a fate similar to Al Gore's in 2000.

On campuses nationwide, students marched against Mr. Trump with signs bearing slogans like "Not my president," and protesters in Oakland, Calif., smashed windows and set fire to garbage bins. On Wednesday night, thousands of people protested in several cities, including Chicago, Philadelphia, Seattle and New York, where demonstrators converged in Midtown Manhattan in front of Trump Tower, the home of the president-elect. [Page P12.]

With millions of other voters euphoric at the election of a true political outsider as president, the clear divide over Mr. Trump in-

spired pleas of unity from his two biggest opponents, President Obama and Mrs. Clinton. At separate news conferences, they urged Americans to come together for the sake of the republic, and for the good of Mr. Trump's presidency.

"We are all now rooting for his success," said Mr. Obama, who planned to meet with Mr. Trump at the White House on Thursday. "The peaceful transfer of power is one of the hallmarks of our democracy. And over the next few months, we are going to show that to the world."

Mrs. Clinton, in her first remarks to supporters after the election, said Americans owed Mr. Trump. *Continued in Election 2016, Page P3*



President Obama and Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Populist Fury May Backfire

By PETER S. GOODMAN

A populist insurrection is gaining force in much of the world, drawing middle-class and blue-collar recruits who lament that they have been left behind by globalization. This upheaval threatens to upend the economic order that has prevailed since the end of World War II.

This was evident before Donald J. Trump's triumphant rogue campaign for the American presidency. Now it is beyond argument.

National leaders in Europe and North America are scrambling to placate energized, often unruly groups of people demanding change and a more generous share of the economic spoils. But the options for addressing the deficiencies of capitalism are severely constrained — both by traditional political realities and by the broader truths of the global economy.

In Britain, which shocked the world in June with its so-called Brexit vote to abandon the European Union, and now in the United States, with its stunning elevation of Mr. Trump, electorates have essentially handed governments a mandate to limit free trade. Voters have unleashed this action plan in the name of lifting the fortunes of working people.

But trade is such an elemental part of the modern global economy. *Continued in Election 2016, Page P19*

Having Heard the Talk, World Awaits Action

This article is by David E. Sanger, Maggie Haberman and Binyamin Appelbaum.

WASHINGTON — In Donald J. Trump's private conversations and public commentary, one guiding principle shines through: The world is a zero-sum place, and nations, like real estate developers, are either on the winning side of a deal or the losing side.

Yet he also is the ultimate pragmatist, perfectly willing to dispense with seemingly core beliefs in return for negotiating advantage. That is why many of his closest supporters have long cautioned that the most headline-

grabbing proposals of his run for the presidency should not be taken literally — they are guideposts, the supporters suggest, not plans. Even Mr. Trump once described his proposed ban on Muslim immigrants as a mere "suggestion."

As he enters the Oval Office that Ronald Reagan — another populist pragmatist, but one who had served in public office before the White House — left nearly 28 years ago, the world is about to find out what Donald Trump really believes. Or at least what he is going to try to do, in partnership with Republicans who on Tuesday retained control of both houses of Congress.

It was in Mr. Reagan's last months in office that Mr. Trump took out a full-page ad in several newspapers complaining that "for decades, Japan and other nations have been taking advantage of the United States." Flirting with a presidential run himself — he was 41 — and seeking the publicity that would become addictive, he called for the United States to pull out of the Middle East, which he called "of only marginal significance to the United States for its oil supplies," and asked, "Why are these nations not paying the United States for the human lives and billions of dollars we are losing pro-

Continued in Election 2016, Page P7



'We Owe Him an Open Mind'

Hillary Clinton called her loss "painful" but also called for unity in her concession speech. Page P1.

News Outlets Wonder Where They Stumbled

The country's major news organizations, as surprised as anybody by Donald J. Trump's ascension to the presidency,

JIM RUTENBERG
MEDIATOR

How did you get it so wrong?

The question came in letters. ("To editors and writers of The NYT," one reader wrote, "you were so wrong for so long. You misled your readers and were blinded by your own journalistic bigotry.") It came in Facebook posts. ("You were in a bubble and weren't paying attention to your fellow Americans," the filmmaker Michael Moore wrote in a post shared more than 100,000 times.) Most ominously, it came in the form of canceled subscriptions, something that will surely be monitored.

After projecting a relatively easy victory for Hillary Clinton with all the certainty of a calculus solution, news outlets like The New York Times, The Huffington Post and the major networks scrambled to provide candid answers.

With a new administration about to take shape in Washington, news executives tried to take stock of their mistakes and *Continued in Election 2016, Page P4*

White Voters In Broad Bloc Shaped Upset

By NICHOLAS CONFESSORE and NATE COHN

Donald J. Trump's America flowered through the old union strongholds of the Midwest, along rivers and rail lines that once moved coal from southern Ohio and the hollows of West Virginia to the smelters of Pennsylvania.

It flowed south along the Mississippi River, through the rural Iowa counties that gave Barack Obama more votes than any Democrat in decades, and to the Northeast, through a corner of Connecticut and deep into Maine.

And it extended through the suburbs of Cleveland and Minneapolis, of Manchester, N.H., and the sprawl north of Tampa, Fla., where middle-class white voters chose Mr. Trump over Hillary Clinton.

One of the biggest upsets in American political history was built on a coalition of white voters unlike that of any other previous Republican candidate, according to election results and interviews with voters and demographic experts.

Mr. Trump's coalition comprised not just staunchly conservative Republicans in the South and West. They were joined by millions of voters in the onetime heartlands of 20th-century liberal populism — the Upper and Lower Midwest — where white Americans without a college degree *Continued in Election 2016, Page P2*



ELECTION 2016 P1-20

Democratic Soul-Searching

Democrats, relegated to the sidelines of power by Hillary Clinton's loss, are bracing for internal arguments about the party's philosophy. PAGE P13

Celebrating, but Uncertain

Donald J. Trump's supporters were gleeful after his victory, if a tad unsure of what it might bring and not always taking his promises literally. PAGE P16

Planning for Change

Immigration and health care are just two of the arenas in which the president-elect has vowed action. PAGE P6

A Win for Some World Rivals

The election's outcome was an unexpected gift to leaders who resent the encroachment of the West. PAGE P1

NATIONAL A12-14

On This We Can Mostly Agree

From the presidential race down to local ballot measures, there seemed to be wide support on Tuesday for improvements in infrastructure, like highways, bridges and tunnels. PAGE A12

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

How the Data Failed Us

Voters showed the extent to which predictive analytics, and election forecasting in particular, remains a young science that can fail to detect context and nuance. PAGE B1

Expecting a Rollback of Rules

There is a growing consensus that Donald J. Trump will seek major cuts in regulations affecting the banking, health care and energy industries. PAGE B1



NEW YORK A16-20

A Divide of About a City Mile

Both campaigns held election night events in Manhattan, just a mile apart, and there were signs in the space between them of the America that the president-elect will inherit. PAGE A17



ARTS C1-8

A Very Uncomfortable Night

As Donald J. Trump's victory became clear, Stephen Colbert's live show on Showtime became surreal. PAGE C3

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Erick-Woods Erickson

PAGE A23



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TRUMP AND OBAMA MEET TO BREAK THE ICE

Climate Policy Faces Reversal By New Leader

Clear Path to Undercut an Obama Legacy

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — For a look at how sharply policy in Washington will change under the administration of Donald J. Trump, look no further than the environment.

