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## The death of the left in Europe

Sheri Berman

### OPINION

Among the many worrying outcomes of the recent German elections was the further collapse of the main center-left party, the Social Democrats, which received only 20.5 percent of the vote, its worst performance since World War II.

Across Europe, social democratic or center-left parties are in decline. In elections this year in France and the Netherlands, the socialist and labor parties did so poorly that many question their future existence. Even in Scandinavia, considered the world's social democratic stronghold, long-dominant parties have been reduced to vote shares in the high 20s and low 30s.

Center-left parties were essential to rebuilding European democracy after World War II. They are necessary today, too.

to democracy on the Continent today. During the postwar years, social democratic parties acknowledged capitalism's upsides and downsides. In contrast to Communists, center-left parties recognized that markets were the most effective engine for producing economic growth and prosperity. But in contrast to classical liberals and many conservatives, social democrats did not embrace markets wholeheartedly. Instead, the center-left insisted that it was possible — indeed, necessary — for governments to cushion markets' most destabilizing effects. Capitalism would be kept subservient to the goals of social stability and solidarity, rather than the other way around.

By the late 20th century, this distinctive message had been mostly discarded. Instead, the left became dominated by two camps. The first was epitomized by Tony Blair of Britain and Gerhard Schröder of Germany. These new center-left politicians celebrated the market's upsides but ignored its downsides. They differed from classical liberals and conservatives by supporting a social safety net to buffer markets' worst effects, but they didn't offer a fundamental critique of capitalism or any sense that market forces should be redirected to protect social needs. When the financial crisis hit in 2008, this attitude repelled those who viewed globalization as the cause of their suffering and wanted not merely renewed growth, but also less inequality and instability.

BERMAN, PAGE 17



**Horror in Las Vegas** Concertgoers fleeing after a gunman opened fire on a country music festival from the window of a nearby resort hotel, killing more than 50 people and wounding at least 200, the police said. One concertgoer said of the barrage of gunfire: "It just kept coming. It was relentless." PAGE 4

## Digging in on a split from Spain

BARCELONA, SPAIN

Violence over referendum Sunday may win sympathy for Catalonia's leaders

BY RAPHAEL MINDER

A day after a referendum on independence for Catalonia that was marred by clashes between supporters and police officers, the Spanish region's leaders were meeting on Monday to figure out how to convert the vote into a state free from the rest of the country.

Carles Puigdemont, the Catalan leader, said late Sunday that Catalans had won the right to have their own state and that he would soon present the result of the referendum to the regional Parliament to make it binding.

The Catalan government announced that 90 percent of almost 2.3 million voters had voted in favor of independence.

But several issues stood in the way of a consensus on the vote: The figures could not be independently verified, the voting registers were based on a census whose validity is contested and — most important — Spain's constitutional court had ordered that the referendum be suspended.

Having defied Madrid over the referendum, Mr. Puigdemont's government risks increasing tensions even further if he proceeds with a declaration of independence. The move could prompt his immediate suspension from office.

Rafael Catalá, Spain's justice minister, warned Monday morning that the central government in Madrid was prepared to use its emergency powers to prevent a unilateral declaration of independence. Under Spanish law, the government can take full administrative control of Catalonia.

"If somebody tries to declare the independence of part of the territory — something that cannot be done — we will have to do everything possible to avert it," he said.



The Catalan leader, Carles Puigdemont, right, with other members of the regional government on Monday. He earlier said that Catalans had earned the right to their own state.

## Russians seen as land grabbers by Crimeans

SEVASTOPOL, CRIMEA

Officials and developers from Moscow are tagged corrupt 'carpetbaggers'

BY NEIL MACFARQUHAR

More than three years after Russia snatched Crimea from Ukraine, the peninsula is suffering through an extended season of discontent.

Shady, Kremlin-appointed bureaucrats are proving to be just as corrupt and inept as their Ukrainian predecessors. International sanctions, shrugged off in the heady days after the Russian annexation, have jacked up food prices while endlessly complicating ordinary aspects of life, like banking and travel.

Perhaps most galling to Crimeans, the government is hauling thousands of residents into court to confiscate small land holdings distributed free as a campaign ploy in 2010 when Ukraine controlled the Black Sea peninsula.

Residents of Sevastopol, famous as a historic battleground and home to the Black Sea fleet, were among the most vocal, militant supporters of Russia when it annexed Crimea.

That was then. "I supported reunification because I thought that with Russia's arrival things would improve," said Lenur A. Usmanov, a rare outspoken Kremlin partisan from the Tatar minority who has since become a serial protester. "But there is no change."

Yevgeny V. Dzhenal, an activist lawyer fighting the mass land expropriation, put it even more succinctly: "They were bastards under Ukraine, too. Nothing has changed."

The United Nations issued a report last week accusing Russian security agencies of committing "grave human rights violations" since the annexation. Many of those abuses occurred right after the annexation against those who resisted the takeover. Russia dismissed the report as "absurd" inventions spread by its opponents.

Locals largely focus on different complaints. They invariably denigrate the new bureaucrats as carpetbaggers, using the word "vyragi" in Russian, an old word for Viking outsiders, especially when it comes to land confiscation.

The city of Sevastopol claims that it must repossess at least 10,000 plots to help create a rational development plan. The owners howl that the "mass land grab" will benefit crooked developers and senior officials who covet sprawling tracts of choice seaside property.

"Nobody thought it would be as bad, with issues emerging suddenly like the land plots," said Roman Kyryshko, the burly Communist Party candidate for governor whose campaign slogan, "Your man from Sevastopol," emphasized localism. PAGE 4



Ta-Nehisi Coates is currently working on a novel, a screenplay and a comic book series.

## An author's journey to public intellectual

PROFILE

Ta-Nehisi Coates speaks about his newest book on black life in America

BY CONCEPCIÓN DE LEÓN

When Ta-Nehisi Coates's first book, "The Beautiful Struggle," was published in 2008, it landed with barely a ripple. At the time, Mr. Coates was a struggling writer. He had lost three jobs, and he and his family relied on unemployment checks, his wife's income and occasional support from his father to stay afloat. By the time the book came out in paperback, his fortune had shifted slightly; he'd become a regular contributor to The Atlantic magazine, writing a blog that attracted a moderate but engaged audience.

"I went and did a few events. I did one in Brooklyn and I did one in San Francisco, and maybe 30 people showed up. And I thought, 'This is what I want. This is it,'" he said in a conversation over a recent lunch.

Suffice it to say that Mr. Coates's second book, "Between the World and Me," published in 2015, did not suffer the same lack of readership. An early galley was sent to Toni Morrison, who strongly endorsed the book, calling it "required reading" and likening Mr. Coates to James Baldwin. That year, Mr. Coates was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship and the National Book Award in nonfiction. His appearances filled auditoriums and the book was adopted on college syllabuses. It has sold 1.5 million copies internationally and has been translated into 19 languages, catapulting him to prominence.

At the age of 42, Mr. Coates has become one of the most influential black writers of his generation. PAGE 2



Dior



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ALCALDE JOURNAL  
ALCALDE, N.M.

Monument’s missing foot  
is a symbol of New  
Mexico’s racial divisions

BY SIMON ROMERO

The mystery figure appeared at twilight at a rendezvous point in a clearing of piñon trees. He opened his rucksack and revealed plunder hidden for 20 years: the bronze right foot, including spur and stirrup, severed from a statue of Don Juan de Oñate, the despotic conquistador of New Mexico.

“Tributes to the criminals of our history seem to be attracting a bit of attention these days,” said the self-described foot thief, clad in sunglasses, a kaffiyeh head covering and a floppy fishing hat. “I’m back on the scene to show people that Oñate and his supporters must be shamed.”

His shadowy mien and pugnacious talk seemed more suited for coffeehouse ventilating than actual political sabotage. But to many in New Mexico and beyond, the amputation holds a great deal of significance.

The mystery of Oñate’s missing foot has endured since the 1990s, feeding long-simmering tension between Hispanics and Native Americans. And just as American cities, states and colleges have been grappling with Confederate monuments, acrimony over the Oñate statue reflects a broader questioning around the country of symbols promoting the conquest of American Indians.

Protesters in Santa Fe on Sept. 8 disrupted an annual re-enactment of the 1692 return of Spanish forces to New Mexico after a rebellion by Pueblo Indian villagers. In California, activists have repeatedly defaced statues of Junípero Serra, an 18th-century Franciscan friar who, detractors say, eradicated indigenous cultures and caused many to die of disease.

In New York City, a statue of Christopher Columbus in Central Park was vandalized, and the City Council speaker, Melissa Mark-Viverito, has even suggested that the explorer’s statue in Columbus Circle be removed.

In New Mexico recently, Oñate emerged yet again as a target of scorn, when the village of Alcalde awoke to find the statue’s left foot painted red and the words “Remember 1680” — the year of the Pueblo revolt — written on the monument. And in the saga’s latest twist, the man who claims he purloined Oñate’s foot decided to come in from the cold.

Twenty years ago, protesting the coming celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the first Spanish settlement in what is now the American West, operatives in a shadowy group called the Friends of Acoma took aim at the towering statue here honoring Oñate.

In the dead of night on Dec. 29, 1997, they sawed off the foot, unleashing a debate over Oñate’s atrocities. While some in New Mexico admire the conquistador in ballads and pageantry, others are re-examining the brutality of Oñate’s conquest.

Scholars have documented how Oñate oversaw atrocities that included the killing of 800 people in Acoma Pueblo, an ancient adobe aerie atop a 357-foot-tall sandstone mesa where the Acoma people still live today. Dozens of Acoma girls were parceled out to convents in Mexico City, and adolescents



The statue of Don Juan de Oñate in Alcalde, N.M., with a replacement right foot and spur. While some admire Oñate, others are re-examining the brutality of his conquest.



The man who said he cut off the right foot of the statue in Alcalde 20 years ago. He has melted down a portion of the foot to make medallions for Pueblo leaders.

were sentenced to decades of servitude. In a notorious act of cruelty, Oñate is said to have ordered his men to cut a foot off at least 24 male captives.

Chris Eyre, a Cheyenne-Arapaho filmmaker who is well known in Santa Fe, said that the foot abductor recently walked up to him while he was at a local eatery, La Choza, digging into a bowl of posole. “He handed me a note, and I

thought to myself, is this one of those Roswell types?” said Mr. Eyre, 48, referring to the conspiracy-minded U.F.O. trackers who convene in the New Mexico desert.

Still, Mr. Eyre, the director of “Skins,” a 2002 film that ends with a depiction of red paint being thrown on George Washington’s face at Mount Rushmore, was intrigued by the story of the foot. Now



The foot of Oñate. The mystery of its disappearance has fed tension between Hispanics and Native Americans.

Mr. Eyre is developing a documentary exploring how the amputation set off an exploration of New Mexico’s complex history.

“Trump asked if all this stops with Washington or Jefferson,” said Mr. Eyre, referring to the president’s comparison in August of removing statues to “changing history.” “For me, that’s actually where it starts because we need to go back a whole lot further to examine the crimes upon which these lands were claimed.”

Mr. Eyre arranged an encounter in September between this reporter and the thief, a wiry figure who trekked to the remote meeting point carrying his piece of Oñate. Chafing at celebrations of the Spanish conquest while describ-

ing his own Iroquois ancestry, the thief said he carried out the amputation in 1997 with just one comrade, a native New Mexican, in solidarity with the Acoma people.

He requested that their identities remain secret, explaining that he had no desire to go to jail. “Mysteries are sometimes best kept a little mysterious,” he said. “I smile at the possibility that this tale of defiance could someday be told from campfire to campfire.”

The theft of the foot already resonates among scholars and writers who have explored the ramifications of the act. Maurus Chino, 63, an Acoma artisan, said, “The Oñate statue is simply racist and obscene.”

“When the foot was cut off, I didn’t hear one person from Acoma disagree with that act,” Mr. Chino said. “If monuments like these can’t be taken down, maybe it’s time to cut some more feet off.”

Others, however, argue that criticism of the statue drives a wedge between peoples who lived side by side, sometimes in discord but often intermarrying, for centuries.

For some Hispanics, statues of Oñate and other conquistadors amount to their own symbols of resistance, in the face of the dominance that Anglos have often wielded in New Mexico since the 19th century. Emilio Naranjo, at the time the powerful Democratic Party boss here, secured funds to build the statue in the 1990s as part of a project to honor His-

panic culture. After the dismemberment, its sculptor, Sonny Rivera, cast a replacement foot for Oñate at a cost to taxpayers of \$10,000, and it was welded on.

Thomas Romero, executive director of the Northern Rio Grande Heritage Area, whose office is in the same complex as the statue, even wondered if Oñate’s cruelty had been a bit exaggerated. Mr. Romero speculated whether Oñate’s men could have meted out retaliation by cutting off toes instead of feet.

“Some people have pointed out that it would be foolish to cut off the whole foot of people who would be your servants,” Mr. Romero said. Still, he contended that the intensifying discussion over the statue shows why the complexities of Oñate’s era, as well as our own, need to be examined.

**“The Oñate statue is simply racist and obscene. When the foot was cut off, I didn’t hear one person from Acoma disagree.”**

Mr. Romero said he was seeking to forge stronger ties between Hispanics and Native Americans by flying the flag of the nearby Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo above the Oñate statue, alongside the flags of New Mexico, Rio Arriba County and the United States. He said he was also promoting exchanges that exemplify the historical bonds between Native Americans and Hispanics, including an event featuring the Genizaros, descendants of captured Indians who were raised in Hispanic culture.

Scholars, meanwhile, are unearthing new details about Oñate himself. Unlike the first conquistadors, Oñate was not born in Spain, but in 1550 in what is today Zacatecas in north-central Mexico, and is thought by some researchers to have indigenous ancestry on his mother’s side, according to Michael Trujillo, a professor of American studies at the University of New Mexico.

Either way, Oñate’s methods were contentious even in an era known for its excesses.

Mounting criticism forced the conquistador to resign as New Mexico’s governor in 1610 and, in 1614, he was found guilty by the viceroy on charges of abusing his power.

Centuries later, the divisiveness around Oñate persists.

“While visitor bureau types like to sell Northern New Mexico as a mix of cultures, it’s far from that,” Robert Trapp, the publisher of The Rio Grande Sun in the nearby town of Española, wrote in September. “The racism here is real, multidirectional and simmers just below the surface.”

Forget the 21st century, Mr. Trapp suggested. “These separate cultures, maintaining covert contempt for each other, is one of the many things that keeps us from moving into the 1980s,” he said.

The foot thief smiled when discussing how his act of sabotage was stirring ghosts. He has melted down a portion of the foot to make medallions for Pueblo leaders, but otherwise it remains mostly as it was when he sawed it off. “I always wanted to walk the foot all the way to Acoma,” he said. “Or maybe it’ll get buried as a time capsule.”

“Not the spur, though,” he said, explaining how he planned to keep a trophy from his act. “That will be mine forever.”

An author’s journey to public intellectual

COATES, FROM PAGE 1

intellectuals of his generation, joining predecessors including Ms. Morrison, Professor Henry Louis Gates Jr., and Dr. Cornel West. “He’s a rock star,” said Dr. Nell Irvin Painter, professor emeritus of American history at Princeton University, adding that Mr. Coates is asking questions that even “other historians have not been asking.”

His new book, “We Were Eight Years in Power: An American Tragedy,” traces this ascent. In it, he collects articles he wrote for The Atlantic during Barack Obama’s presidency, interspersing them with explanatory, autobiographical essays. The book goes on sale Tuesday, and already, his book-tour stop at Brooklyn’s Kings Theater has sold out — a far cry from the intimate crowds of his early career.

In the beginning of September, about a month before his book was to be published, Mr. Coates gave a preliminary reading at BLVD Bistro, a soul-food restaurant in Harlem tucked into the ground floor of a brownstone that preserves old-school features like brick walls and a tin ceiling. Mr. Coates stood at the head of the room, in front of a large wall decal of James Baldwin’s face lined with the words, “Our crown has already been bought and paid for. All we have to do is wear it.” He wore a white button-down shirt, jeans and blue and white Nike sneakers.

The event was brimming with people close to Mr. Coates: his wife, son and mother; the New Yorker writer Jelani Cobb; Barry Jenkins, the director of

“Moonlight”; and Dr. Painter, among others. Mr. Coates was comfortable and relaxed, joking once about the rap music that blasted in through the windows as a car drove by — “That’s so appropriate, being upstaged by Kendrick.” He seemed, in that moment, perfectly settled in between the intellectualism and hip-hop that influenced him, freed from, as he describes in “We Were Eight Years,” “those young years trapped between the schools and the streets.”

When the discussion was opened up to the audience, Mr. Jenkins asked how Mr. Coates advised his son on the subject of political activism. Mr. Coates answered that his own father had been part of the Black Panther Party and had later become disillusioned with mass politics. Mr. Coates’s advice to his son, Samori, was to educate himself before getting involved in protests. “I don’t know that that was the correct answer,” he said, “Protest is a very, very real thing, but for me, it’s much more private.”

That perceived detachment has drawn criticism. When “Between the World and Me” was published, Dr. West took issue with Ms. Morrison’s comparison of Mr. Coates to Baldwin and expressed as much in a Facebook post, writing that, unlike Mr. Coates, “Baldwin’s painful self-examination led to collective action and a focus on social movements.” In his view, Mr. Coates’s inattention to the Black Lives Matter movement and political activists in “Between the World and Me” “shows a certain distance” from his subject matter.

Mr. Coates counters that he hopes he writes “things that clarify stuff for people that go to those marches, that clarify things that inspire people who go and think about policy. I necessarily need a little bit of distance.”

The National Book award-winning author Jesmyn Ward, who edited “The Fire This Time: A New Generation Speaks About Race” last year, had a similar response: “Writers use the weapons that they have at hand,” she said, “and though I know that there are many writers that do attend protests — I’ve attended protests in my time — perhaps Ta-Nehisi feels that his most powerful weapon and his most appropriate weapon is his voice.”

There has been criticism, also, of the conspicuous absence of women’s experiences in Mr. Coates’s work. In a review of “Between the World and Me,” Buzzfeed’s Shani O. Hilton wrote, “Black womanhood in real life isn’t — as it largely is in ‘Between the World and Me’ — about beating and loving and mourning black men.” She lamented that Mr. Coates’s book, which is specifically about the lives of black males, “is one that many readers will use to define blackness.”

It is a position that Mr. Coates has considered, but he said that the book focused on black male life because “it was the story I had.” He had been mulling for years the death of his friend, Prince Jones, a black man, and the decision to address the book to his son necessarily skewed its perspective. Ultimately, he said, “we just need more books.”

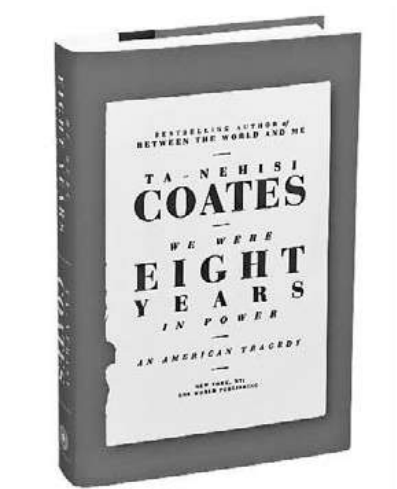
**“Nobody thinks ‘He’s from West Baltimore.’ Nobody thinks, ‘He dropped out of school.’ Nobody sees that anymore.”**

Yet Mr. Coates’s work has resonated deeply. In a telephone conversation, Dr. Painter said that his vision of the United States was congruent with her own. “I think the education that he gave himself — his upbringing and his reading as a student, his reading since that time — all of that has given him a really solid intellectual basis for what he’s talking about.”

Chris Jackson, Mr. Coates’s longtime editor and the publisher of One World, an imprint of Random House, said that Mr. Coates’s curiosity is “matched with a kind of obsessiveness.”

“He would read 1,000 books about the Civil War. He would talk to every scholar,” he said, “He’d read novels and slave narratives. Then, at a certain point, he started to synthesize all this information into some conclusions about, ‘What does this mean?’ ”

In 2015, just before “Between the World and Me” was published and became a sensation, Mr. Coates and his family moved to Paris. He experienced the frenzy surrounding his book “through a filter,” and the presidential election from a distance. He noted a “clear difference” between how his blackness was perceived in Paris; there, his Americanness was the most conspicuous part of his identity. Mr. Coates



The latest book by Ta-Nehisi Coates includes autobiographical essays.

laughs off the parallel to Baldwin’s time in Paris, saying that the move was his wife’s idea and “not at all” inspired by the famed intellectual’s experiences.

He returned to the United States last year, ill-prepared for his newfound celebrity. He started to receive invitations to “secret rich people meetings.” He was offered opportunities unrelated to his work as a journalist: to direct music videos (which he turned down) and write comic books and screenplays (which he accepted). His appearances became spectacles, and he found it strange for people to clap for him when he walked into a room.

“I can tell you with a fair degree of certainty that Ta-Nehisi never wanted to be famous,” said Mr. Cobb, who has known Mr. Coates for more than two decades. “And I think it’s been difficult for him, because you want to have people engage with you and engage your work, but it’s also put a huge target on his back.”

During our conversation, Mr. Coates said, “What I have to accept is that I’m a part of it now.”

He added: “Nobody thinks ‘He’s from West Baltimore.’ Nobody thinks, ‘He dropped out of school.’ Nobody sees that anymore.”

As to what he plans to do next, Mr. Coates mentions his continued collaboration with Marvel Comics on the Black Panther comic book series, which “satisfies the kid in me” and is “the place where I can go to do something that sort of feels private again.” He was tapped to write a screenplay called “Wrong Answer,” which will be directed by Ryan Coogler and is based on the standardized test cheating scandal that occurred in Atlanta public schools from 2005 to 2012.

He is also working on a novel, due by the end of the year.

The project is tightly under wrap, though his editor, Mr. Jackson, described it as “historical” with “elements of the fantastical” and Mr. Coates said it deals with race.

He has plans to return to Paris as much as he can, but when asked if he would ever stay, he says: “No, I can’t. The war is here. The war is right here.”



# World



Left, Affonso Celso Prazeres de Oliveira, the administrator of the Edifício Copan. Known as the Copan's "mayor," he is widely credited with the building's turnaround. Middle and right, the Copan's wavy shape was designed by the celebrated architect Oscar Niemeyer.



## An iconic building anchors a revitalization

SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

### The transformation of Edifício Copan renews downtown São Paulo

BY SHASTA DARLINGTON

Giovanni Bright did not dare chat with his neighbors in the elevator when he bought his apartment 31 years ago.

"You didn't know who was standing next to you," he said. "There were drug dealers on the top floors, and some of the apartments were just flop houses for local prostitutes."

But it was cheap, just \$18,000 for a two-bedroom apartment near his job in downtown São Paulo. And he was buying a slice of Brazil's cultural heritage — in the colossal Edifício Copan designed by the celebrated architect Oscar Niemeyer in the 1950s.

"At first I thought it was a bit of a disaster," said Mr. Bright, a professional magician who raises doves in his laundry room and has turned one of his bedrooms over to his collection of tuxedos, costumes and memorabilia. "But you can't help falling in love with its beauty and its power."

He certainly does not regret the decision now. His apartment is valued at nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

The prostitutes and drug dealers were gradually replaced by artists, students and wealthy entrepreneurs attracted by the idea of living in an iconic building. That transformation has, in turn, fueled a revival of an area of Brazil's most populous city that was once feared and avoided but now draws visitors to its cutting-edge galleries, skate parks and trendy restaurants.

The elegant building, whose imposing wave shape mirrors the tide above the "a" in São Paulo, is arguably the signature achievement in the city for Niemeyer, an architect best known for designing the modernist capital, Brasília, from scratch.

It is home to about 5,000 residents in apartments ranging from cubbyhole studios to sprawling penthouses. With 72 stores and restaurants on the ground floor, it was given its own ZIP code and declared the biggest residential building in Latin America — a city within a city.

Yet there were problems from the start. Niemeyer's original design, which included an adjacent hotel, was never fully executed. The developers ran out of money and sold the project to a bank before construction was finished.

The first tenants moved into the Copan in 1962, but by the end of that decade, paulistanos, as the city's residents are known, were beginning to flee to the suburbs. "It was a long era of decline," said Affonso Celso Prazeres de Oliveira, a chemical engineer who bought an apartment in the building in the early 1960s and became the Copan's administrator in 1993.

Many abandoned buildings in São Paulo's downtown were taken over by homeless squatters during that time, while drug addicts pitched tents in the streets and once-elegant parks. Edifício Copan was not immune to the decay. "The 1980s was the worst period," Mr. de Oliveira said.

Mr. de Oliveira, known as the Copan's "mayor," is widely credited with the building's turnaround.

One of his first acts was to evict prostitutes and ban illegal drug sales; tenants who refused to comply with rules were fined and threatened with eviction. He had security cameras and new elevators installed and fixed the decaying garage.

Mr. de Oliveira also went to the open-air crack dens that had spread into nearby streets and persuaded the addicts to keep a certain distance from the Copan. This allowed him to avoid erecting the multiple layers of gates and guards that block the entrance to the vast majority of São Paulo's residential buildings.

Those efforts were complemented by public investments in security, pedestrian areas, bicycle lanes and cultural initiatives during Brazil's boom period at the turn of the century. These days, keeping owners and tenants in the building is no longer a challenge.

Among them is Rodrigo Cerviño Lopez, an architect who moved into one of the bigger apartments 15 years ago and helped convert a large abandoned area of the Copan into Pivô, a gallery and art space. In his own 16th-floor apartment, he tore out walls and opened up spaces to take full advantage of the city views and the cross-breeze that result from Niemeyer's innovative facade. Horizontal ledges of concrete known as brise-soleil wrap around the Copan's front



The trendy Bar da Dona Onça in what had been a shuttered store on the Edifício Copan's ground floor. The husband of the bar's owner opened his restaurant two blocks away.

face and keep apartments shaded despite floor-to-ceiling windows, and also give the huge building a graceful look.

"The design works," Mr. Cerviño Lopez said. "You're not allowed to mess with the facade, but you wouldn't want to. It's like built-in air-conditioning."

Entrepreneurs have accelerated the gentrification.

In 2008, Janaina Rueda opened the trendy Bar da Dona Onça in what had been a shuttered store on the Copan's ground floor. When the bar took off, she

and her husband, the renowned chef Jefferson Rueda, moved into an apartment in the building with their two children.

"Copan is ground zero for the revitalization of the center," Mr. Rueda said of São Paulo's downtown.

