



The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION | THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2017

The murder of my sister in Darfur

Daoud Hari

OPINION

Yet another woman is attacked and killed in an isolated place outside her village in Darfur. The story line is terribly familiar, not only from 2003 when the genocide began in Sudan, but to this day. Beyond the village, who notices now? Where is it reported as news? How will justice come if it is not reported, if no one cares?

I care. The woman who was attacked and killed on Aug. 21, 2017, was my sister, Noi.

I care. I am angry. I cry out for justice for Noi.

I am the youngest of seven children, five of whom survived, until now. Our two brothers and our other sister moved away from our village, Muzbat, in North Darfur.

Noi stayed behind. She was the second youngest, but to me, she was my big sister. She helped look after me when I was a child. She was kind, strong and brave, capable and independent. After the first wave of attacks by Sudanese government forces in Darfur in 2003, I became an interpreter and guide there for aid organizations and Western journalists. In 2006, I was captured, imprisoned and tortured by the government of Sudan. With help from the United States, I was released from prison and came to America as a refugee in March 2007.

Muzbat is one of the thousands of villages destroyed by Sudan's army and militias in the Darfur genocide since 2003. We are from the Zaghawa tribe, one of the three tribes targeted by the government. Muzbat was attacked repeatedly. The people would flee, return and rebuild.

Living in Muzbat, Noi married and raised her children. She was the one who took care of the family. After our father died in 2006, Noi looked after our elderly mother, now nearly blind and deaf. Noi had five children. The two oldest girls are grown and married. The two younger girls, Alla and Henni, still lived with Noi, along with her youngest, a boy, Ali, who is 14. Despite hardships, Noi thrived. She owned seven cows, 15 sheep, more than 25 goats and a donkey. Some years ago, I was able to sneak back into Darfur for a visit. In August 2014, I got married in Muzbat, in my sister's house. I last visited Noi in June last year.

More recently, Noi and I had been in touch via telephone. This required HARI, PAGE 6



Vladimir Ledecy, the mayor of Spišský Hrhov, Slovakia, with Roma residents. Mr. Ledecy said that working with the Roma was necessary to keep the village from vanishing.

Where success takes a village

SPIŠSKÝ HRHOV, SLOVAKIA

A once dwindling town in Slovakia is thriving after integrating Roma residents

BY RICK LYMAN

In a part of eastern Slovakia where other villages are withering, Spišský Hrhov shows signs of surprising prosperity. The houses are solid and well tended. There is running water and electricity. A former distillery has been turned into an art space, its facade decorated with a colorful mosaic.

But there is something even more striking about this place. About 350 of the 1,800 residents are Roma, a group commonly shunned aside, impoverished, undereducated and widely disparaged across Europe.

"Twenty years ago, this village nearly disappeared," said Vladimir Ledecy, 51, who has been mayor for 18 of those years.

"We were down to 700 residents, half of them Roma," he explained. "The problem for Slovak villages is that when the population becomes half Roma, the



To create jobs for its villagers, Spišský Hrhov started its own construction company, which is working on a school in Roskovec, a nearby settlement of about 500 Roma.

other half tends to move out."

That is when Mr. Ledecy decided to take what is still a novel and controversial approach to the Roma in his country — working to better integrate them with the community.

When Mr. Ledecy and a few young residents took over the village council in 1998, the Roma lived in shacks without electricity, almost all were unemployed and a fifth of the children were in so-called special schools that taught them

little and segregated them.

Now, unemployment among the Roma is down to 20 percent, no children are sent to separate schools and three Roma residents are in college.

"Some of the village mayors are trying to do good," said Abel Ravasz, Slovakia's official representative for the Roma community. "Spišský Hrhov is the poster boy of this group."

The situation for Roma has improved vastly in the village, said Petronela Kacova, 27, who lives in one of the Roma neighborhood's newest apartment blocks with her husband and two young children. Until she got this new home, the family had to share one room in her mother-in-law's house. Now, she said, relations are cordial between Roma and non-Roma residents, unlike in other nearby villages.

"The children know each other in school, so they play together," she said. "And we sometimes sit together, Slovaks and Roma, when we are at the pub together."

Roma were a persecuted underclass almost from the moment they arrived in Europe from India many centuries ago. They were enslaved in Hungary and Romania in the 15th century, murdered by Nazis in the Holocaust.

ROMA, PAGE 3

Seoul plans 'decapitation unit' to deter North Korea

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

Lacking nuclear arms, South Korea aims to menace Kim Jong-un

BY CHOE SANG-HUN

The last time South Korea is known to have plotted to assassinate the North Korean leadership, nothing went as planned.

In the late 1960s, after North Korean commandos tried to ransack the presidential palace in Seoul, South Korea secretly trained misfits plucked from prison or off the streets to sneak into North Korea and slit the throat of its leader, Kim Il-sung. When the mission was aborted, the men mutinied.

They killed their trainers and fought their way into Seoul before blowing themselves up, an episode the government concealed for decades.

Now, as Kim Il-sung's grandson, Kim Jong-un, accelerates his nuclear missile program, South Korea is again targeting the North's leadership. A day after North Korea conducted its sixth — and by far most powerful — nuclear test this month, the South Korean defense minister, Song Young-moo, told lawmakers in Seoul that a special forces brigade defense officials described as a "decapitation unit" would be established by the end of the year.

The unit officially has not been assigned to literally decapitate North Korean leaders. But that is clearly the menacing message South Korea is trying to send. Defense officials said the unit could conduct cross-border raids with retooled helicopters and transport planes that could penetrate North Korea at night.

Rarely does a government announce a strategy to assassinate a head of state, but South Korea wants to keep the North on edge and nervous about the consequences of enhancing its nuclear arsenal. At the same time, the South's increasingly aggressive posture is meant to help push North Korea into accepting President Moon Jae-in's offer of talks.

It is a difficult balancing act, pitting Mr. Moon's preference for a diplomatic solution against his nation's need to answer an existential question: How can a country without nuclear weapons deter a dictator who has them?

"The best deterrence we can have, next to having our own nukes, is to make Kim Jong-un fear for his life," said Shin Won-sik, a three-star general who was the South Korean military's top operational strategist before he retired in 2015.

The measures have also raised questions about whether South Korea and the United States, the South's most important ally, are laying the groundwork to kill or incapacitate Kim Jong-un and his KOREA, PAGE 4

A de Kooning, a theft and an enduring mystery



WILLEM DE KOONING'S "WOMAN-OCHE" BEING EXAMINED BY NATHAN SUTHER, AN EXHIBITION SPECIALIST, AND KRISTEN SCHMIDT, A REGISTRAR, SHORTLY AFTER IT WAS RECOVERED LAST MONTH.

\$100 million painting stolen in '85 is discovered in a retired teacher's house

BY WILLIAM K. RASHBBAUM

Willem de Kooning completed "Woman-Ochre" in 1965. It depicts a defiantly naked figure facing the viewer, arms akimbo. At the time, de Kooning had a studio in the Greenwich Village neighborhood of New York, where his artistic vision — not to mention his quiet charm and energetic drinking — made him a figure of renown on the art scene.

Three years after de Kooning finished the painting, a benefactor of the University of Arizona Museum of Art in Tucson bought it for the institution. And 27 years after that, in 1985, it was stolen — cut from its frame.

It was finally recovered last month, and investigators are focusing on several theories. And one of them is, in its own way, extraordinary: They are trying to determine if the heist was engineered by a retired New York City schoolteacher — something of a renaissance man — who donned women's clothing and took his son along as his accomplice, and then hung the masterpiece in the bedroom of his own rural New Mexico home, where it remained.

In other words, they are examining whether he stole a painting now valued at in excess of \$100 million simply so he could enjoy it.

The teacher, Jerome Alter, and his wife, Rita, both died at 81, he in 2012 and she earlier this summer.

"My driving instinct is to say: 'This couldn't be my aunt and uncle who had it since the beginning,'" said Ron Roseman, Rita Alter's nephew. "But, well gosh, it's like I said, I'm as clueless as everybody else. It's hard to believe that they were that — I don't know what the word for it is."

Mr. Roseman, who lives in Houston and is the executor of his aunt's estate, said he was completely mystified as to how the painting had ended up in his own aunt and uncle's quirky one-story pink THEFT, PAGE 2



Dior



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PAGE TWO



A Muslim woman at a hotel in Piestany, Slovakia. Thousands of Arabs visit the town every summer for its spas and peace and quiet. Right, the Hotel Thermia Palace, once host to European royalty and Indian maharajahs, is now more likely to attract a Kuwaiti princess.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AKOS STILLER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Spa town feels the chill of Slovak populism

PIESTANY JOURNAL
PIESTANY, SLOVAKIA

A surge in Islamophobia threatens an area popular with Arab visitors

BY RICK LYMAN

Why so many wealthy Arabs have chosen Piestany, a pleasant but faded little spa town, as a vacation destination is something of a mystery.

Some say it started in the 1960s, when aspiring pilots from the Middle East came for flight training at the nearby airport. Others point to a Slovak soccer coach who went to Qatar decades ago and inspired visitors.

Whatever the case, every summer, they come by the thousands.

The town's spas stretch along a narrow island opposite the city center, presided over by the Hotel Thermia Palace, the grandest of the venues and once host to European royalty and Indian maharajahs. Now it is more likely to attract a Kuwaiti princess, as the town's central pedestrian strip has turned into an unlikely panorama of Muslim women in traditional dress and men smoking hookahs outside kebab shops.

It was never a problem. Until now.

The populist wave that has swept Central Europe — fueled by a backlash to the refugee crisis — is affecting even this pampered cocoon of transnationalism that depends utterly on well-heeled visitors from abroad. The hint of menace has unnerved and surprised regular visitors.

One of them, Hassan al Mekhyal, has been bringing his Kuwaiti family for years to Piestany, where the summer nights feel deliciously cool compared with the furnace back home.

“We like it here because of the peace

and the quiet,” said Mr. al Mekhyal, 49, as his wife nodded in agreement, her eyes peering from a narrow slit in her face-covering niqab.

It was only this year, as his wife was stocking up at the local Tesco superstore, that a furious young man began harassing her, calling her names, telling her to go back home.

Others have noticed the change, too.

There had never been an ugly incident involving his Muslim customers, said Ilknur Perda, 65, as he gently sliced off juicy shards of shwarma at his shop, Istanbul Doner-Kebab, on the town's main strip.

But then one day last year, a local 22-year-old walked up and began berating the Muslims at the outdoor cafe tables.

“He was being very hateful,” said Mr. Perda, who moved to Slovakia from Turkey when he was 34. “He got into a fight with one of the customers. Later that night, the guy came back and smashed all my windows.”

The episode was striking enough to make the national news in Slovakia. “The next morning, all my Slovak and Czech customers called me,” he said. A march was organized to support him. One local man planted a “tree of tolerance” just outside the kebab shop.

But it was a sign, local officials said, that the atmosphere was shifting.

“People are feeling more and more emboldened,” said Eva Bereczova, the city's spokeswoman. “They are unashamed to say things in public they would have been ashamed to say before. And it is probably going to get worse.”

Slovakia regularly ranks near the bottom in European Union polling of discriminatory attitudes toward foreigners and other ethnic groups.

The neo-fascist party of Marian Kotleba, currently polling a strong third, has two members of Parliament from Piestany. Support for the right wing is growing.



On cool summer evenings, Muslim tourists frequent the town's sidewalk cafes. Some have faced verbal attacks from young men.

She is frequently surprised by the hidden support for the right wing.

“I went to the swimming pool with a friend and we met some other people,” Ms. Bereczova said. “Only after awhile, when politics came up, did I realize I was the only one who had not voted for Kotleba. They insulted me for being naïve.”

Mohamad Safwan Hasna, chairman of the Islamic Foundation of Slovakia, said many Slovak politicians were eagerly fanning the anti-Muslim flames.

“The only thing they want is to win the election,” he said. “So people are getting bolder. They got a signal from the politicians that it's O.K.”

Now there is a virtual campaign against Muslims.

“The photos began showing up on Facebook in August,” he said.

Right-wingers snap photographs of Muslims they see on the streets. Then they post them online as “proof” that the government has been lying about how many Muslims are in the country. Some

of the pictures are badly doctored. The comments are frequently hateful.

Mr. Hasna pulled out his cellphone and scrolled to one such photo, of a Muslim woman in full burqa saying her prayers in a parking space at Bratislava's biggest mall.

“At first, even I thought it was a real photo,” he said. “I thought, why is this woman praying in a parking lot? But then I realized, of course, it is a fake.”

Slovakia, a country of five million, has about 5,000 Muslim citizens, and not a

single mosque. Piestany is one of the few places their presence is felt, but a vast majority are visitors.

More than half of the 619,262 overnight stays last year in Piestany were by visitors from other countries, tourism officials said.

Piestany Spa, which operates the town's health facilities, broke down by nationality the guests who stayed at its resorts last year.

Of the 42,756 overnight stays, nearly 12,500 involved residents of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Lebanon or the United Arab Emirates. There were 1,674 more visitors from “other Asian countries,” which spa officials said were nearly all other parts of the Muslim world. Another large group, accounting for 6,858 nights, came from Israel.

“There is not a problem with people from Israel and people from Arabic countries being side by side,” said Monika Koborova, the guest relations manager for the Hotel Thermia Palace. “They come to get healthy, not to make trouble.”

On cool summer evenings, Muslim visitors frequent the town's sidewalk cafes.

“We had friends visiting, and we took them to the city center in the evening and even we were surprised,” Ms. Bereczova said. “We were the only local residents there.”

Mr. Perda, who runs the Istanbul Doner-Kebab, said the rise in anti-Muslim attitudes had caused some of his former customers to spend their summers elsewhere.

Mr. al Mekhyal said his family would probably continue to make Piestany part of their regular European idyll.

His 22-year-old daughter, Noura, a civil engineer, was not so sure.

“It's a little too quiet for me,” she said.

Miroslava Germanova contributed reporting.

A de Kooning, a theft and an enduring mystery

THEFT, FROM PAGE 1
ranch-style house in Cliff, N.M., a hamlet of barely 300 people some 225 miles from the museum in Tucson.

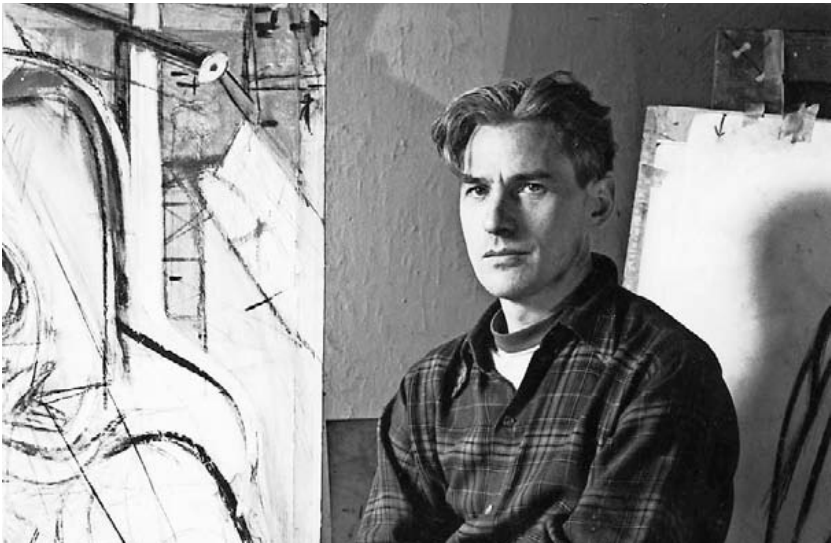
It was the day after Thanksgiving in 1985. An older woman and a younger man walked into the museum about 9 a.m. A security guard had just unlocked the glass doors to admit an arriving employee, whom the pair followed inside. The sky was overcast and it was 55 degrees; both of the visitors wore heavy winter coats.

A few minutes later, the two left in such haste that they attracted the attention of staff members. One museum employee hurried up the steps to the second-floor gallery, where the man had spent less than 10 minutes while his companion asked a security guard about another piece of art.

The 40-by-30-inch de Kooning painting was gone. Investigators believe the man cut it from its frame and rolled up the canvas and stuffed it under his heavy blue coat while the woman distracted the guard, who could not see the gallery from the landing where they had talked. The two drove away in a rust-colored two-door car. At the time, “Woman-Ochre” was valued at \$400,000.

It was a highly unusual crime. With few leads beyond a description of the thieves — and sketches of the pair prepared by a Federal Bureau of Investigation artist based on witness accounts — the crime became an enduring mystery.

“We're looking at everything — absolutely,” said Brian Seastone, the University of Arizona police chief, when asked about whether investigators were looking into the possibility that Jerome Alter and his son, Joseph, were involved in the theft. He would not say what other avenues were being pursued. The universi-



HENRY BOWDEN/HULTON ARCHIVE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The artist Willem de Kooning, circa 1945. His work “Woman-Ochre” was found in an American couple's bedroom, situated so that it was obscured when the door was open.

ty's police department is assisting the F.B.I. with the case; Chief Seastone was involved in the initial investigation in 1985, when he was a police officer with the department.

Jill McCabe, a spokeswoman for the F.B.I. in Phoenix, would not comment other than to say that the bureau has “an active and ongoing investigation into the theft.”

The sketch of the female suspect — described at the time of the theft as being between 55 and 60 years old — bears a resemblance to Mr. Alter, who was known as Jerry and was then 54. And the sketch of the young man — described at the time as between 25 and 30 years old — bears a resemblance to his son, Joseph M. Alter, who was then 23.

At around that time, the Alters had a red two-door Nissan sports car, according to a family member, a family friend and owner of a gas station less than a mile and a half from the Alter home.

Witnesses described the woman as having blondish-red shoulder-length hair, covered by a scarf. She wore tan polyester bell-bottom slacks and a red water-repellent winter coat.

The man was described as having an olive complexion, dark wavy hair and a mustache. He wore heavy framed glasses and a blue water-repellent winter coat with a hood.

Joseph Alter, now 55, who has lived in Silver City, about 30 miles from Cliff, could not be reached for comment. Several people who knew his parents, and

Mr. Roseman, said Joseph has had severe psychological problems since the mid-1980s and has been in and out of mental institutions. Mr. Roseman said he was currently hospitalized.

During one of several telephone interviews in recent days, Mr. Roseman noted that some people with whom he has spoken see the resemblance and some do not. “Half of them look at it and say, ‘Yeah!’ and half of them look at it and say, ‘No way!’ ” he said.

Mr. Roseman said he did not see the resemblance in the sketches, but added, “I'm not objective about it.”

M. J. Burns, a Grant County, N.M., sheriff's deputy who has patrolled Cliff and the surrounding rural communities for more than a decade, recalled the Alters as polite, well-spoken but private people. He said that after the news media reported the discovery of the de Kooning in the couple's home, some longtime residents of the area concluded that the sketch of the woman more closely resembled Mrs. Alter and that the sketch of the younger man resembled her husband.

Mr. Alter's sister, Carole Sklar, 81, an artist who lives in New Jersey, scoffed at the notion that either her erudite, cultured brother or his sweet, gentle wife — let alone their troubled son — had been involved in the theft. She called it “absurd” and said the notion that her brother would dress in women's clothing was laughable.

“That Jerry and Rita would risk something as wild and crazy as grand larceny — risk the possibility of winding up in prison, for God's sake — they wouldn't do that,” she said.

The Alters built their three-bedroom house, set on 20 acres of rugged scrub brush on a mesa overlooking a moun-

tain valley, after they moved to New Mexico in the late 1970s. They surrounded it with landscaped gardens, a large swimming pool, and an unlikely collection of sculptures, including a semicircle of more than a dozen busts of the likes of Beethoven and Molière, each mounted on a stone pedestal.

In addition to teaching music in a New York City school, the elder Mr. Alter worked as a professional clarinetist before retiring to Cliff. Rita Alter worked for a number of years as a speech pathologist in schools in Silver City.

The couple, who people in Cliff said largely kept to themselves, were avid travelers, having visited more than 140 countries on all seven continents, according to a book of fictionalized short stories based on their trips that Mr. Alter self-published in 2011.

David Van Auken, an antiques and furniture dealer whom Mr. Roseman hired to appraise the contents of the Alters' home, discovered the painting. He and his two business partners went to the house on Aug. 2 to photograph and catalog the furniture and other items for sale after Rita Alter's death.

He found “Woman-Ochre” hanging between a corner of the bedroom and the door, he said, situated so that it was completely obscured when the door was open, but visible from the bed when the door was closed.

While he didn't recognize it as a masterpiece, he liked it and ended up buying the contents of the house for roughly \$2,000, he said. He took the painting back to their store in Silver City, and that day, several patrons who saw it said they thought it was a de Kooning.

Some determined Google searching turned up photographs of the stolen artwork and an Arizona Republic story

from 2015 about the 30th anniversary of the theft. Mr. Van Auken called the museum that evening, and a day later, a Friday, a team of excited staff members — including a curator, an archivist and the interim director — were in Silver City examining the painting. They took it back to Tucson the following Monday, and preliminary work was done to authenticate it.

It was a very emotional homecoming at the museum, which had been hoping for nearly 32 years to get “Woman-Ochre” back. “This is a moment the institution has been talking about and thinking about since the painting was stolen,” said Meg Hagyard, the institution's interim director.

If Mr. Alter had a role in the theft, he may have hidden clues in his writing. He included two stories about thefts from museums in the United States in his book based on the couple's travels, “The Cup and the Lip.” And while a number of aspects of the tales differ from the 1985 heist, there are notable similarities.