Mr. Trump has called human-caused climate change a "hoax." He has vowed to dismantle the Environmental Protection Agency "in almost every form."

And in an early salvo against one of President Obama's signature issues, Mr. Trump has named Myron Ebell of the business-backed Competitive Enterprise Institute to head his E.P.A. transition team. Mr. Ebell has asserted that whatever warming caused by greenhouse gas pollution is modest and could be beneficial. A 2007 Vanity Fair profile of Mr. Ebell called him an "oil industry mouthpiece."

Global warming may indeed be the sharpest example of how policy in Washington will change under a Trump administration. President Obama has said his efforts to establish the United States as the global leader in climate policy are his proudest legacy.

But if Mr. Trump makes good on his campaign promises, experts in climate change policy warn, that legacy would unravel quickly. The world, then, may have no way to avoid the most devastating consequences of global warming, including rising sea levels, extreme droughts and food shortages, and more powerful floods and storms.

Mr. Trump has already vowed to "cancel" last year's Paris climate agreement, which commits more than 190 countries to reduce their emissions of planet-warm-

Continued in Election 2016, Page P5



STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Donald J. Trump, the president-elect, met President Obama in person for the first time Thursday and called him "a good man."

THE TRANSITION BEGINS

President and Successor Make a Public Show of Cooperation

By JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS

WASHINGTON — For months, President Obama said that Donald J. Trump was unqualified, temperamentally unfit and a threat to the republic who should never be president.

For years, Mr. Trump questioned Mr. Obama's birthplace and legitimacy, branded the nation's first black president weak and called his tenure a disaster.

On Thursday at the White House, the once-unimaginable happened: The two men met face to face for the first time for a 90-minute discussion in the Oval Office and shook hands, making a public show of putting their bitter differences aside.

"I want to emphasize to you, Mr. President-elect, that we now are going to want to do everything we can to help you succeed, because if you succeed, then the country succeeds," Mr. Obama told Mr. Trump after the meeting as the two sat side by side, two days after Mr. Trump's stunning election upset imperiled Mr. Obama's legacy. The president called the conversation "excellent" and said he had been "encouraged" by Mr. Trump's interest in working with him and his team.

Mr. Trump, who appeared nervous and uncharacteristically subdued beside Mr. Obama, called the president "a good man." He said that the meeting was "a great honor" and that their conversation had lasted far longer than he would have expected.

"I have great respect," Mr. Trump said, turning to face Mr. Obama. "We discussed a lot of different situations, some wonderful, and some difficulties. I very much look forward to dealing with the president in the future, including counsel." Given that Mr. Trump

Continued in Election 2016, Page P3

'Never Trump' Becomes 'Maybe Trump' in Foreign Policy Sphere

This article is by Mark Mazzetti, Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt.

WASHINGTON — Like no other part of the Republican establishment, the party's foreign policy luminaries joined in opposition to the idea of a Donald J. Trump presidency.

Loyal Republicans who served in the two Bush administrations, they appeared on television and wrote op-eds blasting him. They

aligned under a "Never Trump" banner and signed a letter saying they were "convinced that he would be a dangerous president and would put at risk our country's national security and well-being."

For his part, President-elect Trump has maligned them as bumbling and myopic, architects of "a long history of failed policies and continued losses at war."

The coming weeks will determine whether both sides decide

they need each other.

On the establishment side, the opposition is now softening for some — driven either by a stated sense of patriotic duty to advise a new president with no foreign policy expertise, or a somewhat less noble motive to avoid years of being excluded from Washington power circles.

"Never Trump" has become "Maybe Trump." But whether he would have them is another matter.

Mr. Trump, a man known to nurse grudges long after doing so is beneficial, has boasted for months that he has a better understanding of how to best serve the nation's security interests than nearly anyone who has made policy in the area for the past decade. At the same time, his transition team faces the daunting task of filling hundreds of jobs in a constellation of national security agencies.

Continued in Election 2016, Page P7

The Women Who Helped Trump to Victory and Those With Dreams That Were Crushed

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

NAZARETH, Pa. — Debbie Biro became a Republican to vote for Donald J. Trump.

A lifelong Democrat, Ms. Biro, 57, is a churchgoing single mother who practices yoga and does not eat meat. She works in the office at the Crayola Crayons factory near here, and she can pinpoint her "turning point" — the moment she became convinced that Mr. Trump was "a strong leader, and he'll get things done."

It came in January, when he skipped a debate in Iowa to host a fund-raiser for veterans — an event that later garnered questions of how much money he had given. Ms. Biro's father served in the Korean War, and she said she admired Mr. Trump's business skills, "and I thought it was nice that he was taking care of the vets."

In well-to-do Naples, Fla., Sue Gauta, 47, a small-business owner



MAX WHITTAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trump supporters in Reno, Nev., cheered as it became clear the real estate mogul was going to become the president-elect.

married to a doctor, also embraced Mr. Trump. So did Wanda Lincoln, 67, a retired college administrator still working to make ends meet in a threadbare mill city in Maine. And Kyleigh Ostendorf, 26, who lives in Los Angeles

and produces graphics for ESPN.

As America dissects the results of Tuesday's election, one trend stands out: Tens of thousands of women — 53 percent of all white

Continued in Election 2016, Page P10

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE and CLAIRE CAIN MILLER

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — It was visceral. Women felt gutted, shocked, appalled, afraid. The prospect of celebrating the election of the nation's first female president had been crushed by a man whom many women viewed as sexist.

In this liberal enclave, where Mrs. Clinton won 89.2 percent of the vote over Donald J. Trump, one of her strongest showings anywhere, Molly Hubner, 33, said she was having difficulty explaining the result to her 6-year-old daughter.

"We had told her that he wouldn't be a good president because he's not very kind," Ms. Hubner said, pushing her young son in a stroller as she jogged down a leaf-covered sidewalk. After the election, she said, they told her it is important to be kind to people "and that our country is O.K., it's still a



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

Women who had supported Hillary Clinton gathered in Washington Square Park in New York on the day after the election.

safe place to be."

Women across the country who supported Mrs. Clinton are just starting to process their feelings about the long roller coaster ride that in their view ended in disaster.