He even gave up his job at a Michelin-starred restaurant in one of São Paulo's wealthiest neighborhoods and invested in his own restaurant, A Casa do Porco, two blocks from the Copan. The restaurant's lines are out the door every day, even though it opened in 2015, when

Brazil entered its worst recession on record.

"Here, there's no crisis," Mr. Rueda said of the gentrified downtown area.

Not everyone is so sure. Paula Lacerda, who leads walking tours through downtown São Paulo, said the financial crisis had led to fewer cultural options and more crime.

She warns her groups about "bicycle gangs" that specialize in grab-and-run robberies. The theft of mobile phones in the city has increased 40 percent in the

past two years, according to police figures, and most of it happens downtown and in the new pedestrian areas.

"If things get worse," she said, "I think the center could be abandoned again."

At the Copan, only half a dozen apartments sit empty, the smallest number since Mr. de Oliveira took over its administration. But he said the recession has hurt.

"Now, we're at an exceptional moment," Mr. de Oliveira said. "Which doesn't mean our work is done."

## Vast exercise exhibited Russia's growing military prowess

WASHINGTON

BY ERIC SCHMITT

A recent major exercise by the Russian military revealed significant strides in its ability to conduct the sort of complex, large-scale operations, using drones and other new technology, that would be part of any all-out war with the United States and its allies in Europe, according to American and allied officials.

Preliminary Pentagon and NATO assessments of the exercise, one of the largest of its kind since the end of the Cold War, are classified and will take months to complete. But Western officials said the military maneuvers, known as Zapad, Russian for "west," far exceeded in scope and scale what Moscow had said it would conduct, and tracked more closely to what American intelligence officials suspected would unfold, based on Russian troop buildups in August.

Before the exercise, Russia said the drills would involve fewer than 13,000 troops engaged in a counterterrorism scenario in Belarus, the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad, the Baltic Sea region and around St. Petersburg. Instead, tens of thousands of Russian troops in the Arctic and Far East, the Black Sea, close to Ukraine's borders and in the Abkhazia region of Georgia also joined in, Western military officials said.

"In effect, these activities together constituted a single strategic exercise, involving the full spectrum of Russian and Belarusian military," said Oana Lungescu, the NATO spokeswoman. That array included surface warships, submarines, fighter jets, helicopters, tanks and artillery, air defenses, anti-ship missiles, special forces, and short-



Russian Mi-8 helicopters during the Zapad exercises last month. The drills included tens of thousands of troops, but were mostly a display of high-powered weaponry.

range and nuclear-capable intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The military exercise, planned for many months, was part of a larger effort by President Vladimir V. Putin to showcase Russia's military prowess as it tries to reassert itself as a world power. Russia's military has in recent years dispatched troops to Syria, captured Crimea and intervened in eastern Ukraine, rattled the Baltic States with snap exercises and buzzed NATO planes and ships.

Allied military and independent analysts said that over the course of the Zapad exercise, held from Sept. 14 to 20, Russian armed forces assimilated new technology and integrated information better than in the past to improve the military's lethality. And the Russian

Army demonstrated improved logistics to support war fighters, as well as new technology to conceal and protect those vital supply lines, analysts said.

From the foxhole to brigade command posts, Russian soldiers are now using increasingly sophisticated electronic communications gear. Russian drones also are now a part of almost every exercise.

"These are key things to practice for the initial period of war, where time and distance are crucial, and whoever gets there first has a big advantage," said Michael Kofman, a senior research scientist at the Center for Naval Analyses' Russia program who chronicled the exercise on his blog. "The exercise did a good job showing how Russia continues to improve combined arms operations,

coordinating between different services."

In a Senate hearing last week, Gen. Joseph F. Dunford Jr., the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, declined to offer a detailed assessment in the unclassified setting, but said, "We watched very carefully what the Russians have done during the Operation Zapad to make sure that we understand where they are in terms of capability development and what the implications are for NATO security and for U.S. security."

Gen. Lori J. Robinson, head of the Pentagon's Northern Command, which is charged with defending American territory, said at a conference in Washington last week that one emerging conclusion involved Russia's "ability to hold targets at risk at ranges that we're not used to," apparently referring to Moscow's arsenal of medium- and long-range missiles. She did not elaborate, adding only that her command would conduct a "deep-dive" review of the exercise this week.

Part of the exercise took place at the Luzhsky Training Range, a large open space cut from an undulating wooded area, mostly pines, about 100 miles southwest of St. Petersburg. On a rainy Monday afternoon, Mr. Putin arrived by helicopter, and from an enclosed viewing stand watched the proceedings through binoculars.

The enemy of the day was a mock foe attacking Russian territory. Ground forces advanced from the left and right. Spectators could hear aircraft overhead, but low clouds obscured them. A seemingly unending stream of bullets, shells and rockets was launched. Large bombs plummeted into the range, sending huge clouds of smoke into the sky, along with giant clods of earth and shock waves toward the spectators.

In the distance, cutouts of the enemy soldiers could be seen. But few Russian soldiers were on view. It was very much a display of hardware and high-powered weaponry — tanks driving at high speed, Mi-28 and Ka-52 helicopters swooping in to the attack from both sides, modern rockets as well as the older but terrifying swoosh-sounding Grad launchers. A commentary was broadcast over a loudspeaker system.

Mr. Putin sat alongside Sergei K. Shoigu, the Russian defense minister, and Gen. Valery V. Gerasimov, the chief of the Russian general staff. Foreign military observers watched from small covered stands. After the 45-minute exercise, Mr. Putin stayed for an additional 45 minutes to confer with his commanders, and then flew off.

Not everything went as planned during the exercise. At least one bystander narrowly escaped death when a Russian military helicopter accidentally fired rockets into a parking lot next to a firing range near St. Petersburg.

While Western military officials emphasized that the United States and Russia are not on the brink of war, they expressed concern that the heightened Russian military activity could lead to unintended confrontations.

The Defense Intelligence Agency summed up the exercise this way in an email to The New York Times: "Russia's forces are becoming more mobile, more balanced and capable of conducting the full range of modern warfare."

Going into the exercise, American and Baltic military officers had expressed fear that the maneuvers could be used as a pretext to increase Russia's military presence in Belarus, a central European nation that borders three critical NATO allies: Poland, Lithuania and Latvia.

Defense Secretary Jim Mattis ordered that a wider array of European partners have access to classified American information during the exercise to simulate conditions during combat. "Zapad forced us to get smarter about how to share intelligence," said Lt. Gen. Frederick B. Hodges, the top United States Army commander in Europe.

Linas Antanas Linkevicius, Lithuania's foreign minister, said Belarusian officials had told Lithuania that Russia had not expected to fully withdraw its equipment until Sept. 30, after which NATO allies would be able to see what got left behind, he said. A Belarusian military newspaper reported that the last of the Russian troops had left on Friday.

For Lithuania, the exercise helped draw the world's attention to Russia's increasingly belligerent actions toward its neighbors, "and that served a very positive purpose, in my view," Mr. Linkevicius said in an interview.

"Everyone was talking about it," he said. "That's why it didn't turn into something other than an exercise."

For Western analysts, the Russian military display might have served an additional purpose: tipping off what Moscow fears most about the United States and its NATO allies. "A lot of attention was paid to fending off a U.S. aerospace operation, shooting down cruise missiles, getting ships out to sea while under incoming missile fire and concealment of moving forces to avoid getting hit," Mr. Kofman said. "The fear of Western technological superiority and dominance in the air domain was quite palpable."

James Hill contributed reporting from Luzhsky Training Range, Russia, and Gardiner Harris from Washington.



WORLD

# Gunman kills scores at Las Vegas concert

Shooter in resort hotel opens fire on crowd; hundreds are injured

BY GERRY MULLANY AND RUSSELL GOLDMAN

A gunman firing from a Las Vegas hotel rained a rapid-fire barrage on a huge concert festival outside, sending thousands of people fleeing until SWAT units found and killed him. More than 50 people died and more than 200 others were injured, officials said early Monday.

The shooting late Sunday night happened near the Mandalay Bay Resort and Casino. Video posted online showed the country singer Jason Aldean performing outside the hotel at Route 91

Harvest, a country music festival, interrupted by the sound of automatic gunfire. The music stopped, and concertgoers ducked for cover. “Get down,” one shouted. “Stay down,” screamed another.

Several SWAT teams were sent to the hotel immediately after the first reports of the shooting at 10:08 p.m., and officers reported being pinned down by gunfire, according to emergency radio traffic. Shortly before midnight the Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department reported that “one suspect is down,” and soon said they did not believe there were any more active gunmen.

Sheriff Joseph Lombardo of Clark County did not identify the dead gunman, but he said the police were seeking “a companion” named Marilou Danley, a woman he described as Asian and 4-

foot-11.

Video of the shooting captured nine seconds of rapid-fire, continuous bursts, followed by 37 seconds of silence from the weapon amid panicked screaming. The barrage of gunfire then erupted

“It just kept coming. It was relentless.”

again in at least two more rounds, both shorter than the first.

In the confusion after the shooting, the police descended on the Ali Baba Restaurant, about a 10-minute drive from the Mandalay Bay. They also investigated reports of a shooting at the New York-New York Hotel and Casino, not far from the concert ground.

The police reported clearing out the Mandalay Bay’s 29th floor and working their way up to the 32nd floor. A police Twitter post described reports of an “active shooter” near or around the Mandalay Bay casino.

Video from the shooting showed Mr. Aldean, the final performer of the night, running off the stage as the gunfire erupted.

Two concertgoers, Robyn and Matt Webb, described hearing round after round of gunfire. “It just kept coming,” Robyn Webb told The Las Vegas Review-Journal. “It was relentless.”

They said they saw about 20 people bleeding in the street. “That’s when we knew for sure it was real,” Matt Webb said.

The police reported closing off about a mile of Las Vegas Boulevard and asked

the public to steer clear.

Police radio reports suggested that at least three people were transported to Sunrise Hospital and Medical Center for treatment. The police were told not to bring additional casualties — unless the injuries were life-threatening — to University Medical Center, another nearby hospital, because it was at capacity.

A photo posted by a Las Vegas Review-Journal photographer showed emergency responders carrying one injured person in a wheelbarrow.

McCarran International Airport in Las Vegas said that some incoming flights were diverted because of police activity. The airport is just east of the Mandalay Bay hotel, and after the shooting there were reports of people fleeing the concert by running onto an airport runway.

The hotel itself was placed on lockdown after the shooting, guests said.

“We went into the hotel and they started shutting down casinos,” Todd Price, a guest of Mandalay Bay, told CNN. “We tried to get into our rooms, and they shut down the elevators and started to get everybody out.”

The Route 91 Harvest Festival bills itself as “three days of country music on the Vegas Strip,” and Sunday night’s performance was the last of the festival. The site of the concert, the Las Vegas Village and Festival Grounds, run by MGM Resorts, sprawls over 15 acres and has a capacity of 40,000 people. The festival’s website said this year’s three-day concert was sold out.

Austin Ramzy, Alexandra Stevenson and Tiffany May contributed reporting.



Dachas on a beach in Sevastopol in Crimea, the region annexed by Russia from Ukraine. Some stand on land that the city is going to court to repossess.

## Crimeans cry ‘carpetbaggers’

CRIMEA, FROM PAGE 1

sized his native roots. “Russian officials act like an elephant in a china shop. They just implement their policies with no feedback.”

Yet many natives stress that their grievances have not reached the point of reconsidering the internationally criticized 2014 referendum in which they voted overwhelmingly to rejoin Russia. “Stones can fall from the sky as long as we live in our Motherland,” said Oleg Nikolaev, a successful restaurateur, quoting a Russian expression.

Taking back Crimea by force in 2014 was celebrated across Russia as a restoration of lost superpower might. It made President Vladimir V. Putin wildly popular, something the Kremlin clearly hoped to capitalize on when it scheduled the upcoming presidential election for March 18, the fourth anniversary of the formal annexation of Crimea.

For many, however, the euphoria around that date has gone as flat as old champagne.

In Sevastopol, the main target of local ire is Dmitri Ovsyannikov, 40, one of a new generation of young governors. Appointed acting governor by Mr. Putin last year, he has alienated many Sevastopolians by filling virtually every administrative post with fellow Russian imports. Even some local officials who support Mr. Putin wonder privately why the president picked someone so aloof.

Mr. Ovsyannikov managed to win a rare election to his post last month. But analysts attributed that to a turnout of just under 33 percent and the fact that Mr. Putin campaigned for him.

Mr. Putin enjoys cultlike status for both taking back Crimea and for promising to rescue the Black Sea fleet that anchors in Sevastopol from rust bucket oblivion. “I remember at some point in the middle of 2000s I came here for the first time and I almost wept because Sevastopol — a special city for every Russian — was in a terrible state,” Mr. Putin said during one recent visit.

Some Sevastopolians are doing the weeping now, convinced that Mr. Putin should rescue them anew.

“Putin does not know what these rascals are doing — they want to seize all our land!” cried one man at a small, illegal protest in early September on Nakhimov Square, the heart of a city that hugs a series of spectacular inlets.

Sevastopol has a long history of fractious politics and quirky demonstrations, but recently strife escalated markedly, said Volodymyr P. Kazarin, a university rector and former vice governor



Georgy Solovey stood near his house in Sevastopol, Crimea. His land was recently confiscated by the city to help create what it says will be a rational development plan.

“Putin does not know what these rascals are doing — they want to seize all our land!”

who opposed annexation and has since moved to Kiev. “Sevastopol is once again among the most rebellious cities in Crimea,” he said.

After the annexation, Crimea was divided into two districts, with the larger Sevastopol metropolitan area designated a federal city while the rest of the peninsula became the Crimean Republic, a Russian province with extra autonomy. Resentments similar to those in Sevastopol have erupted in the republic as well.

For example, the government in Simferopol, the capital, imported a Moscow architect to supervise a master regional development plan. One of her first proposals included revamping the central Lenin Square by removing the Lenin statue. Simferopol removed her instead.

“Crimea did not like this idea of destroying monuments,” said Aleksandr A. Formanchuk, a veteran local government official.

In Yalta, one land confiscation ended in tragedy after the longtime owner of a beachfront cafe discovered that it had been demolished and the cafe contract awarded to a different, anonymous developer. He committed suicide by setting himself on fire in a city park last September.

sions, no major Russian supermarket chain, bank or other business has set up shop since the annexation.

Most goods have to be imported on the unreliable ferry, driving up prices at least until the end of 2018, when a spectacular bridge to Russia is due to be completed. A Russian federal agency recently accused gasoline importers of colluding to keep prices high.

Because of Sevastopol’s military history, its residents pride themselves in being a little more Russian than the rest of the country. Perhaps Leo Tolstoy best captured that mood in “Sevastopol Sketches,” when he reflected on his experiences as a young officer during the 1853-1856 Crimean War.

“At the thought that you too are in Sevastopol, a certain feeling of manliness, of pride,” penetrates your soul, he wrote, and your blood begins “to flow more swiftly through your veins.”

Hence some find it infuriating that outside officials have begun tampering with history in a city where nearly every major square or avenue is named for a battle or military hero.

The Kremlin recently adopted the proposal by a group of expatriate nobles to erect a monument to reconciliation in the city, given that Crimea is where the Russian aristocracy and its White Army made one of their last stands after the 1917 revolution.

It garnered some local support. Yet many grumble that a city of 418,000 people — including numerous descendants of Red Army soldiers — and 2,000 monuments does not need another one.

“This is a hero city, a city of warriors, and a warrior is not supposed to reconcile,” barked Mr. Kiyashko, the local Communist leader, sitting in the party headquarters decorated with giant portraits of Lenin.

The economic ills and constant meddling by Moscow make even senior government officials acknowledge widespread disillusionment reminiscent of Ukrainian days. The Kremlin was too quick to treat Crimea like the rest of the country despite its long, traumatic history, said Mr. Formanchuk, the longtime local official.

“Many Crimeans are unhappy that the Russian federal center is also trying to do the same thing — to grind everything up and say you are like everyone else,” he said. “We suffered on our own, and what are you doing telling us how to live?”

Ivan Nepochurenko contributed reporting.

## Region’s leaders dig in on a split from Spain

SPAIN, FROM PAGE 1

ply the law,” Mr. Catalá said on national television on Monday. Most polling stations stayed open on Sunday, he said, “because the security forces decided that it wasn’t worth using force because of the consequences that it could have.”

Catalan separatists face several major hurdles to having the vote recognized as legitimate, but simply holding the referendum amounted to a victory of sorts. It helped them shift the debate from the issue of independence — which has split Catalans, and for which there had not been majority backing — to the argument over whether voters had a right to decide on statehood.

In the short term, the police crackdown could help Catalan separatists, who form a fragile coalition in the regional government, broaden their support. On Sunday, Ada Colau, the influential leftist mayor of Barcelona who has been ambivalent about independence, called on Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy to resign, describing his decision to bring in police officers from around the country as an act of cowardice.

“Today, Catalan society isn’t discussing whether the result is valid or not, but is in a state of shock about how the voting took place,” said Ernest Urtaun, a leftist Catalan politician, on Spanish television on Monday.

Mr. Puigdemont is committed to declaring independence, but he is also pressuring the international community to mediate in the conflict and condemn the Madrid-ordered police clampdown.

“The European Union cannot now continue to look the other side,” Mr. Puigdemont said around midnight Sunday, although the European bloc has shown no sign so far that it was willing to support the separatist movement.

Juan Ignacio Zoido, the Spanish interior minister, acknowledged on Monday that Catalonia had witnessed “a very sad day,” but he defended the Spanish police and blamed separatist leaders for pushing Catalans “to the brink of a precipice” by encouraging them to vote in an illegal referendum.

Mr. Zoido said the police intervened only to withdraw election-related equipment but were confronted by major obstacles, including voters forming human chains to stop police officers from leaving polling stations.

“The resistance was passive in some cases, but also active in others,” he told the Spanish broadcaster Antena 3. Clashes, he said, mostly started after police officers were trapped inside polling

stations, from which they “had to get out in order not to get caught in a more serious situation.” Any use of rubber bullets was “to avoid something even worse,” he said.

That version of events, however, was firmly rejected by Catalan leaders, who accused Mr. Rajoy of returning Spain to authoritarianism.

The vote also set off a debate in Madrid over the loyalty of security forces, after the Mossos d’Esquadra, Catalonia’s autonomous police force, failed to follow Madrid’s orders to close down polling stations early Sunday.

Catalan television stations later showed some Mossos, as well as Catalan firefighters, confronting the national police as tensions mounted at polling stations.

Pablo Iglesias, the leader of Podemos, Spain’s far-left party, said the country was “in a state of crisis,” showcased by the images that were broadcast around the world on Sunday of “policemen who

“Today, Catalan society isn’t discussing whether the result is valid or not, but is in a state of shock about how the voting took place.”

scuffle with firemen and in some cases even with other security forces.”

Albert Rivera, the leader of Ciudadanos, a party fiercely opposed to secessionism, called on Monday for Mr. Puigdemont “to stop this folly” and abandon his plans to declare independence. Otherwise, he said, Mr. Rajoy’s government would have no alternative than to take full charge of Catalonia. “A lot of people are forgetting that most Catalans don’t support this” independence project, Mr. Rivera told the broadcaster Telecinco. “I don’t want them to destroy the Constitution and I want to be Catalan, Spanish and European.”

Besides facing an insurgency in Catalonia, Mr. Rajoy’s political survival in Madrid is on the line. He was due to meet on Monday with Pedro Sánchez, the leader of the main opposition party, the Socialists.

Mr. Sánchez was critical Sunday night of both Mr. Rajoy and Mr. Puigdemont for provoking “an image that shames us,” but he put the blame more firmly on Mr. Puigdemont for ignoring Spanish law and threatening the “territorial integrity of Spain.”



Supporters of independence gathered in a main square of Barcelona, Spain, on Sunday after the referendum. Madrid had ordered police officers to block the vote.

### CORRECTIONS

- An article on Sept. 26 about a new generation of male country music stars misstated the number of albums Thomas Rhett has released. “Tangled Up” is his second album, not his debut; and “Life Changes” is his third album, not his second.
- An article on Sept. 26 about the use of shipping containers in home building misstated the occupation and birthplace of Malcom Purcell McLean, the man who came up with the idea of shipping containers. Mr. McLean was a trucker from North Carolina, not a longshoreman from New Jersey.
- An article in the Sept. 23-24 weekend edition about the designer Andrea Incontri’s favorite sites in Milan misstated the name of a theater known for its marionette shows. It is the Teatro Gerolamo, not the Teatro alla Geralomo. The article also misstated Luisa Pisano’s title at the theater. She is the director of events, not the director.
- An article in the Sept. 23-24 edition about Donatella Versace’s tribute to her brother Gianni misidentified the location of the house where Mr. Versace was shot and killed. It is in Miami Beach, not Miami.





*Loro Piana*





WORLD



6:51 A.M. Elizabeth Parrilla walks down her street, flooded days before, in the Santurce district of San Juan, Puerto Rico's capital.



10 A.M. Jorge Rosado and his son Hasel crossing a river in Morovis. With the bridge out, driving for supplies takes over an hour.

A day of misery in Puerto Rico's ruins

BY FRANCES ROBLES,  
LUIS FERRÉ-SADURNÍ,  
RICHARD FAUSSET AND  
IVELISSE RIVERA

More than a week after Hurricane Maria hit, Puerto Rico was a woozy empire of wreckage; of waiting in line for food, water and gas and then finding another line to wait in some more. A team of New York Times reporters and photographers spent 24 hours — from dawn Wednesday to scorching afternoon heat, to a long uneasy night and Thursday morning without power — with people trying to survive the catastrophe that Hurricane Maria left behind.

6 A.M.  
NEAR COROZAL

The sun rose Wednesday morning in the low mountains of north-central Puerto Rico, near the town of Corozal, to reveal the world that Hurricane Maria has made: shattered trees, traffic lights dangling precipitously from broken poles and, here on the face of a weedy hill, a gushing spring, one of the few places where people from miles around could find fresh water.

At 6 a.m., about a dozen trucks and little cars had parked nearby. People brought rain barrels, buckets, orange juice bottles.

Some men clambered up the steep face of the hill, placing plastic pipes or old pieces of gutter underneath the running spring, directing the water into plastic tanks, then hauling them away. Others crouched at a spot where the water trickled down to the pavement. Jorge Díaz Rivera, 61, was there with 11 Clorox bottles. He lives in a community a few minutes' drive away where there is no water, no food and no help. National Guard helicopters have been passing overhead, and sometimes he and his neighbors yell at them, pleading for water. But so far he has seen no help.

"They have forgotten about us," he said.

6:51 A.M.  
SANTURCE, SAN JUAN

Elizabeth Parrilla turned the corner at Calle Loíza and trudged quietly down the dead-end road leading to her home of 50 years on Calle Pablo Andino. Her shoes were beginning to get filthy from the damp foliage left behind by the waters that had inundated her street several days before.

11:30 A.M.  
TRUJILLO ALTO

Dr. Eileen Díaz Cabrera knew it was time. The highways were less congested. Things seemed calmer. So she opened her office, which treats mostly elderly patients.

"We opened because we knew the patients needed us," Dr. Díaz Cabrera said. "We knew there were emergencies we could treat in the office and that there would be patients without prescriptions or those whose insulin had been damaged by the lack of refrigeration."

But she knew time was short. Her office was running on a generator and the tank was less than half full of diesel. At this rate, she would have to close by Friday. She has called two companies to ask for a delivery. One she could not reach at all. The other put her on a waiting list and told her the office was not a priority.

As the day wore on, the patients streamed in. One woman had first- and second-degree burns on her arms from cooking. Others needed prescriptions for insulin. Some patients were first-timers to her office, since other doctors had not yet opened their own. She wondered: How could a doctor's office not be more of a priority than apartment buildings that had plenty of diesel?

It was only a matter of time before people started showing up suffering the effects of dirty water and rotten food. "We could resolve all of those problems," she said. "Those patients don't have to fill emergency rooms in these difficult times. But we need diesel."

11:57 A.M.  
SANTURCE, SAN JUAN

The storm for many was a message that it was time to leave Puerto Rico.



11:57 A.M. Outside the Telégrafo building in San Juan, taking advantage of one of the few spots on the island with free Wi-Fi.



6:23 P.M. In Arecibo, Luis Rodríguez Pérez called relatives in Buffalo, in western New York State, to help find plane tickets for him and his wife, Helen Janet Velez.

In front of the pink and green Art Deco facade of the Telégrafo building in Santurce, dozens of people checked their phones. The section of the street is one of the few spots on the island where residents can connect to free Wi-Fi.

People try to reach family members abroad or those left isolated in island towns. Many check their emails for any word from their employer. It is common to see people break down after making contact with a loved one for the first time since the hurricane.

And for Raymond Hernández, it was a way to book his ticket out of Puerto Rico. "I'm going to Tampa to find work for a couple of months," Mr. Hernández, a personal trainer, said, referring to the Florida city. "And who knows if I end up staying over there?"

For Mr. Hernández, 46, Hurricane Maria was perhaps the final straw in a decision he's been reluctant to make for 17 years. Over the years, the island's economic recession forced him to close down several gyms he owned. Then his personal training business dried up after Hurricane Irma hit. After Maria blasted out the windows of his apartment in San Juan, he spent two hours during the height of the storm barricading the door with his body.

Now, people are thinking about survival, not working out.

"This hurricane has been the cause of many important decisions for a lot of people," Mr. Hernández said, shaking his head.

12:30 P.M.  
TRUJILLO ALTO

Maritza Giol waited in line at the Plaza Loíza supermarket, a flimsy zinc curtain protecting her from the rain. She needed food for her frail 96-year-old mother, Inocencia Torres, who has been stuck in bed for so long she has bed sores. Their cupboards are mostly empty, and her mother can only take liquids and soft food.

Every 15 or 20 minutes, a security guard would allow people in, five to 10 at a time, to control the crowd. She shuffled forward little by little and was grateful the line was not too long.

Once inside, she hoped to grab staples, like rice and canned goods. She was looking for food like yucca or plantains that she could mash for her mother. If not, she would move on to the next line.

"I'll go to another supermarket, and then the next, if I have to, until I find what I need," Ms. Giol said. "I can't leave Mami without food."

She is not beyond begging. She ran after a fuel truck and pleaded with the driver to sell her some diesel for the generator to help her mother. She did not walk away with enough, but she walked away with something. "We lived through Hugo and George," she said, naming two powerful hurricanes that hit Puerto Rico in recent times, "but none of those storms was like this."