In one story, “The Eye of the Jaguar,” a grandmother and her granddaughter steal a 120-carat emerald from a display case in broad daylight, striking when a guard's attention is focused elsewhere. “Having made their escape with no witnesses present, the thieves left absolutely no clues which the police could use to even begin a search for them!” he wrote.

He ends the story by describing how the stolen gem was later kept in a hidden display case, apparently in the grandmother's home, “several miles from the place where this event transpired.”

“And two pairs of eyes, exclusively, are there to see,” he wrote.

Doris Burke contributed research.

World

U.S. may lower refugee intake

WASHINGTON

Some are pressing Trump to drop quota below 50,000 in coming year

BY JULIE HIRSCHFELD DAVIS AND MIRIAM JORDAN

The Trump administration is considering reducing the number of refugees admitted to the United States over the next year to below 50,000, according to current and former government officials familiar with the discussions, the lowest number since at least 1980.

President Trump promised during his 2016 campaign to deny admittance to refugees who posed a terrorist threat. In his first days in office he took steps to radically reduce the program that resettles refugees in American cities and towns, capping the number admitted at 50,000 as part of his executive order banning travel from seven predominantly Muslim countries. That was less than half the 110,000 refugees President Barack Obama said should be admitted in 2016.

But in recent weeks, as the deadline approached for Mr. Trump to issue the annual determination for refugee admissions required by the Refugee Act of 1980, some inside the White House — led by Stephen Miller, Mr. Trump's senior adviser for policy — have pressed to set the ceiling even lower.

The issue has created an intense debate within the administration, with Mr. Miller and some officials at the Department of Homeland Security citing security concerns and limited resources as grounds for deeply cutting the number of admissions, and officials at the National Security Council, the State Department and the Department of Defense opposing a precipitous drop.

No final decision has been made, according to the officials, but as the issue is being debated, the Supreme Court on Tuesday allowed the administration to bar almost any refugees from entering the country while it considers challenges to the travel ban order.

The court will hear arguments in the



Syrian families waiting to register at the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Beirut in January.

case next month.

Spokesmen at the White House and the departments of Homeland Security and State declined to discuss an annual figure, noting that it had not yet been determined. By law, the president must consult with Congress and make a decision by the start of each fiscal year, Oct. 1, on the refugee ceiling.

Mr. Miller, the principal architect of Mr. Trump's hard-line immigration policies, has been the most vocal proponent at the White House for reducing the number of admissions far below the 50,000 stipulated in the travel ban, at one point advocating a level as low as 15,000, the officials said.

Mr. Miller, who was an aide to Attorney General Jeff Sessions when he was in the Senate, has inserted himself in a policy process that is typically led by the State Department and coordinated by

the National Security Council.

This year, the Department of Homeland Security is dominating the discussions, and the Domestic Policy Council, which reports to Mr. Miller, has coordinated the process. In a meeting on the topic at the White House on Tuesday, Homeland Security officials recommended a limit of 40,000, according to officials familiar with the discussions who spoke on the condition of anonymity because the talks are private.

One senior administration official involved in the internal debate over refugees described the move to curtail admissions as part of a broader rethinking of how the United States deals with migrants, based on the idea that it is more effective and affordable to help displaced people outside the nation's borders than within them, given the backlog of asylum seekers and other immi-

grants already in the country hoping to stay.

Still, the prospect of capping refugee admissions below 50,000 has alarmed people both inside and outside the administration, given the refugee crisis unfolding around the world and the United States' history of taking a leadership position in accepting people fleeing violence and persecution.

"When you get down to some of the numbers that are being talked about, you get down to a program of really nugatory levels," said David Miliband, the former British foreign secretary who is president of the International Rescue Committee, said in an interview. "It's not an exaggeration to say the very existence of refugee resettlement as a core aspect of the American story, and America's role as a global leader in this area, is at stake."



Stephen Miller, President Trump's senior adviser for policy, has cited security concerns and limited resources as grounds for deeply cutting the number of admissions.

Mr. Miliband's group is one of nine organizations — most of them religious groups — that work with the government to resettle refugees in the United States and are pressing for the admission of at least 75,000 refugees over the next year.

Two administration officials said those pushing for a lower number were citing the need to strengthen the process of vetting applicants for refugee status to prevent would-be terrorists from entering the country. Two others said another factor was a cold-eyed assessment of the money and resources that would be needed to resettle larger amounts of refugees at a time when federal immigration authorities already face a yearslong backlog of hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers.

Unlike refugees, who apply from outside the country for protection, those seeking asylum have already arrived in the United States fleeing persecution.

Mark Krikorian, the executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, a Washington-based research organization that advocates less immigration, said the program represented a poor allocation of limited resources, and should be reserved for the most extreme

of cases.

"There's no real, moral justification for resettling large numbers of refugees," said Mr. Krikorian, adding that his group's research shows that resettling a refugee from the Middle East in the United States costs 12 times as much as what the United Nations estimates it would cost to care for the person in the region. "Refugee resettlement is just a way of making ourselves feel better."

But throughout its history, the refugee resettlement program has had broad bipartisan support across administrations; many Republicans regard it as a tool to fight Communism or extremism around the world, while Democrats see it as a means of helping the neediest.

The Obama administration toughened screening procedures in recent years even as it sought to streamline the process to embrace more refugees, and the Trump administration has reviewed and further enhanced security since the president's travel ban, which is currently being weighed by the Supreme Court.

Julie Hirschfeld Davis reported from Washington. Miriam Jordan reported from Los Angeles.

Where success takes a village

ROMA, FROM PAGE 1

Derided as Gypsies, their roaming lifestyle ended in the conflicts of the 20th century, but they remained a largely segregated underclass across much of Eastern Europe.

Slovakia, a country of about five million people, officially has 150,000 Roma citizens, though Mr. Ravasz said the real number was closer to 450,000.

There are 1,100 officially recognized Roma communities in Slovakia, most of them in the central and eastern parts of the country, which are more rural and impoverished.

Of those, Mr. Ravasz said, only about 10 or 20 have mayors like Mr. Ledecsky.

"In Hrhov, the Roma start their lives in a brick house, with running water," Mr. Ravasz said. "They go to kindergarten. As they grow up, they see their parents working."

Many Roma elsewhere have few, if any, of those advantages. "They are born into segregated communities, far from civilization," Mr. Ravasz said. "They are the fifth of eight children, living in a shanty with no running water. Their parents don't work. They are sent to special classes almost automatically."

Mr. Ledecsky said that when he and his friends — many of whom still serve as town officials — took control of the local council they knew they would have to work with the Roma if they wanted to stop the village from vanishing.

"There was nothing to do if people had no jobs," said the mayor, who is a former software engineer. "So, the only thing to do was to set up a village company, the only aim of which was to provide Roma with jobs. We didn't want to have any profit."

The first product from the village company was pavement tiles for sidewalks. The business flourished. Then the village started its own construction company, for local infrastructure projects and to help residents with home projects.

"We grew so fast and started making a profit, so we kept expanding," Mr. Ledecsky said.

A shop selling local cheese and sausage was opened on the highway at the edge of town. Herbal teas and apples were grown, dried and sold. An old lumber mill was leased out with the condition that the village gets all the sawdust, which it turns into biofuel pellets.

One by one, the former illegal Roma shanties were turned into legal brick homes and apartment blocks that the Roma either owned or rented. A new

"This has really changed our community. The majority no longer have any problem with the Roma from our village."

town hall was built. Wooden sculptures and colorful mosaics decorated the new town center. A village swimming pool was built with the profits from the businesses, and a new park is underway.

Residents from nearby cities and villages began to move into Spissky Hrhov, drawn by its growing reputation and land prices kept low to encourage newcomers. Even foreign buyers showed up. A man from London built a vacation villa. A Dutch family moved to the village. Land discounts were no longer required.



Roma children next to newly built houses in Spissky Hrhov, Slovakia. Relations between Slovaks and Roma are much better in this village of 1,800 than in surrounding towns.

"The village has become so trendy, people are just coming," Mr. Ledecsky said.

One of the arguments Slovak mayors have made in refusing to upgrade Roma settlements is that doing so would only encourage more Roma to move in, exacerbating the problem. But that has not been the experience in Spissky Hrhov.

For one thing, the village's Roma residents have proved vigilant about keeping out illegal shanties, eager to protect their neighborhood and steady jobs.

"We discourage them," said Ivan Kacur, 36, a Roma who has worked for the village company for two years, cutting grass. "They have their own culture and habits. We wouldn't want that here. I've got a mortgage and a new home, a real home."

The contrast to Spissky Hrhov's success can be seen just a few miles away in Roskovec, an illegal settlement of about 500 Roma spread along a narrow ravine.

Two outdoor water pumps serve all of Roskovec's residents. Homes are falling down, half-finished, with gaping holes for windows and crumbling roofs. Mr. Ledecsky, who is building a new school for the settlement, has hired a few of its residents, but many more are eager to join the village's work force.

"This has really changed our community," Mr. Ledecsky said. "The majority no longer have any problem with the Roma from our village. At the same time, they do not feel the same about Roma from other villages. I can't understand why this racism persists."

Indeed, the success of villages like Spissky Hrhov is not welcome by everyone.

As the number of Muslim refugees passing through Central Europe has dwindled, nationalists and neo-fascists have again made the Roma a target.

"They have redirected their anger against the Roma again," said Irena Bi-hariova, chairwoman of People Against Racism, a human-rights group based in Bratislava, the capital. "Things neo-Nazis wouldn't dare say in public are now being said all over the place, on Facebook, without fear."

She pointed to a series of marches against "social parasites," as the right-wing describes the Roma, organized by Marian Kotleba, the neo-fascist governor of the Banska Bystrica region not far from Spissky Hrhov.

Relations between ethnic Slovaks and Roma are much better in Spissky Hrhov than surrounding communities, but even here, people tend to stick with their own, some residents said.

"The Roma here are better, of course, more tidy," said Milan Dzurnak, 52, as he worked on a fence outside his home. "But they are still different. I never mingle with them."

Miroslava Germanova contributed reporting from Bratislava, Slovakia.



WORLD

Xi protégé moves into the party’s top tiers

LIUPANSHUI, CHINA

Promotion could place him in running to one day succeed China’s president

BY CHRIS BUCKLEY

Guizhou is one of China’s poorest provinces, yet its villages of rice paddies, buffalos and mud-brick homes have long been a proving ground for rising stars in the Chinese Communist Party. The former president, Hu Jintao, once ran this mountainous southwestern province, as did a powerful lieutenant to President Xi Jinping.

Now, the party has tapped another leader in Guizhou for promotion into its top tiers, making him a potential candidate to one day succeed Mr. Xi. The official, Chen Min’er, 56, a former Chinese literature student and propaganda worker, is nearly certain to enter the Politburo at a party congress in the autumn, putting him in the running for an even more powerful role in the future.

Several other Chinese leaders in their 50s are poised for promotion as well, and analysts are watching to see if any will be anointed with a seat on the Politburo Standing Committee, the party’s highest rung of power. That would fit with recent party tradition, but some insiders believe Mr. Xi may delay designating a successor, setting up a leadership contest in which he will decide the victor.

Mr. Chen is “clearly being fast-tracked, and I think he will end up on the Standing Committee someday,” said Christopher K. Johnson, an expert on Chinese elite politics at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. “I’m doubtful it will happen now, but Xi Jinping could force his elevation as a declaration of his leadership supremacy.”

In the jockeying for advancement, Mr. Chen starts with several advantages. He is one of Mr. Xi’s protégés, having spent much of his career in Zhejiang, a wealthier province in eastern China, while Mr. Xi was the party chief there. This summer, Mr. Chen was handed a high-profile assignment as party secretary of Chongqing, a vast municipality of 30 million where he can showcase his political skills.

And in between, he spent five and a half years governing the 36 million people of Guizhou, including most recently two years as party secretary, the most powerful job in a province. A stint in a poor, heavily rural province like Guizhou is important for Mr. Chen’s prospects. The future of China’s 590 million rural dwellers is an increasingly pressing issue for the government, and his time in Guizhou gives him the gritty, grass-roots experience expected of an aspiring national leader.

“Guizhou is a very good province for hopefuls to stay there for several years,” said Ding Xueliang, a scholar of Chinese politics at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. “You go to one of the poorest, most difficult places and take up the burden of changing it. That will earn you additional credit to rise higher.”

Bruce J. Dickson, a political scientist at George Washington University, said party officials are often groomed for higher posts by spending time in a less developed area. “There is wide recognition that inequality is rising, and improving living standards in rural areas is one way to show the Chinese Communist Party is trying to narrow the gap,” he said.

Economic conditions in Guizhou have



BRYAN DENTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

While governing Guizhou Province, Chen Min’er, below, promoted the merging of small family farms into cooperatives, above, that pool villagers’ land, money and labor. Mr. Chen is currently party secretary of Chongqing.

been improving, and rural life here is better than a decade ago. But persistent poverty in its mountain villages has been a blot on Mr. Xi’s promise to end rural poverty by 2020. Mr. Chen took up the challenge with an acolyte’s zeal.

“Meeting the targets on poverty eradication on schedule is a tough battle that Guizhou must not lose,” he said in March, in one of many rousing speeches on the subject. “If we lose, we’ll break our word and lose the good will of the public.”

Mr. Chen’s antipoverty campaign applied policies sure to appeal to Mr. Xi’s belief that the Communist Party can be an overseer of economic change, marshaling investment and resources for the national good.

Since Deng Xiaoping and his allies broke up Mao’s rural communes in the early 1980s, Chinese farmers have mostly tilled small plots of land under long-term leases from village governments. But fewer and fewer young people see a future in agriculture, which offers lower, less steady pay than factories or menial jobs in towns and cities.

“In recent years earnings from farming were low, everyone let land go fallow,” said Tao Yongpan, an official at Mount Niangniang, a cluster of villages in the Liupanshui area of western Guizhou that served as an inspiration for policies promoted by Mr. Chen. “Soil

erosion was serious and farmland was left idle. Rural production was on the slide.”

Some economists have urged the Chinese government to privatize farmland, arguing that would encourage better land use and unleash market forces to lift productivity.

But the party has been reluctant to shed its ideological commitment to collective ownership — in effect state control — of farmland. Officials and some experts also worry that privatizing the land would make farmers more vulnerable to exploitation and create kindling for social unrest.

In Guizhou, Mr. Chen instead promoted a solution that has gained favor under Mr. Xi: merging small family fields into cooperatives that pool villagers’ land, money and labor. Other provinces and politicians have for years experimented with this approach, which is meant to bolster production through economies of scale. But Mr. Chen pushed it hard and gave it his own twist.

Rural families became shareholders in the cooperatives, paying in by handing over some or all of their leased land. The cooperatives then used the larger acreage to produce commercial crops like tea and walnuts, paying villagers a share of returns and sometimes wages for farm work. Often local companies also invested in these enlarged farms,



TYRONE SIU/REUTERS

bringing finance and management experience, but also taking profits.

“Before the land was all fragmented,” said Huang Zhineng, a manager at Mount Niangniang. “With unified management, the same land can lift incomes. It’s a great model for poverty eradication.”

It is a policy that also fits into Mr. Xi’s vision of entrenching the party’s hold on power and restoring a spirit of socialist collectivism that harks back to Mao’s era.

Mr. Xi started his career as an official in a rural commune under Mao and spent three years as a deputy party chief in a rural county in northern China. In Zhejiang Province, Mr. Xi promoted a cooperative scheme similar to Mr. Chen’s.

Among the other Chinese officials expected to be promoted this autumn are Cai Qi, the party secretary of Beijing; Chen Quanguo, the secretary of Xinjiang, a tense region in the west; and perhaps Hu Chunhua, the secretary of Guangdong Province in the south, who was singled out for praise by Mr. Xi in April.

But that same month, Mr. Xi also said he would participate in the coming leadership congress as a delegate from Guizhou, although he has no career links there. Officials in Guizhou celebrated the striking gesture of support for Mr. Chen.

In villages in Guizhou, though, residents are waiting to see if Mr. Chen’s policies can bring lasting profits. Many welcomed the changes. Others were wary.

“It’s a good way forward for us,” said Qiu Shuixian, 37, a farmer in Zhongxin Village in the Liupanshui area, where one cooperative has pooled land to grow red rice, a local specialty, and another newer cooperative produces fruit, walnuts, flowers and honey.

“There’s no profit in farming the land ourselves,” Mr. Qiu said.

But others said it was risky to devote so much land to crops like walnuts or red rice, which might fail in bad years or not find buyers. Some said they felt pressured to sign over farmland to the co-

operative. One resident recalled Mao’s time, when peasants were forced into huge communes that failed and resulted in mass starvation.

“I didn’t want to hand it over,” Chen Wenzheng, 64, said of his family’s plot. “I wanted to grow some for myself as insurance. But then everyone handed theirs over, so what can you do?”

Luo Xiaopeng, a retired rural policy official who has long worked in antipoverty projects in Guizhou, said Mr. Chen’s policies were designed to show quick results but could backfire. For example, farmers could be cajoled into risky, expensive ventures that take their land and fail after a few years. “I don’t think this is getting a grip of the fundamental problems in the Chinese countryside,” he said.

But Mr. Chen won’t be around to see the long-term impact of his efforts. He has moved onto his next test.

As the new party secretary in Chongqing, he has a tricky assignment.

His predecessor, Sun Zhengcai, was also seen as a contender for the senior leadership. Then the party abruptly removed him from office and put him under investigation in July.

Bo Xilai, another party secretary of Chongqing seeking promotion, fell in scandal in 2012. He is now in prison.

Adam Wu contributed research.

South Korea plans ‘decapitation unit’ to menace North

KOREA, FROM PAGE 1

top aides before they can even order an attack.

While Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson has said the United States does not seek leadership change in North Korea, and the South Koreans say that the new military tactics are meant to offset the North Korean threat, the capabilities they are building could be used preemptively.

Last week, President Trump agreed to lift payload limits under a decades-old treaty, allowing South Korea to build more powerful ballistic missiles. The United States helped South Korea build its first ballistic missiles in the 1970s, but in return, imposed restrictions to try to prevent a regional arms race.

“We can now build ballistic missiles that can slam through deep underground bunkers where Kim Jong-un would be hiding,” Mr. Shin said. “The idea is how we can instill the kind of fear a nuclear weapon would — but do so without a nuke. In the medieval system like North Korea, Kim Jong-un’s life is as valuable as hundreds of thousands of ordinary people whose lives would be threatened in a nuclear attack.”

Although most South Koreans, especially conservative politicians and commentators, call for arming their country with nuclear weapons of its own, Mr. Moon has repeatedly vowed to rid the Korean Peninsula of such weapons. In June, Mr. Trump reiterated Washington’s nuclear-umbrella doctrine, promising to protect the South with “the full range of United States military capabilities, both conventional and nuclear.”



CHOI JAE-GU/YONHAP, VIA REUTERS

South Korean marines during an exercise on Baengnyeong Island, near the disputed sea border with North Korea. The South has vowed to increase its military budget.

But after North Korea tested two intercontinental ballistic missiles in July, including one that appeared capable of hitting the United States mainland, South Koreans are not so sure the Americans would follow through.

“Would the Americans intervene in a war on the peninsula if their own Seattle were threatened with a North Korean nuclear ICBM?” said Park Hwee-rhak, a military analyst at Kookmin University in Seoul.

Mr. Moon has vowed to expand the defense budget to 2.9 percent of South Ko-

rea’s gross domestic product during his term, from 2.4 percent, or \$35.4 billion, as of this year. For next year, his government has proposed a budget of \$38.1 billion, nearly \$12 billion of it for weapons to defend against North Korea.

In a Twitter post last week, Mr. Trump said, “I am allowing Japan & South Korea to buy a substantially increased amount of highly sophisticated military equipment from the United States.”

South Korea has now introduced three arms-buildup programs — Kill Chain; the Korea Air and Missile De-

fense program; and the Korea Massive Punishment and Retaliation initiative, which includes the decapitation unit.

Under the Kill Chain program, South Korea aims to detect impending missile attacks from North Korea and launch pre-emptive strikes.

North Korea keeps artillery and rocket tubes near the border, and is capable of delivering 5,200 rounds on Seoul in the first 10 minutes of war, military planners in South Korea say. The North also operates hundreds of missiles designed to hit South Korea and United States bases in Japan and beyond to deter American intervention should war break out.

The need to detect an impending strike has become more critical. North Korea has made its nuclear bombs small and light enough — weighing under 500 kilograms, or about 1,100 pounds — to be fitted onto its missiles, though it is still unclear whether they are fully weaponized, Mr. Song, the defense minister, said last week.

But detection has also become harder. North Korea hides missiles in its many underground tunnels. Switching to solid fuel has made some of its missiles easier to transport and faster to launch. In recent years, North Korea also has flight-tested missiles from submarines, which are tougher to detect.

And the potential consequences of accurate detection are huge. Miscalculation could prompt an unwarranted preemptive strike, which could start a regional nuclear war.

Speaking to a United States congressional hearing in June, the chairman of

the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Joseph F. Dunford Jr., said, “We will see casualties unlike anything we’ve seen in 60 or 70 years.”

Intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities are crucial, said Daniel A. Pinkston, a defense expert at the Seoul campus of Troy University. Without those capabilities, “they would be ‘shooting blind’ because the missile units could not identify the targets,” he added.

Last month, South Korea said it would launch five spy satellites into orbit from 2021 to 2023 to better monitor weapons movements in North Korea. In the interim, it is talking with countries like France and Israel to lease spy satellites. It also plans to introduce four American RQ-4 Global Hawk surveillance drones by next year.