The shock they feel that a man whom they describe as sexist, misogynistic and boorish was elected has overshadowed some of their grief about Mrs. Clinton's loss. Like so many of the other

Continued in Election 2016, Page P10



JOEL SAGET/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Leonard Cohen in 2012. His musical career spanned 45 years.

LEONARD COHEN, 1934-2016

Writer of 'Hallelujah' Whose Lyrics Captivated Generations

By LARRY ROHTER

Leonard Cohen, the Canadian poet and novelist who abandoned a promising literary career to become one of the foremost songwriters of the contemporary era, has died, according to an announcement Thursday night on his Facebook page. He was 82.

Mr. Cohen's record label, Sony Music, confirmed the death. No

details were available on the cause. Adam Cohen, his son and producer, said: "My father passed away peacefully at his home in Los Angeles with the knowledge that he had completed what he felt was one of his greatest records. He was writing up until his last moments with his unique brand of humor."

Over a musical career that spanned nearly five decades, Mr. Cohen wrote songs that ad-

ressed — in spare language that could be both oblique and telling — themes of love and faith, despair and exaltation, solitude and connection, war and politics. More than 2,000 recordings of his songs have been made, initially by the folk-pop singers who were his first champions, like Judy Collins and Tim Hardin, and later by performers from across the spectrum of popular music, among them U2, Aretha Franklin, R.E.M., Jeff

Buckley, Trisha Yearwood and Elton John.

Mr. Cohen's best-known song may well be "Hallelujah," a majestic, meditative ballad infused with both religiosity and earthiness. It was written for a 1984 album that his record company rejected as insufficiently commercial and popularized a decade later by Jeff Buckley. Since then some 200 artists, from Bob Dylan to Justin

Continued on Page B15

ELECTION 2016 P1-12

A Bonanza for Lobbying Firms
Expecting gridlock to end with a Trump presidency, corporations are seeking help to navigate the change. PAGE P1

Jousting With the Republicans
Senator Chuck Schumer will need to summon his conciliatory and combative instincts as minority leader. PAGE P1



ELECTION 2016

Tough Promises to Keep
Donald J. Trump has promised to "drain the swamp" of the sprawling federal bureaucracy. Doing so will likely be vastly more difficult than his supporters had envisioned. PAGE P4

Russia and Trump's Allies
Russia's government had contact with members of Donald J. Trump's "immediate entourage" during the race, a Russian diplomat said. PAGE P2

The Votes That Really Count
Some call for electoral reform after Hillary Clinton won the popular vote but not the Electoral College. PAGE P8

NEW YORK A16-20

Clogging a Busy Crossroads
Fifth Avenue and 56th Street, the intersection in front of Trump Tower, has been turned into a restricted-access zone since the election. PAGE A18



EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23
David Brooks PAGE A23

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

Sizing Up Trade War vs. China
The president-elect would have plenty of economic weapons at his disposal if he wanted to punish China over trade, but the Chinese could cause targeted damage in return. PAGE B1

The Market Rises With Trump
Analysts expected stocks to swoon if Donald J. Trump won the election, but traders are in a buying mood for now, James B. Stewart writes. PAGE B1

A Test for Deficit Spending
Do higher deficits lead to economic growth? A Trump presidency may provide an answer. The Upshot. PAGE B1



WEEKEND ARTS C1-34

Late-Night Reality Check
Comedians returning to their programs on Wednesday faced the uneasy task of addressing the surprising election results, like it or not. PAGE C12



FIDEL CASTRO, 1926-2016

A Revolutionary Who Defied the U.S. And Held Cuba in His Thrall



JACK MANNING/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fidel Castro in Havana in 1964. His bushy beard, long Cuban cigar and green fatigues became universal symbols of rebellion.

By ANTHONY DePALMA

Fidel Castro, the fiery apostle of revolution who brought the Cold War to the Western Hemisphere in 1959 and then defied the United States for nearly half a century as Cuba's maximum leader, bedeviling 11 American presidents and briefly pushing the world to the brink of nuclear war, died on Friday. He was 90.

Cuban state television announced the death but gave no other details.

In declining health for several years, Mr. Castro had orchestrated what he hoped would be the continuation of his Communist revolution, stepping aside in 2006 when a serious illness felled him. He provisionally ceded much of his power to his younger brother Raúl, now 85, and two years later formally resigned as president. Raúl Castro, who had fought alongside Fidel Castro from the earliest days of the insurrection and remained minister of defense and his brother's closest confidant, has ruled Cuba since then, although he has told the Cuban people he intends to resign in 2018.

Fidel Castro had held on to power longer than any other living national leader except Queen Elizabeth II. He became a towering international figure whose importance in the 20th century far exceeded what might have been expected from the head of state of a Caribbean island nation of 11 million people.

He dominated his country with strength and symbolism from the day he triumphantly entered Havana on Jan. 8, 1959, and completed his overthrow of Fulgencio Batista by delivering his first ma-

Continued on Page 12



ALEJANDRO ERNESTO/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

A man in Havana on Saturday with portraits of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, who inspires mixed feelings among Cubans.

A Generation Gap in Havana As Sorrow Faces Indifference

By DAMIEN CAVE and HANNAH BERKELEY COHEN

HAVANA — At the Salon Rojo, one of Havana's most popular nightspots, where the reggaeton usually blares into the early hours, the music stopped abruptly.

An announcement was made: Fidel Castro had died.

The police waved along young women in miniskirts and young men with gelled mohawks as they spilled into the streets. No one was weeping. No one was chanting.

Some said the country would be better off, freer now, though they said it quietly, wary that someone

might overhear such hopes. A hearse, repurposed as a taxi, happened to drive by.

"Take him with you," one of the young men shouted with a smile as a friend cheered him on. The young women with them looked embarrassed, but not angry.

A few feet away from a crowd of partygoers, three neighbors, each in their 50s and consoling one another, stood in their apartment building's doorway facing the iconic Hotel Nacional.

Concepcion Garcia, 55, looked at the young people around her

Continued on Page 16

Miami's Streets Fill With Songs And Reflection

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

MIAMI — It did not matter that it was the middle of the night, or that it began to drizzle. When this city's Cuban-American residents heard the news, they sprinted to Little Havana. They banged pots and pans. They sang the Cuban national anthem and waved the Cuban flag. They danced and hugged, laughed and cried, shouted and rejoiced.

The seemingly eternal vigil for the death of Fidel Castro, a man who had profoundly changed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people here — dividing their families, taking their property, imprisoning and sometimes shooting their friends and relatives, wrenching them from their homes and their country — was over. Finally.

"I owe this to my dad — this going out and celebrating," said Isabel De Lara, 67, a former banker who came to Calle Ocho — Eighth Street — to join in the jubilation. She wished her father, who is dead, could have joined her.