12:50 P.M.  
ARECIBO

On yet another very bad day, one good thing happened to Olga Cervantes, 75, a retired government worker. She had waited four hours for gas in the morning, starting at 4 a.m. Then she waited in line at the bank for four more hours for cash — but the computer system failed, and she went away empty-handed.

"Look at that — you have money, but you don't have money," she said. "Emotionally, it's terrible."

And then she found a man selling cold juice and milk out of the back of a refrigerated truck and came away with two half-gallons of grape juice and orange juice. It was refreshingly cold in her hands. She brought the juice home to a hot, dark house, where there was little to do but wait to fall asleep.

4:53 P.M.  
UTUADO

Out in the countryside, on the west bank of the Vivi River, the remaining chunk of a bridge washed away by Maria juts violently and jaggedly, toward the east, like a broken promise.

There, two young women in exercise gear stepped carefully off the broken bridge and descended a homemade wooden ladder, about 40 feet. They dropped onto a big pile of debris and



4:53 P.M. A bridge destroyed by Hurricane Maria in Utuado, where mudslides and failed infrastructure have left the community in isolation.



6:53 P.M. Ana Luz Pérez and Carlos Rivera in San Juan. Residents of her housing project have been without electricity since the storm.

then crossed the knee-high waters to the opposite bank.

Kayshla Rodríguez, 24, clambered up the east bank with her best friend, Mireli Mari, 27.

Ms. Rodríguez's parents own one of the houses on the east bank and were now stranded by the broken bridge. There was no cell service, no way for her to call her parents from her home in Mayagüez.

So she drove here with Ms. Mari, a three-hour journey. When they finally got to the house and Ms. Rodriguez finished hugging her parents, she learned that they had water from a spring at the top of the mountain and enough food for a while. Her mother, Marilyn Luciano, 49, offered them something to eat, but the daughter declined. "You need it more than I do," she said.

5:54 P.M.  
SALINAS

A tree landed on the hearse, water rushed into the funeral home and the sweating mourners were being devoured by mosquitoes, but the Salinas Memorial Funeral Home was finally open for business.

A generator roared in the background. It powered the two fans beside Josue Santos's coffin and lights attached to extension cords dangling from the sagging ceiling. The funeral director, José Manuel Rodríguez, wore jeans because the wind broke the windows and the rain drenched all his suits.

Mr. Rodríguez was happy for the business. His eyes welled up with tears as he recalled how, out of cash and food, he had resorted to killing a fighting cock worth \$200 to feed his four children.

The dead man's mother, Aileen Ayala, said, "I went to three different funeral homes, and all of them were destroyed. I got to this one, and the funeral director was hosing it down and pulling wet furniture out to the street. He said, 'You see how we are, but I'll do it.' He received us in his office by candlelight."

Mr. Santos, 29, died of a heart condition the morning the hurricane struck, on Sept. 20. Because communications were down, his family had only been

able to inform the few friends and family they had run into on the street.

"We went through that personal torment alone," Ms. Ayala, 53, said, noting that the sparsely attended wake would have been packed had everyone, particularly her son's colleagues at Walmart, gotten the news.

"Then you go out and stand in line — because now life here is all about lines — a line for gas, a line for the bank, and everyone starts talking: 'I lost this, I lost that, I lost my roof! I lost my car.' " Ms. Ayala said. "And when it's my turn, I have to say: 'I lost my son.' "

6:23 P.M.  
ARECIBO

Luis Rodríguez Pérez, 28, sat under a freeway overpass, making a video call to his brother in Buffalo. His wife was a few feet away, in the passenger seat of their sedan.

Mr. Rodríguez Pérez lives in the country, about 40 minutes from Arecibo. He had come to this overpass, where he could get a faint cell signal, to call his brother and ask him if he could find a ticket from Puerto Rico to the brother's city in western New York State. This time, his brother found nothing.

6:53 P.M.  
SAN JUAN

"Once night falls, you won't see me outside," said Ana Luz Pérez at her tidy apartment at the Luis Lloréns Torres housing project, the largest in Puerto Rico. It has 140 buildings and is plagued by crime.

She ran through her options for light in the gloom of her apartment. She decided to conserve the two candles she had left and instead used the remaining gas in her green camping lantern. She turned the knob and the light flickered, bringing the shadows in the kitchen to life.

The rice with ham and sausage she had cooked for her boyfriend earlier in the day was growing cold on a small stove connected to a white gas tank on the floor. She turned on the stove to warm the meal. "It's the last tank left," Ms. Pérez said. "We didn't know it was

going to be so difficult."

The blackout had given Ms. Pérez plenty of sleepless nights. She spends much of the time smoking cigarettes on her balcony or splashing her face with cool water. She's up by 4 a.m. She thinks of her four children, ages 21 to 27, living in the Bronx borough of New York City. She worries about her mother, who is 60 and has cancer.

"Solitude kills," she said, breaking down in tears at her small glass dining table.

7:42 P.M.  
PONCE

Curfew began an hour and a half ago, but the street at the downtown plaza in Ponce is buzzing. It is pitch black, an older woman is preaching with a megaphone, music is playing and the Toñito's Jr. Pizza food truck is serving, only by the box. A policeman leaning on an unlit light pole watches it all in the darkness, unfazed by the violations.

11:40 P.M.  
SAN JUAN

The hotels in the capital are filling up with government workers and contractors. At the Verdanza Hotel late Wednesday, a small group of emergency medical evacuation specialists — registered nurses, therapists and jet pilots — were hanging out, waiting for their morning assignment. The were under contract with the United States Federal Emergency Management Agency.

The bar was mostly empty, but it was blaring dance music. The assignment was delivered by a bald and burly man who appeared at their table and told them to be at the airport at 0800 hours. They were going to fly eight dialysis patients from San Juan to the island of St. Croix, he said, where they would be transferred to the United States mainland by the military.

All of the specialists seated around the table work for companies that do not allow them to give their names. "You drop off Tom Cruise in Paris, you don't feel like you've accomplished much," one of the pilots said. This was different.

1:48 A.M.  
PONCE

Amador García hurt his foot before the storm, but he did his injury no favors by spending the day taking down avocado trees that toppled in the force of Hurricane Maria's brutal winds.

Mr. García's right foot turned purple and swelled. He screamed the whole way to Dr. Pila Metropolitan Hospital.

He lamented his current state, mostly because it was going to inhibit his ability to stand in line. Lines for gas, lines for the bank. "And they only let you take out \$200. Why do they do that? Why can't we have what's ours?" he said.

2:30 A.M.  
PONCE

The Tropical Ice company does not open until 7 a.m., but already people were lined up outside. They brought lawn chairs, books and playing cards. Some brought blankets.

They clearly aimed to spend the night, and plenty of them were already fast asleep.

Roberto Gallego, 69, was first, an impressive feat in a row of at least 100 people.

"Eleven o'clock at night!" he proudly exclaimed when asked what time one had to arrive at the ice factory to be first in line for two \$1.50 bags of watery ice.

5:28 A.M.  
SAN JUAN

There's an expression in Puerto Rico: "Hay que echar pa' lante." It roughly translates to "Gotta move forward."

It is an expression of optimism in the face of adversity, which Puerto Rico had in abundance even before Maria. The storm threw Puerto Rico into the darkest, most hellish abyss it has seen in generations. Maybe it would be naïve to think that a sustained dose of "Hay que echar pa' lante" is enough for the island and its people to make it through. But it would be a misunderstanding of Puerto Rico's people and culture not to factor it in.



TECH



A small driverless bus rolling through Taiwan's capital. The testing could help make the country a leader in autonomous public transportation.

No driver for the public bus

Wheels

CHRIS HORTON

TAIPEI, TAIWAN Rolling with a barely audible hum beneath banyan trees, a brightly painted shuttle bus cruised through a university campus here. The electric vehicle crawled along at a speed of no more than six miles per hour. And only 12 passengers could fit inside. But the bus drove itself, raising hopes in Taipei that autonomous public transportation would be up and running here within a year. The idea of one day being able to ride around this city in driverless vehicles is quite exciting,” said Amber Chen, who was riding with her son Ruey-She, 8. The bus tests are intended partly to prove that the autonomous-driving technology is safe to deploy on the city’s busy streets and partly to gather the data needed to improve the artificial intelligence that steers such vehicles. The effort, one of the earliest in Asia, could help position Taiwan as both a pioneer in autonomous public transportation and, if things go according to plan, a producer of driverless buses. So far, the bus being tested, the EZ10, has breezed through its trials on the campus of National Taiwan University, which have been in progress since May. But successful testing on a closed course at low speeds can reveal only so much about how the buses would fare in traffic. Getting them on the road at

busy times is the next step, and the program’s backers are eager to see that happen quickly. One obstacle: Despite active support from Taipei’s municipal government and its mayor, Ko Wen-Je, the testing has only tacit approval from the central government, said Wei-Bin Lee, commissioner of Taipei’s Department of Information Technology. “The rest of the world isn’t going to stop and wait for you just because you’re sputtering along,” he said. Martin Ting, the general manager of 7StarLake, the Taiwanese company testing the buses, said in an interview that the EZ10 was suited for three scenarios: closed campuses; short, fixed circuits; and city bus routes. Such situations abound in Taiwan, which has 23.5 million people and is home to more than 150 universities and colleges, 100-plus industrial parks and 15 theme parks, as well as densely urbanized sections on its northern and western coasts. In August, the EZ10 began late-night trials on a short stretch of Xinyi Road, a six-lane artery in downtown Taipei. “Our ultimate goal is to autonomize the entire Xinyi Road main line,” Mr. Ko, the mayor, told local media when the trials started. The EZ10 is built by the French company EasyMile. It uses GPS and eight laser sensors to navigate predetermined routes. Front and rear cameras enable it to detect and avoid obstacles. At \$550,000 a unit, including import taxes, it costs nearly twice as much as a larger bus with a driver. Mr. Ting said he hoped to import three more buses next year and begin manufacturing them under a license from EasyMile by the end of 2018, with

the goal of getting half of the components from Taiwanese suppliers. That would eliminate a 45 percent import tax, saving approximately \$200,000 per bus. Then EasyMile could seriously consider other Asian markets, he said. “After we’ve started supplying Taiwan, we’re going to sell to Japan, Australia, China and South Asia,” he said. “Australia already wants 100 vehicles and Japan has strong demand before the 2020 Olympic Games.” The EZ10, with a top speed of 25 m.p.h., achieves “Level 4” automation under the standards of the global engineering association S.A.E. International, meaning its route is chosen by humans but there is no one behind the wheel and it can avoid obstacles on its own. Tesla’s Autopilot system is considered Level 2, although Elon Musk, the company’s chief executive, said this year that Tesla was only two years away from Level 5: complete autonomy. For any level of vehicle autonomy to work, urban infrastructure must be updated. Traffic lights, for example, would require special signals to direct autonomous vehicles. Then there is the issue of creating three-dimensional maps and developing the computing power needed to use them for detection and navigation. In a dense, urban area like Taipei, designers must account for the way tall buildings can distort GPS signals. “You need to make a map with 99.999 percent accuracy, which is not easy,” Mr. Ting said. “It takes time and money.” He added that processing all of the data would require cloud computing and a high-speed wireless connection.

Technological hurdles aside, national lawmakers in Taiwan have more important priorities than autonomous vehicles, including a contentious infrastructure package. And political concerns make many lawmakers cautious about embracing even an experimental system, knowing that any accident could derail long-term plans. Nonetheless, the administration of President Tsai Ing-wen has made creating “smart cities,” which include technological innovations like autonomous vehicles, a national priority. “It is time to use our strength in information and communication technology to bolster domestic development,” Ms. Tsai said at a smart city forum in Taipei in February. Jason Hsu, a legislator who visited Silicon Valley with Mr. Ting, said that Taiwan could set itself apart, especially in Asia, by focusing on public transportation with Level 4 vehicles. “The U.S. government is using autonomous vehicles to kick off a whole new industry centered around data-driven platforms,” he said. “The issue in Taiwan is that our legislation is lagging behind.” Mr. Hsu said he planned to introduce an alliance for smart mobility and autonomous vehicles soon that would help push the central government on the issue. Taiwan has not yet licensed any companies, including 7StarLake, to put autonomous vehicles on the road, Mr. Hsu said. “The cars are available but we cannot collect data, which is very dangerous, as the vehicles need data and experience to fine tune their algorithms and minimize the chance of accident,” he said.

Q+a

The revolution in photography

How do New York Times journalists use technology in their jobs and in their personal lives? Jim Wilson, a photographer for The Times based in San Francisco, discussed the tech he is using.

You’ve been shooting photos for The Times for years. What was one of the most challenging shoots you’ve ever had to do, and what tools did you use?

I started at The Times in 1980 and have been shooting ever since, with the exception of about a seven-year period when I was an editor. I’ve had many challenging shoots over the years. One that comes to mind was a trip I took with my colleague Kirk Johnson to St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. We flew with a group of scientists who were doing environmental monitoring at a former United States Air Force radar site there from the Cold War. The place was very eerie (think Dr. Strangelove), and from one location at the site, you really could see Russia. We were dropped off at the edge of a gravel runway for a week of camping in one of the most remote places on the planet. I had to carefully plan out what I was going to shoot and how, since every piece of gear I had was dependent on battery power and there weren’t any sources of electricity to recharge. We had no transportation to get to the survey sites, so had to hike the tundra to each location, sometimes over several miles. For the most part, the weather cooperated, but there was one night when the wind came up and the sky opened, gushing frigid rain along with the howling wind — I worried that my tent would be blown over.

How has tech changed your photography equipment over the years?

There’s no question that tech has made us much more portable than we ever were. The equipment itself is far more sophisticated and capable — we can see what we are shooting in real time; we can fine tune everything to whatever our needs are. We are now able to transmit our pictures from anywhere we can get an internet connection. When I started, everything was dependent on processed film, which meant having to bring film, a darkroom kit including enlarging and print making equipment, and a transmitter (very much like a souped up fax machine). We’d have to find or at least arrange for a telephone line and telephone access when we needed to send our images. I remember having a small portable typewriter that I’d use to write the captions that were pasted onto the photos before they were put on the drum transmitter and sent back to The Times. The phone lines were all analog, and each picture took around 10 minutes to send. If the line was interrupted for any reason, we’d have to start over. If we got out 10 images in a day, that was huge. Photographers now can send wide arrays of photos multiple times during a day. The upside of all of this is more time on the scene providing coverage and more choices sent. When we were strictly a print-based operation, the press deadlines ruled our lives — there was a definite point in the day at which no more changes could be made. We can update continuously and do, bringing the freshest view to the readers. Of course, there really isn’t a time when your day is done.

What’s the best camera you’ve ever used?

This is a hard question. I always loved using the Leica cameras I started out with. They were solid and dependable gear that were elegant in their simplicity. I loved my battered M2 and M3, was grateful when Leitz brought forth the M4 and thought having the built-in

meter of the M6 was such an amazing advance. These cameras just felt so right and so great in one’s hands — they were quiet and unobtrusive. Then came autofocus lenses and auto functions on the high-end single lens reflex cameras that rolled out from companies like Canon and Nikon. You can customize these cameras for just about any situation you can imagine. With many of these cameras, one can upload directly without even a laptop. The cameras are capable of recording far more detail in poor lighting conditions than we ever could in the film days.

Camera sales have subsided because people use the cameras on their smartphones. How do you feel about smartphone cameras and their impact on digital photography?

The smartphone has killed the lower-end camera market, and if it hasn’t killed the mid-range market, it’s sure breathing down its neck. Everyone has a camera with them now at all times, and there’s no doubt that we’re seeing images that we never before could have contemplated. As we all know, it’s not just still images but also video. I think it’s the ultimate democratization of photography — anyone at any time from anywhere can produce images that can affect how we think of the world around us. With each advance in the cellphone market, I wonder what the long-term prognosis is for the high-end cameras. I attended the launching of Apple’s iPhone X with all of the improvements made on that device, many of them involving photo and video capabilities, and I couldn’t help but wonder if there may be a day when companies like Canon and Nikon won’t have the incentive to make the kind of gear that we as pros now use.



The New York Times staff photographer Jim Wilson with his Canon 1D Mark II.

Outside of work, what tech product are you currently obsessed with?

I don’t know if this qualifies as a tech product, but we recently bought a new Subaru that has lane departure warnings and automatic braking. We really had to pay close attention when the salesman was demonstrating all of this and were amazed at how it worked. These are safety features that are important and ought to be standard on all vehicles. I see the self-driving cars that are around the Bay Area and know that though it may not be tomorrow, the future is here.

What do you think about drones and 360-degree cameras?

Drones have opened up a whole new way to look at scenes, and I think they’re an incredible tool. When you can get just a little elevation, it’s fantastic how much more depth you can bring to whatever you are seeing. As for the 360 views, I’ve seen some that are genuinely amazing. The most successful ones give a sense of place that would be difficult to obtain in any other way. One of the most impressive views that I’ve seen was shot by my former colleague Fred Conrad in Haiti after the earthquake — it was a 360 panoramic still that showed the interior of a quake-destroyed building in incredible detail. Any way of seeing that helps us to tell a story better is a positive development, and I see a great future for both of these technologies.

Video game market takes a global turn

BY LAURA PARKER

This month, 300,000 video game fans, developers and publishers like Sony, Ubisoft, Activision and Microsoft plan to congregate so they can showcase their wares and participate in a cosplay zone, an e-sports tournament and a 48-hour jam. Their destination: São Paulo, Brazil. The gathering is the Brasil Game Show, Latin America’s largest game convention, which has grown rapidly since it was founded in 2009. The event is one of several international video game shows that have swelled in size recently. Gamescom, held in Cologne, Germany, and generally considered the world’s biggest such convention, welcomed about 350,000 attendees this year, up from 275,000 five years ago. The Tokyo Game Show, which has been held annually since 1996, broke its attendance record last year with over 271,000 visitors, up from 224,000 five years ago. All of these exceed the biggest video game trade show in the United States, the Electronic Entertainment Expo, or E3, which is held in Los Angeles and has generally been closed to the public. This year, E3 opened up to people from outside the video game industry and had 68,000 attendees, compared with 45,700 five years ago. The size and spectacle of the international game shows underline how the video game industry is less and less America-centric. The global games market is \$105 billion, according to SuperData Research. Asia dominates with a 47 percent share, according to the video game researcher Newzoo, while North America makes up 25 percent and Latin America 4 percent. Latin America,



A scene from the Brasil Game Show last year. The event has grown rapidly.

however, is growing the most quickly, according to Newzoo. “Games are now being designed, marketed and sold in ways that are customized for a particular country or region,” said Mat Piscatella, a games industry analyst at NPD Group. “Gaming conventions are more common around the world, and at the same time the advent of game streaming tools like YouTube and Twitch are allowing anyone with a web browser to see these games for themselves in whatever language they choose.” The forces driving growth of video games in international markets are different from those in the United States. In Europe, developers are making games that focus on their national identities.

One example is the independent video game Regional Nightclub Bouncer, which is made by a small British studio, PanicBarn, and homes in on two very British things: queuing at a nightclub, and Brexit. “You can see national identity coming through in the games, as they draw on aspects of their own cultural histories to make their work stand out in a crowded marketplace,” said Matthew Handrahan, editor in chief at GamesIndustry.biz, a website that tracks trends in international game markets. In Asia, mobile games and free-to-play PC games are popular, while first-person shooter franchises like Call of Duty, published by Activision, and Battlefield, published by Electronic Arts,

barely register with players in South Korea, Japan and China. In the North American market, the types of games that become blockbusters are comparatively homogeneous. In Latin America, there is a greater emphasis on PC games, particularly free-to-play ones, than console games. That is because people cannot pay for anything in an online game without a credit card, which Brazilian players typically do not use. Other challenges, like internet infrastructure and a complicated tax system that imposes high import rates on products not made in the country, have stopped Latin America from obtaining some video game systems at an affordable price. An Xbox 360 cost the equivalent of \$1,450 in Latin America when it first appeared, about three times the price in the United States, Mr. Handrahan said. Marcelo Tavares, a former video game reporter, created the Brasil Game Show after attending E3 in 2006. The inaugural event, in 2009, attracted just 4,000 visitors. “The biggest challenges were to gain the trust of the public and companies to have them here,” Mr. Tavares said. “In each edition of the show, we have to push expectations further in order to please everyone — visitors and exhibitors alike.” The Brasil Game Show plans to have a special area for international guests, which it had not done before. Apart from Mr. Kojima, V.I.P.s coming from overseas include Ed Boon, a co-creator of the Mortal Kombat fighting game series, and Nolan Bushnell, the Atari founder and one of the so-called founding fathers of the industry.

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# Sports

## What women could do for the Presidents Cup

### On Golf

BY KAREN CROUSE

**JERSEY CITY** No need for the Coast Guard to respond to the S O S from the luxury liner, captained by Steve Stricker and Nick Price, that ran aground Sunday along the Hudson River, in the shadows of Lady Liberty. The Presidents Cup, a poorly constructed idea manufactured by the PGA Tour to make boatloads of money, has been listing ever since the United States posted an 8-point victory in the inaugural event in 1994.

The solution to this uneven competition is obvious: Make the Presidents Cup a combined-gender event in which the top six men and the top six women from the United States square off against their International counterparts. No need to change the format of foursomes, four-ball and singles.

This year's competition was threatening to be the most lopsided of the biennial event's 12 editions, with the United States nearly clinching Saturday night before any of the 12 singles matches had been put down on paper — much less played out at Liberty National Golf Club.

The United States entered Sunday needing one full point to clinch. In the first match, Kevin Chappell and Marc Leishman played to a draw, so each earned one-half point. In the fourth match, Daniel Berger clinched at least a half-point, securing the overall victory, on the 15th hole of his eventual 2 and 1 over Si Woo Kim. By the end of the day, the United States had secured its 10th victory in this event by 19 to 11.

Berger, 24, was one of six U.S. team members under 29; the others were Justin Thomas, Jordan Spieth, Patrick Reed, Brooks Koepka and Rickie Fowler. The six had a combined 14-2-4 record heading into Sunday's anticlimactic singles matches. It is hard to imagine this "juggernaut of an American team" — as Price, the International team's captain, described it — becoming less formidable any time soon.

Price's squad featured three players



In-Kyung Kim of South Korea, the reigning Women's British Open champion, playing during the Evian Championship last month.

under 29 (Kim, Emiliano Grillo and Hideki Matsuyama). Although there are more youngsters in the pipeline — 20-year-old Marty Dou, for example, recently became one of the first Chinese-born players to earn PGA Tour playing privileges — the Presidents Cup is in need of some radical rethinking to salvage it from the shiftless waters lapping its hull.

The obvious solution was there for all to see on the eve of the competition when In-Kyung Kim, the reigning Women's British Open champion from South Korea, visited Liberty National. Kim walked with her compatriot Si Woo Kim during a Wednesday practice round. She took a few swings with his clubs and asked him questions about the course.

In-Kyung Kim spent some time with Spieth, as well. She was not the only

L.P.G.A. player, nor the only 2017 event winner, on the grounds that day. Cristie Kerr, a two-time major winner who is a member at Liberty National, paid a visit, and she, too, ran into Spieth. As she recalled, he asked her playfully if she could teach the American men "a thing or two about these team competitions."

Kerr, 39, a member of the U.S. team that scored a 5-point victory over a European squad in this year's Solheim Cup, has been clamoring for a mixed-gender event for some time.

"Anything we can do that would give us the type of exposure that the Presidents Cup has is a good thing," said Kerr, who marveled at the corporate tent city built on the course for the event. She added, "We would certainly like to tap into some of that."

A combined-gender Presidents Cup

would help resolve the issue that Juli Inkster, the U.S. captain for the Solheim Cup, gave voice to after that event in August, which featured sublime golf by both sides. Inkster lamented that the women often do not receive the regard that they merit.

"I just think as women golfers we always get shortchanged, and it irks me," Inkster told reporters at Des Moines Golf and Country Club after the final day of the competition. She added, "From the PGA Tour down, I just don't think we get the respect we deserve. And I just think, hopefully, as it goes on, hopefully things start to change, especially in sponsorships."

Inkster threw down the gauntlet. Will the PGA Tour, which has the power to effect change — and, since it formed a strategic alliance with the L.P.G.A. last year, the mandate —



The United States team celebrated after winning the Presidents Cup on Sunday.

respond? It's not as if combined-gender events are unheard-of in golf. From 1960 to 1966, and again from 1976 through 1999, the PGA and L.P.G.A. tours sponsored a mixed team event in the fall.

Geoff Ogilvy, an assistant captain of the International team, is amenable to a change in format.

"I think it's in the tour's best interest to make it as competitive as it can be," said Ogilvy, who cocked his eyebrows when the combined-gender format was suggested to him.

**"It irks me. From the PGA Tour down, I just don't think we get the respect we deserve."**

lennials, either. In 2008, Lexi Thompson, 22, now the top-ranked American in the women's rankings at No. 3, and Spieth represented the United States as teenagers in a mixed four-ball match at the Junior Ryder Cup. Last

year Spieth recalled that Thompson carried the pair, describing her as "almost unbeatable."

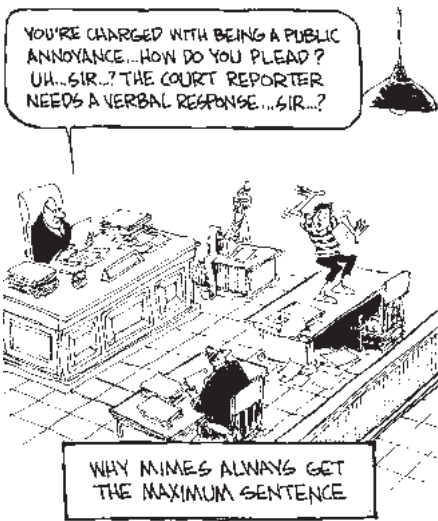
The best female golfers in the world routinely tell stories about their male amateur partners gallantly offering to show them how to hit a slice or expressing surprise when they outdrive them. What grander way to promote the sport and dispel sexist presumptions than through a combined-gender Presidents Cup?

Of the top 10 women in the world rankings, including the world No. 1, So Yeon Ryu of South Korea, eight would be eligible to compete for the International team. The L.P.G.A. schedule would have to be adjusted, and logistical allowances made, but wouldn't it be worth it to watch Si Woo Kim consulting with In-Kyung Kim about how to play a course?

The PGA Tour runs the Presidents Cup, and it did not totally overlook the women. Before the event started, wives and girlfriends of several players from both teams squared off in a cooking competition.

As society changes, the PGA and L.P.G.A. Tours need to work together to anchor the Presidents Cup. The time for women to perform as equals alongside men on one of the grander stages in golf is now.