If pre-emptive attacks failed, South Korea would hope its Korea Air and Missile Defense system would shoot down any rockets from the North.

South Korea is planning to upgrade its PAC-2 interceptor missiles for a better low-altitude defense. Last week, South Korea helped the United States military install a Thaad missile-defense battery, which intercepts enemy rockets at higher altitudes. For additional protection, South Korea is developing its own L-SAM interceptor missiles, as well as installing more early warning radars for ballistic missiles.

After the North’s latest nuclear test, South Korea fired its Hyunmoo-2 short-range ballistic missiles in a drill simulating an attack on the North’s test site. In July, the South’s military also released

simulated images of Taurus bunker-buster missiles hitting the Defense Ministry in the North Korean capital, Pyongyang. South Korea is buying 260 Taurus missiles from a German and Swedish joint venture.

The weapons are part of the Korea Massive Punishment and Retaliation plan. Under that program, South Korea would try to divide Pyongyang into several districts and wipe out the area where Kim Jong-un is believed to be hiding, defense analysts said.

Washington’s decision to lift the missile payload limits may allow South Korea to develop new Hyunmoo missiles capable of destroying weapons sites and leadership bunkers deep underground, said Shin Jong-woo at Korea Defense Forum, a Seoul-based network of military experts.

Mr. Shin said there was talk of building a Hyunmoo with a two-ton warhead.

The earlier restrictions barred South Korea from attaching a payload weighing more than half a ton to its Hyunmoo missile when the rocket had a range of up to 497 miles.

As word of South Korea’s new unit has spread, Mr. Kim has used his deputies’ cars as decoys to move from place to place, South Korean intelligence officials told lawmakers in June.

Still, many say they doubt that the threat is enough to deter Mr. Kim. Only the prospect of nuclear retaliation will suffice, they say.

“The balance of terror is the shortest cut to deterring war,” Yoon Sang-hyun, a conservative opposition lawmaker, told South Korea’s Parliament last week.

Amid storms, an improved aid response by U.S.

ATLANTA

Better weather forecasts and stronger buildings helped keep death toll low

BY RICHARD FAUSSET

The two enormous storms in the United States brought death and suffering and damage that will be measured in the billions of dollars. They left millions of residents cowering in their homes to ride out pounding rains, and left evacuees — hundreds of thousands of them — scattered across Texas and the Southeast.

At the same time, Hurricanes Harvey and Irma may have revealed a largely unnoticed truth often buried under the news of unfolding tragedy: The United States appears to be improving in the way it responds to hurricanes, at a time when climate scientists say the threats from such storms, fueled by warming oceans, are growing only more dire. For all the chaos, the death toll from Harvey and Irma remained surprisingly contained: about 85 thus far in Florida and Texas.

“There’s no doubt that we’re doing better,” said Brian Wolshon, a civil engineer professor and evacuation expert at Louisiana State University. “The stuff we’re doing is not rocket science, but it’s having the political will, and the need, to do it.”

Across much of Florida and the region on Tuesday, stressed and exhausted families were assessing damage from Irma, or just beginning the journey home, often grappling with gasoline shortages, sweltering heat, and power and cell service disruptions in addition to downed trees and destroyed property. At least 13 people were reported dead in Irma’s wake, although the toll could still rise in the Florida Keys.

The pain was felt where the storm hit hardest, like the Florida Keys, where an estimated 25 percent of homes were destroyed and bleary-eyed residents contemplated a battered landscape of destruction.

And the pain was felt far away as well: in Jacksonville, where there was still major flooding from an epic storm surge, heavy rains and rising tides; in Georgia, where at least 1.2 million customers were without power Tuesday; and in Charleston, S.C., where Ir-



DAVID GOLDMAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

A street in Fort Myers, Fla., after Hurricane Irma. America’s disaster-response system grew markedly after the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in New York and Pennsylvania.

ma’s effects coincided with a high tide, causing some of the worst flooding since Hurricane Hugo, which devastated the area in 1989.

The political will Mr. Wolshon cited has arisen, in large part, from the two defining, and very different, disasters of the century: the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and, four years later, Hurricane Katrina, whose floodwaters put most of New Orleans underwater and left more than 1,800 people dead.

The terrorist attacks in New York and Pennsylvania revolutionized the way

the American government coordinated disaster response. Katrina stimulated a new and robust conversation about the power of natural disasters, and, more specifically, forced Americans to rethink the growing threats from floodwater.

These issues have become central themes for the government in recent years, and Richard Serino, a former deputy administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, said he was not surprised that the response to the storms thus far has gone relatively well. “It’s no accident,” he said. “We’ve

been training people for this for the last 16 years.”

These events, and other disasters, have fed into the collective knowledge of how a modern nation should respond to hurricanes, serving as catalysts for improvements in weather forecasting, evacuation policies and hurricane-resistant building practices.

Experts said all of them most likely played a role in keeping the death tolls lower than expected in the past few weeks. The planning and response also benefited from a few lucky turns in the

weather, the growing sophistication of personal technology — the iPhone did not exist when Katrina struck — and a public dialed in to the internet and tuned into 24-hour television news.

The deadly problems posed by hurricanes are at once ancient and rather new: Hal Needham, a coastal hazard scientist who runs a private consulting business in Galveston, Tex., notes that it was not until after World War II that populations began to soar in Texas and Florida, both states that are vulnerable to hurricanes. The rise of satellite-based

Powerless in Florida

WASHINGTON

Millions lost electricity after Irma, and restoring it all could take weeks

BY BRAD PLUMER

As Hurricane Irma rampaged through Florida, snapping power lines and damaging vital equipment, it left as many as 15 million people in the state without electricity, the Department of Homeland Security said on Tuesday. While some homes may see power restored within days, utilities said that other customers may have to wait weeks.

“This is going to be a very, very lengthy restoration, arguably the longest and most complex in U.S. history,” Robert Gould, vice president for communications at Florida Power & Light, which supplies electricity to roughly half the state, told ABC News on Sunday.

Why does it take so long? Repairing the grid after a major hurri-

cane is a complex task, experts said. Utilities first have to send crews out to inspect the damage before they can figure out how best to restore service. That assessment can take days, and heavy flooding and debris from the storm can delay workers trying to reach key areas.

Restoration is not always as simple as replacing wires and poles toppled by high winds or fallen trees. Floods can cause damage to electrical substations that link transmission lines with local distribution lines. Many buildings connected to the grid may also have sustained damage to their electrical systems. Those places need to be identified and isolated from the rest of the network before power starts flowing again, in order to prevent short-circuiting and other safety hazards.

“You might have an area where most houses are O.K.,” said Mark McGranaghan, vice president of distribution and energy utilization at the Electric Power Research Institute, a non-profit group that does research for the nation’s power companies. “But crews still need to check all the buildings and disconnect the ones with damage before

they can restore service.”

Florida Power & Light plans to send out 16,000 workers, including crews on loan from other utilities, said Eric Silagy, the company’s president, at a news conference on Monday. The company has also deployed drones to assess problems from the air.

Typically, a utility will focus on restoring power to critical facilities like hospitals and communication networks before moving to major population centers. Less-populated areas are usually last in line.

Mr. Silagy said that southwest Florida, where the damage is most extensive, could experience the longest waits. As Irma moved north on Monday, it also left more than a million people without power in Georgia and South Carolina.

There are steps that utilities can take to protect their power grids from storm damage. Florida Power & Light has invested more than \$3 billion in such measures since 2006, including replacing wooden poles with sturdier concrete poles, burying some power lines and installing flood monitors at 223 substations to protect equipment. Without those steps, Mr. Silagy said, “we would have seen much more prevalent structural damage.”

But utilities could go further in improving their resiliency against major storms, a 2016 study by the Electric Power Research Institute found. Smart meters and advanced sensors could help crews identify damage to individual buildings more quickly, and new technology could reroute power automatically away from troubled areas. Breakaway connectors could allow power lines hit by falling trees to come down safely without also taking down poles, which take longer to replace.

“If we could get the damage assessment process down from several days to a day, that would be a big step forward,” Mr. McGranaghan said. But, he cautioned, “with a storm this big, when you have this much damage, you can’t rely exclusively on sensors. In the end, it’s still a lot of grunt work.”

Other steps to further fortify power grids would involve heavier investments. Some cities and regions have decided to bury their power lines underground to protect against winds and falling trees. But doing so is expensive, costing five to 10 times more per mile of line, and if an underground power line does get damaged — say, from corrosive saltwater flooding — repairs can take longer. Utilities could also do more to pare back trees in areas where they pose a threat to power lines.

After Hurricane Sandy hit the Northeast in 2012, some states began investing in so-called microgrids — self-contained power networks that can disconnect themselves from the broader grid when problems arise and run on local power sources such as gas generators, solar panels or batteries for a period.



KEVIN HAGEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



NICHOLAS KAMM/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Top, making coffee and charging electronics in Miami from an outlet that was drawing power from a generator. Above, a fallen power line in Bonita Springs, Fla.

Opinion

Pakistan’s delicate balance of militancy and voting

The country’s election commission drew a line in the sand by refusing to recognize a political party formed by a militant group and its charity wing.

Stephen Tankel

Pakistan is home to many Islamist terrorist groups. Some enjoy a permissive environment despite technically being banned by the state. This has enabled them to acquire political power. Politicians sometimes court terrorist leaders to turn out voters.

While researching counterterrorism a few summers ago, I met with a high-ranking Pakistani official to talk about his decision to attend a campaign rally with the leader of a proscribed terrorist organization. He admitted that getting the terrorist leader to turn out voters for a politician was his motivation. He also suggested that encouraging such men get into politics was better than seeing them remain involved in terrorism.

I thought of that conversation last week when Pakistan’s election commission refused to recognize the Muslim Milli League, a new political party started by the social welfare arm of Lashkar-e-Taiba, the militant group notorious for the 2008 Mumbai attacks that killed 166 people. The election commission also warned independent candidates for office not to use the party’s name in campaigns.

If the commission had recognized the Muslim Milli League, that would have in effect allowed a terrorist organization to contest elections. It could have opened the door for other militant groups in Pakistan — and several militant groups were already gearing up to establish their own political parties.

Pakistan has a long history of political parties using violence to prevail in elections. Some parties have armed wings. Others rely on associated militias and criminal networks. Religious parties with ties to terrorist groups have contested elections for decades. Members of outlawed terrorist organizations have also won elected office as independent candidates. While no such organization had ever started its own party, Lashkar-e-Taiba and its social welfare wing, Jamaat-ud-Dawa, appeared well positioned to lead the charge.

On the advice of Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, Pakistan’s powerful spy agency, the group has changed its name several times since the Sept. 11 attacks to evade sanctions and escape bans.

The Pakistani government still differentiates between Lashkar-e-Taiba, which is banned, and Jamaat-ud-Dawa, which is not. In reality, they remain two sides of a single organization, led by the same individuals. The military and the intelligence service still support the

group. It remains their most reliable terrorist ally against India, sends fighters to Afghanistan, and has helped to combat separatists in Baluchistan, which borders Iran and Afghanistan.

But militancy is not the group’s only mission. It is also dedicated to proselytizing and nonviolent reformism intended to turn Pakistan into a “pure” Islamic state. Many Pakistanis see Jamaat-ud-Dawa, which runs hospitals and ambulance services across the country, as a robust social welfare organization, and not an alias for a lethal terrorist group.

Debates about whether to take part in elections have been continuing for years, according to Lashkar-e-Taiba officials I have spoken with. Yet starting a political party was a major step for an organization whose longstanding position was that Islam forbids participation in electoral politics.

The attempt to begin a party occurred at a time when the group and the Pakistani government are under increasing international pressure. Pakistan might make a cosmetic distinction between Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jamaat-ud-Dawa,

but the United States and the United Nations have designated both as terrorist groups. The Financial Action Task Force, an international body focused on combating terrorist financing, has also zeroed in on Jamaat-ud-Dawa and its leader Hafiz Muhammad Saeed. To placate the United States, the Pakistani government placed Mr. Saeed under house arrest in January and put his organization on a watch list for groups that may be involved in terrorism.

Recasting their organization as a political party could have provided Mr. Saeed and other leaders with more influence over how the state deals with their group. It also would have given them greater freedom to operate, especially when it comes to raising money. Rather than sucking recruits and resources away from Lashkar-e-Taiba, a new political party could have drawn in more of both. In addition to political cover for its terrorist activities, this would have been another mechanism to influence the domestic discourse and promote hawkish policies toward India.

In theory, entering electoral politics can have a moderating influence on terrorist organizations and perhaps even create conditions for mainstreaming them. Wasn’t it preferable, the Pakistani official had asked me, for militants to involve themselves in elections than to continue engaging in terrorism? Of course, it was. Except Pakistan had never forced them to choose between terrorism and politics. Instead, these men and the groups they led have been allowed to ply their terrorist trade while simultaneously increasing their political power.



ANJUM NAVEED/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ent names. But for the moment, the election commission has held the line against allowing terrorist organizations to contest elections in Pakistan.

STEPHEN TANKEL, the author of “Storming the World Stage: The Story of Lashkar-e-Taiba,” is an assistant professor at American University.

Supporters of Jamaat-ud-Dawa at a rally in Islamabad in July.

Pyongyang’s nukes, Tokyo’s bind

Japan is highly exposed to North Korea’s nuclear brinkmanship but has very few options to protect itself.

Yoichi Funabashi

TOKYO Pyongyang’s recent missile launch over Hokkaido and its underground nuclear test have laid bare Japan’s Achilles’ heel: Our country’s national security policy is still woefully ill equipped for this mounting danger. The new sanctions adopted by the United Nations Security Council on Monday will hardly limit Japan’s exposure.

North Korea’s latest provocations pose an unprecedented threat. Even during the Korean War in the early 1950s, Japan, as a rear support base for United States forces, was somewhat insulated; today, it is in the same theater as South Korea, also on the front lines. Any American military strike against North Korea would likely trigger retaliatory measures against Japan.

Japan is in a terrible predicament: Highly exposed but with very few options, military or diplomatic, to help itself.

Its defense ministry plans to double, to eight, the number of ships equipped with the Aegis missile-defense system. But the new fleet won’t be operational before 2021. Even if Japan also acquires the land-based Aegis Ashore system, as it is contemplating doing, none of this additional capacity could offer it enough protection against North Korea’s increasingly lethal missiles — much less deter North Korea from further developing its own arsenal.

This is one reason why Itsunori Onodera, the new defense minister, has been making a case for developing Japan’s offensive capabilities, so that it could strike military bases in North Korea, perhaps even preemptively. But such a move faces numerous obstacles — financial, tactical and strategic.

No budget decision for such capabilities is expected to even be made until at least late 2018. Acquiring offensive weaponry would require redefining the terms of Japan’s existing security agreement with the United States, which relegates Japan to a purely defensive role and places all responsibility for any offensive action solely with



TOMOHIRO OHSUMI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of the Japan’s Self-Defense Forces during training near Mount Fuji in late August.

America.

In the face of these constraints, some pundits and officials in Washington are arguing that Japan, as well as South Korea, might, and perhaps should, consider acquiring nuclear weapons themselves.

The idea is a nonstarter. According to an opinion poll conducted in June and July, only 9 percent of Japanese respondents think Japan should acquire nuclear weapons. (About 67 percent of South Koreans polled said that South Korea should get such weapons.) The nuclearization of Japan — or South Korea — would undermine nonproliferation efforts, as well as validate North Korea’s nuclear brinkmanship to date.

Given the difficulties of developing an independent military capability, Tokyo has no choice but to pursue a diplomatic solution with the help of other states — even though several multilateral efforts

have failed in the past and bilateral relations between some of the main players today arguably are more fraught than ever.

Tensions are mounting between the United States and China, for example, over dominance in the South China Sea. South Korea’s decision to deploy the missile-defense system known as Thaad to protect itself from North Korea has riled Beijing, which says the system is in fact designed to track missiles from China.

Relations between Tokyo and Seoul have long been uneasy, largely because of unresolved issues from Japan’s occupation of the Korean Peninsula in the 1930s and 1940s, including about so-called comfort women, Korean women who were coerced or compelled into having sex with Japanese soldiers. And the new South Korean president, Moon Jae-in, appears to be taking a firmer

stand on that question than his predecessor, who signed an agreement with Japan in 2015 hoping to finally settle the matter. It is now very difficult to imagine, for example, that Japan’s Self-Defense Forces could ever operate on South Korean soil, even to assist with, say, an evacuation after an attack by North Korea.

At the same time, however, as the threat from Pyongyang becomes more ominous, the pressing need for an effective response may suggest, even create, new diplomatic opportunities.

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan and President Trump seem to have quickly developed an intimate working relationship, and that — along with South Korea’s moves to strengthen its security ties with the United States — may allow for more effective cooperation among the three countries, despite difficulties between Japan and South

Korea. This trilateralism, in turn, could form the basis for five-party talks including China and Russia, and eventually lead to the resumption of negotiations with Pyongyang as well.

The U.N. Security Council’s decision to cap North Korea’s oil imports, though a watered-down version of the penalties sought by the United States government, was significant nonetheless. For one thing, it was a reminder that coordinated action with China and Russia, which have been wary of imposing more sanctions against Pyongyang, is possible.

On this front, too, North Korea’s recent brinkmanship may have unexpectedly paved the way for new (if slim) possibilities for cooperation. Mr. Abe and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia seem to have developed an effective line of communication, including on intractable-seeming issues, like the status of contested islands in the Pacific. And the chances for at least some measure of rapprochement between Japan and China may be growing. Building bridges with Beijing remains a loaded notion for many Japanese people, but Mr. Abe now has more clout and political capital to try, in the name of protecting Japan against the more immediate threat posed by North Korea.

The recent escalation of the North Korea crisis seems to have validated Mr. Abe’s controversial efforts to strengthen Japan’s defense posture. The Japanese public is now more open to adopting a tougher stance. The new leader of the opposition Democratic Party, Seiji Maehara, is a hawk, and under his leadership the party, traditionally an advocate of pacifism, is likely to support, if perhaps reluctantly, the Abe administration’s hard-nosed approach to security.

There is no viable military solution to the North Korea crisis. Japan, like the other main parties, must make the most of the slivers of opportunity created by the escalating threat to renew efforts at finding a multilateral diplomatic solution.

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The New York Times

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U.S. SENATORS SEEKING A FOREIGN POLICY

Lindsey Graham and Patrick Leahy aim to replenish foreign aid and fortify the State Department.

The range of problems facing the United States abroad is daunting: a volatile Middle East, an unpredictable, mischievous Russia, a truly menacing North Korea. To say nothing of destabilizing global challenges like the mass migration of desperate refugees, and climate change. President Trump’s “America First” approach, which calls for disengagement from old alliances and responsibilities, is a dodge, not an answer. What’s needed is a robust foreign policy led by a reinvigorated State Department that right now is suffering from presidential neglect, poor leadership and an absence of professional firepower in pivotal positions.

Two people who understand the urgency of helping the department recover from the damages inflicted by Mr. Trump are Senators Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, and Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont. Leading members of the Senate Appropriations Committee, they have sought to rally their colleagues around a bipartisan spending bill for 2018 that would strengthen the department and replenish important foreign aid programs.

Last week, the two won unanimous committee approval for a \$51 billion bill for the State Department and foreign aid, about \$11 billion more than the administration requested. While the total is less than what Congress allocated for 2017, and less than necessary given the international challenges, it’s nowhere near the 30 percent cut that Mr. Trump; his budget chief, Mick Mulvaney; and his secretary of state, Rex Tillerson, had absurdly insisted was imperative.

As interesting as the bipartisan vote was the Republican-led committee’s report, which pulled no punches in blistering Mr. Trump and his aides for proposing a budget in May that amounted to an “apparent doctrine of retreat” from the world. “The lessons learned since September 11, 2001, include the reality that defense alone does not provide for American strength and resolve abroad,” the report said. “Battlefield technology and firepower cannot replace diplomacy and development.”

That argument strikes at the heart of Mr. Trump’s approach, which favors warlike rhetoric and a reliance on the Pentagon as the primary levers of American power, while negotiation and diplomacy are given short shrift. At more than \$600 billion annually, the military budget accounts for almost 19 percent of the federal budget, and Mr. Trump would add billions more for additional Navy ships and nuclear weapons. The State Department and its foreign aid programs account for 1 percent of the overall budget.

Sixteen years of war against terrorists in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere have given the military what it and many others see as a priority claim on federal dollars, leaving the State Department in a subsidiary role. Mr. Trump reinforced that trend with his proposed budget cuts, which would eliminate more than 2,500 diplomatic and development jobs and make major reductions in diplomatic security (36 percent in budget cuts), H.I.V./AIDS programs (17 percent), international disaster assistance and food aid (a whopping 77 percent) and migration and refugee assistance (18 percent). When the “unjustified” budget cuts were announced, the committee report said, they caused so much concern in foreign capitals that China and Russia were able to “hijack our national security narrative” as a commanding and confident power capable of leading the world.

The committee bill would rescind many of these reductions and go beyond the numbers by imposing unprecedented restrictions to protect certain programs and operations from administrative meddling. The number of Foreign Service officer positions, for example, would not be permitted to go below 14,000; and the State Department’s Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration could not be eliminated.