More than five decades had passed since Ms. De Lara stepped off a plane alone, from Cuba, sent here at age 12 by parents who feared for her future after the Castro revolution. For her and so many others, Mr. Castro's death was a watershed, for he embodied the revolution and the heartbreak that followed.

Continued on Page 16

World of Potential Conflict For a Developer President

Many Trump Partners Have Ties to Foreign Governments as Work Spans Globe

This article is by Richard C. Paddock, Eric Lipton, Ellen Barry, Rod Nordland, Danny Hakim and Simon Romero.

MANILA — On Thanksgiving Day, a Philippine developer named Jose E. B. Antonio hosted a company anniversary bash at one of Manila's poshest hotels. He had much to be thankful for.

In October, he had quietly been named a special envoy to the United States by the Philippine president, Rodrigo Duterte. Mr. Antonio was nearly finished building a \$150 million tower in Manila's financial district — a 57-story symbol of affluence and capitalism, which bluntly promotes itself with the slogan "Live Above the Rest." And now his partner on the project, Donald J. Trump, had just been elected president of the United States.

After the election, Mr. Antonio flew to New York for a private meeting at Trump Tower with the president-elect's children, who have been involved in the Manila project from the beginning, as have Mr. Antonio's children. The Trumps and Antonios have other ventures in the works, including Trump-branded resorts in the Philippines, Mr. Antonio's son Robbie Antonio said.

"We will continue to give you products that you can enjoy and be proud of," the elder Mr. Antonio, one of the richest men in the Philippines, told the 500 friends, employees and customers gathered for his star-studded celebration in Manila.

Mr. Antonio's combination of jobs — he is a business partner with Mr. Trump, while also representing the Philippines in its relationship with the United States and the president-elect — is hardly inconsequential, given some of the weighty issues on the diplomatic table.

Among them, Mr. Duterte has urged "a separation" from the United States and has called for

Signing On for Recount

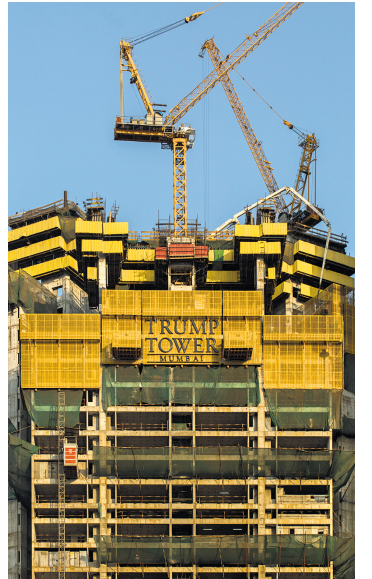
The Clinton campaign will join a move by a third-party candidate for a recount in Wisconsin, and potentially two more states. Page 22.

American troops to exit the country in two years' time. His antidrug crusade has resulted in the summary killings of thousands of suspected criminals without trial, prompting criticism from the Obama administration.

Situations like these are already leading some former government officials from both parties to ask if America's reaction to events around the world could potentially be shaded, if only slightly, by the Trump family's financial ties with foreign players. They worry, too, that in some countries those connections could compromise American efforts to criticize the corrupt intermingling of state power with vast business enterprises controlled by the political elite.

"It is uncharted territory, really in the history of the republic, as we have never had a president with such an empire both in the United States and overseas," said Michael J. Green, who served on the National Security Council in the administration of George W. Bush, and before that at the Defense Department.

The globe is dotted with such
Continued on Page 24



ASMITA PARELKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Trump Tower Mumbai, rising last week. Donald J. Trump's partner in the venture has ties to India's governing party.

Soda Taxes Gain Acceptance, City by Revenue-Hungry City

By ANAHAD O'CONNOR and MARGOT SANGER-KATZ

For more than a decade, Coca-Cola, Pepsi and other beverage companies have fought mightily against efforts to tax sugary sodas, defeating more than three dozen such proposals around the country.

But this month, voters in San Francisco, Oakland and Albany, Calif., as well as Boulder, Colo., stunned the industry by approving ballot measures in favor of soda taxes. Cook County, Ill., followed a few days later, bringing a soft-drink tax to Chicago and surrounding areas. They are joining Berkeley, Calif., which passed a tax two years ago, and Philadelphia, which passed one in June, bringing to seven the number of American communities with soda taxes.

With that public momentum, a soda tax may be coming to a city near you.

Advocates say the recent sweep represents a watershed moment in the fight for soft-drink taxes.

Once viewed as measures likely to find support only in largely health-conscious cities like Berkeley and Boulder, soda taxes have emerged as a bountiful revenue source for cash-strapped local governments to fund early childhood education, public safety and deficit reduction. Soda tax advocates say they believe more cities will now consider their own taxes on sweetened beverages to combat obesity and to finance local programs.

"There's a momentum with these taxes that will be hard for the industry to stop," said Kelly D. Brownell, the dean of the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University, who was met with some ridicule when he first proposed a "sin tax" on junk food in 1994. "I expect a year or two from now that the taxes will be widespread."

All of the new measures so far impose a tax of at least a penny
Continued on Page 4

INTERNATIONAL 6-18

A Fight to Govern in Yemen

Houthi rebels, having pushed Yemen's government into exile, are trapped in a stalemated war and struggling to govern the Arab world's poorest state. PAGE 6

METROPOLITAN

At 97, No Looking Back

Robert Morgenthau saw crime statistics fall sharply and the city transform in his decades as the Manhattan district attorney. Lions of New York. PAGE 1

SUNDAY BUSINESS

A Choke Point for Shipping

A lock on the Ohio River, a symbol of the ailing American infrastructure that Donald J. Trump has vowed to fix, is hobbling commerce. PAGE 1

SPORTSUNDAY

Buckeyes Edge Michigan

Ohio State's thrilling victory in two overtimes over Michigan hung on what-ifs. Now the question is: Can the Buckeyes make the playoffs at 11-1? PAGE 1

SUNDAY REVIEW

Nicholas Kristof

PAGE 1



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HACKING THE DEMOCRATS

How Russia Honed Its Cyberpower and Trained It on an American Election



JUSTIN T. GELLERSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Times investigation reveals missed signals, slow responses and an underestimation of foreign efforts to disrupt the 2016 presidential campaign.

By ERIC LIPTON, DAVID E. SANGER and SCOTT SHANE

WASHINGTON — When Special Agent Adrian Hawkins of the Federal Bureau of Investigation called the Democratic National Committee in September 2015 to pass along some troubling news about its computer network, he was transferred, naturally, to the help desk.

His message was brief, if alarming. At least one computer system belonging to the D.N.C. had been compromised by hackers federal investigators had named “the Dukes,” a cyberespionage team linked to the Russian government.

The F.B.I. knew it well: The bureau had spent the last few years trying to kick the Dukes out of the unclassified email systems of the White House, the State Department and even the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one of the government’s best-protected networks.