### NON SEQUITUR



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### SUDOKU No. 0310

								4
	8	9						2
					8	9	5	
		7		4		1		
		5		1		7		
2								5
	3							
8		5		6	2	3		

Fill the grid so that every row, column 3x3 box and shaded 3x3 box contains each of the numbers 1 to 9 exactly once.

For solving tips and more puzzles: [www.nytimes.com/sudoku](http://www.nytimes.com/sudoku)

### Solution No. 0210

6	1	3	7	8	2	4	9	5
4	8	2	5	3	9	6	1	7
5	9	7	1	6	4	8	3	2
8	3	6	4	9	7	2	5	1
2	4	9	6	1	5	7	8	3
7	5	1	3	2	8	9	4	6
3	7	4	9	5	6	1	2	8
1	6	8	2	4	3	5	7	9
9	2	5	8	7	1	3	6	4

### JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

LEERB

NDRET

NORVED

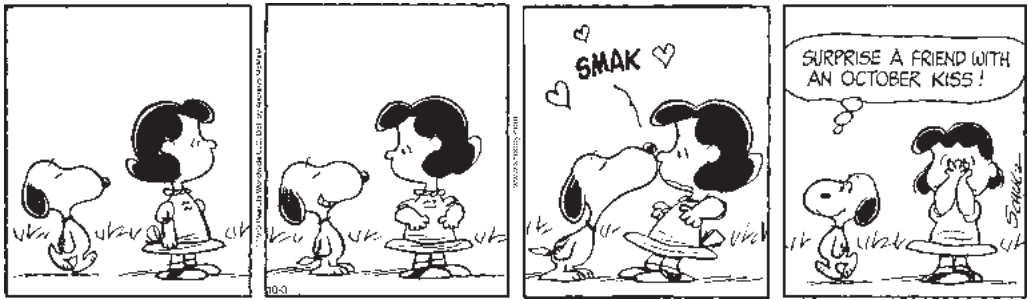
SUMOCT

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

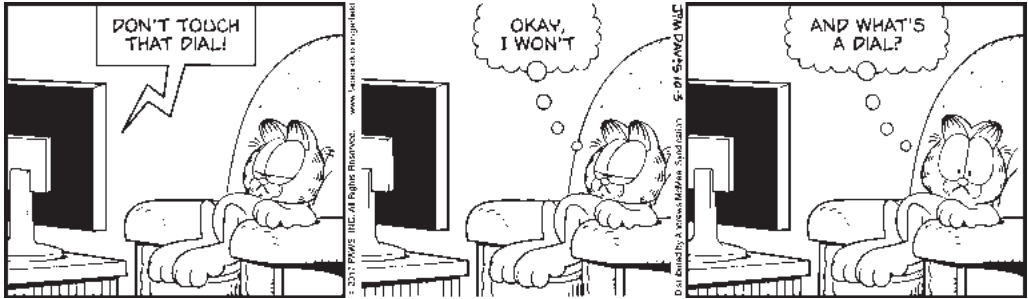
(Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumbles: KAYAK CABLE CEMENT GROGGY Answer: The railroad hired a new CEO to help get its business — BACK ON TRACK

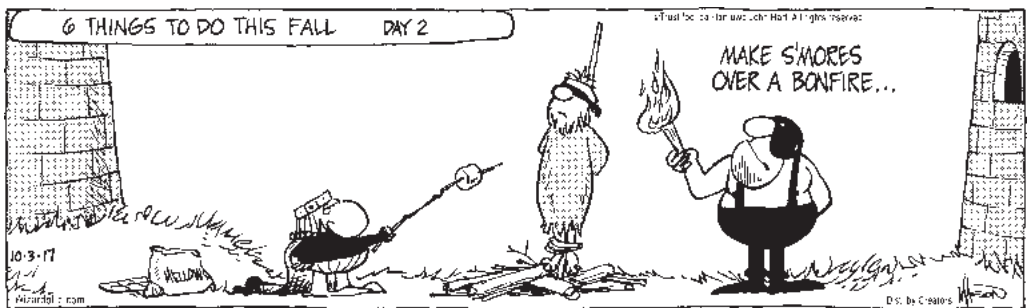
### PEANUTS



### GARFIELD



### WIZARD of ID



### KENKEN

16x	2÷			6+
			3	
7+	1-			
			5+	

Fill the grids with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For solving tips and more KenKen puzzles: [www.nytimes.com/kenken](http://www.nytimes.com/kenken). For Feedback: [nytimes@kenken.com](mailto:nytimes@kenken.com)

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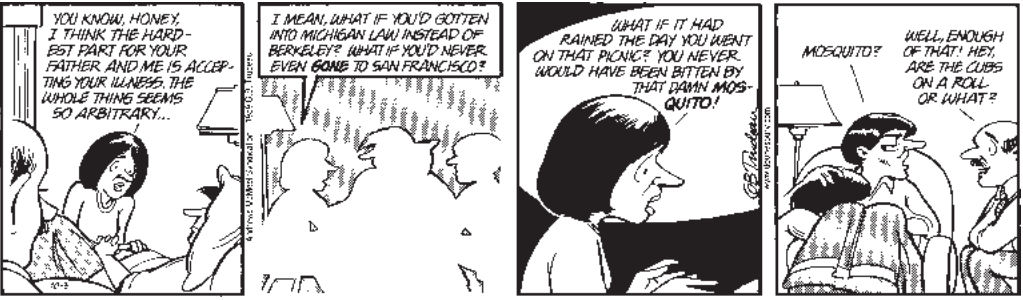
### Answers to Previous Puzzles

1-			16x	4-		6
30x						45x
2÷			11+			
3÷	36x		20x	3+		
	5-				2÷	
5			13+			

1	4	3	2
3	2	1	4
2	3	4	1
4	1	2	3

1	5	6	3	2	4
6	4	1	2	3	5
4	2	5	1	6	3
5	3	2	6	4	1
3	6	4	5	1	2
2	1	3	4	5	6

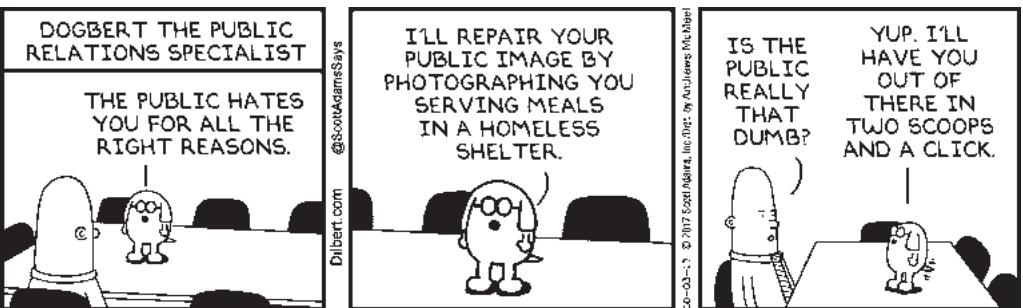
### DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1989



### CALVIN AND HOBBS



### DILBERT



### CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

**Across**

1 River to the Caspian Sea

6 Speedy

11 \_\_\_ the line (obey)

14 Like some walls at Harvard

15 Tureen dipper

16 Humble dwelling

17 One might stare at the Sun

19 Suffix in many ore names

20 Paris's \_\_\_ Palace

21 Submarine sandwich meat

22 Linux forerunner

23 It holds four pecks

26 NBC host Carson

29 1986-2001 Earth orbiter

**Down**

30 Outback flock

31 Prefix with sex or cycle

32 Banco de México money

33 Retort to a doubter

36 & 38 Feature of an upscale kitchen ... or of 17-, 23-, 47- and 58-Across?

39 Message that might start with "@"

40 Whitney and Shasta, for two: Abbr.

42 "To Kill a Mockingbird" author

43 Former piece of an ice shelf

45 Affirmative in "Fargo"

46 Huskies' haul

47 Manager at a train depot

**Solution to October 2 Puzzle**

FISH	FLIP	HARSH
OHHI	EONS	ALIKE
COOP	MUSIC	NOTES
APT	FUN	USNEWS
LETTER	GRADES	
OER	EEL	LOFTS
SCHEME	CAN	RIA
CHEMICALS	WOBLES	
ATIL	OUT	CEASIS
BALES	DNA	ALIT
MOVIE	RATINGS	
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18 Famed German hypnotist

22 Bar habitué's order, with "the"

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25 Slightly off

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34 Old-fashioned dagger

35 Had too much, briefly

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40 Neighbor of Bangladesh

41 Touch in baseball

44 "Leave!"

46 Rock bands?

47 "Open wide!"

48 Cease-fire

49 "Psycho" mother

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54 Plaza de toros cries

55 Tackles a black diamond trail, say

56 Concerning

58 Liposculpture target

59 "With \_\_\_ luck ..."



# FashionParis

## From Mars, that dress looks great

BY VANESSA FRIEDMAN

Elon Musk is not the only guy thinking about the importance of space travel.

In a show preview — around the same time Mr. Musk was at the International Astronautical Congress in Adelaide, Australia, waxing lyrical about his latest plans for rockets to Mars — Pierpaolo Piccioli of Valentino was in his Paris studio waxing lyrical about the benefits of seeing the world from above.

"Astronauts had to go to the moon," he said, "before they discovered the real beauty was on Earth. You need distance to appreciate what something is really like." He was talking about the Apollo missions as well as his own experience at the brand where he has worked for almost 18 years.

The point being the importance of seeing the same-old, same-old — or thinking about the same-old, same-old — from a different perspective. It's not a fashion-specific lesson, clearly, but applied to fashion, it can yield interesting results.

Applied to, for example, everything from the basic building blocks of wardrobes to the basic building blocks of a brand. In Valentino's case: red! and flowers! Among other things.

So Mr. Piccioli took what had become ordinary and treated it as if it were extraordinary.

Cargo pants and shorts and anoraks — the stuff of the school or grocery store or coffee run — were remade in a mix of fabrics and watercolor pigments, in palettes and beading, so they became collages of luxurious depth. Sweeping racer-back gowns were tossed on as casually as tank tops, layered over actual tank tops and paired with sneakers to take the stiffness out (admittedly, the sneakers were often bedecked in faux gems). Elaborately encrusted floral minidresses were cut like T-shirts. And a series of jersey-draped columns in saturated shades had all the grandeur knocked out, replaced by fluidity.

The result had lift-off; no rocket required.

By contrast, the literal interpretation at Akris of the wooden dolls by the architect and industrial designer Alexander Girard — reproduced in detail on flow-



VALENTINO



CÉLINE



STELLA MCCARTNEY

ing pantsuits and silks — grounded an otherwise sophisticated and understated collection. The designer Albert Kriemler loves to take his cues from the art world, but on what planet do women want to walk around referencing playthings on their dresses and jackets, no matter how sculptural and midcentury modern their origin?

Just because you can't get on a spaceship (at least not, according to Mr. Musk, for about five years) doesn't mean you can't change your point of view. Experiment!

Stella McCartney has been doing it

with textiles — what she calls "skin-free skin," sustainable viscose that looks like moiré — as well as with volumes, subverting expectations of what qualifies as cool. It's what the designer says it is: blouson leather-like (but nonleather) trousers in a caramel shade paired with a one-shouldered knit; an off-the-shoulder peasant float of a dress made in an ikat print that on closer viewing turned out to be a pattern of desk fans; acid-washed denim in electric green cut like a big tee and dropped over a hot pink taffeta skirt.

At Sacai, Chitose Abe has built a sig-

PHOTOGRAPHS BY VALERIO MIZZANOTTO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

nature on it, cutting and pasting seemingly antithetical ideas, periods and references in the petri dish of her studio. This season that meant gien plaid, lingerie silks, punk studding, distressed denim and lacy dollies, remixed in a cleverly calibrated patchwork of multi-functional dressing. Many garments could be worn at least three ways, depending on the desire.

And at Céline, Phoebe Philo is beginning to make something of a practice of it. So under a billowing white silk balloon-tent commissioned from the architect Smiljan Radic to cocoon her guests (and, yes, provide much fodder for audience asides about the amount of hot air in the room) came jackets that swooped up at the hemline to transform into trench coats, the orbital curves created by the cut belling out to catch the breeze.

Trousers were high-waisted and pleated, polo shirts and vests squared off and oversized, dresses enormous and boxy or halter-necked and dripping yards of almost weightless fringe, which waved like sea anemones on Saturn as the model walked. Some were printed with Delft china patterns, some striped with a leather insert at the hip to create a sort of faux pannier effect. Some looked like office schmattas. Some looked great. Try it and see what happens.

Ms. Philo is one of the few designers who works with the adult woman firmly in mind, and she recognizes, powerfully, that maturity does not have to mean dullness but rather a kind of intelligent daring. Reach for the stars. Whoosh.

## Champs-Élysées at a standstill

BY ELIZABETH PATON

Helen Mirren, 72, in bright red lipstick, an Ellery jacket and ear-to-ear grin, twirled a walking cane and sashayed down a rain-splattered runway in the middle of the Champs-Élysées. Next came the British pop star Cheryl Cole, 34, with two-tone lips and a black-and-white ensemble from Off-White.

Seventy looks later, after appearances by Doutzen Kroes, Adwoa Aboah and Irina Shayk, Jane Fonda, 79, in a shimmering Balmain tiger-print evening gown, received a standing ovation as she stopped to air-kiss friends in the crowd like Naomi Campbell.

Such was the scene on Sunday at Le Défilé L'Oréal Paris, the first fashion show organized by the French hair and makeup giant.

Why would a cosmetics company choose to hold a runway show in the middle of Paris Fashion Week? As guests made their way along the Champs-Élysées, which was closed to traffic for the event, it was a fair question.

But for Pierre-Emmanuel Angeloglou, brand global president at L'Oréal, which owns labels such as Lancôme, Maybelline and Yves Saint Laurent Beauté, the answer was obvious.

"It is all about accessibility," he said just before the show, walking along the 200-foot-long catwalk lined with hundreds of guests in white fleece blankets. Excited teenagers in rainwear, clutching smartphones, stood 10 deep on the other side of the runway.

"We wanted to open up the experience and invite anyone here to be a part of fashion week," Mr. Angeloglou said.

Besides, he added, "there are no barriers when it comes to learning the art of good makeup and hair, whatever your race, age or background."

Helen Mirren, in bright red lipstick, walks L'Oréal's fashion show on a closed section of the Champs-Élysées on Sunday.



JOHN SALIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



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FASHION PARIS

# Carla Bruni-Sarkozy speaks with a guitar

BY DANA THOMAS

Carla Bruni-Sarkozy, former super-model, French pop star, mother of two, wife of former President Nicolas Sarkozy, was never a typical first lady — even for a country where that title is not an official designation. So perhaps it should not be a big surprise that in her post-Élysée life, which began in 2012, she is doing something few wives of world leaders have done (see Imelda Marcos).

Releasing a new album. At 49, Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy has returned to her secret passion: singing classic rock, country and jazz standards in English. This week, her fifth album, “French Touch,” (Verve) will make its international debut. A collection of covers of her favorite tunes, including a bluesy version of AC/DC’s “Highway to



Hell,” a smoky take on “Miss You” by the Rolling Stones, and a duet with Willie Nelson on his classic, “Crazy,” it is, she said, the culmination of a life spent seeking coherence within what she described as a “blurry” identity.

“These are the songs I would play from 9 years old to 29 years old, spending the night with my friends, picking up the guitar, playing and singing,” she said last week, not long after she had made a surprise reappearance on the Versace runway along with a few of her modeling peers from the 1990s.

She was drinking a cup of rooibos in the back of a brasserie near her Right Bank home, out of view of other diners, dressed simply in a chocolate brown V-neck sweater, jeans and no makeup. Her only jewelry was a string-thin diamond wedding band. Her voice was a low, husky rasp, made coarser from years of smoking. An electronic cigarette sat on the table, easily within reach. Occasionally, to demonstrate her words, she would burst into a breathy croon.

“I’ve played these songs so much that I know them better than my own,” she said, “because they are sort of tattooed somewhere inside me.”

When her husband left the Élysée Palace, her transition to public life was seamless, Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy said, “because I never stopped writing songs. Music is like a shelter for me — from noise, and from the children. Like a bubble. I have a bubble tendency in any case — that’s the way I live. I like loneliness.”

That’s why, when she married Mr. Sarkozy in 2008 — a move that both astonished and semi-scamalized the French (there was speculation that their whirlwind romance and union were a contractual arrangement for publicity purposes) — and moved directly into the presidential home, she brought her guitar with her. She continued to write and record songs, and released her third album, *Comme si de rien n’était*, (“As If Nothing Happened”) that summer — just as her husband’s popularity was slumping in reaction to his proposed economic reforms.

“With my music, I could cope,” she said, running a hand through her hair, “because it was so far from the role of public life. And who was going to stop me from playing my guitar? No one. I could play at night, on the plane. I’m a poor guitar player but I write my songs on a guitar. So I would bring a small guitar, a Taylor — it’s child’s size but a real guitar, with very good sound — and I would play all the time.

“The one who had the weight on his shoulders was my man. He was elected. He was the president. I was there to be with him and help when people asked me for help. It was really easy for me.” She knows that is not the case for most first ladies.

“It was much harder for the next one,” she continued, referring to Valérie Trierweiler, the girlfriend of François Hollande, who beat Mr. Sarkozy in the 2012 election, “because she was a journalist, and she couldn’t work anymore, she could only write about literature, and that’s what she did. She lost all of her work, basically.”

As for that other famous former model, now in the White House, Melania Trump, “We have a lot of common points — she was a model, and she comes from another country, just like me,” Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy said. “But she was married to her husband long ago, and me, I met my husband when he was the president. I came from show business and fashion, so it was different.” The two women do not know each other and have never spoken.

Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy has met Brigitte Macron, the wife of France’s current president, Emmanuel Macron. “They invited us for dinner at the Élysée Palace, and it was nice. They are very nice people,” Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy said.

“I think she will cope. Everyone does it their own way. I told her not to worry about what people say, because it is not about her. They talk about her position. And it’s normal that people get aggressive about it. All the time I felt like a target. Because it was a very good way to hit my man — to hit me. That’s what happens when you are in that position.”

Now, of course, Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy is in an entirely different position.

“French Touch” was the initiative of David Foster, an award-winning music producer and a former chairman of Verve. He attended her 2014 concert at the Luckman Fine Arts Complex at California State University in Los Angeles, where she sang her own songs in



ROBERTO FRANKENBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



EMMANUEL DUNAND/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

French, and was so charmed that he offered to produce her next record.

But, she recalled, he had one stipulation: “‘Could you write songs in English?’”

“And I said, ‘Oh, I’ve tried. I tried. For many, many years I’ve tried. I get the title, but I don’t have the vocabulary.’”

“So he said: ‘Then let’s do some covers. You must have some songs you like to play.’”

She did. He flew to Paris, and in three weeks they recorded 22 songs, whittled it down to 17, then 11. Some are jaunty, like The Clash’s “Jimmy Jazz.” Others are more sultry, like “Please Don’t Kiss Me,” which Rita Hayworth sang in the 1947 film “The Lady From Shanghai.”

And, like the songs she writes, they are all about her favorite theme: “Love,” she said. “Lost love, new love, family love. Love is not only passion and desire

and love with your man. It’s also friendship, links. I love my cat. And the children. Sisters, brothers and friends who are chosen sisters and brothers. And books.”

Next to her on the table sat a paperback copy of Colette’s “La Chatte.” She fingered it gently. “It’s lovely, Colette,” she said. “There is strong music in it. Very strong music.”

The daughter of the Italian concert pianist Marisa Borini and the industrialist and classical composer Alberto Bruni Tedeschi (although she later learned her biological father was her mother’s Brazilian lover, Maurizio Remmert), Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy lived in Italy until she was 7, when her family settled in Paris. At French schools she studied violin and piano, but she couldn’t get her head around theory. “I would only use my ear and eyes,” she said. Eventually, “the teacher stopped trying.”

Someone — “I can’t remember who, an uncle, or my parents maybe” — gave her a guitar when she was 11. “I took group lessons at the Italian School,” she remembered. “We were like 40 in that class, with one teacher. And we learned ‘Oh Susannah.’ Three chords.” She air-strummed and sang the refrain notes in tune.

“Then I went to my friend Cécile’s the next day — we took the lesson together — and I picked up her guitar and started playing, ‘Oh Susannah.’” She sang another phrase of it in French to demonstrate.

“And Cécile and her mother said to me, ‘How can you know this song already?’ I said, ‘Because I played it all night.’ And I realized I had found something I loved. They made me realize it. I thought, ‘Maybe I can do that. Maybe it’s something for me.’”

She played as a teen — when, that is, she wasn’t sneaking out to dance all night at Le Bus Palladium nightclub in the Pigalle neighborhood.

“I didn’t speak English when I learned some of the songs, so I would sing them phonetically,” she said, break-

ing into a Frenchified version of The Beatles’ “All My Loving.”

“And then I learned English and I understood the lyrics and I discovered the songs again.”

When she became a model in 1987, at 19, Ms. Bruni-Sarkozy kept playing and singing. She quit fashion as a full-time pursuit in 1997 and devoted herself to writing songs. She sent some of her lyrics to the French singer Julien Clerc, and he set them to music, recording six of the songs for his 2000 album, “Si j’étais elle.” She recorded a couple of albums of her own, breathily crooning chansons in French to acoustic guitar.

Her first album, “Quelqu’un m’a dit,” (“Someone Told Me”) in 2003, debuted atop the French album chart and spent 34 weeks in the top 10, and went gold or platinum in several other European countries. Over the years, critics have called her music everything from the highly noncommittal “pleasant, sometimes compelling,” to the more enthusiastic “classically chic and subtly sexy as her Christian Dior wardrobe.”

Today, she takes her two children — Aurélien, who is 16, and Giulia, who will be 6 later this month — to school; hits the gym, where she does an hour of cardio and some Pilates — “to stay skinny,” she whispered; sorts out some household issues, and then sets to her writing.

“French Touch” has been a hit in the Sarkozy household. Her husband liked her version of ABBA’s “The Winner Takes It All,” she said, “because it’s romantic.” Her daughter prefers “Moon River” and “Stand By Your Man.”

For her son, “who loves metal,” she recorded “Highway to Hell.” At first, he was dubious. “He said, ‘Mom, it’s going to be ridiculous. You’re an older lady,’” she recalled. “I said, ‘They are older people too. We are the same generation. You are the young one.’” Once he heard it, she said, he decided it wasn’t so bad.

The greatest compliment, however, came from the Rolling Stones. “They tweeted, ‘We like your ‘French Touch,’” she said. “I was like, ‘Yeah!’”

**Clockwise from above, Carla Bruni-Sarkozy at the Hotel de Sers in Paris. She performed at Town Hall in New York in 2014; and this week she is releasing her fifth album, “French Touch.”**

## In Russia, refusing to be part of the crowd

Long gone are the days of party-issued uniforms and uninspired Soviet style. In Moscow and Kazan, Sasha Arutyunova captured the sartorial urge to stand out through bold colors, vintage or handmade items and eye-catching patterns.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SASHA ARUTYUNOVA TEXT BY VALERIYA SAFRONOVA



Nadezhda Likhogrud, a sculptor and painter, photographed on a rooftop in Moscow. “She typically wears a mixture of vintage and clothes that she makes herself or that she sources from her friends,” Ms. Arutyunova said. “There’s really a culture of that among young people. It’s cheaper, and it’s a way for people to express themselves in a way that’s more specific than buying from stores where everything is the same.”



Ms. Arutyunova noticed that Russian women do not shy away from bright colors or patterns, especially in combination. “I think a lot of it is from picking up clothes at markets and secondhand stuff and just kind of throwing it together, or having had something for like 20, 30 years,” she said.



The flowers on a woman’s sleeves, vivid and dramatic against the monochrome backdrop of an arriving subway train, caught Ms. Arutyunova’s eye. “Russian culture is beauty and tragedy all wrapped into one,” she said. “There’s a vibrancy and a moodiness.”



Ms. Arutyunova spotted the woman in red, above, posing for a friend outside the Kul Sharif Mosque, which was built in 2005 within the walls of the Kazan Kremlin, a citadel on the Unesco World Heritage list. It is composed of buildings that date as far back as the 10th century.





PRESERVATION HALL AND OTHER STORIES

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA  
MAY 11-13 2017  
BY ALASDAIR MCLELLAN

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# Business

## Bitcoin bug bites Japanese and Koreans

SAN FRANCISCO

Interest grows in region just as China limits the trading of virtual currencies

BY NATHANIEL POPPER

Until recently, China was a center of Bitcoin activity while the rest of Asia looked on with little interest.

Now, the tables have turned. The Chinese government has been clamping down on virtual currency activity at the same time that hundreds of thousands of Japanese have thrown themselves into Bitcoin trading, making Japan's main Bitcoin exchange, bitFlyer, the largest in the world in recent weeks by some methods of counting.

South Koreans have also shown a sudden interest in virtual currencies, though they have generally opted for Bitcoin competitors like Ethereum and Ripple. Trading has been so popular that two South Korean exchanges, Bithumb and Coinone, have set up storefronts in Seoul, the South Korean capital, where people can buy and sell in person.

Since Bitcoin was created in 2009, it has become increasingly popular around the world because of its anti-establishment appeal — a virtual currency that is challenging governments and financial institutions. But in South Korea and Japan, the countries' most important institutions have been leading the way.

Japanese trading took off after the government approved legislation in April that creates the first national licensing program in the world for virtual currency exchanges. On Friday, the government announced that it was giving the first licenses to 11 exchanges, including bitFlyer.

"Japanese people tend to be very conservative with their investments, but once they get triggered they go all in," said Yuzo Kano, the founder and chief executive of bitFlyer.

In South Korea, trading ticked up after the country's largest company, Samsung, announced in May that it had joined a large alliance of global compa-



JEAN CHUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Customers discussing the trading of virtual currencies at Coinone, which has set up a storefront in Seoul, South Korea, where people can buy and sell in person.

nies aimed at finding corporate use for the software behind Ethereum.

Ethereum includes a virtual currency, Ether, but it is also software that allows parties to enter into what are essentially legal agreements, or smart contracts, involving the money.

The South Korean government moved last week to curb some of the

frenzy. Korean regulators announced on Friday that new virtual currencies, being sold through so-called initial coin offerings, will be banned in the country. The regulators also said they would exercise stricter oversight of online exchanges. But trading in the most valuable coins went on after the announcement. (Regulators in the United States

and Switzerland also took steps on Friday to crack down on the offerings.)