There are two reasons for these rules. Senators were angered that Mr. Mulvaney arbitrarily took a meat ax to the State Department budget without understanding its programs or the consequences of reductions and without adequate consultation with Congress. There is also grave bipartisan concern about whether Mr. Tillerson, a former Exxon Mobil chief executive with no government experience, is over his head and, indeed, whether the reorganization he has promised will end up further weakening the department. The secretary is widely seen as lacking influence with Mr. Trump; often eclipsed on the world stage by the ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley; accessible only to a small coterie of aides; and detached from an increasingly demoralized diplomatic corps. Many senior people have already left their jobs in an institution that many once saw as the government’s crown jewel.

Like all institutions, the department can benefit from improvements. But there is no sign that Mr. Trump and his team understand its core mission and its importance in a turbulent world. With their bill, Mr. Graham, Mr. Leahy and their fellow committee members have ringingly reaffirmed that mission. The rest of Congress should ensure that a strong version of it becomes law.

Why all Americans need Medicare

Bernie Sanders

This is a pivotal moment in American history. Do we, as a nation, join the rest of the industrialized world and guarantee comprehensive health care to every person as a human right? Or do we maintain a system that is enormously expensive, wasteful and bureaucratic, and is designed to maximize profits for big insurance companies, the pharmaceutical industry, Wall Street and medical equipment suppliers?

We remain the only major country on earth that allows chief executives and stockholders in the health care industry to get incredibly rich, while tens of millions of people suffer because they can’t get the health care they need. This is not what the United States should be about.

All over this country, I have heard from Americans who have shared heartbreaking stories about our dysfunctional system. Doctors have told me about patients who died because they put off their medical visits until it was too late. These were people who had no insurance or could not afford out-of-pocket costs imposed by their insurance plans.

I have heard from older people who have been forced to split their pills in half because they couldn’t pay the outrageously high price of prescription drugs. Oncologists have told me about cancer patients who have been unable to acquire lifesaving treatments be-

cause they could not afford them. This should not be happening in the world’s wealthiest country.

Americans should not hesitate about going to the doctor because they do not have enough money. They should not worry that a hospital stay will bankrupt them or leave them deeply in debt. They should be able to go to the doctor they want, not just one in a particular network. They should not have to spend huge amounts of time filling out complicated forms and arguing with insurance companies as to whether or not they have the coverage they expected.

Even though 28 million Americans remain uninsured and even more are underinsured, we spend far more per capita on health care than any other industrialized nation. In 2015, the United States spent almost \$10,000 per person for health care; the Canadians, Germans, French and British spent less than half of that, while guaranteeing health care to everyone. Further, these countries have higher life expectancy rates and lower infant mortality rates than we do.

The reason that our health care system is so outrageously expensive is that it is not designed to provide quality care to all in a cost-effective way, but to provide huge profits to the medical-industrial complex. Layers of bureaucracy associated with the administration of hundreds of individual and complicated insurance plans is stunningly wasteful, costing us hundreds of billions of dollars a year. As the only major country not to negotiate drug prices with the pharmaceutical industry, we spend tens of billions more than

we should.

The solution to this crisis is not hard to understand. A half-century ago, the United States established Medicare. Guaranteeing comprehensive health benefits to Americans over 65 has proved to be enormously successful, cost-effective and popular. Now is the time to expand and improve Medicare to cover all Americans.

This is not a radical idea. I live 50 miles south of the Canadian border. For decades, every man, woman and child in Canada has been guaranteed

In the wealthiest country on the planet, people shouldn’t be deprived of health care simply because they can’t afford it.

health care through a single-payer, publicly funded health care program. This system has not only improved the lives of the Canadian people but has also saved families and businesses an immense amount of money.

On Wednesday I will introduce the Medicare for All Act in the Senate with 15 co-sponsors and support from dozens of grass-roots organizations. Under this legislation, every family in America would receive comprehensive coverage, and middle-class families would save thousands of dollars a year by eliminating their private insurance costs as we move to a publicly funded program.

The transition to the Medicare for All program would take place over four years. In the first year, benefits to

older people would be expanded to include dental care, vision coverage and hearing aids, and the eligibility age for Medicare would be lowered to 55. All children under the age of 18 would also be covered. In the second year, the eligibility age would be lowered to 45 and in the third year to 35. By the fourth year, every man, woman and child in the country would be covered by Medicare for All.

Needless to say, there will be huge opposition to this legislation from the powerful special interests that profit from the current wasteful system. The insurance companies, the drug companies and Wall Street will undoubtedly devote a lot of money to lobbying, campaign contributions and television ads to defeat this proposal. But they are on the wrong side of history.

Guaranteeing health care as a right is important to the American people not just from a moral and financial perspective; it also happens to be what the majority of the American people want. According to an April poll by The Economist/YouGov, 60 percent of the American people want to “expand Medicare to provide health insurance to every American,” including 75 percent of Democrats, 58 percent of independents and 46 percent of Republicans.

Now is the time for Congress to stand with the American people and take on the special interests that dominate health care in the United States. Now is the time to extend Medicare to everyone.

BERNIE SANDERS is an independent senator from Vermont.



AARON P. BERNSTEIN/REUTERS

Health care activists protesting on Capitol Hill in Washington in July.

The folly of President Trump



Thomas L. Friedman

America faces two serious national security threats today that look wildly different but have one core feature in common — they both have a low probability of happening, but, if they did happen, they could have devastating consequences for our whole country and the world.

One of these threats is called North Korea. If the reckless leader of North Korea is able to launch an arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles that strike the U.S. mainland, the impact on America will be incalculable.

And even though the odds of that happening are low — it would be an act of suicide by the North Korean dynasty — President Trump is ready to spend billions on antimissile systems, warships, cyberdefenses, air power and war games to defuse and deter this North Korean threat.

And if we prepare for a North Korean nuclear attack and it never happens, we will be left with some improved weaponry that we might be able to use in other theaters, like fighter jets, ships and missiles — but nothing particularly productive for our

economy or job creation.

The other low-probability, high-impact threat is climate change fueled by increased human-caused carbon emissions. The truth is, if you simply trace the steady increase in costly extreme weather events — wildfires, floods, droughts and climate-related human migrations — the odds of human-driven global warming having a devastating impact on our planet are not low probability but high probability.

But let’s assume for a minute that because climate change is a complex process — which we do not fully understand — climate change is a low-probability, high-impact event just like a North Korean nuclear strike. What is the Trump team doing when confronted with this similar threat?

It’s taking a spike and poking out its own eyes. In possibly the most intellectually corrupt declaration of the Trump era — a high bar — Scott Pruitt, a longtime shill for oil and gas companies now masquerading as the head of the E.P.A., actually declared that even discussing possible links between human-driven climate disruptions and the recent monster storms was “insensitive.” He said that after our country got hit by two Atlantic Category 4 hurricanes in the same year for the first time since records have been kept — storms made more destructive by rising ocean levels and warmer ocean waters.

Makes me wonder . . . if Pruitt were afflicted with cancer, would he not want scientists discussing with him, let alone researching, the possible causes

and solutions? Wouldn’t want to upset him.

Frauds like Pruitt like to say that the climate has been changing since long before any human drove a car, so how could humans be causing climate change? Of course they aren’t solely responsible. The climate *has* always changed by itself through its own natural variability. But that doesn’t mean that humans can’t exacerbate or disrupt this natural variability by warming the planet even more and, by doing so, making the hots hotter, the wets wetter, the storms harsher, the colds colder and the droughts drier.

That is why I prefer the term “global weirding” over “global warming.” The

Ignoring the threat of climate change.

weather does get warmer in some places, but it gets weird in others. Look at the past few months: Not only were several big U.S.

cities slammed by monster hurricanes, but San Francisco set a heat record — 106 degrees on Sept. 1, a day when the average high there is 70 degrees; the West was choked by record-breaking forest fires exacerbated by drought; and South Asia was slammed by extraordinarily harsh monsoons, killing some 1,400 people.

But what if we prepare for disruptive climate change and it doesn’t get as bad as feared? Where will we be? Well, we will have cleaner air to breathe, less childhood asthma, more innovative building materials and designs, and cleaner, more efficient power

generation and transportation systems — all of which will be huge export industries and create tens of thousands of good, repeat jobs. Because with world population steadily rising, we all will need greener cars and power if we just want to breathe clean air, no matter what happens with the climate. We will also be less dependent on petrodictators.

Indeed, it is safe to say, that if we overprepare for climate change and nothing much happens, it will be exactly like training for the Olympic marathon and the Olympics get canceled. You’re left with a body that is stronger, fitter and healthier.

Trump has recently fired various knuckle-headed aides whose behavior was causing him short-term embarrassment. The person he needs to fire is Scott Pruitt. Pruitt is going to cause Trump long-term embarrassment. But instead, together they are authoring a new national security doctrine — one that says when faced with a low-probability, high-impact event like North Korea, the U.S. should spend any amount of money, and if the threat doesn’t materialize, well, we’ll have a lot of Army surplus and scrap metal.

But when faced with an actually high-probability, high-impact threat called climate change, we should do nothing and poke both our eyes out, even though if the impact is less severe — and we prepare for it anyway — we will be left healthier, stronger, more productive, more resilient and more respected around the world.

That is the Pruitt-Trump Doctrine — soon to be known as “Trump’s Folly.”

OPINION

Toward a realistic Iran deal

Michael Singh

WASHINGTON Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said last month that United States policy toward Iran shouldn't begin and end with the nuclear deal. Washington's issues with that country are far wider, Mr. Tillerson said, citing Iran's meddling in Syria and Iraq, and its support for terrorist groups like Hezbollah.

The secretary of state is certainly right about that. But he elided an important point: Without a stable approach to the nuclear deal, questions about its fate will distract from and ultimately hobble broader American diplomacy on Iran and other crucial issues in the Middle East.

President Trump — who campaigned on promises to tear up the nuclear deal — has indicated that in mid-October, when the next 90-day deadline for recertifying Iran's compliance with the agreement arrives, he will find that Iran has violated it. This could lead to the deal's collapse.

But there seems to be little evidence that Iran is actually cheating in any significant way. The Iranians appear to be exploiting loopholes in the deal and trying to get away with what they can when it comes to the deal's limits on certain nuclear activities like the production and storage of heavy water. Likewise, they seem to be ignoring injunctions on missile launches levied by the United Nations but not actually included in the nuclear agreement itself.

None of these appear to constitute a material breach of the agreement. The problem the United States faces is not Iranian compliance, but the very terms of the agreement. Mr. Trump isn't wrong when he says it's a "bad deal." It's too narrow in scope, permitting Iran to work on its missile and centrifuge technology even while uranium enrichment is paused. More worrying, it's only temporary. Some of its strictures begin to phase out in less than a decade, during which time Tehran can expand its power in the Middle East, just as the United States' tools for

trying to keep it in check — in particular, sanctions — are limited.

But like it or not, the clock is not so easily turned back. Any realistic Iran policy must take this as its starting point. Rather than ripping up the deal or simply acquiescing to it, the Trump administration should strengthen both the deal and the policy framework of which it is a part. Stability on the issue of the nuclear agreement will eliminate a distraction and create leverage to rally international support for a better Middle East strategy.

That's why the United States should work with allies to more strictly interpret the existing text of the accord. Along with Britain, France and Germany — sometimes known as the E.U.3 — the United States should close any loopholes being exploited by Iran, increase intelligence cooperation on Iran's nuclear activities and push

The nuclear agreement is far from perfect, but ripping it up isn't a solution.

international inspectors to interpret their mandate more broadly. These allies should also agree to enforce United Nations rules that aren't

included in the agreement, like those strictly limiting Iran's arms trade.

Working with these same allies, the United States should also tackle issues omitted from the nuclear deal, like Iran's missile program. Through a package of sanctions, export controls, interdictions and missile defense, they should aim to prevent Iran from acquiring an intercontinental ballistic missile and from continuing to export missile technology.

The United States and the E.U.3 should also address the problem of the nuclear deal's expiration date by jointly declaring now that they intend to expand and extend the agreement, rather than allow Iran's nuclear activities to suddenly increase when it expires. In parallel, they should seek to strengthen global nonproliferation efforts so that even if nuclear restrictions specific to Iran cannot be extended, Tehran faces more challenges to weaponization when the deal does lapse.

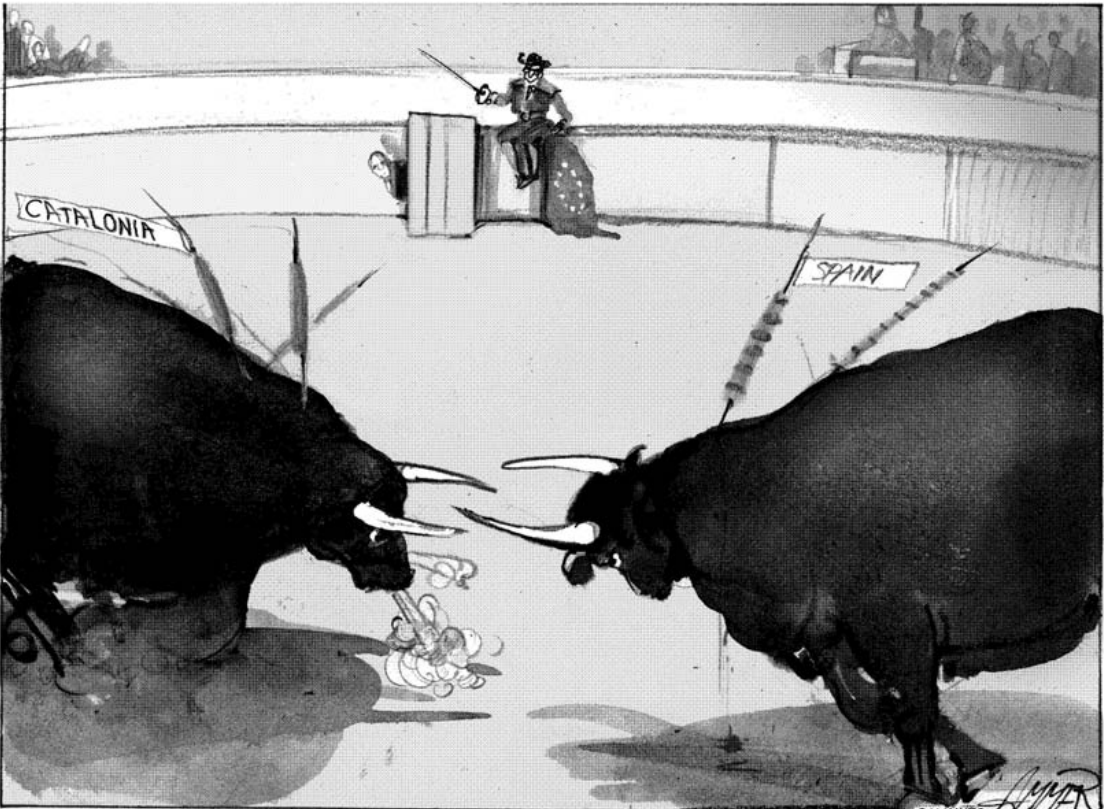
All of this must go hand in hand with

a larger strategy to counter Iranian aggression in the Middle East. Iran's leaders appear to be increasingly self-confident, perceiving success in Syria, Iraq and Yemen. And Iran is steadily expanding its network of proxies. To reverse these trends, the United States must move from generalities about countering Iran to specific aims — for example, preventing Iranian forces from entrenching in the Golan Heights, or deterring the use of anti-ship cruise missiles in the Bab el Mandeb Strait off Yemen's coast. American officials need to communicate these boundaries to Iran and back them up with a range of tools, including sanctions, diplomacy and limited military force if necessary.

These measures require help from America's allies, who are not eager to fiddle with the nuclear agreement or face up to the problem of Iran's regional policies. This is where diplomacy comes in. Allies in Europe and elsewhere know the deal is controversial in Washington, and they take seriously Mr. Trump's threats to stop honoring it. Policy makers in Washington should make clear that their allies' cooperation with efforts to strengthen the deal and counter Iran are required to avoid that outcome. The United States cannot subordinate its entire policy toward Iran or the Middle East to the preservation of the nuclear accord. And it shouldn't shoulder sole responsibility for addressing Iran's threats while Europe enjoys the deal's benefits.

Even then, this would constitute only the start of a policy for addressing the challenge of Iran. Iran is adept at exploiting chaos, which is endemic in the Middle East. Washington will need sound approaches to the wars in Syria and Yemen, Iraq's fragility and other regional challenges like the fight between Qatar and its neighbors. But none of this will be possible if there is an international crisis every time there's a new deadline for certifying compliance or waiving sanctions.

MICHAEL SINGH, a former senior director for Middle East affairs at the United States National Security Council, is the managing director of Washington Institute for Near East Policy.



AMMER/WIENER ZEITUNG (VIENNA). CARTOONARTS INTERNATIONAL/NYTS

An editor's assassination

Sudipto Mondal

BANGALORE, INDIA On the evening of Sept. 5, I got a call from my wife, a fellow journalist. "Gauri Lankesh has been shot outside her house," she said. "She is dead." Ms. Lankesh, 55, was the editor of Gauri Lankesh Patrike, a weekly newspaper, which she published from Bangalore, India, in the southern state of Karnataka.

I drove with two journalist friends to the morgue of a hospital where her body was. At 8 p.m., she had been entering her home in the upper-class area of Bangalore when an assassin on a motorbike fired at her and fled. Three bullets hit her, damaging her heart and lungs, according to the post-mortem report.

I had known her for 10 years. All I ever did was argue with her. Our arguments had acquired an increasing intensity in the three years since Narendra Modi came to power and India turned toward majoritarianism and intolerance. An outspoken critic of Prime Minister Modi's Hindu nationalist government, she said in her last editorial that spreading fake news had contributed to the success of Mr. Modi and his party.

After Rohith Vemula, a Dalit graduate student and activist at a university in the southern city of Hyderabad, killed himself in January 2016 because of intense, unceasing institutionalized caste discrimination, a coalition of Dalit (lowest caste) and leftist student groups sought the prosecution of university officials and the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party politicians, who had pushed him to the brink. The leftist groups dominated by upper-caste Hindus were not willing to work under the leadership of Dalit activists.

I was agitatedly talking to Ms. Lankesh about how the Indian left was almost entirely led by upper-caste Hindus. Ten years of reporting on caste prejudice and politics and my personal history of growing up and working as a Dalit writer made me believe that even in struggles for civil and political rights, the Indian left excluded the Dalits from positions of leadership. Ms. Lankesh didn't see leadership as a big question when in the context of the more pressing need to fight the rise of Hindu nationalism, which she described as "fascism."

She mockingly asked me, "And where are the Dalit women leaders?"

I replied sarcastically, mentioning something about privilege.

She was enraged. "Yes, I am rich, I live in a big house and I am very privileged," she said. "Come up with a better argument for why, as a woman, I should not be part of the anti-caste struggle. Go read Ambedkar properly!"

The conversation ended and I thought we would never speak again.

I met her a little later at a lecture in Bangalore. She held my hand for a long while after the talk and introduced me to everyone as her son. A few days later, she messaged me with kind words about an article I had written. And she wanted to watch "Madras," a movie by Pa Ranjith, a young Dalit filmmaker.

Ms. Lankesh was also an effective political organizer with the ability to bring together social and political groups — Dalits, indigenous tribals, leftists, Muslims and others — opposed to the Hindu nationalist attempts to transform India into a country primarily for the Hindus.

The priests at a temple in Udupi, a southern Indian town — a stronghold of the Hindu nationalist movement —

Gauri Lankesh was a political organizer who opposed the Hindu nationalists.

were segregating the lower castes, especially Dalit devotees, from the upper-caste Hindus. Last September, Ms. Lankesh helped persuade numerous progressive, Dalit and leftist

groups, and nongovernmental organizations — who loathe working together because of political differences — to come together in a march to protest segregation at the Udupi temple. The question of whether Dalits will get to lead the struggle for their rights returned. Ms. Lankesh negotiated with every group to ensure that the upper-caste leaders didn't appropriate the march.

A month earlier, in July 2016, hard-line Hindu activists had stripped and flogged four Dalit men in Gujarat, the home state of Mr. Modi, for skinning a cow. Thousands of Dalits earn their meager livelihood from skinning dead cows and buffaloes and selling their hides to leather traders. Jignesh Mevani, a young Dalit lawyer, organized and led huge protests in Gujarat against the cow vigilantes.

Ms. Lankesh settled the question of leadership by getting everybody to agree that Mr. Mevani should lead the march against segregation to Udupi temple. Around 10,000 people joined the march. The opposition unity made an impression.

Soon after that I saw my social media timelines filled with photographs of Ms. Lankesh hugging Mr. Mevani and Kanhaiya Kumar, Umar Khalid and Shehla Rashid, leftist student leaders from a university in New Delhi. She called them "her children." It was her way of creating unity among various groups opposed to the rise of the majoritarian politics.

On the night of her murder, I stood outside her house with our common friends and we wondered why anyone would kill her. She wasn't the only outspoken critic of the Hindu right. Her newspaper, which was critical of Mr. Modi's government and the Hindu nationalists, didn't sell more than a few thousand copies although it was much respected.

I wondered if they killed her because she was a member of the Lingayat community in Karnataka, which wants to separate from Brahmanical Hinduism. In the past few months, the Lingayat leaders had mobilized hundreds of thousands of supporters in public rallies. The mobilization threatens the chances of the Hindu nationalist B.J.P. in the forthcoming state elections in Karnataka. Although Ms. Lankesh supported the call, the Lingayat movement had other, enormously powerful leaders.

In August 2013, the activist Narendra Dabholkar, who campaigned against religious superstitions, was murdered. In August 2015, M. M. Kalburgi, a scholar and outspoken critic of idol worship among Hindus, was gunned down at his own doorstep. In February 2015, Govind Pansare, a Communist leader, community organizer and columnist, was killed in a small town near Mumbai.