Yared Tamene, the tech-support contractor at the D.N.C. who fielded the call, was no expert in cyberattacks. His first moves were to check Google for “the Dukes” and conduct a cursory search of the D.N.C. computer system logs to look for hints of such a cyberintrusion. By his own account, he did not look too

hard even after Special Agent Hawkins called back repeatedly over the next several weeks — in part because he wasn’t certain the caller was a real F.B.I. agent and not an impostor.

“I had no way of differentiating the call I just received from a prank call,” Mr. Tamene wrote in an internal memo, obtained by The New York Times, that detailed his contact with the F.B.I.

It was the cryptic first sign of a cyberespionage and information-warfare campaign devised to disrupt the 2016 presidential election, the first such attempt by a foreign power in American history. What started as an information-gathering operation, intelligence officials believe, ultimately morphed into an effort to harm one candidate, Hillary Clinton, and tip the election to her opponent, Donald J. Trump.

Like another famous American election scandal, it started with a break-in at the D.N.C. The first time, 44 years ago at the committee’s old offices in the Watergate complex, the burglars planted listening devices and jimmied a filing cabinet. This time, the burglary was conducted from afar, directed by the Kremlin, with spear-phishing emails and zeros and ones.

An examination by The Times of the Russian operation —
Continued on Page A14

A filing cabinet broken into during the 1972 Watergate burglary and a computer server breached by Russian hackers are displayed at the Democratic National Committee’s headquarters.

FIGHT FOR ALEPPO ENDS WITH DEFEAT FOR SYRIA REBELS

A SPASM OF BRUTALITY

Deal for Evacuation — U.N. Sees ‘Meltdown of Humanity’

By ANNE BARNARD

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Russia declared on Tuesday that the four-year battle over Aleppo, Syria’s largest city, was over, as the last remaining rebel fighters agreed to turn over their territory to the Syrian government. While pro-government forces were moving in, United Nations officials said they were receiving multiple reports of execution-style killings.

The deal was announced just as civilians inside the rebel enclave said they had lost hope. They had spent days huddled in abandoned apartments under heavy shelling, as those with a record of opposing the government said they were bracing for arrest, conscription or death.

Under the deal, evacuations were set to begin at 5 a.m. Wednesday. Earlier on Tuesday, fears had mounted as the United Nations said it had reports that Syrian troops or allied Iraqi militiamen were gunning down families in apartments and on the streets, with the toll reaching 82 civilians.

Several residents said they had lost contact with relatives in those same areas, and a monitoring group, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, said the number of men forced to join the army upon fleeing to government areas had reached 6,000. And with no way to treat the wounded, bodies were piling up on the streets of the shrinking rebel territory.

But then came the deal, and the shelling quieted down. Russia, Turkey and Syrian rebel groups announced that they had agreed to evacuate all of the remaining fighters to rebel-held territory, with civilians free to join them or move to government-held areas, leaving the whole city of Aleppo in government hands.

If the deal is carried out, and all rebel fighters leave as agreed, it would mark a major turning point in Syria’s nearly six-year war. It would put all of the major cities along the country’s more populous western spine back under government control, though Kurdish militias and the so-called caliphate of the Islamic State continue to hold large areas to the east.

Continued on Page A8

Perry Is Chosen as Energy Chief As Exxon Head, Tillerson Put Company’s Needs Over U.S. Interests

By CORAL DAVENPORT

WASHINGTON — President-elect Donald J. Trump plans to name Rick Perry, the former governor of Texas, to lead the Energy Department, an agency far more devoted to national security and basic science than to the extraction of fossil fuels that is Mr. Perry’s expertise.

In choosing him to be secretary of energy, the president-elect is elevating him to a cabinet post that Mr. Perry once said he wanted to eliminate, a proposal that led to one of the most famous gaffes in

recent presidential politics.

“Oops,” Mr. Perry said in 2011 as he racked his brain during a nationally televised Republican primary debate, trying to remember the three departments he wanted to dismantle. He mentioned the Commerce and Education Departments but could not recall the third: the Energy Department.

Texas is rich in energy resources, and Mr. Perry is an enthusiastic supporter of extracting them. But it is not clear how that

Continued on Page A20



BRENDAN HOFFMAN/BLOOMBERG NEWS
Rex W. Tillerson, the Exxon Mobil chief executive, in 2010.

This article is by Ben Hubbard, Dionne Searcey and Nicholas Casey.

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Struggling to keep Iraq from splintering, American diplomats pushed for a law in 2011 to share the country’s oil wealth among its fractious regions.

Then Exxon Mobil showed up. Under its chief executive, Rex W. Tillerson, the giant oil company sidestepped Baghdad and Washington, signing a deal directly with the Kurdish administration in the country’s north. The move undermined Iraq’s central gov-

ernment, strengthened Kurdish independence ambitions and contravened the stated goals of the United States.

Mr. Tillerson’s willingness to cut a deal regardless of the political consequences speaks volumes about Exxon Mobil’s influence. In the Iraq case, Mr. Tillerson and his company outmaneuvered the State Department, which he has now been nominated by President-elect Donald J. Trump to lead.

“They are very powerful in the region, and they couldn’t care less about what the State Department wants to do,” Jean-François Sez-

nec, a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council, a research group in Washington, said of Exxon Mobil’s pursuits in the Middle East.

As America’s biggest oil company, with operations on six continents and a stock market value of more than \$390 billion, Exxon Mo-

Continued on Page A18

FOR THE INTERIOR A Montana congressman and former Navy SEAL, Ryan Zinke. PAGE A20

LATINOS FOR TRUMP In Yuma County, Ariz., jobs appeared to matter more than a wall. PAGE A12

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Wave of Violence in Mexico



A surge of violence this year has unnerved Mexico and led many to wonder whether the country is on the brink of a bloody, all-out war among criminal groups. PAGE A4

British Soccer in Crisis

A growing child sexual abuse scandal in British soccer circles has shocked the country and amounts to “one of the biggest crises” in the sport’s history, as a former official put it. PAGE A6

NEW YORK A23-25

Artists Seek Space, and Safety

After a deadly fire at a warehouse in Oakland, Calif., there’s a sense of agitation among Brooklyn artists, who say they lack the resources to ensure their spaces are up to code. PAGE A24

NATIONAL A12-22

Split Decision on Abortion

Ohio’s governor signed a bill banning abortions after 20 weeks, but vetoed a more restrictive measure that would have prohibited abortions after a fetal heartbeat was detected. PAGE A22

BUSINESS DAY B1-8

New Setback for Wells Fargo

Federal regulators have rejected Wells Fargo’s “living will” plan, designed to safeguard the American economy in the event of the bank’s failure. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-8

A Reunion of Powerhouses

Plácido Domingo, left, and James Levine join forces for their 329th performance together at the Met in the Verdi opera “Nabucco,” a biblical potboiler. PAGE C1

FOOD D1-10

The Best of the Best



Pete Wells counts down his favorites among the new places he reviewed this year, highlighting the rise of tasting menus in New York City’s restaurant scene. PAGE D1

OBITUARIES A14-15

Alan Thicke, ‘America’s Dad’

Mr. Thicke, an actor known for his genial warmth, most notably as the advice-dispensing father on the sitcom “Growing Pains,” was 69. PAGE A15

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A27



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NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump's Win, But Little Else, Is Now Settled

A Vast Divide Persists After the Electors Vote

By JONATHAN MARTIN
and MICHAEL WINES

WASHINGTON — In Florida, protesters swarmed the Capitol rotunda, one hoisting a "Trump Is Too Rusky" sign featuring a hammer and sickle. In Wisconsin's statehouse, a heckler shouted, "We're all going to go to war and die thanks to you," during the formal meeting of the Electoral College.