Companies in both Japan and South Korea have been experimenting with the blockchain, the technology introduced by Bitcoin that allows multiple parties to keep shared digital records. And a consortium of Japanese banks announced last week that they were pre-

paring to introduce a national digital cash, J Coin, that shares some qualities with Bitcoin.

Even North Korea is getting in on the game, with reports suggesting that people with ties to the government have been trying to "mine" new Bitcoins and to hack into virtual currency exchanges in South Korea and elsewhere. Digital

money like Bitcoin, which exists outside the traditional financial system, could be useful for a country trying to evade financial sanctions.

So far, though, virtual currency trading in Japan and South Korea has not been tied, in any significant way, to buying or selling things with Bitcoin or any of its competitors.

Instead, interest in both Japan and South Korea appears to be linked to a longer history of speculative financial trading as a recreational pastime — and to the general interest in virtual goods.

"Word just spreads really fast in Korea," said Tony Lyu, the founder and chief executive of Korbit, a Korean exchange. "Once people are invested, they want everyone else to join the party. There's been this huge, almost a community movement around this."

The interest in South Korea and Japan is picking up some of the slack in support of Bitcoin that has been lost to the crackdown in China.

At various points in the past few years, China has been thought to account for over three-quarters of all Bitcoin trading. The government, though, has stepped in several times to cool the speculative fever.

The latest measures appear to be the most serious yet. All Bitcoin exchanges have been told to stop trading by the end of October. Some in the Chinese Bitcoin community believe that business will be allowed to resume after the annual meeting of the People's Congress, the national legislative body, takes place in mid-October — but there have been no clear indications of that.

The price of most virtual currencies dropped sharply after the Chinese government's moves leaked out in September. But it did not put a damper on interest in Japan and South Korea, and the prices of digital tokens recovered most of their losses.

The price of Bitcoin recently stood around \$4,300, down 12 percent from its peak last month. But that was up nearly 50 percent from the low last month of about \$3,000 and still up more than 340 percent since the beginning of the year.

Bitcoin has been used to buy drugs online and make virtual ransom payments to hackers. More recently, it has

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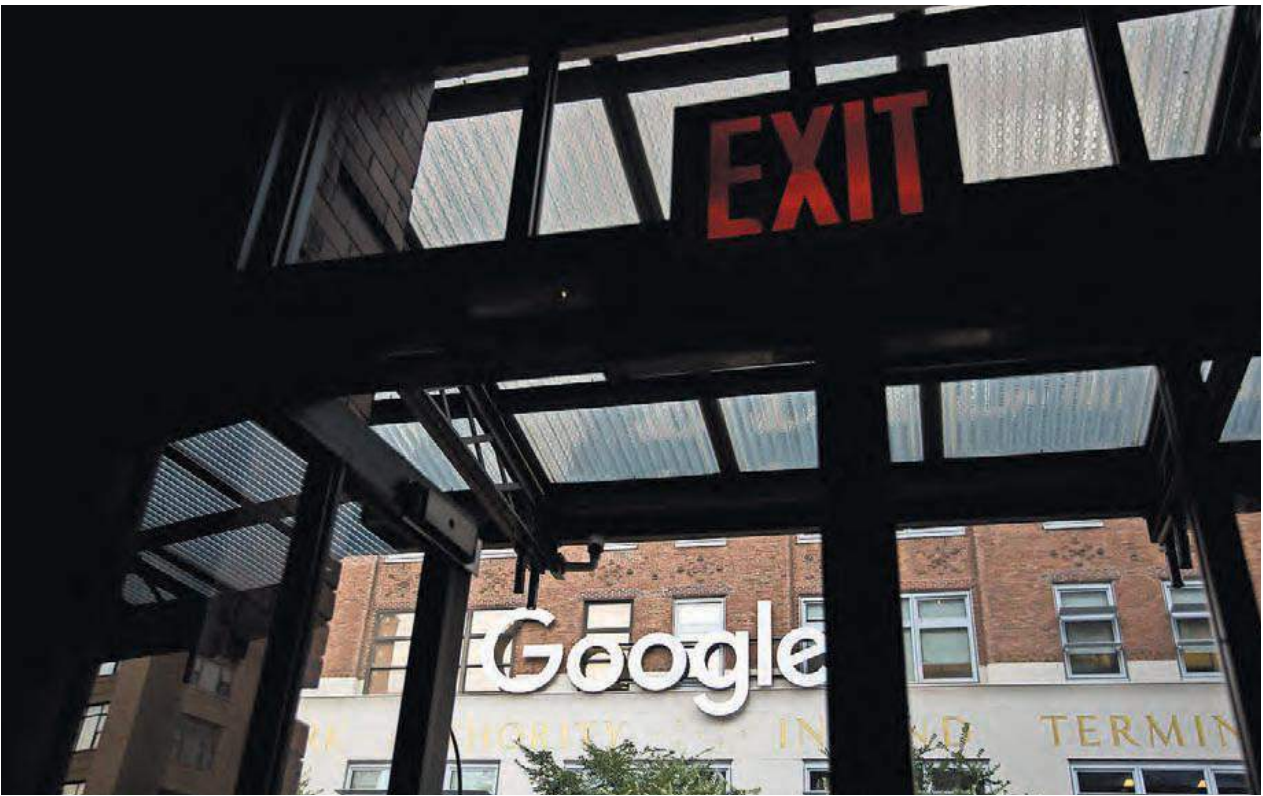
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"We have an inherent interest in making publishers successful," said Philipp Schindler, Google's chief business officer.

## Google helping news outlets

Revised 'free click' policy and other new tools could bolster subscriptions

BY SYDNEY EMBER

Publications like The Wall Street Journal, The Financial Times and The New York Times have long asked readers to pay for access to online articles. But many online readers are probably familiar with an easy workaround: Plug a search term or headline into Google and — voilà! — free access to articles normally locked behind pay walls.

That digital sleight of hand is great for inquisitive readers but bad for publishers increasingly dependent on subscription dollars for survival.

So now, in an acknowledgment of this industrywide strategy shift, Google is working on new tools that could help news organizations bolster their subscription businesses. The tools are part of a broader effort to preserve the kind of journalism that Google's dominance, and that of other web giants like Facebook, has threatened.

Google's plans include doing away with the "first click free" policy, which requires subscription-based news outlets to offer three free articles a day through its search and news features, allowing users to skirt pay walls. This week, Google plans to start a program called flexible sampling, which will allow publishers to determine how many

free clicks to give Google's users.

Google is also looking at ways to help people subscribe to publications more easily, including using machine learning to help publishers tailor options to a reader's preferences and behavior.

"It's really all an attempt to try to create a new world — a better world — for journalism," said Philipp Schindler, Google's chief business officer. And, he added, "we have an inherent interest in making publishers successful."

Google's ecosystem of information does in some ways run on quality journalism. But its efforts to support publishers also come as Google and Facebook continue to gobble up money once earmarked for the news industry. The two companies are expected to take in more than 60 percent of digital ad spending in the United States this year, according to the research firm eMarketer. And they have expanded their control over the distribution of news, even as they have come under scrutiny for their role in spreading untrue articles. Against this backdrop, both face rising regulatory and antitrust scrutiny.

Google and Facebook — which is also working on a news product that could help drive subscriptions to news outlets — may be extending olive branches in an effort to mollify their critics. But the two web giants also appear to be making good-faith efforts to help the publishers they may have inadvertently harmed.

Google's "first click free" policy gave readers access to potentially hundreds of free articles a month before they en-

countered any pay walls. If publishers did not participate, Google did not fully index their articles, which made it less likely that the articles would appear prominently in search results.

After The Wall Street Journal ended its participation in the program, its traffic from Google dropped nearly 45 percent, according to a Bloomberg News article.

Google's new "flexible sampling" program is a twofold attempt to support publishers' subscription businesses. The company said it was helping publishers embrace a try-before-you-buy approach that it hoped would induce readers to become subscribers. It also said it would index all of a publisher's articles, regardless of the limit the publisher chooses. Google is recommending publishers provide 10 free articles on a monthly basis.

Google is also working on other tools for publishers to help drive subscriptions. One of the company's goals, Mr. Gingras said, is to help "take the friction out of the purchase process" by using its own technological capabilities, as well as the information it has on users — including email addresses and credit cards — to make subscribing simpler. Mr. Gingras said Google expected to begin rolling out its suite of subscription support services in the first half of next year.

"We're not suggesting this is a magic bullet for growing subscription revenue," he said. "We'll continue to collaborate — this is a journey."



# Regulators turn to Europe’s on-demand economy

Governments and courts are considering tougher safeguards for workers

BY LIZ ALDERMAN

Mohan Biswas was speeding takeout orders to customers in London for the online food delivery company Deliveroo when he fell from his motorbike, breaking his foot in two places.

Because Deliveroo classifies its riders as self-employed, he received no sick time and has not been paid for the past six weeks as he recovers.

“In a job you can negotiate with the boss — we can’t do that,” said Mr. Biswas, who had dragged himself on crutches to a demonstration against precarious forms of work recently in central London. “We’re stuck in a perpetually insecure system, where we all get exploited.”

Like thousands of people in Europe and the United States, Mr. Biswas, 24, was discovering an uncomfortable reality about the on-demand economy: He got a paycheck when there was enough work to go around, but had little to fall back on if there was not.

Now, Europe is pushing for tougher protections as self-employed work forces and nontraditional work contracts proliferate. A backlash in Britain and other European countries against Uber, which profits handsomely from such systems, has helped to spur the drive.

Last month, in fact, Transport for London, the agency that oversees the city’s subways, buses and taxicabs, declared that Uber was not sufficiently “fit and proper” to operate in the city and declined to renew the company’s license. Uber has said it will appeal the ruling, and the company’s new chief executive, Dara Khosrowshahi, apologized for its “mistakes.”

The European Commission backed a proposal last week to combat what critics say is a race to the bottom in social standards for workers with ultra-flexible working hours and no regular salary, a group which now accounts for about a third of Europe’s work force. It is part of a broader push in Brussels for better access to social benefits, from written contracts to unemployment insurance, for self-employed and temporary workers, as well as for hundreds of thousands of people in jobs with no minimum hours or



TOM JAMIESON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



MARY TURNER/REUTERS

Left, the Deliveroo offices in central London. Above, James Farrar, one of two Uber drivers who challenged the company on behalf of a group of 19 drivers, saying that the service denied them basic protections by classifying them as self-employed.

A British tribunal is investigating whether Deliveroo riders are workers or contractors after an effort to unionize in London.

pay.

The resolution is not binding and is still subject to public debate. But it has opened a rift with businesses and politicians who say too much regulation will ensure that Europe falls behind in the global economy by stifling innovation, reducing competitiveness and thwarting job creation.

Business groups are warning of a threat to companies like Uber and Deliveroo, which offer people work through online platforms. Tighter protections would also increase costs at companies ranging from fast-food restaurants that use so-called zero-hours contracts without guaranteed work, to behemoths like the cut-rate airline Ryanair, which relies on agencies for pilots and staff.

A flexible work force allows for “billions of euros of economic growth, millions of new jobs, flexible working hours, and more balanced work and family life,” Juri Ratas, the Estonian prime minister, said at a European Union summit meeting last week in Tallinn focused

on the future of the digital economy. “Who wouldn’t want that?”

Companies like Uber and Deliveroo are seen as successes of such a model. They and similar platforms take commissions from workers’ earnings, but classify those workers as self-employed. That lets the companies avoid paying for social security, parental leave and other workplace benefits.

The approach has been lucrative: It has helped turn Uber into a behemoth valued at nearly \$70 billion.

But the company’s aggressive cost-cutting and expansion tactics, championed by its founder, Travis Kalanick, who was forced out this summer, have begun to draw unrelenting scrutiny. And as an outcry rises against precariousness in the flexible work economy, governments are being forced to take a harder look.

“Companies have been gaming the system, coming up with loopholes and saying this is a great new world of work,” said Esther Lynch, the secretary

of the European Trade Union Confederation. “But people are seeing how harsh those circumstances can be.”

Britain recently undertook a review of “modern working practices.” It looked at firms that rely heavily on precarious contracts and urged such changes as closing legal loopholes that let temporary workers be paid less than regular employees in the same jobs; extending holiday and sick pay to on-demand “gig economy” workers; and allowing parental leave for the self-employed.

In France, President Emmanuel Macron is trying to overhaul the rigid national labor code to energize the economy and encourage a trend toward freelance work. But under pressure from social partners, he is also proposing a minimum safety net, including extending unemployment insurance to the self-employed.

Courts, too, are increasingly regulating the gig economy.

The European Court of Justice is expected to rule this year in a major case

centered around whether Uber should be treated as a taxi service, which would mean it was subject to rigorous safety and employment rules, or merely as an online platform connecting independent drivers and waiting passengers.

Uber and Deliveroo face legal hurdles in Britain, too. A British tribunal is investigating whether Deliveroo riders are workers or contractors after an effort to unionize in London. And last year, a British court issued a landmark ruling that would require Uber to classify drivers as employees, pay them minimum wage and grant them paid vacation.

Two Uber drivers, James Farrar and Yaseen Aslam, had challenged the company on behalf of a group of 19 drivers, saying that the service denied them basic protections by classifying them as self-employed. Uber relied on an argument it has used repeatedly around the world: Its drivers were independent contractors.

But judges in the case derided that idea.

## A jolt from a public option

### Economic View

SEEMA JAYACHANDRAN

It is anyone’s guess whether Democrats will unite around the goal of creating a single-payer health care system in the United States or even take a less ambitious approach — introducing a public health insurance option.

Adding public insurance as an option in the complex American health care system has been treated as a consolation prize for those who really favor single-payer health care, but the lighter approach might pack much more punch than you think. What’s more, the best way to see that is by looking at the Indian labor market and the Mexican grocery market.

Why should jobs in India or food in Mexico have anything to do with health care in the United States? They are linked by the logic of supply and demand, which applies in the United States and in countries very different from it — countries that the United States doesn’t turn to often enough for policy lessons.

In fact, India’s and Mexico’s experiences offer some of the best evidence on what happens when we add a public option to a marketplace: The private sector is forced to improve its game to retain customers, so more people benefit than just those who directly use the public services.

Here’s how a public option could play out in American health care.

The government would begin to compete with private insurers by giving people the opportunity to buy health care coverage through an existing program like Medicaid or through a new plan. Some people will buy the publicly run insurance, but many others will keep the private insurance

to which they have grown accustomed.

But the people who stick with private plans could still be helped by the public option because its mere existence will be a jolt to private insurers, which will need to reduce prices or improve quality to retain market share. Consumers who stick with private plans will enjoy those benefits — even if they never buy the public plan.

We can’t really know for sure that these predictions about the health care market will materialize until we try it, but the experience of the rural labor market in India is instructive.

For the last decade, the Indian government has been running a welfare program in villages throughout the country. The program offers people welfare payments in exchange for work on infrastructure projects, like digging irrigation ditches. Every household in rural India is entitled to 100 days of this publicly paid work a year. For many families, the extra earnings are a lifeline, though these public works jobs are a small part of the total employment in most villages.

One of the program’s most striking effects has been indirect, maybe even inadvertent: It has led private employers to increase the wages they offer workers. Workfare is often thought of as welfare with strings attached. But you can also think of it as the government getting into the rural employment game, hiring tens of millions of people each year. The Indian government has essentially offered a “public option” for employment.

The program has paid a daily wage that was often higher than what local employers had offered. As a result, private-sector employers needed to make their jobs more attractive to retain workers.

The government’s wage served as a de facto floor on the wage others could offer for similar work. Several studies found that the program caused local wages to increase 4 percent to 5 percent when it was active. In Indian

states that carried out the program most effectively, the increase in the private-sector wage was even bigger.

That higher wage applied to a vast amount of private employment, so it has added up to a lot: For each \$1 the government paid out in wages, workers earned from an additional 50 cents to \$4.50 from higher wages in private sector jobs. The Indian government, in effect, created a matching program: For each \$1 it paid out, the private sector added 50 cents to \$4.50. This from a government program that has many deficiencies in how it is run. It suggests that even if the United States were to provide health insurance in an inefficient way, the indirect benefits to consumers could be substantial.

Shaking up the private market is especially useful if the labor market isn’t very competitive to start with. Powerful employers in such a market can get away with paying a lower wage, allowing them to earn fatter profits (although this entails a probable sacrifice in output). Adding a public option to a market like this is not a zero-sum game where higher wages just shift money from employers to workers. Instead, with better paid workers, the size of the economic pie, or “surplus,” increases.

In fact, there is evidence that India’s workfare program has increased both wages and private employment levels.

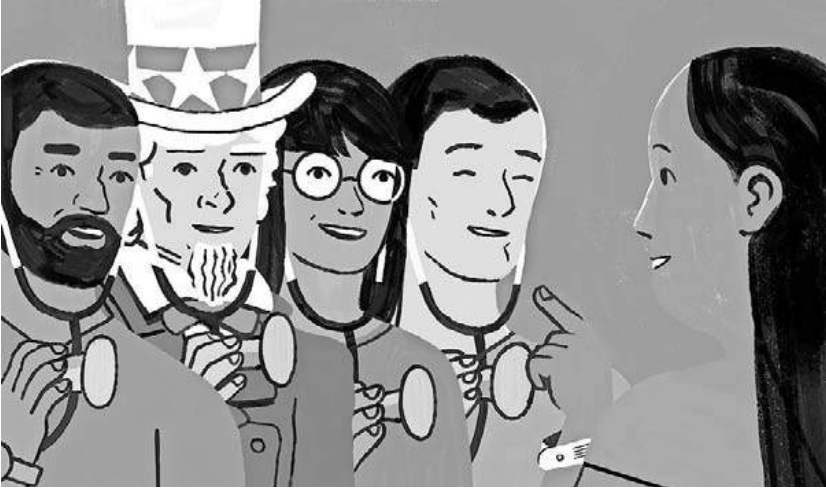
The story plays out similarly among grocery stores in Mexico. In work with colleagues, I found that the few stores that sell beans, vegetable oil and other food staples in Mexico’s poor, remote villages often have considerable market power. We studied a program in which the Mexican government trucked boxes of staple foods into villages and delivered them to poor families.

For those families, the main benefit was the free food, but there was another boon: Local stores responded by reducing prices, and those prices dropped the most in villages with few stores and little competition.

The counterparts to the Mexican villages with only one or two grocery stores — where prices fell a lot — are parts of the United States where only one or two insurers offer plans on the health exchanges that have come into being under the Affordable Care Act.

In Mexico and India, when the government entered the market and started competing with private businesses, those businesses felt the pressure and offered their customers or employees a better deal. If the same thing happens with health insurance in the United States, a public option might help millions of people who don’t end up buying it.

Seema Jayachandran is an economics professor at Northwestern University.



JOSH HOLNATY

### The New York Times | DEBATE

## DIVERSITY PROGRAMMES PROTECT INSTITUTIONS RATHER THAN DIVERSIFY THEM

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BUSINESS

Bitcoin fever takes hold in Japan and South Korea

***BITCOIN, FROM PAGE 12***

provided a way for investors to put money into new starts-ups through initial coin offerings.

Beyond all that, though, it is a speculative asset. People buy and sell it because it is scarce — only 21 million Bitcoins will ever be created — and investors hope it will gain real-world applications in the future.

Japan might have seemed like an obvious place for Bitcoin to catch on earlier. The anonymous creator of Bitcoin carried a Japanese name, Satoshi Nakamoto. But most people from Bitcoin's early years believe that the person or people behind Bitcoin were not from Japan.

Japan was also home to the first major Bitcoin exchange, Mt. Gox. But Mt. Gox was run by a Frenchman living in Tokyo, with mostly foreign customers. Perhaps more important, Mt. Gox was run poorly, leaving it vulnerable to thieves who eventually stole most of the Bitcoins the exchange held for its customers — some \$500 million worth at the time.

The collapse of Mt. Gox in 2014 scared many Japanese people away from Bitcoin. But it also encouraged the government to move forward with some of the most far-reaching legislation in the world, which gave a sort of government stamp of approval to the market when it was passed in April.

**A growing interest seemingly fueled by speculative appeal.**

The legislation promises licenses to exchanges that follow anti-money-laundering practices, and defined Bitcoin as a valid means of payment. Trading took off almost immediately.

Much of the interest at bitFlyer, the largest exchange, has been for futures contracts, which are not as popular elsewhere. When these are included in tallies, bitFlyer is hosting more trading than any other exchange in the world, according to data from CryptoCompare.

The legal status of virtual currencies in South Korea has been less clear than in Japan. But Samsung's decision to join the so-called Enterprise Ethereum Alliance was enough of an institutional sign of approval for many Koreans.

Corporations like Samsung are generally interested in using the Ethereum software without using the internal virtual currency, Ether. But the announcement set off a summer of feverish trading in Ethereum and a number of other Bitcoin alternatives.

Jeff Paik, the founder of Finector, a research firm in Seoul, said the trading had been worrisome because it had been dominated by older retirees, not tech geeks.

These traders, he said, have been deciding what coins to buy and sell not because of the underlying technology, but because of the number of other people trading the same thing.

"There's no logic to it," Mr. Paik said. "As long as there is an open market, and a currency to be traded, people will flock into it. It doesn't matter which coin."

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Tensions flare, but trade booms

BEIJING

While Beijing scolds Seoul over missiles, the Chinese snap up Korean goods

BY SUI-LEE WEE  
AND JEYUP S. KWAAK

China is angry at South Korea for embracing an American missile defense system intended to stop potential launches by North Korea.

The South Korean conglomerate that donated land at a golf course for the missile defense system has been forced to sell its Chinese stores. Chinese drivers have stopped buying Hyundais and Kias. And fewer Chinese tourists are visiting South Korea.

But then there is Leo Li, a 33-year-old language teacher in China who wants his essence of South Korean snail slime. Mr. Li's enthusiasm for South Korean snail products helps explain a development that might surprise some people watching the relationship between China and South Korea deteriorate: Trade between the two countries is steadily rising.

"I support my country and love my country, but I don't think this should affect my consumption decisions," Mr. Li, who once studied in South Korea, said by phone from the southern Chinese city of Guiyang.

That is good news for South Korea, though perhaps not for its snails. Snail slime products are widely believed in Asia to be good for rejuvenating skin, and Mr. Li uses it on his face to prevent wrinkles and remove acne blemishes.

"I should be able to maintain my own ideas of consumption and my personal rights," he said.

Even as tensions flare between Beijing and Seoul over how to deal with the heated rhetoric between the United States and North Korea, the growing trade relationship shows that South Korea still makes what China needs. It supplies semiconductors for Chinese tech companies. Young, affluent Chinese are still buying cosmetics and eagerly taking in Korean movies and music.

That trade could ease in coming years as China upgrades its technological capabilities. But for now, politics cannot overcome China's appetites.

"It surprised me that it rebounded so quickly," said Yanmei Xie, a China policy analyst for the Beijing-based consulting firm Gavekal Dragonomics and the co-author of a paper on China's boycott of South Korean goods in March, when the United States began to deploy the missile defense system. China worries that the system — known as Terminal High Altitude Area Defense, or Thaad — could give the United States a military advantage over its own missiles.

South Korea's \$88.1 billion in exports to China between January and August was a 12 percent increase from a year ago, according to the Korea International Trade Association. But tensions



GILLES SABRIÉ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Korean supermarket in Beijing. Despite heated rhetoric over an American missile defense system, the Chinese are still eager consumers of Korean cosmetics, movies and music.

did take a toll on some South Korean businesses.

China forced the shutdown of 87 out of 112 stores owned by the South Korean supermarket chain Lotte, which provided land for the missile defense system, saying the company violated fire-safety regulations. Banner-waving protesters besieged Lotte stores in China and heckled customers who entered them. The company said earlier this month it had hired Goldman Sachs to sell its Chinese stores.

The Chinese authorities also stopped construction of a Lotte indoor theme park in the city of Chengdu and halted production at Lotte's joint factory with Hershey.

For the first seven months of this year, Chinese sales of Hyundai cars fell 41 percent from a year ago, even as the broader market grew, according to LMC Automotive, a global consulting company.

The number of Chinese tourists visiting South Korea fell by nearly half to 2.5 million over the same period, according to the Korea Tourism Organization.

On Thursday, South Korea unveiled tax benefits for domestic retailers hit by

the tourism drop-off and offered cheap loans for its automakers.

Ms. Xie, of Gavekal Dragonomics, said she had expected the impact to last for about a year. That was the case in 2012, when tensions flared between Japan and China over a territorial dispute. Japan's exports to China fell by about 10 percent, according to the Japan External Trade Organization, but recovered the next year.

"Chinese consumers could ultimately forgive Japan," she said, "so it shouldn't be surprising that they can forget about their hatred of South Korea as well."

China's smartphone makers rely heavily on South Korean chip producers, such as Samsung Electronics and SK Hynix, for chips to expand memory capacity in phones. In the first eight months of this year, China imported \$23 billion worth of semiconductors from South Korea, up 50 percent from a year ago, according to the Korea International Trade Association.

Chinese consumers, for their part, love South Korea's tear-jerker soap operas and catchy pop music. Many want to imitate their favorite Korean celebrities' obsessions, be it fried chicken, a 10-

step skin care regimen or a "V-shaped face," a common cosmetic-surgery demand in which the jaw is broken down and shaved into a pointed V.

Inside beauty stores in Seoul, Chinese consumers snap up South Korea's latest skin care inventions such as "air cushion" face creams with water pearls and skin care box sets that use ginseng. In the first seven months of this year, Chinese consumers spent \$953 million on South Korean cosmetics and skin care, according to the Korea Cosmetic Association.

Song Yang, who works in a duty-free store in Seoul, hauls two suitcases filled with about \$6,000 worth of skin care products and cosmetics to China every two months. Ms. Song — a "daigou," or a buyer and transporter of foreign consumer goods — takes orders on WeChat, a popular social media tool, from Chinese who want to save on the latest masks and cosmetics, and makes about \$1,800 per trip.

She said she stopped taking orders for about two months after demand plummeted in March. But interest has rebounded, she said, adding that orders for August and September were "hotter

than ever before."

Korean officials say blips in demand related to the missile system worry them less than China's brutally competitive and fast-changing market.

Felicia Jia, a Beijing-based advertising executive who uses South Korean horse oil — derived from horse fat — said she took heart from the ousting in March of Park Geun-hye, South Korea's former president, who was a proponent of Thaad.

She resumed buying South Korean skin care and cosmetics products because she assumed that the new president, Moon Jae-in, would halt the missile defense system.