Mr. Dhabolkar, Mr. Kalburgi and Mr. Pansare were murdered by assassins on motorbikes, who hid their faces with helmets and fled after the murder. Exactly as Ms. Lankesh was killed.

The murdered intellectuals also wrote in regional languages and worked as activists. Each of them shared the quality of being acceptable to the leftist groups and Dalit groups. They could bring together communities opposed to the Hindu right.

We don't know yet who killed Ms. Lankesh, but various supporters of Mr. Modi, the B.J.P. and its parent organization, the Hindu nationalist mother ship, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, celebrated her murder on social media.

SUDIPTO MONDAL, a journalist based in Bangalore, is working on a book about the life and death of Rohith Vemula and Dalit activism in India.

The murder of my sister in Darfur

HARI, FROM PAGE 1

complicated prearrangement through family members in El Fasher, the capital city of North Darfur. They would coordinate a time for Noi to use my prepaid phone card from a telephone in the Muzbat market. Noi and I had fixed a time for a phone call on Tuesday, Aug. 22, but she was killed the day before our appointment.

The Sudanese government's infamous and deadly Janjaweed militia, which has preyed on Darfuris since 2003, has formally become part of the National Intelligence and Security Service, and is named the Rapid Support Forces. In recent months, an R.S.F. base with about 150 vehicles was established near Muzbat.

It is the rainy season in Muzbat. There is grass for grazing, but it is a long walk from Muzbat. On Monday morning, Aug. 21, Noi rode her donkey and led her seven cows out to pasture. Later in the day, the donkey made its own way back to Muzbat — to the consternation of the villagers. The next day, a small group men and women followed the donkey's tracks.

Four hours later, they found Noi's body. She had been shot in the head. There was blood on the ground and tracks from her attacker. The women brought Noi's body back to Muzbat. The men followed the tracks to the R.S.F. camp, where the base commander came out to meet them. He refused to allow them into the camp, but told them he was holding the militia man who had confessed to killing Noi. The

R.S.F. commander sent the villagers home.

The villagers learned that the suspected killer was an R.S.F. soldier, who had an injury to his head. He had wiped the blood from his gun and clothes but had taken Noi's shoes. He had left the R.S.F. camp with his rifle. He saw Noi and followed her for hours to an isolated place, where he attacked her. He had tried to rape her, but Noi fought back, wounding him in the head before he shot and killed her.

Back at Muzbat, the villagers raised the alarm and sought help from surrounding vil-

We fear that the killer will not see justice.

lages. The next day, hundreds of villagers from the area went to the R.S.F. base to demand justice for Noi. With tension rising, the R.S.F. sent the suspect to El Fasher under arrest.

It is very unusual in such cases that a killer is ever found. Even more unusual that one should be arrested.

Perhaps the R.S.F. commander thought he had to act because the evidence was undeniable and he was confronted with the angry villagers. Yet there have been no news reports, either about the attack and killing of Noi, or concerning the arrest of her suspected killer. In fact, two government officials later visited the village, found and deleted pictures of Noi's body on villagers' cellphones, and warned the inhabitants not to speak to

the media. We, Noi's family, are not surprised that the government is taking steps to hide its crimes. We fear that the killer will not see justice.

Incredibly, the same R.S.F. that attacks villages in Darfur and is responsible for killings and rapes is being paid by the European Union to help stem the flow of refugees who might find their way to Europe. An investigation by the EUobserver, an independent online publication, earlier this year found that European Union funding for the Sudanese effort to curb migration already amounted to nearly 215 million euros. Another report called this European support for the R.S.F. a case of "Border Control From Hell."

I can testify that this rebranded Janjaweed militia is not a source of stability, but an agent of death and destruction. It is a scandal that the R.S.F. is, in effect, funded by the European Union.

I tell Noi's story in the hope that some publicity about her murder will help to ensure that her killer will not escape justice. I hope, too, that the European Union and the United States, which is expected to decide next month on whether to lift sanctions on Sudan, will see the R.S.F. and the government in Khartoum for what they are. I dream of the day that peace and justice come to Darfur, for Noi's sake and for all Darfuris.

DAOUD HARI, a former interpreter from Sudan, is the author of "The Translator: A Tribesman's Memoir of Darfur."

EVIAN CHAMPIONSHIP

‘It feels right and I’m just following my heart. If you don’t have really strong motivation, you can’t compete on this tour.’



Grace under pressure Above, Ai Miyazato had plenty of company during the final round of the Suntory Ladies Open golf tournament in Kobe, Japan, in July. Below, Miyazato during the first round of the Portland Classic in Oregon in August.

KYODO, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Season’s final major is also Miyazato’s last

Beloved Japanese player prepares for retirement after Evian Championship

BY LISA D. MICKEY

When Ai Miyazato of Japan makes the last start of her L.P.G.A. career at this week’s Evian Championship, she admits it could be “a little emotional.”

This was, after all, where she won her first tournament as a member of the tour in 2006. And the Evian Resort Golf Club — host of the L.P.G.A.’s fifth and final major championship — was where Miyazato won again in 2011, five months after an earthquake and tsunami had devastated her homeland.

But this year’s appearance in Evian-Bains, France, is the last one for the player beloved by her Japanese fans and by her L.P.G.A. peers — the American player Lexi Thompson calls Miyazato “the most likable person out here.”

At a news conference in Tokyo in May that was broadcast live on network TV, more than 300 members of the Japanese news media were shocked when Miyazato told them 2017 would be her final season. She said she was no longer motivated to spend most of each year traveling and competing.

She said that she had no immediate plans following this season, but that she hoped to maintain a connection with golf.

When the American news media

asked her about her decision this summer at the United States Women’s Open, Miyazato, 32, just smiled and answered in her gentle way.

“It feels right and I’m just following my heart,” she said. “If you don’t have really strong motivation, you can’t compete on this tour. I’m glad I made the decision to retire.”

Miyazato, who is five feet one inch tall, grew up in a small village in Okinawa. In her 14 years as a pro, she has nine L.P.G.A. wins and 59 top-10 finishes, with career earnings of more than \$8.2 million.

She also has 15 victories in Japan, was No. 1 in the women’s world rankings for 11 weeks in 2010, and led the Ladies European Tour’s Order of Merit — earnings — in 2011.

But while she was the best Japanese woman to play golf since Ayako Okamoto — a member of the World Golf Hall of Fame who won 17 L.P.G.A. tournaments in the 1980s and early ’90s — Miyazato knew she had to test herself against the rest of the world. She arrived in the United States in late 2005 for the L.P.G.A.’s final qualifying tournament.

Miyazato said she had followed Juli Inkster, Karrie Webb and Annika Sorenstam on TV and always wanted to compete with them.

“That really motivated me,” she said.

At that annual qualifying school, the L.P.G.A. had to add several modular offices to accommodate the working press corps for the Japanese news media who followed Miyazato to Florida.

Miyazato won the qualifying tournament by 12 strokes to earn full status on



JONATHAN FERREY/GETTY IMAGES

the 2006 L.P.G.A. Tour, which is still the record for the largest margin of victory at the event.

That was the beginning of the pressure that Miyazato dealt with for the next 11 years on the United States-based L.P.G.A. Tour, where tournaments are typically four rounds instead of the three-day events in Japan that allowed her to return home frequently.

“It was a big deal when Ai came over here, won Q-school and qualified for the L.P.G.A. Tour,” said Kim Higgins, a bilingual American who works as a videographer for Japanese television. “It had been a long time since a Japanese

player of this caliber had come to the U.S. to play.”

When Miyazato returned to America in 2006 for her rookie season, the Japanese news media also returned with high expectations.

“Everybody thought she would come over here and win right away, but that did not happen,” Higgins said.

Miyazato posted seven top-10 finishes that first year, including a tie for third at the 2006 L.P.G.A. Championship. She recorded nine more top-10s in 2007 and 2008 — finally breaking through to win the Evian in 2009, defeating Sweden’s Sophie Gustafson in a one-hole playoff.

She won L.P.G.A. tournaments in France, Thailand and Mexico, and throughout the United States, and reached No. 1 in the world — a feat that Okamoto never achieved.

The young pros back home watched in amazement.

“When she wins golf tournaments abroad, it connects to our confidence in Japan,” said Ayaka Watanabe of Japan, who is No. 113 in the world rankings. “She is my favorite, my hero forever.”

But with success came more demands

Testing herself against the world and becoming ‘the most likable person out here.’

for Miyazato’s time from the always-present news media.

Initially, her handlers tried to manage Miyazato in a more restricted Japanese style, limiting news media access, but when Miyazato noticed that even top American players made time for such requests, her style became more relaxed and accommodating.

“After every round, every practice round, she had to answer a lot of questions,” Inkster said of Miyazato’s off-course demands.

“I usually just walked off the golf course and went to the locker room, but there was a lot more pressure on her,” she added. “She’s really playing for the nation.”

Higgins, who has covered Miyazato for 12 years, said the attention took a toll because the player is a perfectionist *MIYAZATO, PAGE A10*

5 of Miyazato’s favorite memories

From tournaments to travel, highlights of a 14-year career

BY LISA D. MICKEY

Ai Miyazato will come full circle this week at the Evian Championship when she competes in it for the final time.

Miyazato began her L.P.G.A. career with a victory at the Evian, and she will end it this week when she retires as a competitive professional at age 32. When she was asked what milestones and memories stand out in her 14-year career, these were her top 5.

WINNING EVIAN IN 2009

Miyazato was already a golf superstar in Japan when she arrived in the United States in 2006, but it was not until her fourth season on the L.P.G.A. Tour that she was able to break through for her first win at the 2009 Evian Championship. Before her Evian victory, Miyazato had won 15 tournaments in Japan and she had 16 top-10 finishes on the L.P.G.A. Tour, including one runner-up finish in 2007.

BECOMING NO. 1

When Miyazato became the world’s No. 1-ranked player in 2010, it was a first for a Japanese golfer. She moved into the top position after four wins in



KYODO NEWS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

the first nine L.P.G.A. tournaments that year and was No. 1 for a total of 11 weeks. Cristie Kerr took over the top spot a week after Miyazato’s ascent and held the top ranking for three weeks until Miyazato won for a fifth time in August to regain No. 1. Kerr regained the top spot in late October.

WINNING AS A TEENAGER

Miyazato captured her first headlines in June 2003 when, at the age of 18, she

won the Japan Women’s Amateur Golf Championship. In September of that year, she was a high school student when she played as an amateur and won the Dunlop Ladies Open, a sanctioned tournament on the L.P.G.A. of Japan Tour.

After turning professional in late 2003, Miyazato went on to win five Japan L.P.G.A. events in 2004, and six tournaments in 2005, becoming its second-ranked player. Also in 2005, at



MICHAEL WOODS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

age 20, she became the tour’s youngest player to win a major title, the Japan Women’s Open Championship.

MAKING FRIENDS ON TOUR

Miyazato’s peers easily rank her as No. 1 among players who embrace the public aspect of their job. Always quick to smile, Miyazato includes “players, caddies, coaches, tournament staff, volunteers, spectators and L.P.G.A. staff” as those she will miss when she

Moments in time As a senior in high school, Ai Miyazato won the Dunlop Ladies Open on the L.P.G.A. of Japan Tour in 2003, far left. One of the most popular players on tour, Miyazato has said she will miss “players, caddies, coaches, tournament staff, volunteers, spectators and L.P.G.A. staff” when she retires.

retires. She has even described those individuals to the news media as a “part of my big family.” And when it comes to regularly speaking with the ever-present Asian news media, Miyazato is pragmatic, saying, “I have so many golf fans back home in my country that this is the only way I can talk to them, through the Japanese media.”

TRAVELING THE WORLD

Some players struggle with the travel required of touring pros, but Miyazato said the L.P.G.A.’s global tournament schedule “enriched my life as a person.”

Growing up in a small Okinawa village, Miyazato showed a willingness to embrace Western culture as soon as she arrived in the United States. Unlike her superstar predecessor, Ayako Okamoto, who spoke English sparingly and rarely to news media, Miyazato thrived whether she was in Michigan or Malaysia. Her global vision allowed her to easily reach out to golf fans around the world and, in turn, they often reached back.

EVIAN CHAMPIONSHIP

Lacoste still sets the standard for French golf

Only amateur to win U.S. Women’s Open ‘had a huge impact’

BY LISA D. MICKEY

This year is the 50th anniversary of Catherine Lacoste’s milestone as the only amateur to win the United States Women’s Open, and it has stirred more interest than usual in the French golfer’s decorated past.

As this week’s Evian Championship brings the world’s top players to France, some see Lacoste’s ability to place her homeland on the world stage in 1967 as proof that there are opportunities for other French golfers.

After Lacoste won the Women’s Open at age 22, she went on to win national women’s amateur championships in the United States, Britain, France and Spain in 1968 and 1969 – an unorthodox international tournament schedule at the time for European women.

She became only the second international player — behind the pro Fay Crocker of Uruguay in 1955 — to win the U.S. Women’s Open. She was also the first French player to win one of the L.P.G.A.’s major championships — followed by the pro Patricia Meunier-Lebouc, the next golfer from France, who won the 2003 Kraft Nabisco Championship.

“She had a huge impact for women of my generation,” said Anne Marie Palli, 62, who in 1983 became the first European professional to win on the L.P.G.A. Tour, and she was also the first L.P.G.A. member from France.

“If she had not done what she did, I’m not sure I would have even considered coming to play as a professional in the United States,” added Palli, a two-time L.P.G.A. Tour winner who played from 1979 to 2003.

Marie-Laure de Lorenzi, a pro from France who won 19 tournaments on the Ladies European Tour, was later compared to Lacoste. She was the top-ranked European in the late 1980s and was the first French player on the European Solheim Cup team.



SCOTT HALLERAN/GETTY IMAGES

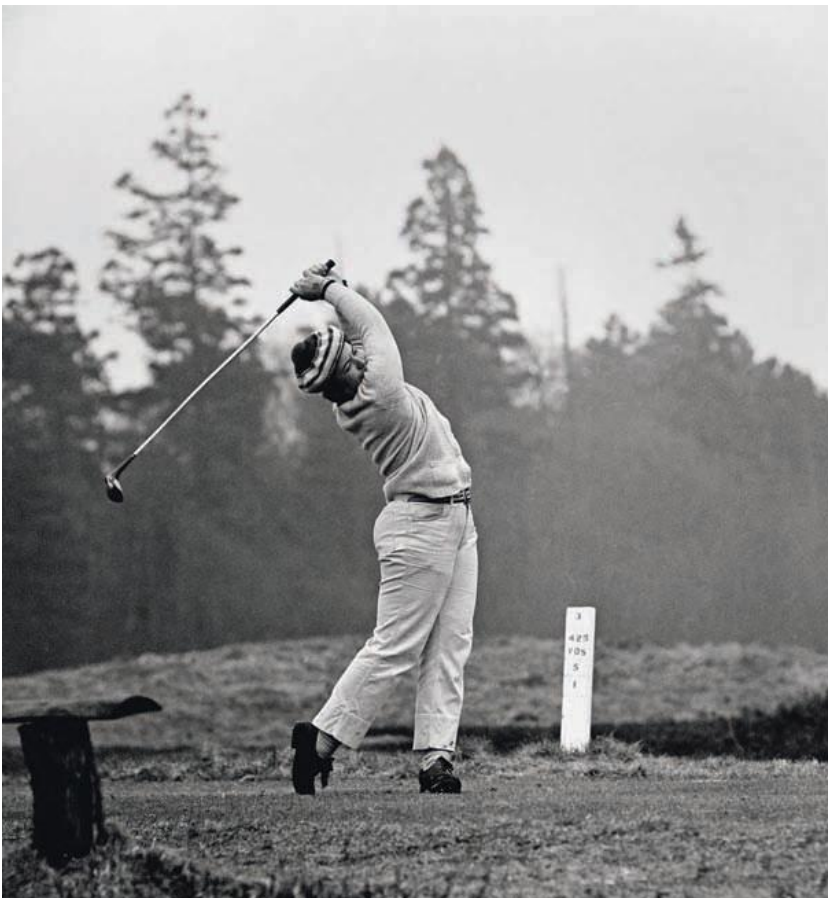
Karine Icher, the current top-ranked Frenchwoman at No. 44, said Lacoste “was probably a role model at that time for all young girls,” but she also allows that it has “been such a long time” since a female French golfer has flourished in a global spotlight.

Lacoste set a still-unparalleled high standard.

Just as the American amateur Bobby Jones won the British Open, U.S. Open and U.S. Amateur (multiple times) on the men’s side, Lacoste won her own Grand Slam with far less fanfare when she added the 1969 Women’s British Amateur and U.S. Women’s Amateur titles to her U.S. Women’s Open crown.

And with the unique influence of her parents — her mother, Simone Thion de la Chaume, was the 1927 British Ladies Amateur golf champion and her father, René Lacoste, known as “le Crocodile,” won seven Grand Slam singles tennis titles and founded the Lacoste fashion brand — young Catherine prepared for competition in a way that, at the time, was unconventional.

“She prepared like a pro,” said Kristel Mourgue d’Algue, the 1995 N.C.A.A. individual golf champion from Arizona State University, whose grandparents were close friends with Lacoste’s parents in France.



S&G/PRESS ASSOCIATION, VIA GETTY IMAGES

“She worked out, had custom-made clubs and had a caddie,” Morgue d’Algue added. “My mum recalls Catherine would hit a 4-iron out of the rough while my mother would have to hit a 7-iron.”

Morgue d’Algue, who also helped Arizona State win the 1995 N.C.A.A. team championship, said she thought of Lacoste’s influence.

“I did think about her achievements, feeling that hopefully, I was maybe opening a path for other French players,” said Morgue d’Algue, now co-owner of St-Emilion Golf Club in France.

Lacoste said she cherished competing alongside the amateurs Claudine Cros-Rubin and Brigitte Varangot, with whom she won the 1964 Women’s World Amateur Team Championship.

“They challenged me and helped me to get better, as they were five years older,” said Lacoste, 72, who left individual competition in 1970 at age 25 to start a family.

Lacoste married Jaime Prado and had four daughters with him. Widowed in 1998, she now lives in Spain and France, is the grandmother of eight girls, and is married to the classical guitarist Angel Piñero.

When asked if she would have tried professional golf as a top amateur today, Lacoste said, “Probably” — but with a caveat.

“For me, to play as an amateur meant I could travel, have fun, play for my country and have a life,” said Lacoste, who still hosts 140 players from 12 countries at the Senior Ladies International



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Family ties Catherine Lacoste, left and center, inspires today’s French golfers. She was influenced by her father, René, above.

Open each year in France.

She said there were no female touring professionals in Europe at the time — just very good amateurs.

“Now,” she added, “the good youngsters go to universities in the U.S., and have the opportunity to either play on the Symetra or L.P.G.A. tours or stay in Europe and play on the Ladies European Tour.”

Lacoste said that she would have loved the chance to play a professional major championship at home in France and that she could only imagine how it would feel to compete at Evian. But she is satisfied with her place in golf history and her life experiences following her golf career.

“Golfers have to find their own way to win, fight, lose and progress,” she said.

And 50 years later, French amateur and professional golfers are still using Lacoste as inspiration as they try to make their marks in the game.

“For sure, we have women’s golf history in France to be proud of,” Palli said. “But it was Catherine who showed us a French player could win in the United States.”

Miyazato’s last tournament



KYODO NEWS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Fond farewell Ai Miyazato was moved to tears as she announced her decision to retire at a Tokyo news conference in May.

MIYAZATO, FROM PAGE A9

who “wants to play well, be good with media, speak perfect English and be liked by others.”

“She’s always had an awareness of those things when most other players don’t,” Higgins said.

As her struggles mounted, Miyazato turned to the L.P.G.A. teaching professionals Pia Nilsson and Lynn Marriott and their Vision 54 school. Marriott said Miyazato wanted to “reignite her passion and intrinsic motivation for practice and competing.”

Miyazato has struggled in recent years to be competitive in tournaments, and it became apparent to her that she was ready for a change.

“She has come to realize there are more roles in life that can be meaningful,” Nilsson said. “Annika Sorenstam finished her career for those reasons. So did Lorena Ochoa.”

In July, Miyazato posted her season-best tie for 13th at the Ladies Scottish Open, and she was optimistic for her final appearance in the Women’s British Open the following week.

But during the Tuesday pro-am at the British Open, as Miyazato played with Ricoh’s president, her father and golf teacher, Masaru Miyazato, collapsed while he was following her around the course. She remained by her father’s side until he was taken to a hospital by ambulance. She followed in a car with her mother.

With her father still in a Scottish hospital, Miyazato decided to play in the tournament, but she did not make the cut.

Now, she is preparing for her final event on the tour.

“We’ve got a lot to thank her for,” said Lydia Ko, a pro golfer from New Zealand who is ranked eighth. “She’s done a lot for golf in Japan and not only in Japan, but in the women’s game, too.”

While Miyazato’s L.P.G.A. tour peers are trying to squeeze in dinners, prac-

Peers are trying to squeeze in dinners and practice rounds with Miyazato before she leaves the circuit.

tice rounds and conversations with her before she leaves the circuit, even former L.P.G.A. colleagues are showing up to tournaments to say goodbye to their friend.

The former tour member Meaghan Francella drove from her home in Westchester County, N.Y., to see her friend while the tour was nearby in New Jersey for the U.S. Women’s Open in July. Francella recalled a time when she was struggling with her driver and received a three-page letter from Miyazato, describing her own struggles and how she had solved her swing issues.