And in New York, an elector by the name of William Jefferson Clinton cast his vote for his wife and then came out to make plain that he believes Donald J. Trump won the presidency only because of outside interference in the election.

"We had the Russians and the F.B.I., and she couldn't prevail against that, but she did everything else and still won by 2.8 million votes," Mr. Clinton said, his determined smile belying his fury.

The meeting of the Electoral College after presidential elections has long been little more than a tradition-bound formality, with political insiders gathering to ratify the preferences of their state's voters and distribute 538 electoral votes. Yet as with so much else in this turbulent election year, even that civic ritual was punctuated by anger and dissent.

Democrats were unable to persuade enough electors to
Continued on Page A16



BURHAN OZBILICI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A gunman killed Andrey G. Karlov, the Russian ambassador to Turkey, in Ankara on Monday.

Russian Envoy Gunned Down By Lone Turk

'Don't Forget Aleppo,' Assassin Shouts

By TIM ARANGO
and RICK GLADSTONE

ISTANBUL — Russia's ambassador to Turkey was assassinated at an Ankara art exhibit on Monday evening by a lone Turkish gunman shouting "God is great!" and "don't forget Aleppo, don't forget Syria!" in what the leaders of Turkey and Russia called a provocative terrorist attack.

The gunman, described by Turkish officials as a 22-year-old off-duty police officer, also wounded at least three others in the assault on the envoy, Andrey G. Karlov, which was captured on video. Turkish officials said the assailant was killed by other officers in a shootout.

The assassination, an embarrassing security failure in the Turkish capital, forced Turkey and Russia to confront a new crisis tied directly to the Syrian conflict, now in its sixth year.

The longer-term implications for the Russia-Turkey relationship, which had been warming recently after plunging a year ago, were not immediately clear. But some analysts played down the notion that the assassination would lead to a new rupture, saying it could conversely bring the countries closer together in a shared fight against terrorism.

President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia said on Russian television that Mr. Karlov had been "despiciously killed" to sabotage ties with Turkey. Mr. Putin spoke with the Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, by phone, and the two leaders agreed to cooperate in investigating the killing, and in combating terrorism broadly.
Continued on Page A11

12 DEAD IN BERLIN AS TRUCK STRIKES HOLIDAY CROWDS

SITE A REVERED SYMBOL

Carnage Evokes Attack in Nice — No Claim of Responsibility

By MELISSA EDDY
and ALISON SMALE

BERLIN — A truck plowed through a Christmas market late Monday in Berlin, turning a traditional center of holiday festivities into a scene of carnage with at least 12 dead and dozens wounded in what the authorities were investigating as a possible terror attack.

The truck jumped the sidewalk about 8 p.m. near the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, whose jagged spire, a reminder of the bombings during World War II, is one of the most symbolic sites in Berlin.

The police said they later arrested a man near the scene who was suspected of driving the truck, which had been stolen from a worksite in Poland about a two-hour drive from Berlin. A passenger, identified by the authorities as a Polish national, was found dead in the cab.

There was no claim of responsibility, but the episode immediately evoked the attack in July in Nice, France, when a truck driver ran over and killed more than 80 people during Bastille Day celebrations.

The impact scattered people who just moments before had been shopping and drinking mulled wine amid stands that sell Christmas gifts, sweets and sau-
Continued on Page A10



RAINER JENSEN/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Officers guarded a truck after it crashed into a Christmas market Monday at the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in Berlin.

Taxpayers Finance Cancer Drug, but the Profits Will Be Private

By MATT RICHTEL
and ANDREW POLLACK

Enthusiasm for cancer immunotherapy is soaring, and so is Arie Beldegrun's fortune.

Dr. Beldegrun, a physician, co-founded Kite Pharma, a company that could be the first to market next year with a highly anticipated new immunotherapy treatment. But even without a product, Dr. Beldegrun has struck gold.

His stock in Kite is worth about \$170 million. Investors have profited along with him, as the company's share price has soared to about \$50 from an initial price of \$17 in 2014.

The results reflect widespread excitement over immunotherapy, which harnesses the body's immune system to attack cancer and

CELL WARS

Public Labs, Corporate Gains

has rescued some patients from near-certain death. But they also speak volumes about the value of Kite's main scientific partner: the United States government.

Kite's treatment, a form of immunotherapy called CAR-T, was initially developed by a team of researchers at the National Cancer Institute, led by a longtime friend and mentor of Dr. Beldegrun. Now Kite pays several million a year to the government to support continuing research dedicated to the company's efforts.

The relationship puts American taxpayers squarely in the middle of one of the hottest new

drug markets. It also raises a question: Are taxpayers getting a good deal?

Defenders say that the partnership will likely bring a lifesaving treatment to patients, something the government cannot really do by itself, and that that is what matters most.

Critics say that taxpayers will end up paying twice for the same drug — once to support its development and a second time to buy it — while the company reaps the financial benefit.

"If this was not a government-funded cancer treatment — if it was for a new solar technology, for example — it would be scandalous to think that some private investors are reaping massive profits off a taxpayer-funded invention," said James Love, director of Knowledge Ecology International, an advocacy group
Continued on Page A14

CHINA MACHADO, 1929-2016

A Model Who Shattered Barriers Until the End

China Machado, the first non-Caucasian to appear in the pages of an American glossy fashion magazine and a model who broke

not only the race barrier but also the age barrier, died on Sunday in Brookhaven, N.Y., on Long Island. She was 86.

Her family said the cause was cardiac arrest.

Ms. Machado (whose first name was pronounced CHEE-na) lived a colorful life: She was born Noëlie de Souza Machado



Machado

fighter, who left her for Ava Gardner; and socialized with François Truffaut.

But at a time when the fashion industry is still struggling with diversity, it is worth pausing to

consider what "colorful" really meant when it came to Ms. Machado, what her career represented and how far we still have to go, nearly six decades later.