When told that Thaad was probably here to stay, Ms. Jia said: "Really? That is annoying. In future, I will stop using South Korean goods."

"I really don't understand politics," she added. "But I still have to have a patriotic heart."

*Sui-Lee Wee reported from Beijing and Jeeyup S. Kwaak reported from Seoul. Keith Bradsher contributed reporting from Shanghai and Zhang Tiantian contributed research from Beijing.*

Creating your own museum as a legacy

Wealth Matters

PAUL SULLIVAN

Paintings, sculptures, gems, cars, items made perfectly by a single craftsman — if you have the collector's gene, these are the kinds of things you must own. Add wealth to fuel that desire, and your collection is likely to grow. But then what do you do with it?

If you can't bear the thought of a life's acquisitions being sold off — or, at best, going to a museum to be displayed only occasionally — the urge may be to open a museum of your own.

Picture it: your name emblazoned on the facade, your collection arrayed inside just as you like, your taste enshrined for all time. It has worked for people like Albert Barnes, Henry Clay Frick and Isabella Stewart Gardner, who all created museums in their names to house their art.

Cameel Halim, who made his money in real estate in Chicago, added his name to the list of those with private museums when the Halim Time & Glass Museum opened in Evanston, Ill., last Tuesday.

The museum is the culmination of Mr. Halim's lifelong fascination with time and a way for him to display the clocks, timepieces and stained glass he has bought over the course of three decades.

In many ways, Mr. Halim's museum, which aspires to offer an encyclopedic display covering 300 years through 1,100 timepieces and 150 pieces of stained glass, is a family affair.

"We hired an architect, but after the building was built, we met with so many experts and consultants that finally we used our own experience constructing the museum," Mr. Halim, 74, said. "We manage apartment buildings and have 5,000 units under our management. We believe if you can manage our business, you can do anything."

That kind of confidence motivates

many contemporary collectors to preserve and promote their holdings in ways that wealthy businesspeople a generation ago did not.

Private museums "aren't new, but they've grown significantly in terms of the numbers in the last 10 years or so," said Mac MacLellan, president of the central region at Northern Trust Wealth Management. "The interest in creating a private museum has increased as interest in art overall has increased. It runs from the very small to the very large. It's not as narrow a topic as you might think."

First things first: Let's look at the tax break that Americans get when creating museums and filling them with their collections. To earn a charitable deduction for donating a collection to a museum one has created, a founder must show that it is a true public institution.

"A tax-exempt private museum has a duty to provide a benefit to the public," Mr. MacLellan said. "You don't just slap your name on it and open a museum and keep it for yourself. You need to provide some educational programming and access. You're under extreme scrutiny by the I.R.S. and the public."

He said the tax break was often offset by the costs associated with building and maintaining a museum.

Mark Walhimer, a consultant on museum planning who also helps accredit institutions for the American Alliance of Museums, said entrepreneurs who had created their own fortunes sometimes had trouble making the mental leap involved in giving their collections to the public.

"It's the community's collection," he said. "That's tough for some founders. 'What do you mean it's no longer mine? It's the public's?' You can put your name on the museum. You can get credit for it. But it belongs to the public."

A museum, of course, requires a building. That building helps define the museum's personality, but it also has continuing costs.

"A collector may say, 'I want this material to be seen in perpetuity,' but



MICHAEL F. MCELROY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fred Bidwell, co-owner of Transformer Station, a private art museum in Cleveland.

they don't realize that the type of expenses that are involved are significantly more than where they're holding the works now," said Gail Lord, a founder of Lord Cultural Resources, a cultural planning firm.

"There are occupancy costs, which include heating, lighting, cooling and security, and insurance is a very significant cost," said Ms. Lord, who is also the firm's president. " 'Open to the public' means there has to be a staff of some type who is going to be opening the doors and charging or not charging admission. You also need someone to provide information to fulfill the educational requirement."

After Fred Bidwell sold his advertising firm to WPP in 2010, he began to think seriously about opening a contemporary art museum for the collection that he and his wife, Laura, had amassed. As a result, the Bidwells bought a 1920s power plant on Cleveland's West Side, renovating and expanding the property to create Transformer Station.

Mr. Bidwell, 65, said the initial cost in 2013 was \$2.5 million to \$3 million — not including what the couple paid for the artwork — and that annual ex-

penses were about \$250,000. He said he knew that running the building and managing the museum and its exhibitions would be challenging, so he struck a deal with the Cleveland Museum of Art, where he is a trustee. The Bidwells make their exhibition space available to the museum for half of the year.

"We were a little naive about how much work this would be," Mr. Bidwell said. "When we lend our galleries to the Cleveland Museum of Art, we challenge them to do exhibitions that are more daring than they normally would."

Some experts said that acquiring and maintaining a building, however costly, was the easy part. Engaging effectively with the public, on the other hand, can be challenging.

"I've dealt with many museums that have failed or are failing," Mr. Walhimer said. "Most of it happens when there isn't community buy-in. It makes it difficult to fund-raise, to attract members, to promote exhibits."

Another consideration is what becomes of a museum after its founder dies.

Mr. Bidwell said that in the case of

Transformer Station, the building and the art would go to the Cleveland Museum of Art after 15 years.

"In 10 years or so, we can walk away and relax a little bit, and it will go on as a lasting institution," he said. "We did this because we're activist collectors and we like to work with artists, but we're not immortal."

Mr. Halim is taking a different approach. He believes that his three children and their spouses will remain involved with the museum he has established. And he is trying to ensure that they will have the means to do so.

He would not say how much he had spent on the building or provide a value for his collection, but he said he had given thought a lot about how the museum might sustain itself.

"We don't believe the museum is going to be self-supporting selling \$17 tickets," he said. "We built a banquet hall for weddings, parties and business events to subsidize it. We hope the museum will break even."

Some advisers said that most would-be museum founders might be better off considering the difficulty of supporting something so personal for a long time.

There are 35,000 museums in the United States, and not all of them have lines around the block and enviable endowments. Many struggle to stay open and fulfill their missions.

Others struggle with succession planning, just as family businesses do. John Lizzadro, 76, has been involved with the Lizzadro Museum of Lapidary Art since his father started it in 1962. The collection of cut and polished stones, which is in a park in Elmhurst, Ill., still attracts schoolchildren and those with a scholarly interest in such stones.

Although the museum has a board of trustees, Mr. Lizzadro said he worried about his grandchildren's generation getting involved.

"Finding someone in the family who is really interested in what we've been doing for 55 years — that's a problem," he said. "If there was no family involvement in it, I'm not sure what would happen."



# Opinion

## Why Nigerian Catholics love Latin mass

The older service appeals to the poor and links faraway lands to Rome, and Catholic traditions.

Matthew Schmitz

**UMUAKA, NIGERIA** In August, under a bright blue sky and in front of 2,500 worshipers, Bishop Gregory Ochiagha performed the first traditional Latin ordination in Nigeria since the vernacular liturgy was introduced after Vatican II. Near the end of the Mass, the 86-year-old bishop nearly fainted. “I am so happy, I am so happy,” he whispered as he was led to a chair.

Catholics attached to the Latin Mass have suffered a great deal since the introduction of the vernacular liturgy after Vatican II. But 10 years ago, they enjoyed a sublime vindication. Pope Benedict XVI declared in his document “Summorum Pontificum” that all Catholics have the right to the traditional liturgy. “What earlier generations held as sacred, remains sacred and great for us too,” Benedict wrote. Bishop Ochiagha generously distributed copies of “Summorum” to his brother bishops in Nigeria, many of whom had criticized his support for the Latin Mass.

Though traditionalists remain a tiny minority in Nigeria, as throughout the world, their number is growing. Catholic traditionalists see the ancient language of the Latin Mass as a sign of their faith’s stability and unity, an indication that Christ is the same yesterday,

**Just as Jacob displaces Esau, so one nation outpaces another in devotion.**

today and tomorrow. They would like to see it return worldwide, but for now, some of its strongest adherents have been in places like Nigeria, where historical tumult and ethnic strife have given traditionalists special reason to value this aspect of their faith. Six years ago, Bishop Ochiagha buried his friend Emeka Ojukwu, who had led the Biafran Republic in its rebellion against the Nigerian state. Bishop Ochiagha served Biafra as a diplomat and watched the rape and pillage that accompanied its defeat in 1970.

At that fraught moment, foreign priests were expelled from Nigeria by the government, and the vernacular liturgy was introduced by the Vatican. “The time of the liturgical change was not easy,” Bishop Ochiagha told me. “People thought the church was collapsing.” In one stroke, Catholics were cut off from their past. They also found it harder to pray. “The traditional Mass encourages reflection and prayer,” he said. “The new Mass gives itself to jamboree.”

So when one of Bishop Ochiagha’s priests asked permission in the 1990s to celebrate the Latin Mass again in Nigeria, the bishop agreed. The priest, the Rev. Evaristus Eshiwu, had studied in Los Angeles, where he was shocked by what he saw as the irreverence of American worship. He felt called by the Virgin Mary to revive a liturgy in which her son would be rightly honored. Returning to Nigeria, he began monthly recitations of 2,000 Rosaries, marathon prayer sessions that stretched from 8 p.m. to 3 a.m. and ended with the Latin Mass.

Traditional Catholicism is sometimes considered superstitious for the stress it places on formal devotions like the rosary and meatless Fridays, but such practices are what have made the faith appealing to all nations and classes. When bishops began to discard traditional devotions at the time of Vatican

II, the British anthropologist Mary Douglas accused them of turning the faith into an airy set of bourgeois ethical commitments. Liturgical change was a kind of class war. Available statistics bear her argument out: In the United States, Mass attendance remained stable among rich Catholics when the Latin Mass was abandoned, but dipped among the poor.

It is amazing that the leaders of a ritual faith imagined that they could dispense with traditional forms of prayer. Among the few elites who saw the folly of this project, most were artists, naturally alert to the way supposedly superficial things can in fact be essential. In a 1971 letter to Pope Paul VI, artists of all faiths and no faith — figures as varied as Vladimir Ashkenazy, Graham Greene and Agatha Christie — protested that the Latin Mass was a living work of art, belonging “to universal culture as well as to churchmen.”

Evelyn Waugh, a Catholic, realized that these external changes were connected with essential matters. “More than the aesthetic changes which rob the church of poetry, mystery and dignity,” he wrote, “there are suggested changes in faith and morals which alarm me.”

In “Summorum Pontificum,” Benedict noted that the church’s traditional liturgy introduced the barbarian nations of Europe not only to the Catholic faith but also to “the treasures of worship and culture amassed by the Romans.” It has a kind of “romanitas” that complements traditional cultures of all kinds.

This idea appeals to Edwin Mary Akaedu, a parishioner in this southeastern Nigerian town. He cites the parallels between the Latin Mass and the traditions of his Igbo tribe and views claims that the vernacular Mass can be more easily “inculturated” as misleading. “The idea of inculturation was not native,” he told me. “It was introduced. Like every Western fashion, it was quickly taken up by everyone.”

Mr. Akaedu said that at less traditional parishes he did not receive clear moral direction. “But here I was told: This is the right way to live, this is what God wants.”

Perpetua Iwuala, 16, told me the same thing: “The priests here tell you everything you need to know. They teach you the Commandments. At other parishes they don’t.”

Among the worshipers going up for communion in bright home-sewn garments printed with images of Mary and the saints, one boy stands out. He wears a gray T-shirt that reads, “Clan McLean Reunion, Fredericksburg, Va., 1997.” It looks like a castoff, something discarded by others but taken up here — just like the Latin Mass. When the liturgy is ended, children run around the churchyard crying out to each other: “Sixtus! Perpetua! Felicitas!” It could be a roll call of old Roman worthies. When a priest from a neighboring parish criticizes the traditional liturgy, a girl exclaims, “Father is a modernist!”

Catholics elsewhere have largely dispensed with condemnations of modernism, along with the Latin Mass. There is something biblical in the way these things have found new life in Nigeria. Just as Jacob displaces Esau, so one nation outpaces another in devotion. For this to work, one must have the humility to accept an inheritance. Christianity is a hand-me-down affair. It bears the marks of those who came before.

Shortly after his conversion to Catholicism, Evelyn Waugh wrote a story about a visitor to London who is cast



PIUS UTOIMI EKPEI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

500 years into the future, when the city is reduced to a cluster of huts. The English inhabitants are illiterate savages who cower as colonizers from Africa motor up and down the Thames. The traveler is disoriented, until his eyes fall on something he knows. “Out of strangeness, there had come into being something familiar; a shape in

chaos.” An African priest is saying the Latin Mass. Despite centuries of reversal and tumult, something “new and yet ageless” remained. When the Latin Mass was suppressed at the end of Waugh’s life, his youthful vision of it being said forever looked like folly. If it seems likelier today, it is due in part to people like Bishop Ochiagha and the

worshipers here who have preserved an inheritance rejected by others. Against all odds, the body of Christ remains “a shape in chaos,” marked but unbroken by the passing of time.

**A 30-foot-tall statue of Jesus in Abajah, in southeastern Nigeria.**

**MATTHEW SCHMITZ** is senior editor of *First Things* and a Robert Novak journalism fellow.

## The heirs of George Wallace

Roy Moore’s win in Alabama and the irony of Southern history in America.

Diane McWhorter

“Just wow,” Peggy and Mark Kennedy said to each other last week in Montgomery, Ala. On the TV, Roy Moore had just pulled a little pistol from a pocket of his cowboy costume to show his love for the Second Amendment. The next night he won the Republican nomination in the race to be their next senator.

Peggy, née Wallace, braced for a new round of interviews, having often been asked during the presidential campaign to compare Donald Trump with her father, the segregationist governor George C. Wallace. “But my daddy was qualified” for office, she would say, long since a supporter of Barack Obama.

She and Mr. Kennedy, a predecessor of Mr. Moore on the state Supreme Court, represent one current of Alabama history — a slice of the population yearning against the “fear and anger and hate” that Ms. Kennedy says her father exploited, and ultimately repented of. An irony of Southern history is the pride we take in the progress we tried so hard to thwart, whether it’s to cheer the Crimson Tide’s star-quarterback-who-happens-to-be-black, Jalen Hurts, or to give awards to native-born civil rights leaders like John Lewis, to whom Wallace famously apologized for the Selma bridge beating.

Partly this pride is a self-preservation mechanism of the Chamber of Commerce, which in Wallace’s heyday cringed at the uncouth antics of his largely rural supporters and ultimately joined the civil rights movement’s call for desegregation. So what’s remarkable today is the degree to which the classic Republican establishment has been captured by those mutant politicians — like Mr. Trump and Mr. Moore — recombinantly engineered by the party’s social Darwinist policies and id-emotion demagoguery.

The Republican Party has long preyed on the shame of dispossessed white voters. But that shame — over “being viewed as second-class citizens,” Mr. Kennedy said — has converted into a defiance that the party doesn’t yet seem to grasp.

“Populism” has become a convenient shorthand for the nihilistic backlash, and the term has come to invoke a collection of largely irrational cultural tropes. But this doesn’t do justice to the critique of capitalism at the heart of the insurgency.

Original, post-Reconstruction populism was the crucible in which the elite deformed the have-nots’ economic urgency into racial anxiety. Alabama yeomen had returned from the Civil War to face a sea change in agriculture, with those formerly independent farmers joining former slaves in peonage to the large landholders. By the 1880s,

under the Farmers Alliance, they were mounting a struggle of what one member called “organized labor against legalized robbery.” In 1892 they seceded from the Democratic Party. Strikingly, the new People’s Party, or Populists, included former slaves.

Realizing they had a revolution on their hands, the Democratic Party’s wealthy ex-Confederates and newly arrived Northern industrialists swiftly

**The G.O.P. has long preyed on alienated whites. Has it lost control?**

put this cross-racial revolt down. They cut off credit to Populist activists and expelled them from their churches; lynchings spiked. They also patented the

timeless rejoinders to “class warfare,” calling the Populists a “communistic ring” and, crucially, as one Alabama publication put it, “nigger lovers and nigger huggers.”

The power of racial shame ensured that this thwarted biracial uprising would be a fluke of history. When the white have-nots revolted in successive decades, they appropriated the elite’s racist shibboleths — and took them so much further than the haves ever intended. In 1926 they sent Hugo Black, the candidate of the resurgent Ku Klux Klan, to the Senate, where he became an architect of the New Deal (he later

became a staunch civil libertarian on the Supreme Court).

And even when the elites were in charge of the racism, they could not always control the monster white supremacy they had created. In Birmingham, the fire hoses and police dogs of Eugene Connor, known as Bull, a city commissioner installed by the “Big Mules,” not only hastened the end of legal segregation but also made his city kryptonite for economic development.

The axiom of unintended consequences is the same today, and explains why populism remains ideologically incoherent: Caught up in feel-good spasms of nativism, the base is willing to overlook the Trump administration’s elite, kleptocratic culture. And the tax-cut-hungry Republican establishment keeps sowing the whirlwind, under the assumption that, in Mr. Kennedy’s words, its base “would rather be poor than not be proud.” Though the party — and Mr. Trump — backed Mr. Moore’s button-down runoff opponent, Luther Strange, it has shown no hesitation in pivoting to the winner.

But the Alabama psyche is complex, and Mr. Trump may have misread it at the now legendary rally in Huntsville where he tore into knee-taking black N.F.L. players — many of whom come out of Alabama football programs and therefore, Mr. Kennedy dryly observed, “are family.” Not surprisingly, it is in the biracial character of modern football

that Alabamians feel comfortable expressing their redemptive impulses, so much so that Mr. Trump received a mild rebuke from the state’s spiritual leader, the Alabama football coach Nick Saban.

Also important to that redemption narrative is the South’s belated prosecution of civil rights era crimes, and one of its major protagonists is Doug Jones, Mr. Moore’s Democratic opponent for the Dec. 12 special election. As the United States attorney for North Alabama under Bill Clinton, Mr. Jones brought murder charges against the last two living suspects in Birmingham’s 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, which killed four black girls in 1963. (I have been friends with Mr. Jones since covering the two trials, in 2001 and 2002, at which the two defendants were convicted.)

While his appeal to black voters is self-evident, Mr. Jones is also culturally correct by Southern-white standards, a deer-hunting, bourbon-drinking, “Roll, Tide!” product of a Wallace-supporting household in Birmingham’s steel-mill suburbs, who did well as he did good. He is inarguably less “embarrassing” than Mr. Moore to the polite circles frequented by Mr. Strange, whose sister-in-law, Murray Johnston, a vocally anti-Trump quilt artist with whom I grew up in Birmingham, is working enthusiastically to elect Mr. Jones.

Not long ago, the path of progress

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OPINION

The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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BREAKING AMERICA’S OPIOID ADDICTION

The path to a national recovery from the deadliest health crisis in recent history exists — what doesn’t so far is the Trump administration’s full engagement.

Opioid addiction has developed such a powerful grip on Americans that some scientists have blamed it for lowering our life expectancy.

Drug overdoses, nearly two-thirds of them from prescription opioids, heroin and synthetic opioids, killed some 64,000 Americans last year, over 20 percent more than in 2015. That is also more than double the number in 2005, and nearly quadruple the number in 2000, when accidental falls killed more Americans than opioid overdoses.

The President’s Commission on Combating Drug Addiction and the Opioid Crisis said in July that its “first and most urgent recommendation” was for President Trump to declare a national emergency, to free up emergency funds for the crisis and “awaken every American to this simple fact: If this scourge has not found you or your family yet, without bold action by everyone, it soon will.” The commission’s final report is due out in a month.

Mr. Trump has not declared an emergency, and “bold” would not describe the steps the White House has taken so far. The president’s 2018 budget request increases addiction treatment funding by less than 2 percent, even including \$500 million already appropriated by Congress in 2016 under the 21st Century Cures Act.

Families across the United States are demanding that more be done to end the despair and devastation of addiction. Here are some steps to take — now. They include some of the recommendations of the president’s commission.

**SAVE LIVES** Active users need to be kept alive long enough to seek treatment. First responders and emergency rooms lack adequate supplies of naloxone, the medication that can save someone who has overdosed on opioids. Both federal and state health agencies can negotiate lower prices and expand access to naloxone, and provide encouragement to the pharmacies that are already offering it prescription-free in many states. Congress can help by passing legislation to protect the responders who administer naloxone from liability. The government also needs to spend more on needle exchange and clean syringe programs to combat the infectious diseases that are associated with sharing needles.

**COMBAT STIGMA** To help Americans — and even some physicians — appreciate the crisis, Dr. Kelly Clark, addiction psychiatrist and president of the American Society of Addiction Medicine, is calling for an effort like that used by the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to fight AIDS. In the 1980s, the agency sent a brochure, “Understanding AIDS,” to every residential mailing address in the United States to dispel myths and help Americans seeking treatment.

**SUPPORT MEDICATION-ASSISTED TREATMENT** One of the most effective methods of treating drug addiction is through continuing medication therapies like methadone, naltrexone and buprenorphine. Yet fewer than a third of conventional drug treatment centers in the United States take this approach. Instead, mental health agencies place the poor in ineffective, short-term programs with no follow-up. The federal government can encourage broader acceptance of this treatment by requiring that staff physicians, physician assistants and nurse practitioners in Veterans Health Administration hospitals and federally qualified health centers receive training; that Medicaid and Medicare expand coverage of continuing medication treatment; and that medication options approved by the Food and Drug Administration be available at treatment centers that receive federal funding.

**ENFORCE MENTAL HEALTH PARITY** Half to 70 percent of people with substance abuse problems also suffer from depression, post-traumatic stress or other mental health disorders, John Renner, president of the American Academy of Addiction Psychiatry, told the president’s commission in June. The Mental Health Parity and Addiction Equity Act of 2008 prohibits insurers that cover behavioral health from providing less-favorable benefits for mental health and addiction treatment than they offer for other medical therapies or surgery. The federal government needs to strictly enforce the mental health parity law, a job now left largely to the states, and educate Americans about their legal rights in dealing with insurers that cheat.

**TEACH PAIN MANAGEMENT** The opioid crisis is rooted in our health care system: American physicians prescribe opioids for pain management at far higher rates than physicians prescribe them in any other nation. Addiction to those drugs can lead to the use of heroin and fentanyl when prescriptions run out. In Massachusetts, the state worked with dental and medical schools to ensure that all students received training in the management of prescription opioids and prevention of their misuse. The federal Department of Education could make this a national requirement for all medical students.

This is by no means an exhaustive list. Strategies like “recovery high schools” for at-risk adolescents, safe injection sites and whole-family treatment programs are still being studied and debated. But the path to a national recovery from the deadliest health crisis in recent history exists.

Some have contrasted the national compassion toward the mainly white victims of opioid addiction and the government’s punishing response to the crack epidemic that devastated black communities. But let the damage done by that harshness be a lesson in how not to treat addicts. The government needs to save Americans, not cast them off.

Let workers join together for justice

David Freeman Engstrom

**STANFORD, CALIF.** In 1938, a 42-year-old autoworker named Florence St. John was angry about being paid less than men doing the same job on a General Motors assembly line in Lansing, Mich. Banding together with two dozen other women, she sued one of the world’s most powerful companies and — to the astonishment of all — won history’s first big damages award in a discrimination case.

Soon after her win hit the nation’s newspapers, legislative drives to enact “equal pay” laws spread rapidly to other states and Congress. But then came another surprise: Politically powerful unions quietly killed off bills that would have empowered women like St. John to bring class-action lawsuits challenging wage injustices. Litigation was too great a threat to labor’s control over workplace rules under the New Deal system of collective bargaining, union archives show.

St. John’s story might feel like dusty history, but it goes to the heart of three far-reaching cases that are scheduled to be argued on Monday at the Supreme Court. The question in these cases is whether workers are bound by company-imposed employment contracts requiring that they bring workplace complaints via arbitration rather than lawsuits, and that, further, they waive their right to bring these complaints in arbitration as class actions.

The cases are among the most watched this term, and for good reason.

Arbitration agreements with class-action waivers threaten the rights of the least powerful in America. Estimates are that as many as half of companies impose such agreements. This matters because workplace disputes, particularly those involving low-wage workers, aren’t usually worth enough money for a single wronged worker to pay a lawyer or court or arbitration costs. But aggregated, they become viable. If

**The U.S. Supreme Court is set to hear three cases on companies’ arbitration agreements that bar employees from pressing class action claims.**

workers can’t join together, they very likely can’t seek vindication at all. The alternative to collective arbitration is no arbitration.

St. John and the unions are relevant because of the legal issue at the core of the cases. The Federal Arbitration Act says arbitration agreements should be enforced.

And the Supreme Court has read the act for all it’s worth, repeatedly holding that parties are bound by such agreements no matter what and notwithstanding other interests. This, by the way, is why you most likely can’t sue your cellphone provider or credit card issuer in court and, once pushed into arbitration, you can’t join up with fellow customers.

But there’s a wrinkle in the employment context. The National Labor Relations Act, which came after the

arbitration act and established the current system of union-based collective bargaining, also protects “other concerted activities” by workers. Now the justices must ask: What exactly was Congress thinking — and also, what were unions, companies and workers like St. John thinking — those many decades ago when the labor relations act was passed into law? Should class actions count as “other concerted activities” and enjoy protection?

It may be tempting to use labor’s opposition to class actions in the wake of St. John’s lawsuit so many years ago to construe the N.L.R.A.’s protections narrowly and let the arbitration act trump them. After all, why would unions press Congress to include protections for class-action lawsuits they saw as a threat? But St. John’s story illuminates two important lessons that point in the other direction and should remain front and center in the justices’ minds.

First, St. John helps us to see the current cases as a pivotal battle in a much longer fight over how best to make the American workplace safe and fair. There are many ways to protect workers: union- and company-negotiated collective bargaining agreements dictating wages and work conditions; regulatory agencies making and enforcing workplace rules; or courts and lawsuits that allow workers to enforce such rules themselves.

The problem is that the first two options have gone out the window in recent decades. Union membership hit an all-time low in 2016. And government agencies, after a sustained conservative

attack, are also on the ropes. The cases before the court are so consequential because they could complete the circle by striking litigation as a viable option for many workers long after the alternatives — including the collective bargaining system labor sought to protect after St. John’s lawsuit — have faded from view.

This would be tragic because of a second lesson history teaches us: Litigation is often the only weapon individuals like St. John have against institutions with powerful incentives to block or blunt their claims of right. Over time these institutions have included discriminatory unions and predatory corporations, but they have also included the government itself, as when citizens sue an administrative agency that violates the Constitution or Congress’s instructions to do or not do something. Litigation can, of course, be inefficient. But it has long given the disempowered an entree into a political and regulatory system that is too often closed to them. It is the great leveler for workers like St. John.