“Most people won’t take the time to do something like that,” said Francella, who now works for the Executive Women’s Golf Association.

By early September, Miyazato had dropped to No. 108 in the world rankings, making her the 14th highest-ranked Japanese player. But even with such rising stars as Harukyo Nomura, a 2017 L.P.G.A. tournament winner who is ranked No. 23 in the world, members of the Japanese news media admit there will be a void when Miyazato leaves.

“There are a lot of young players in Japan who are very good, but she is really going to be missed,” said Reiko Takekawa, a veteran golf writer from Japan. “We write about her every single day, whatever happens — good day, bad day. She understands.”

When asked if she felt more pressure or support from the constant interest in her life on and off the golf course, Miyazato smiled. “A little bit of both, to be honest,” she said.

“I’ve learned that you need to find a joy to do what you do every day, even if it’s just an interview,” she added. “Golf is always up and down like life, and I accept that.”



18TH HOLE EVIAN CHAMPIONSHIP



LYDIA KO 2015 WINNER



EVIAN CHAMPIONSHIP TROPHY



THE EVIAN CHAMPIONSHIP
EVIAN RESORT GOLF CLUB, FRANCE
SEPTEMBER 14TH TO 17TH, 2017

One major, many top contenders

Veterans and a rookie chase season-end glory at Evian Championship

BY LISA D. MICKEY

This week's Evian Championship, the L.P.G.A.'s fifth major championship, is the last chance for women to win a major in 2017. Here are some players to watch in Evian-les-Bains, France. Statistics are from the week of Sept. 4.



SEAN KILPATRICK/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

SO YEON RYU

The top-ranked player in the world, Ryu is seeking her third major victory, after wins at the 2011 U.S. Women's Open and the 2017 ANA Inspiration. A South Korean, she leads the L.P.G.A. in top-10 finishes (59 percent) with 10 in 2017, including two wins. She tied for second with Sung Hyun Park at the 2016 Evian.



MATTHEW LEWIS/GETTY IMAGES



LEXI THOMPSON



ANNIKA SÖRENSTAM 2000 WINNER

WHEN YOU REACH THE PINNACLE OF EXCELLENCE, YOU'VE MADE HISTORY.

This watch is a witness to the picturesque beauty of The Evian Championship, played in the Alps overlooking Lake Geneva. Worn by those who pursue excellence at the final Major of the season. It doesn't just tell time. It tells history.



OYSTER PERPETUAL LADY-DATEJUST 28



IN-KYUNG KIM

Kim, above, is having the best season of her 11-year career with three victories in 2017. She won the ShopRite L.P.G.A. Classic in June, the Marathon Classic in July and the Ricoh Women's British Open in August, rising to seventh in the world rankings and fifth on the L.P.G.A. money list. A win at Evian, where she tied for third in 2011, would be the South Korean's eighth tour title and second major championship.



STUART FRANKLIN/GETTY IMAGES

LEXI THOMPSON

Thompson has emerged as the top American and is No. 2 in the world rankings with nine top-10s this year, including two wins and five runner-up finishes. On the L.P.G.A., she is first in scoring average (68.88), first in greens in regulation (78.29 percent) and third in driving-distance average (276.07 yards) and in earnings (more than \$1.65 million). A victory in Indianapolis last week gives the Floridian momentum to win her 10th career title and second major championship.



ERIC BOLTE/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

BROOKE HENDERSON

Henderson, in her third year on the L.P.G.A. tour, is hunting for her second major championship and fifth career L.P.G.A. victory. The Canadian, who turned 20 Sunday, has five top-10s in 2017 with a win at the Meijer L.P.G.A. Classic. She finished in a tie for ninth at last year's Evian Championship.



ERIC BOLTE/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

SUNG HYUN PARK

The South Korean is on track to win the L.P.G.A.'s top rookie honors. Ranked No. 3 in the world, Park leads the tour's season money list and is second in scoring average (69.00), and has posted seven top-10 finishes in 2017, including wins at the U.S. Women's Open and Canadian Pacific Women's Open. She tied for second with Ryu at the 2016 Evian.



STUART FRANKLIN/GETTY IMAGES

CARLOTA CIGANDA

Ciganda has two career L.P.G.A. wins, but has never won a major championship. At 22nd, the Spaniard is the second-highest ranked European (behind Sweden's Anna Nordqvist), but is one of the most dynamic, long-hitting European players in women's golf. She broke through to win in 2016, adding her second L.P.G.A. victory within a month, so momentum is crucial for her.

EVIAN CHAMPIONSHIP

For Thompson, it’s how she plays the game

Keeping her poise despite challenges on and off the course

BY JEFF SHAIN

As Lexi Thompson enters the Evian Championship this week, 2017 already has been a season to remember. Not only is the young Floridian playing some of the most consistent golf of her career, she's also earning admiration from fans and fellow competitors alike for the poise she has displayed in crucial and painful situations.

In the season's first major, the ANA Inspiration in California, Thompson held a two-shot lead when she was told with six holes to play in the final round that she would be penalized four shots for an infraction that a TV viewer had spotted from the previous round. Thompson kept her composure and rallied to force a playoff before falling to So Yeon Ryu.

Now, six months later, the L.P.G.A.'s final major is at hand, but Thompson said she was not using what happened in April as extra incentive.

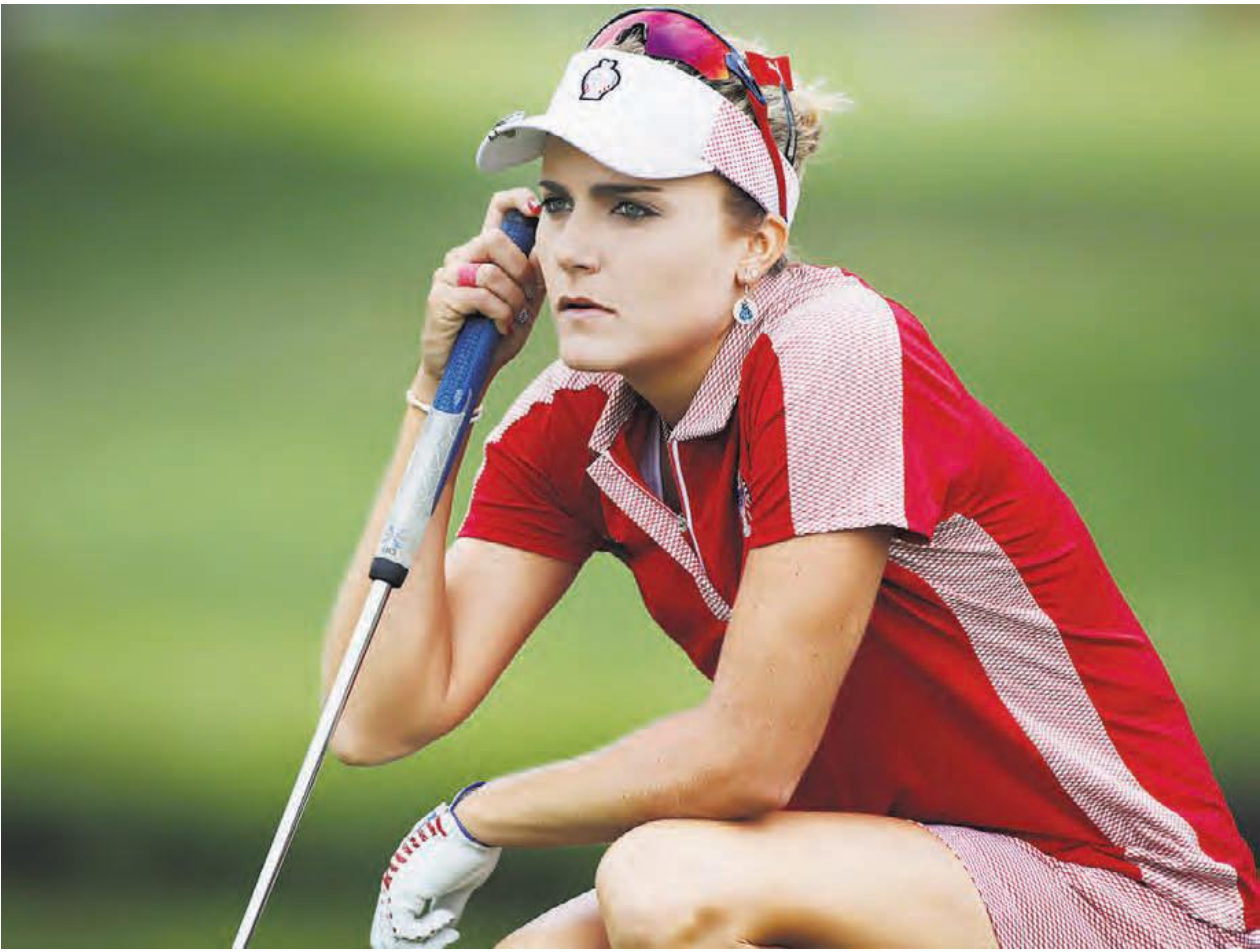
"I go into every event wanting to win," Thompson said at an event last month in Portland. "That's my No. 1 goal every time I tee it up. We have one more major left in the year. My attitude doesn't really change going into a major, or any other event. Like I said, I want to win."

She arrives at the championship with some momentum, winning last week in Indianapolis for her second victory of a fickle 2017 in which she's dealt with challenges ranging from a new caddie to her mother's battle with cancer.

The 22-year-old now stands No. 2 in the world rankings for the second time this summer, trailing only Ryu, and has a chance to have just the third season in L.P.G.A. history with a scoring average below 69. Annika Sorenstam owns the other two.

"I think my game is in a great spot," she said, adding that she worked extremely hard in the off-season to improve things like her short game, "and I think that's showing."

Her composure has also shown through, not only in dealing with the ANA penalty but also during her instant-classic comeback from 4-down in a Solheim Cup singles match to earn a



BRIAN SPURLOCK/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

The good and the bad Lexi Thompson's comeback in a Solheim Cup singles match in August to earn a draw with Europe's Anna Nordqvist was a high point, above. Thompson's four-shot penalty at the ANA Inspiration in April after a TV viewer noticed an infraction was not.

draw with Europe's Anna Nordqvist.

"I didn't think Lexi could make more fans than by the way she conducted herself after the debacle at the ANA Inspiration," the Golf Channel analyst Jerry Foltz said during the Solheim Cup. "But I might be wrong. This has been one incredible display against Europe's best player."

Thompson played the back nine in 7-under par, nearly stealing the point when a birdie at No. 16 gave her a 1-up advantage. It took a steely 8-iron from Nordqvist to little more than a foot at the final hole to salvage a half-point. It was the lift the Americans needed to beat back early European momentum and gain a convincing victory, 16 1/2 to 11 1/2.

"When she started coming back, we started coming back," said Juli Inkster,

the United States captain.

Thompson said: "The back nine was definitely some of the best golf I've ever played in my life. Some of the best shots I'll have in my career, that's for sure."

It was a far happier result than what transpired in April in the California desert. Six holes from what would have been Thompson's second major title — she won the Kraft Nabisco Championship in 2014, before it was renamed the ANA Inspiration — and two shots ahead of her nearest pursuer, she got a visit from an L.P.G.A. rules official. She was penalized for improperly replacing her ball on the 17th green during the third round. A TV viewer had noticed that Thompson had placed her coin alongside her ball, then later put the ball down in front of the coin.

The difference could not have been more than an inch. The penalty: four strokes — two for the infraction and two more for signing an incorrect third-round scorecard. "Is this a joke?" Thompson could be heard saying. As social media exploded with indignation, Thompson rallied to force a playoff with Ryu before the South Korean — now ranked No. 1 in the world — prevailed on the first extra hole.

Afterward, a teary-eyed Thompson earned kudos for the way she answered every question. She also reflected on the incident a few weeks later, but made it clear that she had closed that chapter.

"I really don't have any comments about that tournament anymore," she said at the Women's British Open. "It's definitely made me more determined



GARY A. VASQUEZ/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

'I've just really wanted to play consistent golf and put myself in a position to win,' Thompson says.

than ever — but I'm such a determined person in general. Anytime I tee it up out there is to win."

She also suffered a blow before the Women's P.G.A. Championship when she learned that her mother, Judy, had received a diagnosis of a recurrence of uterine cancer. Judy Thompson underwent a hysterectomy and radiation treatments, returning to see her daughter play the United States Women's Open in July.

"She's back to being healthy now," Thompson said. "She was at the Solheim Cup and the Open this year. She trucked around for 36 holes, so she's doing very well."

Perhaps the only thing lacking for Thompson this year has been more trophies, though she's now just one of two multiple winners on the L.P.G.A. Tour this season. She also captured the Kingsmill Championship in May, and has five runner-up finishes in addition to the ANA. A victory in a major near the end of the year, though, would be just as good as one at the start.

"I've just really wanted to play consistent golf and put myself in a position to win. I've done that a few times this year," she said. "It's been a great year, and I'm looking forward to finishing it off."

Golfers rally for Hurricane Harvey victims



JONATHAN FERREY/GETTY IMAGES

Lewis leads the way, donating her winnings from Portland Classic

BY JEFF SHAIN

This is how it would happen in one of those feel-good, tear-jerker movies.

A professional golfer, shaken by a natural disaster in his or her hometown, pledges every dollar won from that week's tour event toward recovery efforts. Perhaps the pro has never won on the circuit before, or maybe just not in a very long time.

And then through some combination of inspired play and Sunday drama, victory takes hold. Cut to the oversized check with the pro's hometown on the "Pay to" line. Fade to black.

"You dream about winning and being able to donate that big check," Stacy Lewis said before last week's L.P.G.A. stop in Indianapolis. "For it to actually happen, it was unbelievable."

As athletes across the country have given themselves to raising money for victims of Hurricane Harvey, two stand out. One is J.J. Watt, the Houston Texans defensive lineman whose impassioned effort on social media has reached \$30 million so far as of Saturday.

The other is Lewis, who cannot approach Watt's impact in sheer dollars but maxed out her personal pledge at the Portland Classic and brought others along with her. With one of her sponsors matching the \$195,000 winner's check, another contributing a flat \$1 million and the L.P.G.A. earmarking ticket proceeds, her gesture has raised more than \$14 million.

"One of the best feel-good stories I've



STEVE DYKES/ASSOCIATED PRESS

seen in a long time," said Judy Rankin, a Golf Channel analyst, a L.P.G.A. Hall of Famer and a longtime Texan.

Nor is Lewis alone among golfers — elite, developmental or even juniors — who have been working in various ways to help the hundreds of thousands of people affected by Hurricane Harvey.

"It's just really sad," said Chris Stroud, who lives in Houston and six weeks ago won his first P.G.A. Tour event after a decade on the tour.

Stroud's home in the northern suburbs sits on higher ground and escaped largely unscathed. Not so for friends and fellow pros from the Houston area. Stroud said the home of Dawie van der Walt, who spent three seasons on the P.G.A. Tour and is now involved in the Web.com Tour playoffs, was devastated.

"He has four feet of water in his house," Stroud said before the FedExCup's second playoff event in Boston. "He texted me some pictures. It's really sad."

Stroud committed \$10,000 and 10 percent of his earnings in Boston, although he missed the cut. Still, the P.G.A. Tour and the tournament sponsor Dell Technologies combined on a \$250,000 pledge toward relief efforts.

Several other P.G.A. Tour pros have pledged \$1,000 for each birdie made for the remainder of the playoffs and \$2,000 for every eagle. The Masters champion



POOL PHOTO BY BRETT COOMER

Sergio Garcia, newly married to a Texan, raised his donation to \$2,000 per birdie and \$5,000 per eagle.

On the Symetra Tour — the L.P.G.A.'s developmental circuit — Shannon Fish, an alumnus of the University of Texas, led an effort at the tour's stop in Sioux Falls, S.D., that in the end raised more than \$91,000.

And on the American Junior Golf Association, the nation's top junior circuit, officials took up the Aug. 27 challenge of

Turner Hosch of Texas to donate \$10 per birdie made at the Junior Players Championship in Ponte Vedra Beach, Fla.

The effort raised \$13,720 for the American Red Cross. Even better, a Houston-area player won the event — Shuai Ming Wong, a Hong Kong native who prevailed in a three-man, three-hole playoff.

Wong told a tournament liaison he was not sure if he should make the trip to compete, but the A.J.G.A.'s \$10-per-birdie pledge gave him an emotional lift. "It

Giving back After the Portland Classic, Stacy Lewis celebrated with her caddie, Travis Wilson, far left, and donated her winner's check to hurricane relief. J.J. Watt, below, a Houston Texans defensive lineman, is also raising money.

was motivating and inspired me to keep going and never give up," he said.

But Lewis' victory commanded golf's headlines. She moved to The Woodlands, a suburb north of Houston, when she was 11, honing her game even as she battled severe scoliosis. Later an N.C.A.A. champion at Arkansas and the winner of two L.P.G.A. majors, she is married to Gerrod Chadwell, the University of Houston women's golf coach.

Their home and her parents' residence came out fine when the hurricane hit, but Chadwell spent part of a day kayaking to his team's home base at the Golf Club of Houston to rescue his players' clubs and other equipment. The team stayed in Dallas for a week while campus was closed.

"It's a pretty helpless feeling," Lewis told reporters in Portland. "It's hard to see the pictures, to imagine being there and seeing all of that water."

Pledging her week's earnings, she said, was a way of reconciling her desire to return home and the tournament at hand.

"I wanted to be in Houston," she said, "but I also wanted to play in Portland and I needed some focus to being there. I needed a reason to be playing so I would be giving it 100 percent. What better way than to donate whatever I made."

Lewis had gone more than three years since her last L.P.G.A. victory. In 82 starts since, she had amassed a dozen runner-up finishes.

In Portland, In Gee Chun closed the gap to one stroke with two holes to play. But the Korean pro missed a chance to tie on the 71st hole, as Lewis made a clutch par save, and Lewis made her 11th consecutive par to secure the victory.

"It's been crazy," Lewis said after traveling to Indianapolis. "It's been overwhelming at times — all the messages, all the support. I don't know if I've fully processed actually finally winning the tournament itself."

Perhaps it will all sink in when she finally returns home following the Evian Championship. Or there might be other priorities.

"We're trying to figure out exactly who we're going to partner with to get done what I want to get done," said Lewis, who has expressed a desire to help rebuild homes. "We're not done with this. I'm glad I have five weeks off after this to go home and really help some people."

Business

Roads to nowhere but debt

ON MONEY
FROM THE MAGAZINE

BY BROOK LARMER

The four-lane highway leading out of the Sri Lankan town of Hambantota gets so little traffic that it sometimes attracts more wild elephants than automobiles. The pachyderms are intelligent — they seem to use the road as a jungle shortcut — but not intelligent enough, alas, to appreciate the pun their course embodies: It links together a series of white elephants, i.e. boondoggles, built and financed by the Chinese. Beyond the lonely highway itself, there is a 35,000-seat cricket stadium, an almost vacant \$1.5 billion deepwater port and, 16 miles inland, a \$209 million jewel known as “the world’s emptiest international airport.”

Mattala Rajapaksa International Airport, the second-largest in Sri Lanka, is designed to handle a million passengers per year. It currently receives about a dozen passengers per day. Business is so slow that the airport has made more money by renting out the unused cargo terminals for rice storage than from flight-related activities. In one burst of activity last year, 350 security personnel armed with firecrackers were deployed to scare off wild animals, the airport’s most common visitors.

Projects like Mattala are not driven by local economic needs but by remote stratagems. When Sri Lanka’s 27-year civil war ended in 2009, the president at the time, Mahinda Rajapaksa, fixated on the idea of turning his poor home district into a world-class business and tourism hub to help its moribund economy. China, with a dream of its own, was happy to oblige. Hambantota sits in a very strategic location, just a few miles north of the vital Indian Ocean shipping lane over which more than 80 percent of China’s imported oil travels. A port added luster to the “string of pearls” that China was starting to assemble all along the so-called Maritime Silk Road.

Sadly, no travelers came, only the bills. The Mattala airport has annual revenues of roughly \$300,000, but now it must repay China \$23.6 million a year for the next eight years, according to Sri Lanka’s Transport and Civil Aviation Ministry. Over all, around 90 percent of the country’s revenues goes to servicing debt. Even a new president who took office in 2015 on a promise to curb Chinese influence succumbed to financial reality.

To relieve its debt crisis, Sri Lanka has put its white elephants up for sale. In late July, the government agreed to give China control of the deepwater port — a 70 percent equity stake over 99 years — in exchange for writing off \$1.1 billion of the island’s debt. (China has promised to invest another \$600 million to make the port commercially viable.) When the preliminary deal was first floated in January, protests erupted in response to the perceived sell-off of national sovereignty, a re-



ILLUSTRATION BY ANDREW RAE

minder of Sri Lanka’s colonial past under British rule. “We always thought China’s investments would help our economy,” says Amantha Perera, a Sri Lankan journalist and university researcher. “But now there’s a sense that we’ve been maneuvered into selling some of the family jewels.”

As the United States beats a haphazard retreat from the world — nixing trade agreements, eschewing diplomacy, antagonizing allies — China marches on with its unabashedly ambitious global-expansion program known as One Belt, One Road. The branding is awkward: “Belt” refers to the land-bound trading route through Central Asia and Europe, while “Road,” confusingly, stands for the maritime route stretching from Southeast Asia across the Indian Ocean to the Middle East, Africa and Europe. Still, the intentions are clear: With a lending and acquisitions blitz extending to 68 countries (and counting), OBOR seeks to create the ports, roads and rail and telecommunications links for a modern-day Silk Road — with all paths leading to China.