Her legacy extends far beyond the pictures she created, and the poses she struck, to make us rethink our assumptions about what is considered beautiful, and why. And it is as relevant today as when she first stepped on a runway, in the 1950s.

"China Machado was one of the first great pioneers in the firmament of haute couture,"
Continued on Page A20

Rail Crossing Warnings Sought for Mapping Apps

By DAISUKE WAKABAYASHI

SAN FRANCISCO — Following directions from Google Maps on a smartphone last year, Jose Alejandro Sanchez-Ramirez turned a Ford truck, hauling a trailer, where he thought the app was telling him to go. But he ended up stuck on the railroad tracks at a poorly marked California crossing.

Soon after Mr. Sanchez-Ramirez abandoned the truck, a commuter train barreled into it, killing the engineer and injuring 32 others.

On Monday, after investigating the crash for almost two years, the

National Transportation Safety Board issued a safety recommendation asking technology and delivery companies to add the exact locations of more than 200,000 grade crossings into digital maps and to provide alerts when drivers encounter them.

The crash involving Mr. Sanchez-Ramirez's truck — on Feb. 24, 2015, in Oxnard, Calif. — was one of the more than 200 fatalities that took place at a grade crossing, where road and railway lines are at the same level, in the United States last year. What made this crash stand out was the possible role of digital mapping technology in taking a driver down a wrong path. This was the

first time the safety board has targeted navigation apps as a factor in a major accident.

These days, drivers count on mapping apps for more than getting from one place to another. The apps serve as in-car bulletin boards, alerting drivers in real time about their surroundings. Navigation apps such as Waze provide warnings for traffic jams, broken-down vehicles, roadway debris or even lurking police officers.

The accuracy of mapping data is becoming more important as driverless cars start taking to the road. It will be up to navigation apps to guide cars onto the safest
Continued on Page B3

INTERNATIONAL A4-11

Cheap Drink Kills 49 in Russia

Dozens in the Siberian city of Irkutsk died over the weekend after drinking cheap surrogate alcohol, evoking memories of the poverty that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union. PAGE A6



BUSINESS DAY B1-6

I.M.F. Chief Is Found Guilty

Judges did not give Christine Lagarde a fine or jail time over a misuse of public funds, and she might keep her International Monetary Fund post. PAGE B1

A Sugar Showdown

After a review in a prominent medical journal cast doubt on warnings about eating too much sugar, public health experts criticized its authors for ties to the food and sugar industries. PAGE B1

NATIONAL A12-19

Katrina-Era Police Cases End

New Orleans announced it had reached \$13.3 million in civil settlements related to three major police brutality cases from the weeks just before and after Hurricane Katrina in 2005. PAGE A12

Motherhood Affects the Brain

Pregnancy alters a woman's brain, changing the size and structure of areas used in perceiving feelings and perspectives of others, a study found. PAGE A13

NEW YORK A22-25

City Law vs. Places of Worship

A case in New Jersey is an example of how towns across the nation use zoning laws to prohibit new mosques, underscoring what civil rights advocates say is a rise in intolerance. PAGE A22

SCIENCE TIMES D1-10

Uncovering a Master's Strokes

Restorers in Belgium painstakingly removed varnish and overpainting from the Ghent Altarpiece after new technology revealed stunning details. PAGE D1

SPORTSTUESDAY B7-11

Winner. Loser. Both on the Go?

The Raiders are in the playoffs after beating the Chargers, 19-16, on Sunday, but both N.F.L. teams face uncertain futures as their owners consider moving them to new cities. PAGE B7



ARTS C1-8

Subterranean Eye Candy

New subway stations have become galleries for art installations that celebrate New York and its culture. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A26-27

David Leonhardt

PAGE A27



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U.S. PUNISHES RUSSIA OVER ELECTION HACKING



GARY LANDSMAN



JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Obama revoked Russian access to waterfront estates on Maryland's Eastern Shore, left, and in Glen Cove, N.Y.

Obama Expels 35 Diplomats and Imposes Sanctions, Putting Trump in a Bind

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON — President Obama struck back at Russia on Thursday for its efforts to influence the 2016 election, ejecting 35 suspected Russian intelligence operatives from the United States and imposing sanctions on Russia's two leading intelligence services.

Glen Cove, N.Y., and another on Maryland's Eastern Shore — that it said were used for Russian intelligence activities, although officials declined to say whether they were specifically used in the election-related hacks.

The administration also penalized four top officers of one of those services, the powerful military intelligence unit known as the G.R.U. Intelligence agencies have concluded that the G.R.U. ordered the attacks on the Democratic National Committee and other political organizations, with the approval of the Kremlin, and ultimately enabled the publication of the emails it harvested.

Taken together, the sweeping actions announced by the White House, the Treasury, the State Department and intelligence agencies on Thursday amount to the strongest American response yet to a state-sponsored cyberattack. They also appeared intended to box in President-elect Donald J. Trump, who will now have to decide whether to lift the sanctions on Russian intelligence agencies when he takes office next month.

The expulsion of the 35 Russians, whom the administration said were spies posing as diplomats and other officials, and their families was in response to the harassment of American diplomats in Russia, State Department officials said. It was unclear if they were involved in the hacking.

Mr. Trump responded to the Russian sanctions late Thursday by reiterating a call to "move on." But he pledged to meet with intelligence officials, who have concluded that the Russian hacking was an attempt to tip the election to Mr. Trump.

In addition, the State Department announced the closing of two waterfront estates — one in

In an earlier statement from Hawaii, Mr. Obama took a subtle dig at Mr. Trump, who has consistently cast doubt on the intelligence community's findings.

Continued on Page A6

The U.S. Complaint

The Obama administration cited the Russians for trying to undermine the election, for theft and misappropriation, and for harassment of American personnel.

HACKING Placed sanctions on the intelligence services G.R.U. and F.S.B., four G.R.U. officers and three companies that provided support to the G.R.U. in its cyber-operations.

THEFT Penalized two Russians for the theft of more than \$100 million from American financial institutions and other entities and for compromising computer networks in at least three e-commerce companies.

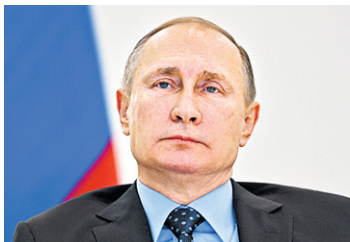
HARASSMENT Identified 35 diplomats based in Washington and San Francisco as spies and gave them 72 hours to leave the country, and told the Russian government that it would be denied access to compounds it owns in Glen Cove, N.Y., and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.



AL DRAGO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

'All Americans should be alarmed by Russia's actions. ... The United States and friends and allies around the world must work together to oppose Russia's efforts to undermine established international norms of behavior, and interfere with democratic governance.'