Florence St. John’s story reminds us that, some 70 years ago, employers, unions and women’s groups fought a similar battle to the one playing out before the Supreme Court about how best to protect workers. Then, at least, the class action lost. The court shouldn’t let that happen again without first considering the high stakes for St. John’s workplace heirs.

DAVID FREEMAN ENGSTROM, a professor at Stanford Law School, is completing a book on the history of American employment laws.



Women of the Olds Motor Works in Portland, Mich., in 1939. Among them are at least three assignors from the St. John case: Marietta Anderson, Emma Scoby, and Lena Swartz.

Stamped out

Eugene L. Meyer

**SILVER SPRING, MD.** I got rid of my stamp collection the other day. It was no great loss from a monetary standpoint. The emotional loss, though, was enormous.

There was a time when my collection might have fetched a good amount, because there was a time when people cared about stamps. They used them to mail bills, letters and postcards, and in the process paid attention to what was on them. You didn’t have to be a collector to value the beautiful, quirky and rare.

Today, many if not most bills are paid online. Letters are rarely written and sent; email suffices. Stamps are still used occasionally, if rarely saved or savored. And most of what passes for stamps are generic images printed on demand at a postal kiosk.

Stamps were, and sometimes still are, things of beauty and history, links to distant places that spawned a global hobby known as philately, or, simply, stamp collecting. Putting a bright spotlight on the hobby was none other than President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the philatelist in chief, often shown in official White House photographs with a magnifying glass, viewing his collection.

Before hours wasted on video games and other ephemeral pleasures, the hobby transfixed and transported youngsters. Stamps were the adhesive coins of the realm, a way to learn geography, history and politics.

Every high school had its stamp club. I never joined one, but I did earn the stamp collecting merit badge in Boy Scouts (thankfully, the badge still exists), and I amassed a sizable collection from various sources.

I received foreign stamps from one of

my dad’s well-traveled co-workers. On my own, I pursued new domestic issues, sending a stamped self-addressed envelope to post offices of issue. The envelope would come back with the new stamp and the dated postmark with the special “First Day of Issue” cancellation. For each new “commemorative” stamp, I acquired a “plate block” of four stamps ripped from the corner of a sheet of stamps, printed on the first day. Even the United Nations issued stamps, which could be sent only from the United Nations headquarters in Manhattan, and I collected them, too.

There were stamp shows and dealers who would advertise in the back pages of comic books. For a few bucks they’d send you a package of loose stamps to get you hooked. Stamp collecting could be addictive, and for many in my generation it was.

But there comes a time to let go of childish things, and the stamps, plate blocks and first-day covers I collected in the 1950s had sat in a box in the basement for too many years, unlooked at, unattended to, low-hanging fruit in my efforts to downsize.

So off I went, with my collection, first to Maryland Stamps and Coins, open for 42 years and among the dwindling

number of businesses still serving a dying hobby.

There I learned the sad truth: There is no longer a market for the collection I once so greatly valued. Collectors are passing on at an alarming rate; the average collector, I was told, is 65 to 70 years old. There was a time when the Inverted Jenny stamp was a household name; though examples continue to fetch seven figures at auction, how many people have even heard of it?

Judy Johnson, the membership manager of the American Philatelic Society, the world’s largest nonprofit organization

**In the internet age, philately has lost its once-worldly charms.**

ment for stamp collectors, confirmed all of this. The society has 28,953 members today, compared with 56,532 two decades years ago — a 50 percent drop in 20 years, and prospects are not good.

“Trying to bring in the younger 30-to-50-year-old crowd is really difficult,” she said. The continuing decline is because of “things you can’t control, illness and death.”

The Maryland stamp dealer had no commercial use for my collection. But, he said, I could donate them to Stamps for the Wounded, a veterans organization. It was, the brochure he handed me stated, “Philately’s Volunteer Service Committee.” I called Bruce Unkel, who helps organize donations. He invited me to bring my collection to a storage facility in Falls Church, Va., where, every Saturday for four hours, volunteers sort and prepare the donations for shipment to Veterans Affairs hospitals and residences across the country.

Arriving at the facility, I walked through deserted hallways to reach the locker where three men, Bruce, 76, Larry, 74, and Drew (“just old,” he told me), sat and sorted. Except for when the facility “puts their intercom on and we get music and advertisements,” Drew said, it is quiet in the storage unit where they go about their work.

On average, they get one collection a week. It cost \$30 to ship a box, and they ship about eight a month, mostly to veterans of Vietnam and Korea. In addition to stamps, they accept cash, to cover the cost of the storage rental and, well, postage. All three men still collect, but Bruce won’t touch anything “worldwide” issued after 1970 because there is just too much of it, and every two years you must buy a new stamp album to accommodate new additions.

It is all just too much, even for the die-hards.

EUGENE L. MEYER is a journalist and author.

DMITRY KOSTYUKOV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES





# Trump’s fog machine

**Timothy Egan**  
Contributing Writer

Do you remember what monstrous, contemptible or demonstrably false thing Donald Trump said one year ago? Six months ago? O.K., last week? Probably not. The effect of this presidency-by-horrors is to induce amnesia in the public, as if we’d all been given a memory-loss drug.

To recap: A year ago, Trump lied repeatedly in his first debate with Hillary Clinton, and was reminded that he had called women pigs, slobs and dogs. Six months go, he settled for \$25 million two lawsuits and a fraud case regarding his phony university, a huckster scheme that duped people out of their personal savings. And last week, he unleashed an attack on the free-speech rights of athletes, using a profanity that could not be repeated on the news without a warning to children.

It’s. All. Going. According. To. Plan. The Trump presidency is a monumental failure on multiple levels. None of what he has promised — the wall, paid for by Mexico, repealing Obamacare, “so much winning” — has been achieved. He’s made much of the world hate us, and a majority of his fellow citizens believe that he is unfit for office.

But while his legislative agenda is in tatters, his master strategy — throwing out distraction bombs on a regular basis, while turning the screws of power toward a backward era — is working. In just the last two weeks, he has allowed a humanitarian crisis affecting more than three million American citizens to fester, reportedly mocked a dying senator, and threatened to annihilate a nation of 25 million people.

But what are we talking about? Football. And whether the people who play the sport have the same right as every

other American to express themselves — which, legally, is not even a question. In Trump’s view, athletes should just shut up and take their brain damage. While Americans in Puerto Rico clung to life on an island without power or adequate water and food, Trump tweeted 24 times about football.

What’s been forgotten at times in the blur of bloviation is astonishing. Possibly colluding with Russia to hijack an American election. Firing the F.B.I. director who was looking into that maze of questions. Pulling out of the Paris climate accord. Rolling back protections for clean air, water and workplace

**His legislative agenda is in tatters, but his master strategy — throwing out distraction bombs — is working.**

safety. Losing half his staff to scandal, deceit or overt idiocy. He has made a joke of civility, promoted bullying and sexual assault by his words. He pardons one criminal, a racist sheriff found guilty of contempt of court, and implies that he would do the same thing for the people around him who may have sold their country out to Russia.

This week, we learned his White House is full of high-ranking staffers doing the very thing for which he said Hillary Clinton should be locked up — mixing private emails with government business. He failed, again, with something he promised would happen on Day 1 — repealing Obamacare. He also lost a Senate race in which he had a personal stake; he now backs a lawbreaking bigot, the former judge Roy Moore, to fill that seat in Alabama.

If a Muslim said the things that Roy Moore has said — calling homosexuality a “crime against nature,” advocating government by theocracy — Trump supporters would be crying Shariah law.

But Moore gets a pass, “a great guy,” the president called this deranged man.

The Trump Fog Machine erased all his Tweets supporting the other guy in Alabama. No need for that. We do it for him, by following the fresh distractions. Trump is not Teflon. Things do stick to him. But he survives by saying or doing something so outrageous, so regularly, that we forget the last atrocity, and turn on one another.

So, this week his cabinet official charged with taking away health care from the poor and cutting the budget for cancer research is using our money to fly private planes at his pleasure. The multimillionaire treasury secretary wanted the same perk for his honeymoon. And the E.P.A. director is spending a small taxpayer fortune to cocoon himself inside a high-security bubble — all the more to keep inconvenient scientific facts from getting to him.

Trump will make us forget these government grifters with some fresh tweet. He’s already tweeted the word “loser” 234 times, “incompetent” 92 times and “pathetic” 72 times. Call them projection tweets, showing the man for what he truly is. But they take us away from the serious damage he is doing to the country. He does the same thing at his hate-filled rallies.

Now it’s taxes. He’s already lied about whether his tax plan will benefit the rich and his own family. It will, by eliminating the estate tax, and ensuring that the top 1 percent will get nearly 50 percent of the windfall.

Those details will soon be lost in the Trump Fog Machine. He will say something awful, do something horrible, insult some vulnerable person. We will be shocked just long enough to forget what happened yesterday.

**TIMOTHY EGAN**, a former national correspondent for *The Times*, writes about the environment, the American West and politics.

# Kneeling versus winning



David Leonhardt

When a young organizer named John Lewis spoke at the March on Washington in August 1963, he delivered a scorching rebuke of racism and its “political, economic and social exploitation.” But Lewis also did something else: He aligned his side, the civil rights movement, with the symbols and ideals of America.

The marchers would not rest, he said from the Lincoln Memorial steps, “until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete.”

It was a deliberate strategy. Even as the movement’s leaders raged, most justifiably, against their country’s oppression of them — and even as their enemies called them traitors — they cast themselves as patriots, the historian Simon Hall has noted. They urged the country to live up to its founding creed. They knew that by doing so, they gave themselves the best chance to win their fight.

In one of his first prominent speeches, during the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, Martin Luther King Jr. spoke of “the glory of America, with all its faults.” At the March on Washington, King described not just a dream but “a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.” Before finishing, he recited the first seven lines of “My Country, ‘Tis of Thee,” ending with “Let freedom ring!”

A year-and-a-half later, marchers from Selma to Montgomery carried American flags. Segregationist hecklers along the route held up Confederate flags. Within six months, Lyndon Johnson had signed the Voting Rights Act.

Symbols matter in politics. They often matter more than the detailed arguments that opposing sides make. Symbols are a shortcut that help persuadable outsiders figure out where to line up.

The professional athletes doing political battle with President Trump are heirs to the civil-rights movement.

They are protesting government-sanctioned violence against African-Americans. Risking popularity for principle, they have shown a courage frequently lacking among the affluent and famous.

Trump, meanwhile, is heir to yesterday’s racist demagogues. He called an athlete “a son of a bitch” not long after saying that white supremacists included “very fine people.” (This weekend, he used an insulting stereotype against, of all people, Puerto Ricans.)

From a moral standpoint, this issue is clear. The athletes are right — and have every right to protest as they have. Trump is wrong, about the scourge of police violence and about freedom of speech.

But righteousness does not automatically bring effectiveness. And as someone who cheers when Stephen Curry or Von Miller speaks out and makes the president look small, I’ve reluctantly become convinced that many athletes are making a tactical mistake.

Yes, the athletes and their allies can make nuanced, genuine arguments about why kneeling during the national anthem is not meant as a rebuke to the entire country. Liberals have rallied to their side, almost uniformly. I have the same instinct.

Winning over a modest goal. The kneeling argument needlessly alienates persuadable people, and it’s one the athletes don’t need. Almost 70 percent of Americans get that the protests are directed at police violence or Trump and not the flag, according to a YouGov/HuffPost poll. Yet only 36 percent consider the kneeling protest to be “appropriate.”

Why? Because most Americans respect the country’s symbols and because standing is a simple sign of respect. You stand to greet someone. You stand at weddings and in church. You stand for ovations. Sitting while others stand sends a different message.

Beyond the athletes, there is a bigger question: Do Trump’s opponents want to oppose him in ways that are merely just and satisfying? Or do they want to beat him? “You can’t get angry,” as the longtime activist Vernon Jordan has said, describing a different civil-rights battle, in the 1950s. “You have to get smart.”



Civil rights activists carrying the American flag on the march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., in 1965.

Getting smart means nominating progressive candidates who can win, even if they aren’t progressive on every issue. Getting smart means delaying internal fights (like single-payer health care) and unifying against Trump’s agenda (as Democrats in Congress have). Getting smart means understanding, as civil-rights leaders did, that American symbols are a worthy ally.

The athletes shouldn’t apologize for anything. Those who continue to kneel, and draw ire, deserve support. But the smart move now is not to expand a tactic that Trump loves as a foil. It’s to shift toward protests that don’t need a counterintuitive and distracting defense, while he gets to bleat on about America first.

The protests can still be aggressive — like the “I can’t breathe” shirts in the N.B.A., and much more. Trump, of course, will blast any protest as some version of uppity. But so what? The target audience are the many Americans open to opposing police violence and a bullying president — but uncomfortable with a gesture that seems to oppose America itself.

The athletes, after all, are the true patriots here, defending life, liberty and equality under the law. They’re also intensely competitive people. They are familiar with the idea of finding a way to win.

# Death of the European left

BERMAN, FROM PAGE 1

The second camp is an anti-globalization far left, represented by the Occupy movement, Jeremy Corbyn’s wing of Britain’s Labour Party and Syriza in Greece. This camp took seriously the market’s downsides but saw few up-sides. Lacking a conviction that capitalism can and should be reformed, these parties generally offer an impractical mishmash of attacks on the wealthy, protectionism, increased welfare spending and high taxes. These policies may appeal to the angry and frustrated, but they turn off voters looking for viable policy and a progressive, rather than utopian, view of the future.

During the postwar decades, social democracy promoted solidarity and a sense of shared national purpose so as to avoid the fractures that undermined European democracy during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In contrast to Communists, who exclusively focused on class conflict, the center-left built bridges between workers and others. And in contrast to the individualism of classical liberals and many conservatives, the center-left’s emphasis was on citizens’ obligations to one another and the government’s duty to promote the good of society.

By the late 20th century, however, this understanding of social democracy’s goals had been largely abandoned. Some failed to address concerns generated by social and cultural change, either out of lack of understanding or out of a hope that solving economic problems would make them disappear. Others uncritically embraced these changes, promoting both cosmopolitanism and the interests and cultural distinctiveness of minority groups. This camp became associated with the politically deadly idea that strong national identities were anachronistic, even dangerous, and citizens made uneasy by their erosion were bigots.

These attitudes have fragmented the left’s constituency and made it impossible to rebuild the social solidarity or sense of shared national purpose necessary to support high taxes, robust wel-

fare programs and activist governments.

But the decline of the center-left has larger implications. Most obviously, it has created a space for a populist right whose commitment to liberalism, and even democracy, is questionable. In many European countries, now including Germany, these parties have succeeded in part by attracting groups that have historically supported the center-left, like workers and the uneducated, by forthrightly addressing the economic fears generated by globalization as well as those generated by social and cultural change.

During the postwar period, European politics was dominated by competition between a center-left and center-right that offered real policy differences but agreed on the basic framework of liberal, capitalist democracy. These parties were large enough to form governments, set agendas and get policies enacted.

But as the outcome of the recent German elections makes clear, the center-left’s electoral demise has rendered it unable to form stable, coherent governments — which makes it more difficult to solve problems and leaves voters more frustrated with traditional parties and institutions.

This is one part of what has allowed populists to make inroads, as was clear during the German elections, where the far-right Alternative for Germany party promoted itself as the true “alternative” to the status quo. Even many within the Social Democrats acknowledged their party lacked a vision of where it wanted Germany to go.

If the Social Democrats and other center-left parties are unable once again to offer voters solutions to the challenges their countries face, their decline will continue, populism will flourish and democracy will decay.

**SHERI BERMAN** is a professor of political science at Barnard College and the author of the forthcoming “*Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Regime to the Present Day.*”

# The heirs of Wallace

MCWHORTER, FROM PAGE 15

seemed inevitable. At the time of the church bombing, after which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. told Wallace that “the blood of our little children is on your hands,” the governor seemed to be the toxic tribune of a fading order. That arc of the universe seemed on track 23 years later when Alabama’s Democratic senator Howell Heflin, Mr. Jones’s old boss, cast the decisive vote against a federal judgeship for Jeff Sessions. In 1986, Mr. Sessions was considered beyond the moral pale.

Now Mr. Sessions is the attorney general, having vacated Mr. Heflin’s old Senate seat (the same one Mr. Moore and Mr. Jones hope to fill), and his zealous nativism set the scene for a winning presidential campaign. Donald Trump has upended the reconciliation script, recasting white nationalists as the victims — of an elite that includes an Ayn Rand-reading Republican House speaker as well as an arugula-eating black Democrat.

Defiance is now an epidemic as pervasive as opioids, and Alabama has transformed from backwoods to bellwether. While the press plays the defeat of Mr. Trump’s tepidly endorsed candidate as a debate over the prestige of his coattails, the president has swung the sacred trust of his office, the legacy of Lincoln, behind a candidate whose very existence confirms a republic in peril.

Meanwhile, Doug Jones studiously rejects the pressures of destiny, sticking to “kitchen-table issues” and staking his hopes on the voters’ “strong streak of independence” and a sense that “the health care debate has changed some dynamics down here.” After all, to this red state the most important tide of history is crimson.

**DIANE MCWHORTER** is the author of “*Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, the Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution.*”

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# Culture

## Stars’ belongings dazzle bidders

LONDON

Personal possessions of Audrey Hepburn and Vivien Leigh are auctioned

BY SCOTT REYBURN

“In the future, everyone will be world-famous for 15 minutes,” Andy Warhol once pronounced.

The much-repeated quote, dating from 1968, may in fact be apocryphal. Yet even Warhol, were he alive today, might be amazed that now, thanks to the internet, everyone can be famous for 15 seconds.

The changing dynamics of fame were evident here last week when the collections of the Hollywood stars Audrey Hepburn and Vivien Leigh came up for public auction. The sales, one at Christie’s and the other at Sotheby’s, were held days after the Saatchi Gallery hosted a two-day “immersive experience” to celebrate 10 years of the hit reality-TV show “Keeping Up With the Kardashians.”

“With today’s celebrities, their lives are lived in the public forum,” said Julie Lobalzo Wright, a teaching fellow at the University of Warwick in England who specializes in film and multimedia stardom. “But there’s a harking back to the aura of the Hollywood star.”

“There’s a longing for that sense of mystique, of not knowing everything,” she continued, adding that a sense of mystery surrounding older stars made fans want to own something the celebrities might have used, “that makes them real.”

Ms. Leigh, who won best actress Academy Awards for her performances in “Gone With the Wind” (1940) and “A Streetcar Named Desire” (1952), and Ms. Hepburn, who won that coveted Oscar for her role in “Roman Holiday” (1954), and greater fame for her depiction of Holly Golightly in “Breakfast at Tiffany’s,” were two of the most dazzling stars of Hollywood’s golden era.

But the two auctions appealed to subtly different audiences.

At Christie’s, the 246-lot Audrey Hepburn “private collection” sale, held on Wednesday by her sons, Luca Dotti and Sean Hepburn Ferrer, consisted mainly of photographs and fashion items. Ms. Hepburn was one of the great global style icons of the 1950s and ’60s, and the live sale (there is also an online-only auction that runs through Wednesday) attracted the most internet bids ever at a Christie’s auction.

It raised 4.6 million pounds, or about \$6.2 million, seven times the estimate, with 30 percent of lots bought by online bidders. All the lots sold, and thanks to those internet bids the event took a marathon 10 hours.

The sensation of the auction was the £632,750 given for Ms. Hepburn’s original working script for “Breakfast at



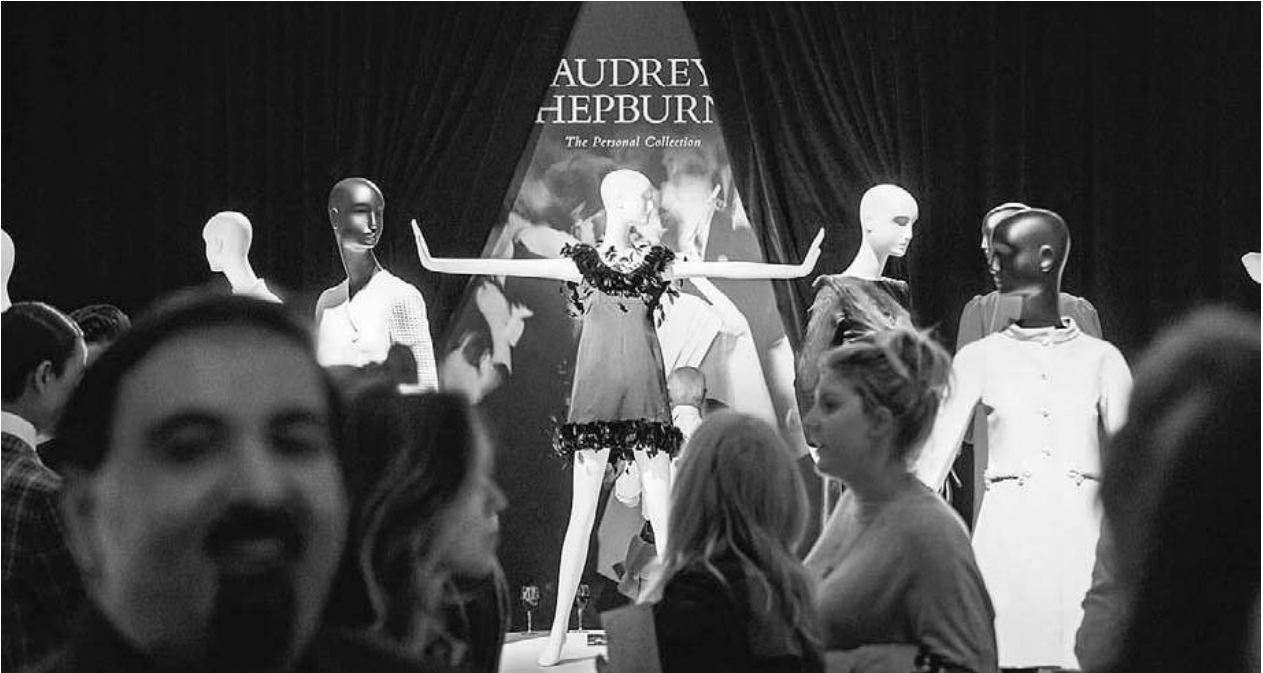
Above, the Vivien Leigh stardust inspired a succession of high prices at Sotheby’s last week. Below left, a 1930s Winston Churchill still-life of roses that the actress owned drew the top bid. Below right, more than 1,000 Audrey Hepburn admirers attended an event at Christie’s before a sale of some of her personal effects.



Tiffany’s,” the 1961 film that defined her career as an actress — and turned her into a style icon.

The price was a salesroom high for any film script offered at auction. Estimated at £60,000 to £90,000, it was bought, suitably enough, by Tiffany & Company, represented in the room by its archivist, Annamarie V. Sandeck.

The “Breakfast at Tiffany’s” section of the auction generated intense bidding, with a further £81,250 offered by a telephone bidder for a black-and-white still



from the movie that had been signed by Ms. Hepburn and her co-star, George Peppard. It had been estimated at £2,000 to £3,000.

“She had a classic elegance that’s timeless,” said Julia Thompson, 35, a neurologist who was among the 1,200 or so Hepburn admirers who attended an

evening of stylish Christie’s events before the sale. “That’s why people go to Tiffany’s. It was famous because of her.”

As for Ms. Leigh, she was a lover of England and the theater, from an earlier generation of actresses. Her 321-lot collection, offered last Tuesday at Sotheby’s by her three grandsons, featured

traditional furnishings and artworks from the homes in London and Buckinghamshire she shared with her second husband, the actor Laurence Olivier.

The Vivien Leigh stardust inspired a succession of high prices for antiques that would have been worth little if owned by less celebrated mortals.

## ‘The Third Tenor’ exits

José Carreras reflects on Pavarotti, Domingo, and his own brush with death

BY MICHAEL COOPER

To many people whose knowledge of opera began and ended with the Three Tenors juggernaut, he was known, in the words of a memorable “Seinfeld” episode, as “the other guy”: the tenor who wasn’t Luciano Pavarotti or Plácido Domingo.

But to those who heard José Carreras in his prime, he was unforgettable in his own right, with a meltingly beautiful voice and movie-star looks. He was well on his way to operatic stardom before he was 30; inaugurated Franco Zeffirelli’s still-popular production of Puccini’s “La Bohème” at the Metropolitan Opera in 1981; and sold millions of recordings.

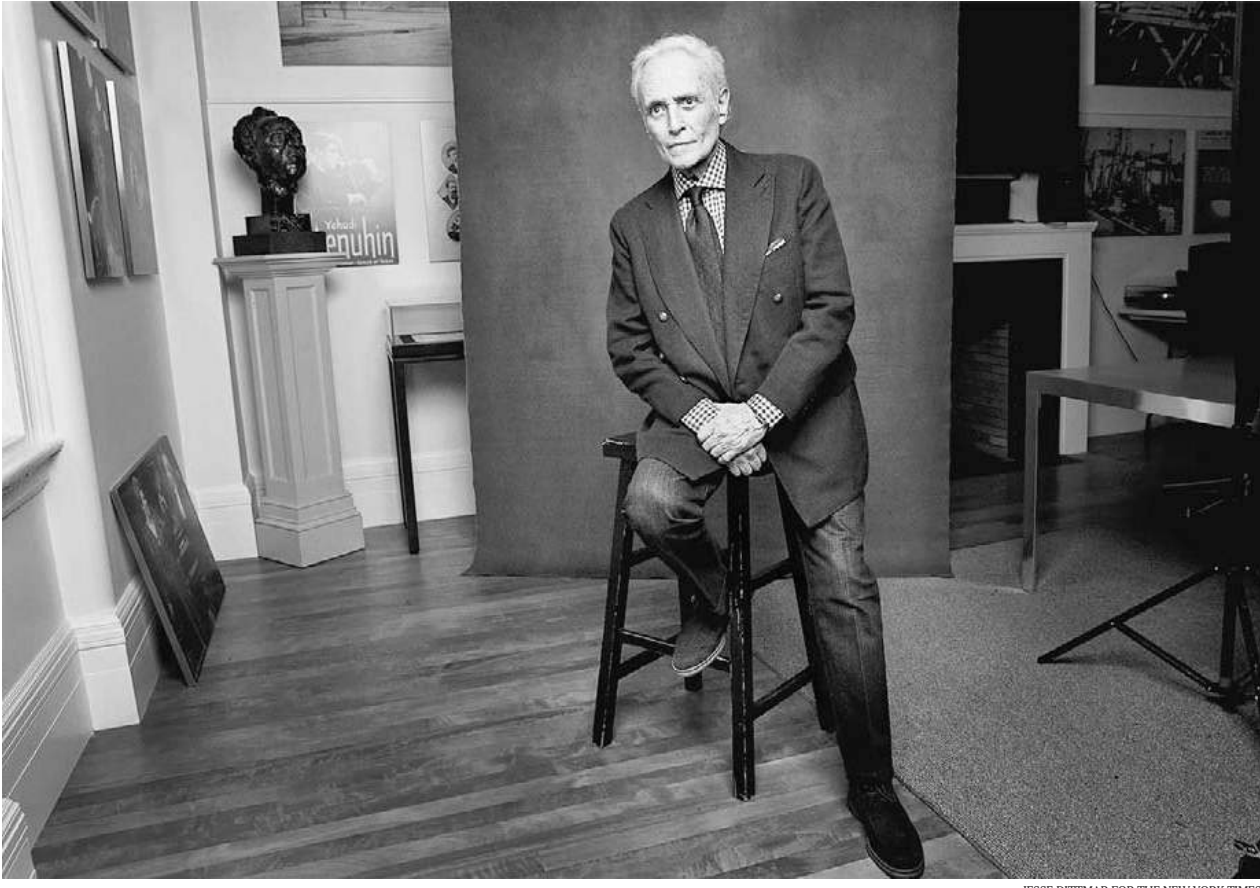
Then, at 40, he was stricken by leukemia, given long odds of survival and forced to undergo months of grueling treatment. He did not know if he would live, let alone sing again.