This is China’s long game. It’s not about immediate profits; infrastructure projects are a bad way to make money. So why is President Xi Jinping fast-tracking OBOR projects amid an

Chinese projects all over the world can create debt traps for the countries they’re in.

economic slowdown at home and a crackdown on other overseas acquisitions? Economics is a big part: China wants to secure access to key resources, export its idle industrial capacity, even tilt the world order in its favor. But there is also a far greater cultural ambition. For centuries, Western liberalism has ruled the world. The Chinese believe their time has come. “China sees itself as a great civilization that needs to regain its status as leader of the world,” says Kadiria Pethiyagoda, a fellow at the Brookings Institution Doha Center. “And America’s retreat gives China the space to do that.”

It’s tempting to see OBOR as a muscled-up Marshall Plan, the American-led program that helped rebuild Western Europe after World War II. OBOR, too, is designed to build vital infrastructure, spread prosperity and drive global development. Yet little of what China offers is aid or even low-interest lending. Much OBOR financing comes in the form of market-rate loans that weaker countries are eager to receive

— but may struggle to repay. Even when the projects are well suited for the local economy, the result can look a bit like a shell game: Things are built, money goes to Chinese companies and the country is saddled with more debt. What happens when, as is often the case, infrastructure projects are driven more by geopolitical ambition or the need to give China’s state-owned companies something to do? Well, Sri Lanka has an empty airport for sale.

Sri Lanka may be a harbinger for debt crises to come. “The projects China proposes are so big and appealing and revolutionary that many small countries can’t resist,” says Brahma Chellaney, a professor of strategic studies at New Delhi’s Center for Policy Research. “They take on loans like it’s a drug addiction and then get trapped in debt servitude. It’s clearly part of China’s geostrategic vision.”

This charge conjures the specter of colonialism, when the British and Dutch weaponized debt to take control of nations’ strategic assets. China insists it is nothing like a colonial power. Its appeal to developing countries, after all, is often based on a shared negative experience of colonialism — and the desire to have cooperative “win-win” trade and investment relationships. Unlike West-

ern countries and institutions that try to influence the way countries govern themselves, China says it espouses the principle of noninterference.

The last time China was a global power, back in the early 1400s, it also sought to amplify its glory and might along the Maritime Silk Road, through the epic voyages of Zheng He. A towering Ming dynasty eunuch — in some accounts he stands seven feet tall — Zheng He commanded seven expeditions from Asia to the Middle East and Africa. When he came ashore on Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) around 1406, his fleet commanded shock and awe: It was a floating city of more than 300 ships and some 30,000 sailors. Besides seeking tributes and trade, his mission was to enhance China’s status as the greatest civilization on earth.

After Zheng He’s death at sea in 1433, China turned inward for the next six centuries. Now, as the country has become a global power once again, Communist Party leaders have revived the legend of Zheng He to show China’s peaceful intentions and its historical connections to the region. His goal, they say, was not to conquer — unlike Western empires — but to establish friendly trade and diplomatic relations. In Sri Lanka today, Chinese tour groups often traipse through a Colombo museum to see the trilingual stone tablet the admiral brought here — proof, it seems, that China respected all peoples and religions. No mention is made of a less savory aspect of Zheng He’s dealings in Ceylon. On a later expedition, around 1411, his troops became embroiled in a war. Zheng He prevailed and took the local king back to China as a prisoner.

The unsanitized version of Zheng He’s story may contain a lesson for present-day China about unintended consequences. Pushing countries deeper into debt, even inadvertently, may give China leverage in the short run, but it risks losing the good will essential to OBOR’s long-term success. For all the big projects China is engaged in around the world — high-speed rail in Laos, a military base in Djibouti, highways in Kenya — arguably its most perilous step so far may be taking control of the foundering Hambantota port. “It’s folly to take equity stakes,” says Joshua Eisenman, an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin. “China will have to become further entwined in local politics. And what happens if the country decides to deny a permit or throw them out. Do they retreat? Do they protect?” China promotes itself as a new, gentler kind of power, but it’s worth remembering that dredging deepwater ports and laying down railroad ties to secure new trade routes — and then having to defend them from angry locals — was precisely how Britain started down the slippery slope to empire.

Brook Larmer is a contributing writer for the magazine. His last article was about a Chinese-owned uranium mine in Namibia.

Facebook on defensive in Kremlin interference

Misinformation effort during campaign gets attention in Senate

BY SCOTT SHANE

The notice went out on Facebook last year, calling citizens of Twin Falls, Idaho, to an urgent meeting about the “huge upsurge of violence toward American citizens” by Muslim refugees who had settled there.

The inflammatory post originated not in Idaho but in Russia. The meeting’s sponsor, an anti-immigrant page called “Secured Borders,” was one of hundreds of fake Facebook accounts created by a Russian company with Kremlin ties to spread vitriolic messages on divisive issues.

Facebook acknowledged last week that it had closed the accounts after linking them to advertisements costing \$100,000 that were purchased in Russia’s influence campaign during and after the 2016 election. But the company declined to release or describe in detail the pages and profiles it had linked to Russia.

A report by the Russian media outlet RBC last March, however, identified the Secured Borders page as the work of the Internet Research Agency, a St. Petersburg firm that employs hundreds of so-called trolls to post material in support of Russian government policies. A Facebook official confirmed that Secured Borders was removed in the purge of Russian fakes.

The Secured Borders page, a search for archived images shows, spent months posing as an American activist group and spreading provocative messages on Facebook calling immigrants “scum” and “freeloaders,” linking refugees to crime and praising President Trump’s tough line on immigration. The page attracted more than 133,000 followers before it was shut down.

An Idaho post is the first known example of Russian agents’ trying to conjure a political rally on American soil.

It also promoted the Aug. 27, 2016, meeting in Twin Falls, called “Citizens before refugees,” which was first reported by The Daily Beast. The call came amid incendiary claims, linking Muslim refugees in Twin Falls to crime, that circulated on far-right websites last year. In May, Alex Jones, of the conspiracy site Infowars.com, retracted a claim that the Twin Falls yogurt company Chobani, which had made a point of hiring refugees, had been “caught importing migrant rapists.”

Shawn Barigar, the mayor of Twin Falls, said that the City Council Chambers, where the supposed meeting was called on a Saturday, were closed that day and that officials did not recall any gathering. But he said that after two years of “robust debate” over the city’s refugee resettlement program, which dates to the 1980s, it was “kind of surreal” to discover that Russia had joined in.

“I kind of thought, ‘Well, that’s an interesting twist,’” Mr. Barigar said. He said the program “represents our core values as a community — welcoming others and learning from one another.” He said immigrants had not caused disproportionate problems there.

The multifaceted Russian information operation targeting the presidential election had many elements, including the hacking and leaking of Democratic emails, regular attacks on Hillary Clinton by the RT television channel and the online news site Sputnik, and the creation of fake accounts on Facebook and Twitter. But the Twin Falls post is the first example to come to light of Russian agents’ actually trying to conjure a political rally on American soil.

Facebook officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said they had found a small number of additional events announced by the Russia-created pages and were looking for more. They declined to give examples.

The new revelations stepped up pressure on Facebook to make public more of what it knows about the Russian propaganda operations.

Senator Mark Warner of Virginia, the top Democrat on the Intelligence Committee, told reporters on Tuesday that he wanted Facebook and Twitter to testify in public session about the Russian use of their sites.

Mr. Warner called Facebook’s closed briefing for his committee and its House counterpart last week “just the tip of the iceberg.”

“We’re seeing more evidence of additional ads and how they are used to manipulate individuals,” he said.

Calling social media “the wild, wild West,” Mr. Warner said that getting a handle on the 2016 experience with Russian intrusions was critical because “the amount of advertising and use of these social media platforms in elections is

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Where horror gets the red-carpet treatment

TORONTO

BY ERIC GRODE

Each night around 11 p.m. at the Toronto International Film Festival, after the Oscar-bait wannabes and acclaimed documentaries have called it a day, 1,200 filmgoers line up outside the Ryerson Theater for the likes of “Yakuza Apocalypse” and “No One Lives.”

These aficionados may shy from the elaborate costumes and other geek-chic signifiers of Fantastic Fest or the various ComicCons. But they know their horror, their kung fu and all the other disreputable genres that draw the Toronto festival’s liveliest audiences — certainly the only ones that bring inflatable beach balls to the screenings.

“This is the Super Bowl of genre festivals,” said Robert Mitchell of Bloomington, Ind., who met his wife, Sarah, in line for “Jennifer’s Body” in 2009.

That tale of high school demonic possession went on to a negligible performance at the box office, but several other Midnight Madness titles have played a crucial role in horror’s newfound clout in mainstream culture. “It Follows,” “Raw,” “What We Do in the Shadows” —each has helped fuel a reconsideration of the genre that has led some critics to champion “post-horror,” small films that use horror conventions in the service of broader (and ostensibly nobler) purposes.

In Toronto, that clout has also meant genre movies are no longer confined to late nights. With “Get Out” a possible Oscar contender and “It” breaking box office records, it’s telling to see so many horror and other such films creeping into the festival’s daytime hours. “It shows the mainstreaming of the culture that there are two zombie movies this year that aren’t playing at midnight,” said Colin Geddes, the festival’s longtime Midnight Madness programmer.

It’s a far cry from 20 years ago, when



COLE BURSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The actor Nicholas Cage greeting admirers before a Midnight Madness screening at the Toronto film festival.

Mr. Geddes, a voluble fellow in ever-present red pants, switched from Midnight Madness fan to employee. He set out to argue on behalf of films like “The Host,” whose genre trappings he felt had automatically consigned them to second-class status.

Mr. Geddes’s tenure here figures into any number of origin stories. There’s the time he fished out a screener of Eli Roth’s “Cabin Fever” from the festival’s rejection pile. And the time he ignored the response that “Saw” received at the

industry-heavy Sundance Film Festival and put it in front of its proper audience. “I have had good service and bad service based on what waiters thought of a Midnight Madness film,” Mr. Geddes said.

His fan base extends to filmmakers as well. Quentin Tarantino schemed (unsuccessfully) to give the first half of “Kill Bill” a hush-hush premiere there. Takashi Miike (“13 Assassins”) has called Toronto the place where he first realized he was making films for a global

audience. And Ryuhei Kitamura (“Versus”) credited Mr. Geddes with giving him a career outside his native Japan.

“It’s my favorite place both as a filmmaker and as a fan,” said Mr. Kitamura, who returned this year with the small-scale sniper chiller “Downrange,” his fourth Midnight Madness offering. “There’s always a high-voltage audience, and I like to watch movies in that atmosphere.”

But Mr. Geddes didn’t pick “Downrange.” Earlier this year, his longtime

assistant, Peter Kuplowsky, took over as programmer. A floppy-haired 31-year-old, Mr. Kuplowsky once wrote a grad school paper on the hyperkinetic “Crank” movies, which he called “cultural mirror movies in a post-Verhoeven way” (as in the “Showgirls” auteur Paul Verhoeven).

“I always thought Midnight Madness was a good place to screen films that might be pegged as genre films but go in different directions,” Mr. Kuplowsky said.

Both programmers bristle at the idea that the series is solely devoted to horror. “The films just have to be crazy, unpredictable and able to keep you on the edge of your seat at a pretty late hour,” said Mr. Geddes.

And Mr. Kuplowsky, whose tenure began Thursday night with a look at battle rap and cultural appropriation called “Bodied,” has cast a similarly wide net. This definition of what constitutes a midnight movie even prompted his decision to begin “Brawl in Cell Block 99,” starring Vince Vaughn, at 10:45 p.m. instead. “It starts as basically a crime drama,” Mr. Kuplowsky said, “but then at about one hour and seven minutes into the film, it really begins to accelerate into a full-blown midnight experience. My goal is to time it so that we hit midnight at exactly that moment.”

The Saturday night (well, technically the Sunday morning) screening of “Mom and Dad,” in which a virus induces parents to murder their children, fit in a similarly nebulous zone between horror and jet-black comedy.

These late-night spots hold a special place in the hearts of devotees like Jim McGinley of Toronto, who has been attending Midnight Madness for the last decade, often returning for all 10 nights.

“Everyone’s here to watch the film,” Mr. McGinley said. “Everyone wants it to be good. And if it’s not quite good, they want it to be crazy.”

Additional reporting by Dan Poorman.

BUSINESS

Convinced markets are heading for a fall

AUSTIN, TEX.

Trader bets millions that stability in stocks isn't going to last long

BY LANDON THOMAS JR.

Last Wednesday was another good day to make money on Wall Street: Stocks pushed up, interest rates were at rock bottom and the VIX gauge of investor unease was again trending downward.

But as investors celebrated yet another bounce-back from a market slip, Christopher Cole, a trader who runs a hedge fund here that makes bets on various forms of financial apocalypse, spotted something amid the sprawl of data and code that decorated the wall of screens before him.

“Optically, volatility is still very low, but fear is increasing,” Mr. Cole said, pulling up a chart on one of his six trading windows. It showed that, over the longer term, investors were expecting violent moves to come in the stock market.

Betting against a flare-up of such turmoil has been one of the longest-running and most profitable trades in financial history.

But Mr. Cole, who opened Artemis Capital to outside investors in 2012, is taking the opposite side, arguing with the passionate intensity of the true believer that this market calm cannot last.

In doing so, he draws parallels with the stock market crash of 1987, when investors were similarly lulled into believing that volatility would not erupt.

So far, those betting against fear have carried the day.

From day traders perched in front of their living room laptops to sophisticated institutional investors the world over, many have made piles of money betting that the Chicago Board Options Exchange's VIX index will keep moving lower.

After peaking at 67 at the time of the financial crisis, the VIX recently sank to a multidecade low of just below 9, the occasional sharp spike upward notwithstanding. (It was at 10.7 at the end of Monday.)

Several factors have helped along the way, analysts say. They include aggressive money printing and bond purchasing by global central banks and the profusion of exchange traded investments, which make it cheap and easy for professionals and amateurs alike to bet on a falling VIX.

Now, just a month ahead of the 30th anniversary of Black Monday, when the Standard & Poor's 500 stock index plunged 20 percent, Mr. Cole is wagering on a similar calamity, underpinned by a vicious spike in the VIX and a steep sell-off in stocks.

“The fact that everyone has been incentivized to be short volatility has set up this reflexive stability — a false peace,” he said. “But if we have some sort of shock to the system, all these self-reflexive elements reverse in the other direction and become destabilizing as opposed to stabilizing.”

Calling an end to the second-longest bull market in modern financial history has, not surprisingly, become quite fashionable. Not just on the perma bear fringes, either. Wall Street houses talk regularly about overvalued stock markets, and establishment voices like



SARAH LIM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

“Optically, volatility is still very low, but fear is increasing,” said Christopher Cole, the chief of Artemis Capital.

Lloyd C. Blankfein, the chief executive of Goldman Sachs, have mused openly that “things have been going up for too long.”

A little-known British investment firm, Ruffer Capital, has caused a stir by predicting a shattering denouement, and many hedge funds are buying up cheap VIX options, which will pay off handsomely if the index shoots up.

Artemis Capital is of a slightly differ-

ent stripe. It is, as Mr. Cole likes to say, a hedge fund with a capital H. That means, in times of bull market fever, the fund will bet on a reversal, offering downside protection for cautious investors by finding creative ways to purchase exposure to financial chaos.

Of late, those seeking such a hedge have grown markedly. Mr. Cole, who started with \$1 million in 2012, is now sitting on \$200 million, and demand has

been so strong recently that he expects to hit \$300 million soon, at which point he will restrict further access.

Mr. Cole, 38, has the bouncy enthusiasm of a young child, and he spends each waking day reading, coding and free associating about what it will be that marks the bull market's end.

Like many dyed-in-the-wool market skeptics, he has his quirks. To remind himself to make full use of each day, he

wears a watch that counts off the time he has left to live — 50 years and 4 months.

At the moment, Mr. Cole calculates that as much as \$1.5 trillion in investor money is betting the markets will remain as they more or less have been since 2009: volatility free.

This sum, he says, includes about \$60 billion in funds that are explicitly short volatility in its many forms. The bulk of this amount is in funds that deploy strategies where volatility is a critical input for allocating exposure to the stock market. So the lower volatility is, the more these funds load up on stocks.

Piling on to the low volatility trade have been corporations, which this year may buy back close to \$1 trillion worth of stock, analysts estimate.

And just as portfolio insurance in 1987 transformed a market decline into a historic rout, Mr. Cole says this \$1.5 trillion in short volatility money can play a similar role today if the fear gauge index spikes sharply.

All of a sudden VIX sellers will become VIX buyers, which will send the index soaring and stocks plummeting.

As he sees it, the computer-driven stock-selling programs that aimed to provide insurance to investors in 1987 and the short volatility money of today are akin to barrels of petroleum that can turn a mere fire into a seismic conflagration.

He draws parallels with the stock market crash of 1987, when investors were similarly lulled into believing that volatility would not erupt.

“In 1987, we were in a bull market, and the Fed was behind the curve with regard to inflation and interest rates,” Mr. Cole said. “What could cause a crisis now is if rates suddenly spike higher, share buybacks seize up and then the volatility sellers turn into volatility buyers all at once.”

It is, in many ways, a moral argument for him.

Volatility sellers reap cheap and fleeting gains, which he compares to speeding, obesity and marrying for money. Those willing to suffer the immediate pain of being long volatility — before the reward of calamity comes — Mr. Cole sees as being more virtuous.

To say that Mr. Cole is obsessed with volatility — as both a financial and a philosophical construct — would be an understatement. In his investor letters and papers, he cites the poems of Goethe, the movies of William Friedkin and George Lucas, and Joseph Campbell's works on mythology as teaching tools for interpreting the whims of sudden change.

Ultimately, though, he believes that those who have held volatility in abeyance for so long — from risk parity funds to global central banks — will face a reckoning.

“Volatility is an instrument of truth, and the more you deny the truth, the more the truth will find you through volatility,” Mr. Cole said. “If central banks want to keep saving the day, that is fine. But volatility will then be transmuted through other forms like populism and identity politics and threaten the fabric of democracy. And that is something that my hedge fund will never be able to protect against.”

Facebook on defensive in Kremlin interference

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only going to go exponentially up.” He said Twitter representatives would brief the committee soon.

Facebook said last week that the 470 “inauthentic accounts and pages” it had linked to Russia and removed had bought about 3,000 ads between June 2015 and May this year. Though some ads mentioned the presidential candidates or the election, most “appeared to focus on amplifying divisive social and political messages across the ideological spectrum — touching on topics from LGBT matters to race issues to immigration to gun rights,” wrote Alex Stamos, the company's chief security officer.

The Russian president, Vladimir V. Putin, has long been concerned that the United States might be inspiring pro-democracy movements inside Russia and on its periphery.

Jonathon Morgan, a former State Department adviser who has studied Russian online operations at his company, New Knowledge, said the Facebook activity underscored that the broader Russian goal went beyond attacks on Mrs. Clinton or support for Mr. Trump in last year's election.

“This is more about destabilizing democracy and pitting us against each other to limit the influence of the United States on the world stage,” he said.

Clinton Watts, a former F.B.I. agent, now with the Foreign Policy Research Institute, who has studied the Russian influence campaign, said that Mr. Putin had reasons to court particular subgroups.

“If he's successful, it gives him an indigenous U.S. audience in support of his policies,” Mr. Watts said. “It also gives him leverage in talking to President Trump: ‘Why don't you stop interfering in Ukraine, and we'll leave your domestic audience alone.’ ”

The potential influence of the Russia-linked Facebook ads depends in part on how they were targeted. While \$100,000 is tiny compared with Facebook's billions in quarterly advertising revenue, digital advertising experts said that even a little money could go a long way with Facebook advertising.

“In a world of microtargeting, where you can home in on individuals down to the zip code, \$100,000 can go a lot further than one would realize,” said Jason Kint, chief executive of Digital Content Next, an advertising research organization.

A group like Secured Borders may test hundreds of Facebook posts to see what content resonates with people, closely monitoring the number of likes, shares and clicks a post receives. If a post happens to take off, the group can pay to promote the post, effectively placing it in front of millions of people.

The issue is a thorny one for Facebook, whose business is almost entirely based on advertising. Executives at the social giant are deeply concerned about the federal government's recent inquiries into how the company's advertising works. Its advertising is not subject to the same regulations put on political print, radio and television ads.

Mike Isaac contributed reporting.

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\$ - US Dollars; € - Euros; CHF - Swiss Francs

The marginal Symbols indicate the frequency of quotations supplied: (d) - daily; (w) - weekly; (b) - bi-monthly; (f) - fortnightly; (r) - regularly; (t) - twice weekly; (m) - monthly; (i) - twice monthly.

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Rise in incomes adds new twist to tax battle

WASHINGTON

BY BINYAMIN APPELBAUM

Despite eight years of economic growth since a brutal recession, some politicians and economists have worried that many Americans have not felt the benefits of the expansion.

On Tuesday, the Census Bureau painted a brighter picture, suggesting that the recovery had shifted into a new phase in recent years and is now distributing its benefits more broadly.

American households saw strong income growth last year, the bureau reported, and the gains stretched across the economic spectrum. A closely watched measure, median household income, jumped for the second straight year, reaching \$59,039 — a 3.2 percent increase after inflation.

The bureau also reported that the percentage of Americans living in poverty continued to fall last year, while the share with health insurance continued to increase.