PRESIDENT OBAMA



POOL PHOTO BY ALEXEI DRUZHININ

'Such steps of the U.S. administration that has three weeks left to work are aimed at two things: to further harm Russian-American ties, which are at a low point as it is, as well as, obviously, deal a blow on the foreign policy plans of the incoming administration of the president-elect.'

Spokesman for
VLADIMIR V. PUTIN



KEVIN HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'It's time for our country to move on to bigger and better things. Nevertheless, in the interest of our country and its great people, I will meet with leaders of the intelligence community next week in order to be updated on the facts of this situation.'

DONALD J. TRUMP

How the Kremlin Recruited an Army of Specialists for Cyberwar

By ANDREW E. KRAMER

MOSCOW — Aleksandr B. Vyarya thought his job was to defend people from cyberattacks until, he says, his government approached him with a request to do the opposite.

Mr. Vyarya, 33, a bearded, bespectacled computer programmer who thwarted hackers, said he was suddenly being asked to join a sweeping overhaul of the Russian military last year. Under

a new doctrine, the nation's generals were redefining war as more than a contest of steel and gunpowder, making cyberwarfare a central tenet in expanding the Kremlin's interests.

"Sorry, I can't," Mr. Vyarya said he told an executive at a Russian military contracting firm who had offered him the hacking job. But Mr. Vyarya was worried about the consequences of his refusal, so he abruptly fled to Finland last year, he and his former employer said. It was a rare example of a Russian

DARK ARTS Squadron of Saboteurs

who sought asylum in the face of the country's push to recruit hackers.

"This is against my principles — and illegal," he said of the Russian military's hacking effort.

While much about Russia's cyberwarfare program is shrouded in secrecy, details of the government's effort to recruit program-

mers in recent years — whether professionals like Mr. Vyarya, college students, or even criminals — are shedding some light on the Kremlin's plan to create elite teams of computer hackers.

American intelligence agencies say that a team of Russian hackers stole data from the Democratic National Committee during the presidential campaign. On Thursday, the Obama administration imposed sanctions against Russia for interfering in the election, and to what it said was

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On East Coast, 2 Compounds Caught Up in History's Echoes

By MARK MAZZETTI and MICHAEL S. SCHMIDT

WASHINGTON — A pair of luxurious waterfront compounds outside New York and Washington have for decades been a retreat for Russian diplomats, places to frolic in the water, play tennis and take lengthy steam baths.

On Thursday, Obama administration officials described the compounds differently: as beachside spy nests sometimes used by Russian intelligence operatives to have long conversations on the sand to avoid being ensnared by American electronic surveillance.

They ordered all Russians out of the compounds within 24 hours.

The move was one of a number of retaliatory measures the White House announced in response to what it called a Russian campaign to wreak havoc on the presidential election, and to what it said was

systemic harassment of American officials in Russia.

Besides the shuttering of the two compounds, administration officials announced the expulsion by Sunday of 35 unnamed Russian officials — and their families — who they said were working undercover as spies.

The announcement had echoes of the tit-for-tat reprisals that were common during the Cold War, and the government of Vladimir V. Putin announced within hours that there would be a swift response. That seemingly ensured that the Obama administration's final days would be consumed by escalating accusations and retaliation between Washington and Moscow.

The Obama administration of-

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A Majority Ruled It Was Rape. That Isn't Enough at Stanford.

By JOE DRAPE and MARC TRACY

At Stanford University, in a conference room above a Starbucks and other shops, a panel of five gathered in June 2015 to decide whether a sexual assault had occurred on campus. Several months later, after a process marred by procedural errors, five different panelists convened to rule on the matter again.

The case involved a woman, a sophomore, who had met a player on Stanford's powerhouse football team at a fraternity party one Saturday night. They went back to her room where, she said, he raped her. He said they had consensual sex.

Seeking to avoid the trauma of a police investigation, the accuser

turned to the university's in-house disciplinary board, one of many on college campuses that adjudicate sexual assault cases, and it would decide whom to believe. If the panel had found that sexual assault had taken place, the man could have been expelled.

Both times, three of the five panelists — drawn from a pool of administrators, faculty members and students — concluded that the man, who remained on the football team throughout the case and is on the roster for a bowl game Friday, committed sexual assault.

At many schools, this simple majority vote would have been

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MERIDITH KOHUT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mourning a man killed in an anti-crime raid. More than 600 people have died this year in such operations, one group says.

In a Savage Year in Venezuela, Even Crime Fighters Are Killers

By NICHOLAS CASEY

CARACAS, Venezuela — The soldiers barged into Rafael González's home as his mother and girlfriend looked on. It would be a routine questioning, they assured him and others arrested that night, before hauling them off to a dark military barracks.

What happened next was anything but normal, Mr. González recalled.

He was stripped naked, kicked and struck with the butt of a rifle, he said. Soldiers hung him by his arms from the ceiling with a cord, demanding to know whether he belonged to one of the gangs that had terrorized his neighborhood in Venezuela's rural area of Barlovento with robberies and

kidnappings.

"They told me: 'We are going to play a game, Little Rafael. It is called electrocution,'" said Mr. González, who is 17. "They shocked me on the abdomen, the neck, the penis, the butt, the back, my hands — everywhere. I felt like my eardrums would explode."

On Oct. 21, five days after he was arrested, Mr. González, bruised and terrified, was released, he said.

He would soon realize that he was among the lucky ones. Weeks later, the bodies of 13 others arrested in similar raids were found, most at the bottom of a mass

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Burial Ground in Mine's Path

Tribal members are at odds over a request by the world's largest coal company, Peabody Energy, to expand its mine on Navajo and Hopi land in northern Arizona. PAGE A14

INTERNATIONAL A4-13

Traveling the Great Wall

With politics and pop culture bringing walls into the global conversation, officials hope to draw people to an ancient Chinese fort. Jiayuguan Journal. PAGE A4

Red Israel vs. Blue Israel

The domestic reactions to international criticism of West Bank settlements made clear that Israelis are just as polarized as Americans. PAGE A4

SPORTSFRIDAY B7-11

A Reputation for Trickery

Washington is hoping its prowess for trick plays gives it an edge as it prepares to play top-ranked Alabama in the college football playoffs. PAGE B7

BUSINESS DAY B1-5

Deal Near on Faulty Airbags

The auto parts maker Takata is said to be close to a settlement with federal prosecutors over airbags that can violently explode. The company faces a potential fine of up to \$1 billion. PAGE B1

China Tries to Tame Airways

As delays grow worse, Beijing begins an ambitious expansion of its air traffic system, including a giant new airport just south of the capital. PAGE B1



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A Star and an Era Long Gone

Debbie Reynolds was known for her big-screen breeziness, and she was unsinkable in an age we won't see again, writes Wesley Morris. PAGE C1

History in Famous Faces

Holland Cotter visits "America's Presidents," on view at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, and sees lessons for the president-elect. PAGE C19

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Paul Krugman

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