But he recovered, and his next act was remarkable. When Mr. Pavarotti and Mr. Domingo decided to salute his comeback — and the World Cup finals — by singing a concert with him at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome in 1990, the Three Tenors, a best-selling crossover phenomenon, was born. Since then Mr. Carreras has enjoyed a career mostly as a concert artist, while working with the Josep Carreras Leukemia Foundation, his first name given its original Catalan spelling.

Now, at 70, he is retiring from singing, on a long world tour that took him to Carnegie Hall last week. He reflected on his career in an interview backstage at the hall. Here are edited excerpts from the conversation.

**How did you decide when to call it a day?**

Sooner or later you have to face the reality, no? To stop your professional



José Carreras at Carnegie Hall, a stop on his final tour, and right, flanked by Plácido Domingo, left, and Luciano Pavarotti.

life. The projects I have now go through 2018 and maybe part of 2019 — two years from now. Every time that I go on stage now, I realize much more how I enjoy it, and I realize that the end is very close — so I enjoy it more and more. But I don’t think more than two years.

**Is it melancholy to think of this being your last Carnegie performance?**

I was thinking today, the first time I ever sang here was in Verdi’s “I Lombardi,” with Eve Queler, and that was December ’72. It sounds scary, but it’s true!

**Tell me about when you got leukemia, in 1987. You were 40 years old and filming “La Bohème” in Paris. What happened?**

I felt exhausted, bad enough that even in the middle of working I told a friend, “Look, I want to go to a hospital to have a checkup.”

I went, they made some tests, and a few hours later they told me I had to stay for the night. I said, “What? Are you kidding? There’s a crew waiting for me.”

Altogether, I was in hospitals for 11 months. The chances were really very poor. But I’ve been extremely lucky.

**How did the Three Tenors come about?**

Let’s face it, people think there is a lot of rivalry between tenors, and particularly at the time with Plácido and Luciano. I talked to my colleagues, and from the first moment they were happy with the idea. It was very soon after my recovery, and they thought that with this they could give me a welcome back.

**Did you imagine it would become such a huge success?**

It was unbelievable. It was also unbelievable the kind of relationship we



MARK J. TERRILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

had, the three of us. The three of us are tenor lovers, so we had the possibility to enjoy ourselves very much. And on top of that we are completely different personalities, and kinds of artists, and physically also very different from one another. And I think that created a kind of chemistry.

**When you look back at your opera career, was there a particular role that you felt suited you best, or a performance where you felt most successful?**

Maybe I sound arrogant, but I think the best performance, if I think about a performance that was a step forward to a higher level, was my debut at La Scala [in Milan] with “Un Ballo in Maschera.” That was in ’75. That night I was really very lucky. At your debut at La Scala to give your best, this is lucky.

**Some critics thought that you sang some dramatic roles, like Radamès in “Aida,” too soon, and it damaged your voice.**

Why did I sing Radames in “Aida”? Because that was Salzburg, with Her-

Ms. Leigh’s 19th-century gilded brass mechanical pencil, for example, sold for £1,875, against a low estimate of £100. It was one of many lots bought by British fans in the room.

Her collection raised a total of £2.2 million, again with all the lots finding buyers. The double-celebrity allure of a 1930s Winston Churchill still-life of roses that Ms. Leigh had owned inspired at least five bidders to push to £638,750, the top price of the event and more than six times the upper estimate — it went to a telephone bidder. Churchill was an admirer (as was Stalin, according to Sotheby’s catalog) of the actress’s depiction of Emma Hamilton, the lover of Lord Nelson, in the 1941 movie “That Hamilton Woman.” He gave the painting to Ms. Leigh in 1951.

An altogether different, more contemporary notion of celebrity was represented by the Kardashian pop-up at the Saatchi Gallery on Sept. 22 and 23.

Billed by E! Entertainment Television as “two days of unmissable experiences including: ultimate selfie opportunities, makeup master classes, and more,” the inaugural free exhibition reconstructed the staircase of the six-bedroom, eight-bathroom mansion in California owned by Kris Jenner, whose first husband was the lawyer Robert Kardashian. Ms. Jenner has 17.9 million followers on Instagram.

Though no Kardashian family members were present, nor any of their possessions, the event nonetheless attracted 200 visitors an hour, according to the Saatchi Gallery.

“In some ways, celebrity hasn’t changed, but the ways of accessing it has, particularly the speed with which you can now access information digitally,” said Ms. Wright of Warwick University.

“In the past, you had to wait for a fan magazine. People used to collect autographs. Now we have selfies.”

Will the thrill of taking selfies with celebrities — or in simulations of their hallways — replace the desire to possess objects that had been part of famous people’s lives? Do today’s digital stars have objects fans want to own?

“They will have stuff, and it can be sold, either in live or online auctions,” said Martin J. Nolan, executive director at Julien’s Auctions, a salesroom in Los Angeles specializing in celebrity memorabilia. “The question is whether celebrities like the Kardashians have the staying power of Audrey Hepburn or Vivien Leigh.”

Julien’s coming “Icons & Idols” sale, on Nov. 17, will include a souvenir miniature wedding cake from the 2005 marriage of Donald J. Trump and Melania Knauss. Thought to be one of about 300 such souvenirs of the day, it is estimated at \$1,000 to \$2,000.

Is the former reality-TV star and current president of the United States the sort of celebrity who can shine in this specialist market?

“We’re about to find out,” Mr. Nolan said.

bert von Karajan, the Vienna Philharmonic, Mirella Freni, etc., etc. If you don’t take this opportunity as an artist — I’m not talking about career, or business, but as an artist. To have this extreme joy of being not just in the first league, but at the top of the very first league — you have to take this risk.

When you are a young singer you’re told: “You have to sing with the interest, not with the capital.” But the capital is your voice. You have to use your capital! In business, when you invest in something, you have to use your capital.

**What do you most enjoy singing now?**

In the end, what I realized is that what the audience wants to listen to is the repertoire I enjoy myself: the Italian songs, the Spanish songs, Neapolitan songs. I sang a recital a couple of years ago at La Scala, and somebody asked me at a news conference, “Ah, but your repertoire, Mr. Carreras, is so-and-so.”

I said, “Look, I’ve sung in this beautiful opera house more than 40 years. Allow me to enjoy myself now!”



# If they don't believe you, put it in print

Maria Sharapova discusses why she wrote her new memoir, 'Unstoppable'

BY JOHN WILLIAMS

Since shocking the tennis world with her win over Serena Williams in the 2004 Wimbledon finals, Maria Sharapova has spent time as the No. 1 player in the world, a glamorous pitchwoman whose endorsement deals run in the tens of millions of dollars and a figure of controversy. Last year, the Russian-American star tested positive for meldonium, a drug that had been recently banned by the International Tennis Federation. She returned to the court earlier this year after serving a 15-month suspension. Sharapova has now also written a memoir, "Unstoppable," looking back at her life and career. It arrives a few months after she turned 30 — not exactly old age in tennis but getting there. In the book, Sharapova writes about Serena Williams, who turns 36 this month and continues to dominate the sport: "Serena and I should be friends: we love the same thing, we have the same passion. . . . But we are not friends — not at all." Below, in an email interview, Sharapova talks about her unlikely beginnings, how her book transformed into a rallying cry for over-achievers, the way art and fashion inspire her and more.

**When did you first get the idea to write this book?**  
From the moment I won Wimbledon, at age 17, my career has been documented. But it was as if someone just put me inside a television screen and handed me the Wimbledon plate. I seemed to have come out of nowhere. When the questions started pouring in about how I got there, when I began telling the story of what brought me to that moment of victory, no one believed it. Your mother was pregnant with you when the Chernobyl reactor blew up, only 30 kilometers away? You were spotted by Martina Navratilova at age 6? Your father convinced a U.S. immigration officer to give him a visa



Two views of Maria Sharapova at the U.S. Open in August. She returned to the court this year following a 15-month suspension after testing positive for a banned drug.

to bring his 6½-year-old daughter to the United States to become a tennis player? I would tell journalists these stories, but no one really believed them, because it was such a crazy tale. So I decided to write about it.

**What's the most surprising thing you learned while writing it?**  
I think, first of all, I was really struck and moved by the tough decisions and the setbacks my father, Yuri, had to face in our early years here. I interviewed him extensively for this book, because I was so little when we came here. I hadn't really thought about how

tough it had been for him — to leave his home, my mother (who couldn't get a visa for years), to land in the middle of the night in Florida with no English at all. We came here with only \$700, and he lost that almost immediately. We moved through a series of Florida tennis factories before we were secure. But my father is a believer in getting through. He took endless odd jobs; he did everything he could to make my career happen. I interviewed a lot of my coaches, too, for the book. That was so interesting to me. On the court, it is just you facing your opponent. But the truth is, you are always part of a team.

I also was surprised by how comfortable I became, writing this book, with honesty and vulnerability. I've faced my career and my job with laser tunnel vision, my guard up. But in these pages is the young girl who had to overcome obstacles over and over again.

**In what way is the book you wrote different from the book you set out to write?**

As I worked on it, and when I read it now, the book became less about my life and more about inspiring others who have a dream of being the best. I was never the strongest, the fastest or the smartest among other kids. But I've always loved to hit. For me, it's the one thing that can fix any problem. I had a coach once who said, "Hit until you win." Knock me down? I get back up. Again and again, my father taught me to do that. Is it being competitive? Russian? Disciplined? Maybe all three.

**Who is a creative person (not a writer) who has influenced you and your work?**

One of my favorite artists is a Japanese woman named Yayoi Kusama. I am really inspired by individuals who consistently do out-of-the-box work; work that makes you wonder, think, question. Things that don't necessarily have an explanation.

I also enjoy following Sarah Burton's career as creative director of Alexander McQueen. She took on an incredible challenge and delivers, collection after collection. And I like her approach: she stays out of the limelight, but behind the scenes her creativity is as newsworthy as ever.

**Persuade someone to read "Unstoppable" in 50 words or less.**

This is not a book about tennis, but about a little girl with a big dream: to become a tennis champion. It's about what it takes to achieve that. Courage. Discipline. The drive to overcome setbacks. Because there will be plenty of them. You have to believe you're unstoppable.

*This interview has been condensed and edited.*

# With a friend like him, they didn't need enemies

BOOK REVIEW

**DIFFICULT WOMEN: A MEMOIR OF THREE**  
By David Plante. 185 pp. New York Review Books. \$16.95.

BY PARUL SEHGAL

In the annals of literary treachery, there is a special place reserved for David Plante and his memoir "Difficult Women," a portrait of three of his friends (or so they believed): the novelist Jean Rhys; the feminist writer Germaine Greer; and Sonia Orwell, George's widow, who presided, in her depressive fashion, over London's bookish set in the 1970s.

First published in 1983 (and now reissued), the book had its champions, notably the critic Vivian Gornick, but many were horrified, in particular by Plante's treatment of Rhys. Elderly, and fatally trusting, she is shown tottering around with her pink wig on backward, slugging gin and falling drunkenly into a toilet. Plante took faithful dictation as she carried on like a character out of her own novels, ranting and weeping, endlessly victimized but breezily indifferent to the suffering she inflicted. On the death of her newborn son: "I wondered if it died while we were drinking champagne."

Few writers have betrayed confidences with such uninhibited malice.

"Difficult Women" is creepy, it is cruel, it is morally indefensible — and it is exhilarating. As Dylan Thomas wrote: "When one burns one's bridges, what a very nice fire it makes."

There may be no defending these heartless portrayals, but there's also no denying their power. Each scene is

expertly staged, and burns with the same dark excitement you find in Mary Gaitskill's fiction or Harold Pinter's plays, the feeling that these characters have sought one another out to exercise hidden fears and desires, to expose primal wounds.

Plante writes of Sonia Orwell: "I was in love with the unhappiness in her, and yet reassured that, no matter what I did, what I felt it my duty to do, to lessen that unhappiness, I couldn't: Sonia wouldn't allow me to. Sonia reassured me in her frightening unhappiness. It was her secret."

Nor is there any denying how severe Plante is on himself. He is the book's ugliest character, a Uriah Heep content to grovel at the feet of genius (or, at the very least, social influence), lap up abuse and act out his revenge on the page. "I would get home from an evening of being victimized, angry and depressed, and swear I'd never see Sonia again. The next morning, howev-

er, I'd ring her to say what a lovely dinner party she'd given, and how I longed to see her again soon."

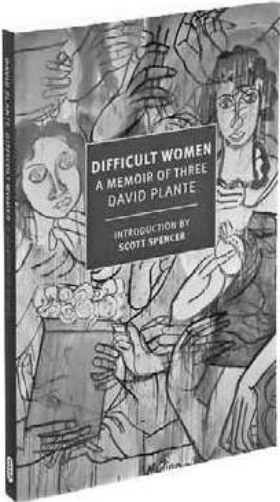
He's constantly auditing his motives: Why does he cultivate these friendships? To take advantage of these women? Because they remind him of his mother? Because they make excellent copy? And why does he prefer their company to that of other men, and in particular, other gay men?

He plays up his confusion to give the proceedings a bit of mystery, but it's unnecessary in the case of Greer, who comes in for the book's most admiring depiction for her easy mastery of everything from learning languages to fixing carburetors, the way she nourished everything around her ("Bloom, bloom!" she hectorred her flowers), her pride in her "long, long, violently fluttering orgasms." With her he finds for a time that closeness he's been seeking. He listens to her splashing quietly in her bath and thinks: "Germaine could do that: could create a sense of intimacy between herself and another which you'd have thought came only after a long time together, and she did it in a moment, suddenly, and without reference to anything that had recently happened or not happened."

That said, Greer, the only one of the three alive to see "Difficult Women" published, was memorably unimpressed. "He had no idea how deeply I would resent being made to utter namby-pamby Plante-speak like a dummy on his knee," she wrote in The Guardian.

The women may utter Plante-speak, they may look ridiculous — they throw tantrums (Rhys), bully their dinner guests (Orwell), wander around half-dressed and flashing the neighbors (Greer) — but they get the best lines. They have Plante's number (Orwell: "Oh David, no one thinks you're as nice as you try to be"), and the wit and wisdom in the book is theirs alone. Rhys rouses herself from her gin stupor to tell Plante: "All of writing is a huge lake. There are great rivers that feed the lake, like Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. And there are trickles, like Jean Rhys. All that matters is feeding the lake. I don't matter. The lake matters. You must keep feeding the lake. It is very important. Nothing else is important."

This is a beautiful and very suspect sentiment — it feels as if Plante has included it to absolve himself. So much matters: These women matter, their trust matters. But it's a strange consolation that this conviction in the primacy of literature, in feeding the lake, is the one thing these three very different, very difficult women — and one wildly indiscreet man — all share.



PATRICIA WALL/THE NEW YORK TIMES



JERRY BAUER

David Plante in the late '90s. "Difficult Women" was first published in 1983.



The New York Times

## Still Processing

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TRAVEL

Age of glitter gets a remake in Los Angeles

PURSUIITS

New hotels provide daylong gathering points for city’s creative people

BY RACHEL SYME

“It must have been marvelous when the century was young,” Eve Babitz wrote of the Garden of Allah hotel in 1977. By the time Ms. Babitz — whose frothy, witty, cutting books about Los Angeles have gained a new cult following since being reissued recently — was writing about the famed Hollywood hotel, it had already been demolished, bulldozed in 1959 to make way for the Lytton Savings bank. That bank, now a Chase, was then surrounded by a shopping center on the corner of Sunset Boulevard and Laurel Avenue.

The Los Angeles Conservancy is fighting to save the bank, as it too may soon be taken down so that Frank Gehry can lay the foundations for a sprawling glass-and-metal mini-village, the plans of which include two residential towers, a shopping center and communal green space. Mr. Gehry has said that he kept the spirit of the original Garden of Allah in mind when designing the project. As he told Architectural Digest: “I wanted to capture the feeling of that place, which was vibrant and memorable.”

Los Angeles often has a short memory when it comes to preserving historical sites, but there is a persistent sense of romance that swirls around its hotels, even those that no longer exist. Perhaps this has something to do with the fact that Los Angeles began as a transient industry town — actors, writers and filmmakers would pass through and do long stints at hotels while on seasonal studio contracts. Those temporary lodgings often became roiling social clubs, and the Garden of Allah was a prime example.

The stories about the hotel — which was first acquired as a private home for the celebrated Crimean actress Alla Nazimova in 1919 and then converted into artists’ bungalows where the likes of F. Scott Fitzgerald and Dorothy Parker toiled on screenplays in the 1930s — have become almost mythological. The oval pool, which Nazimova had made in the shape of the Black Sea, became a watering hole for Los Angeles’ bohemian intelligentsia. On a given day you might spot Eartha Kitt sunbathing, or Errol Flynn splashing someone for sport, or Marlene Dietrich sidling up to the bar in a suit — all mingling alongside the city’s striving young creative class.

While many of the classic hotel boites of Hollywood from the Garden’s era have remained intact — the Hollywood Roosevelt, the Chateau Marmont, the Beverly Hills Hotel — they have calcified over time, becoming ivy-covered institutions where industry types meet to do deals over \$34 steak frites and celebrities hide away in dark corners.

But elements of the once-lost glittering age are re-emerging, thanks to a new breed of hotels, complete with public pools, pillowed banquettes, outdoor movie nights and gaggles of fashionable locals who have turned these transitory spaces into permanent hot spots. (The newfound ease of transit — and therefore imbibing — offered by ride-share apps has helped.) Here are three that I visited during a whirlwind trip in late spring.

MAMA SHELTER, HOLLYWOOD

When the French hotelier Benjamin Trigano — whose father, Serge, founded Club Med — decided to open an American outpost of his casual-chic boutique chain Mama Shelter, which has been a hit in Paris, Marseilles and Rio de Janeiro, he knew right away that he wanted to open one in Los Angeles. “L.A. obviously has a great history of hotel culture,” he said. “But the Chateau Marmont and Sunset Tower are more formal, and you don’t really get a mixed crowd, which to us is very sexy. We love a motley crew, where you don’t have to be a celebrity or have a lot of money to mingle.”

Mr. Trigano wanted the L.A. branch of



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TREVOR TONDRO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Line in Koreatown in Los Angeles features a pool deck that at night becomes a nightclub.

Mama’s (as the staff calls it) to feel like a kitschy, but upscale rec room, complete with a colorful chalkboard ceiling covered in saturated, surreal art from the local painters Alex Becerra, Alex Ruthner and Pearl Hsiung. The lobby also features a lending library stocked with trashy — but essential — Los Angeles reads, like tell-all biographies of Elizabeth Taylor and Alfred Hitchcock.

When I visited Mama’s on a sweltering spring night, the high-low social mix that Mr. Trigano aimed for was in full effect. On the rooftop, which sits six

“We love a motley crew, where you don’t have to be a celebrity or have a lot of money to mingle.”

stories above gritty Selma Avenue, blocks away from Graumann’s Chinese Theater and the Hollywood Walk of Fame, I found a group of young actresses playing foosball and drinking vodka and sodas — one had just gotten her big break as a lead on the now-cancelled MTV comedy “Sweet & Vicious” — next to a cluster of bespectacled friends settling into a mountain of cushy beanbags to watch “The Hangover Part II” projected onto a floating screen.

Rainbow-colored tables circle a large, rustic wooden bar, which specializes in Moscow Mules and features a 360-degree view of the Hollywood Hills. At the bar, I met Joey Zimara, 53, who until recently ran a business supplying Los Angeles restaurants with Jamaican spices. He told me that he visits hotel rooftops at least twice a week, rotating between Mama Shelter, the glitzy W, and the rooftop Highlight Room bar at the new

Hollywood Dream Hotel, where celebrities like Jessica Alba and Alessandra Ambrosio can often be seen lounging in the private pool cabanas. “I like being on top of the world,” he said, gesturing out over the glowing sea of slow traffic snaking down Hollywood Boulevard. “I always sit at the bar, and you can meet people from everywhere. You never meet the same person twice.”

Because the roof features free Wi-Fi and is open to nonguests, many Angelenos come to the hotel during the day to write or take meetings. Alissa Latow, a 21-year-old actress and Hollywood resident, said that she prefers to haul her laptop to the roof of Mama’s over neighborhood coffee shops. “I feel like I have a clear head up here,” she said. “Most people in L.A. don’t have jobs,” she said, sipping from a copper mule mug in a neon crop top. “Well, not in the 9 to 5 sense. They’re acting or writing or freelancing.” Ms. Latow added that she bounces between Mama Shelter and the Dream: “Mama’s is more laid back, though it gets busy around sunset. The Dream is where you go if you want to start partying at brunch and move into a pool party with a D.J. in the afternoon.”

Mr. Trigano said that attracting a steady stream of working locals like Ms. Latow to Mama Shelter was his goal for the space, which opened in 2015 in building that once housed the Hotel Wilcox in the 1920s and later became a satellite Scientology Center. Like the Garden of Allah, he hopes that his hotel will feel as attractive for neighborhood denizens as it does for travelers just passing through. “When we picked Hollywood, it felt a little like Times Square in the 1980s,” he said. “We didn’t anticipate it to be so crazy popular that we have people coming in all day long. They work, they

do yoga on the roof, they transition into a small dinner. A hotel is successful when locals make it their own place. We’ve hit that vibe now.”

6500 Selma Avenue; (323) 785-6666; mamashelter.com

THE LINE, KOREATOWN

Rising above busy Wilshire Boulevard, the Line feels like a midcentury oasis. Opened in up-and-coming Koreatown in 2014 by the Sydel Group, who run the NoMad hotel in New York and the Ned in London, the Line has since attracted a steady stream of locals, who drink cold brew and eat sticky pastries in the spacious lobby, which takes up half a city block. On the second floor, the Commissary restaurant serves cold-pressed green juice and kimchi and carnitas tacos in an open-air greenhouse that leads out to the pool deck.

The day I visited, the restaurant was crowded with dewy young people who had stopped in for a working lunch, scheming future plans over Wagyu beef burgers and avocado toast. By night, the pool deck becomes a nightclub, often playing host to D.J. sets — like the Float Fridays party, which converts the swimming area into a dance floor from 6 to 11 p.m. “The romantic idea for the Line, going back to its initial creation is it would be a gathering place for the community,” said Andrew Zobler, chief executive officer at Sydel. “Now, at night, we get a large contingency from the neighborhood.”

3515 Wilshire Boulevard; (213) 381-7411; thelinehotel.com

ACE HOTEL, DOWNTOWN

Leading the downtown hotel renaissance — which now includes the renovated Figueroa and an upcoming outpost of New York’s NoMad — was the Ace, which popped up inside the Spanish Gothic United Artists building on South Broadway in 2014. The building, which was once a clubhouse for silent film stars, is very narrow — a creative challenge for the developers in situating the lobby. There was barely room downstairs for a restaurant, so the team made a bold choice: They made the rooftop into the nerve center of the hotel.

“We thought, we have such an iconic lobby experience in New York,” said Kelly Sawdon, an Ace executive vice president. “And so we asked ourselves, what makes sense in L.A., where do real

people want to be here?” The idea, she said, was to harness the city’s generally balmy weather and direct foot traffic straight up the roof by opening a public elevator on street level. “It’s not for guests only; there are no restrictions to coming up and taking in the view. We wanted people who live and work downtown to feel like they have ownership over this space.”

Their strategy worked: the Ace rooftop is packed from breakfast to the wee hours. In the afternoon, locals bring their dogs up the elevator to pant near the small paddling pool (the day I was there, I saw two pitbulls and a terrier mix), and the bar serves oysters and \$10 slices of funfetti birthday cake all day. After sunset, the focus shifts to Mary Bartlett’s cocktail program, which always features a frozen drink (\$12; a slushy Paloma, for example) and quirky specials like Count Chocula-flavored Jell-O shots.

On the roof of the Ace, I encountered two longtime friends, Lindsay Rogers, 29, who works at the hip Bolt Barbers on Spring Street (“it’s a whole scene there,” she said) and Christopher Smith, 27, a choreographer and creative director who works with the pop star Justine Skye. They both live downtown, which they say reminds them most of their native New York habitat. “The hotels here have become like Manhattan,” Mr. Smith said. “We come here so often that we know all the bouncers and bartenders by their first names.”

The roof of the Ace at night is an intimate environment, with groups of friends nestled into canvas and leather bucket chairs and huddled around a crackling fireplace. A D.J. booth features a rotating schedule of events, including a Wednesday night residency for NTS, an underground online radio station. Billowy tapestries and rattan rugs add to the bohemian-den feeling. At the long wooden bar, which sits between the dining area and the small concrete pool, patrons perch on spindly stools drinking mai tais and licking cones of soft serve, which comes in flavors like toasted coconut and granola.

“Los Angeles used to be a backyard culture,” Mr. Smith said. “But now, with all the new hotel roofs, you can sit outside and still feel like you’ve had a big night.”

929 South Broadway; (213) 623-3233; acehotel.com



Sir Anthony Hopkins

TAILORING LEGENDS SINCE 1945

Brioni  
ROMA



The roof of the Ace is the nerve center of the Los Angeles hotel.