The data may sharpen the political confrontation between President Trump, who is pressing to overhaul the nation's economic policies, and Democrats, who now have more ammunition to argue that the changes Mr. Trump seeks would mess with success.

Mr. Trump campaigned on a pledge to lift the nation's fortunes and to repair what he described in his inaugural address as “this American carnage.” He has called for cuts to federal taxes and spending, broad reductions in regulation and limits on foreign trade.

The focus for now is on tax cuts. “Our painful tax system has become a massive barrier to America's economic comeback,” Mr. Trump said last week in North Dakota.

But some Democrats said the Census

Bureau's new figures reinforced their determination to resist.

“We need to be building on the success of the past eight years, not abandoning the progress we have made as a country and the American people who worked so hard to get us there,” said Representative John Yarmuth, a Kentucky Democrat who is the ranking member of the House Budget Committee.

The Federal Reserve is also closely watching the health of the economy as it debates how soon to resume hiking its benchmark interest rate.

Household incomes are outpacing wage growth because millions of Americans have returned to the work force, a vivid illustration of the old maxim that a job is the best antipoverty program. The economy added roughly 2.2 million jobs last year and an additional 1.4 million in the first eight months of this year.

The Census Bureau report is the second in a row to find strong income growth. A year ago, the bureau reported that the median income in 2015 had risen by 5.2 percent, the largest jump since record keeping began in 1967. The 2016 gains described on Tuesday pushed the median to the highest level on record, topping the previous peak in 1999.

But Census Bureau officials cautioned that those figures were not directly comparable because of a change in its methodology in 2013 that has tended to increase measured incomes.

The Economic Policy Institute, a liberal research organization based in Washington, estimated that without the change in methodology, median household income in 2016 was still 2.4 percent lower than in 1999 — and 1.6 percent below the level reached in 2007, before the recession began.

The Census Bureau report also pointed out continuing challenges, including income inequality. The average



RUTH FREMSON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The median household income in the United States was up 3.2 percent in 2016.

household income for the poorest fifth of households fell by \$571 over the decade that ended last year, adjusting for inflation. Over the same period, the average income for the wealthiest fifth of households rose by \$13,479, adjusting for inflation.

Racial disparities also have increased. The bureau reported that the median income for African-American households has fallen by 1.6 percent since 1999. The adjusted numbers provided by the Economic Policy Institute pegged the drop at 7.5 percent.

The annual report is based on a survey of 95,000 households.

“Just as in 2015, 2016 is going on record as another year of massive income inequality,” said Mary Coleman, senior vice president at Economic Mobility Pathways, a Boston nonprofit group that focuses on female and family pov-

erty. “There was no meaningful reduction in income inequality.”

The good news is that income inequality, by some measures, is no longer increasing.

The details of the report help to explain the reasons. Household incomes increased because more people were working, and the gains in employment have been concentrated among workers with less education, driving income gains on the lower rungs of the economic ladder.

“Households are doing better because more people are working and more people are working full time,” said Jed Kolko, chief economist at the jobs site Indeed.com.

But the increases in household income also reflected investment gains. The share of income that came from sources other than wages increased

markedly last year, to 21.8 percent, from 21.1 percent in 2015. That kind of income flows mostly to households on the upper rungs of the ladder.

Income inequality is at a very high level by historical standards. Some economists see evidence that the uneven distribution of income and wealth is an impediment to economic growth.

It also means the lives of Americans are increasingly different, depending on their economic fortunes. For example, mortality rates are climbing for middle-aged white Americans with no more than a high school education, a trend that the Fed chairwoman, Janet L. Yellen, described this year as “very shocking.”

The Fed has curtailed its efforts to stimulate economic growth, concluding that monetary policy has done what it can. The Fed is expected to announce next week, after a meeting of its policy-making committee, that it will begin to reduce its bond holdings, a final legacy of its stimulus campaign.

While the distribution of income didn't change last year, the rising tide lifted more people from poverty. The Census Bureau reported that 12.7 percent of households lived in poverty in 2016, representing a total of 40.6 million people. That was down from 13.5 percent of households and 43.1 million people in 2015. But the rate remains slightly higher than the 12.5 percent rate in 2007.

“The challenge for policy makers now is to build on the last few years' progress and not worsen poverty and inequality,” said Robert Greenstein of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a liberal think tank.

The data also showed that the ranks of those with health insurance coverage continued to grow last year. Only 8.8 percent of the population lacked insurance for the full year, down from 9.1 percent in 2015.

Sports

Indians charge toward another postseason

ON BASEBALL

After nearly winning World Series last year, they're best in their league

BY TYLER KEPNER

The way it all happened last fall — storming through the American League playoffs, grabbing a three-games-to-one lead in the World Series — made the aftermath easier for the Cleveland Indians to process. Yes, they lost the last three games of the World Series to the Chicago Cubs. But the Indians have not dwelled on the outcome, because they remember the journey.

“That’s the thing — you never know what’s gonna happen,” their pitching coach, Mickey Callaway, said recently. “You can’t predict how guys are gonna pitch and say, ‘Whoa, what if we’d had them?’ Well, what if Josh Tomlin hadn’t pitched like he did? Maybe we wouldn’t have even made it to the World Series if he hadn’t been pitching. So you never know. We just try to make sure we stay in the moment and get the best out of whoever we’ve got.”

As the Indians charge toward another October, the moments have been worth savoring. They won their 20th game in a row on Tuesday when their ace, Corey Kluber, spun a five-hitter to stifle the Detroit Tigers, 2-0 at Progressive Field in Cleveland. The Indians have now tied the 2002 Oakland Athletics for the longest winning streak in American League history, and they could match the 1935 Chicago Cubs’ major league record with a victory on Wednesday.

“It’s more a mind-set than anything — just come to the field every day and try to win that game,” Kluber told Sports-Time Ohio after the win. “We haven’t gotten caught up in the win streak. Every day is a new day, starting over.”

The goals will reset soon enough, and the only satisfying outcome for the Indians’ season would be their first World Series title since 1948. After coming so close last fall, they now have their No. 2 starter, Carlos Carrasco, healthy and at his best. Carrasco missed the last postseason with a broken hand, but Tomlin



JASON MILLER/GETTY IMAGES

Francisco Lindor, left, and Austin Jackson celebrated on the field after the Indians won their 20th straight game Tuesday, tying the American League record.

filled in and helped the team win three of his four starts.

So it is again, with replacements making the most of their chance. The Indians have done all this without reliever Andrew Miller, left fielder Michael Brantley and second baseman Jason Kipnis. Miller and Brantley were All-Stars in July, and Kipnis hit second throughout the last postseason. Yet the Indians get by.

“It’s two words: Tito Francona,” said

Jensen Lewis, an Indians television analyst, referring to Manager Terry Francona by his nickname. “Whatever he says is scripture to them. He’s a master at bullpen matchups, and he’s a master at platoon advantages.”

Without Miller, who has a knee injury, Francona has deployed another left-hander, Tyler Olson, who has allowed no runs in 20 appearances this season. The Indians claimed Olson on waivers in July from the Kansas City Royals.

Without Brantley, who has a sprained ankle, the Indians have mixed and matched in left with Brandon Guyer, Austin Jackson and Lonnie Chisenhall, who has mostly ceded his usual right-field spot to Jay Bruce, the slugger acquired in a trade with the Mets last month.

At second base, the Indians have largely relied on the versatile Jose Ramirez, who started the All-Star Game at third. Ramirez, a 5-foot-9 switch-hit-

ter, has a .927 on-base plus slugging percentage and leads the American League in extra-base hits, with 79.

“If you see him strut his way up to the plate and think he’s got little man’s syndrome, hey, keep it up, because this guy believes he can hit anyone at any time,” Lewis said. “He’s the heartbeat of the offense, and everyone rallies around him.”

Lewis pitched for the Indians a decade ago, when they beat the Yankees in the final postseason series ever played

at the old Yankee Stadium. In the American League Championship Series that followed, the Indians lost a three-games-to-one lead to Boston and missed the next five postseasons.

In dismantling that group, the Indians found impact players for this one. They used starters Jake Westbrook, C. C. Sabathia and Cliff Lee to get Kluber, Brantley and Carrasco; third baseman Casey Blake to get first baseman Carlos Santana; and high draft picks to get shortstop Francisco Lindor (eighth over all in 2011) and outfielder Clint Frazier (fifth in 2013), who headlined their trade with the Yankees for Miller last summer.

Kluber, Carrasco and Trevor Bauer (acquired from Arizona in a three-team, nine-player deal that sent outfielder Shin-Soo Choo to Cincinnati in December 2012) have combined for 47 victories this season, and the rotation has a 1.71 earned run average during the winning streak. The Indians have outscored opponents by 102 runs (134-32) in the streak, while hitting .308.

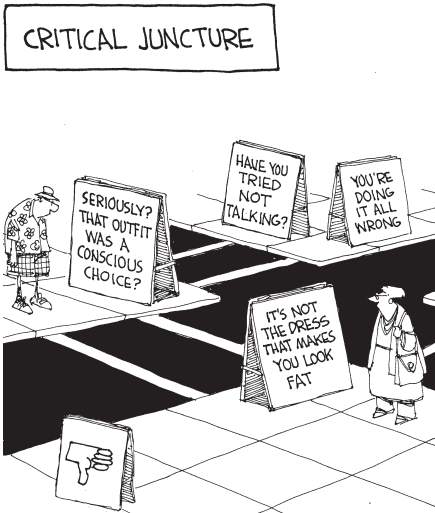
“If everyone gets healthy, with all hands on deck, I don’t know how you fill out that lineup,” Lewis said. “And I don’t know how you pitch to it, either.”

Kipnis, Brantley and Miller are all expected back for the postseason. Brantley, Bruce and designated hitter Edwin Encarnacion should indeed make the Indians’ lineup more dangerous this fall than last, and the team has battered Chris Sale, the ace of the Boston Red Sox, for 13 earned runs in eight innings, and a .385 average, this season.

But all this winning has vaulted the Indians over the Houston Astros for the top-seeded spot in the American League playoffs. That could be worrisome because it would set up a first-round matchup with the winner of the wildcard game, not the winner of the American League East, which is now led by the Red Sox. The Yankees hold the first wildcard, and Lewis called them the one team that could threaten Cleveland’s path to the World Series.

“They’re the only team that would scare me in a short series,” Lewis said, citing the Indians’ trouble hitting Luis Severino this season (.133) and Sonny Gray in his career (.207). “From there, the Yankees could piece it together, and the end of their bullpen can match up with anybody.”

NON SEQUITUR



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SUDOKU No. 1409

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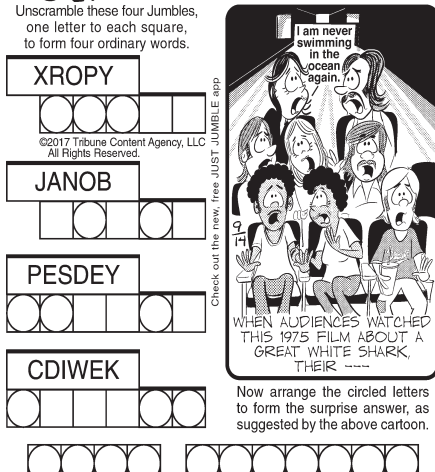
Fill the grid so that every row, column 3x3 box and shaded 3x3 box contains each of the numbers 1 to 9 exactly once.

For solving tips and more puzzles: www.nytimes.com/sudoku

Solution No. 1309

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

JUMBLE THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME by David L. Hoyt and Jeff Knurek



Yesterday's Jumbles: BUILD COMIC FALLON RADIUS
Answer: When the Jumble creators realized they'd forgotten to make a puzzle, they — SCRAMBLED

PEANUTS



GARFIELD



WIZARD of ID



KENKEN

2÷				2-	
12x	5+				5+
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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.

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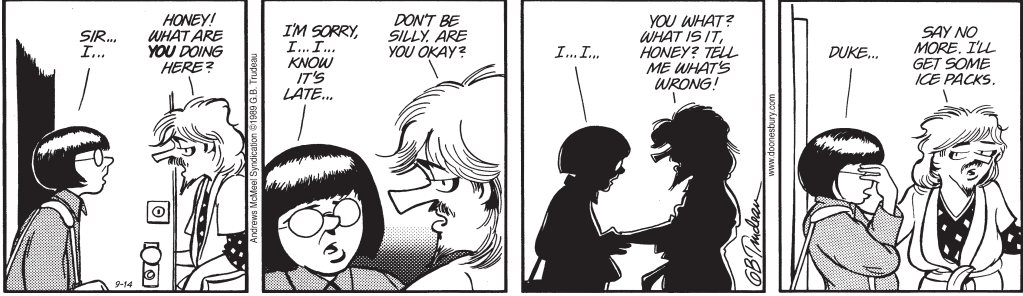
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Answers to Previous Puzzles

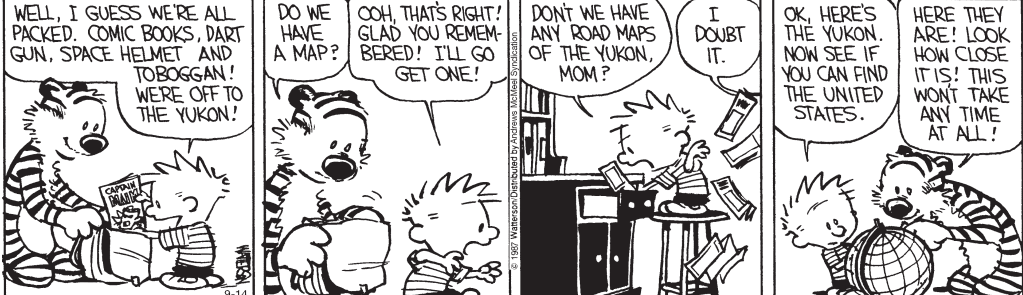
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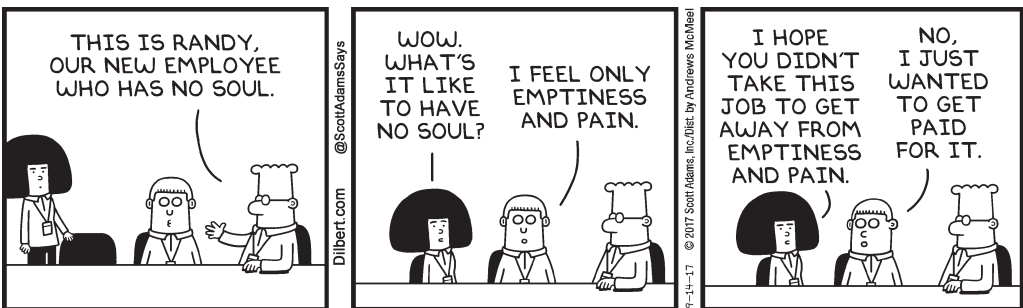
DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1989



CALVIN AND HOBBS



DILBERT



CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

Across		30 Antarctica's ____ Ice Shelf	60 Dots in la mer
1 Interjection derived from the Latin for "weary"	31 They're often made at icebreakers	62 Language known to its users as اردو	
5 Peak	33 Dr. of verse	63 Way up	
9 Rips off	35 & 37 Start of an ethical rule	64 In addition	
13 Food ____ (post-Thanksgiving meal condition)	40 Prop for Gandalf	65 Quit	
14 Innocent sort	42 "Grease" high school	66 Come ____ surprise	
16 Sal's canal, in song	44 Twitter site	67 Celebration	
17 & 18 What a boastful guy might do	47 Singer Nicks		
20 Wouldn't settle, say	49 Fight	Down	
22 Exhibits	50 Rejoice	1 It's the law	
23 Condemned	52 Formal term for the gap suggested by 17/18-, 35/37- and 54/57-Across	2 Something to tie up	
25 Save for later	54 & 57 Overextended	3 Become in life	
26 What comes before a clue?	58 Tiny treasures from the sea	4 Fills	
27 ____ NFL (video game franchise)		5 German cry	
		6 Put in one's two cents, with "in"	
		7 Does something wrong?	
		8 University near Greensboro	
		9 Did a dry run	
		10 Jesse who pitched in a record 1,252 major-league games	
		11 Demographic statistic	
		12 Faculties	
		15 Cause for a suspension, in brief	
		19 Giants' grp.	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
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PUZZLE BY JOHN GUZZETTA

21	Early TV network competing with NBC, ABC and CBS	32	Found, as grub	45	Black belt, e.g.
23	Most movie explosions these days, for short	34	Most retiring	46	"You betcha!"
24	Some Jamaicans, informally	36	___-mentioned	48	Quintet instrument
28	Job listing abbr.	38	Rising notes?	51	Weak punch?
29	Burrowing South American rodent	39	Dieter's goal	53	Dickens's Fagin, e.g.
		41	Gangsters' wear, in old movies	55	Paris's Pont ___ Arts
		43	Place for a shepherd	56	"Toodles!"
		44	Centaur who was killed by Hercules	59	Above capacity, for short
				61	Harden

FashionNewYork

Ralph Lauren wants to take you for a quick spin

BY VANESSA FRIEDMAN

On Tuesday night approximately 150 Mercedes S-class sedans and a host of SUVs wended their way out of Manhattan, ferrying more than 250 guests northeast to Bedford Hills, N.Y. Each car was equipped with a special CD of soothing tunes chosen especially for the drive, which ended in a parking lot outside of a big white building. Inside were 26 of the rarest cars in the world, made between 1937 and 2015, including a 1938 Bugatti T-57SC Atlantic, a car valued at about \$40 million, and a host of waiters in tuxedos holding trays of Champagne or pigs in a blanket, and two long, low rows of squishy black leather banquettes that lined a runway.

Ralph Lauren had decided to hold his fashion show in his garage.

That it was two hours (with traffic) outside of the city, didn't faze the designer, who has been a devoted car col-

lector for years. He decided it was time to invite his audience in on his passion — not least because, he said, “When I think about cars, I think about clothes.”

It was a generous impulse but the entire event, which culminated in a dinner of lobster salad and burgers from his signature restaurant, added up to a display of power and privilege and success the likes of which has not been seen on the New York runways thus far. (It's impossible to imagine that many guests going that far afield at the bidding of any other designer.)

“See that one?” said David Lauren, one of the designer's sons and the brand's chief innovation officer and vice chairman, pointing at a marigold 1996 McLaren F1 LM. “That car inspired a whole line of home furnishings. That one” — he pointed at a black 1937 Bugatti T-57SC Gangloff DHC — “was the beginning of a line of eyewear.”

And the ones in the center of the makeshift catwalk helped inspire the current collection, a dual-gender see now/buy now offering. So you could see the influence of the yellow and carbon 2014 McLaren P1 in the caution-tape-yellow cashmere greatcoat tossed over a black leather miniskirt and over-the-knee-suede boots, and the lipstick red of the 2015 Ferrari La Ferrari in a glossy patent bustier worn over a cloud of tulle. You could match the silver on an iridescent halter slither gown to the silver of a 2014 Porsche 918.

There were racing stripes down the sides of tuxedo trousers and the arms of an evening coat-with-train, and F1 jackets over full chiffon skirts. Also some very nice houndstooth and Prince of Wales tailoring in buttery seat-leather shades.

All designers take their inspiration where they can find it (a flower! a film!), but rarely is the relationship quite so obvious.

Or quite so detrimental to one of the elements. The juxtaposition of cars and clothes made the connection clear, but unfortunately also the fact that the automotive design was far and away more interesting, complex and original than the fashion. Full of high polish though the collection was, in translating his passion to his products and giving it accessibility, Mr. Lauren had dumbed it down; taken the rare and specialized and made it almost ordinary.

Perhaps it's an unfair comparison — the cars, after all, are the best of their kind, selected over decades; the fashion collection is one of many, produced twice a year, and all designers struggle to be original on that schedule — but Mr. Lauren is the one who set it up by bringing everyone out and letting them in on his source code.

Such grand gestures and palpable extravagance seem to have fallen out of fa-



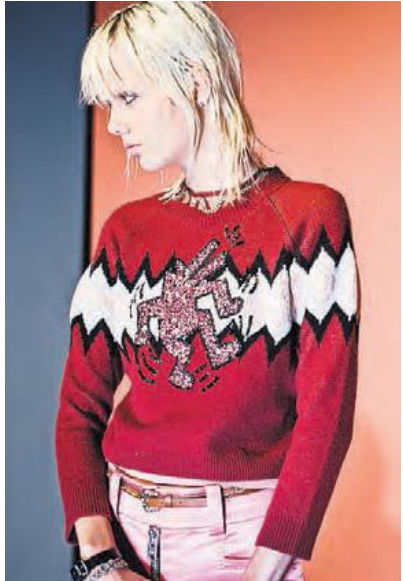
RALPH LAUREN

PHOTOGRAPHS BY STEFANIA CURTO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



COACH

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SHAWN BRACKBILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



vor. The watchwords of the moment, whether uttered in self-aggrandizement or sarcasm, may be “Huge!” “Epic!” “Biggest ever!” — but as far as New York fashion is concerned the vision has been small. Mr. Lauren was the exception that proved the rule.

Maybe it's an attempt by designers to distance themselves from the conspicuous consumer-in-chief. After all, as the New York catwalks made clear last season with a flurry of position-taking not only on the runway but on shirts, skirts and caps, a lot of the fashion world is not exactly enamored of the current administration. At this stage, however, and

ironically just as Hillary Clinton (fashion's candidate of choice) steps into the spotlight with the release of her book “What Happened,” the industry seems to have largely muzzled itself. Instead there's been a lot of noncontroversial championing of “America.”

At Coach, for example, Stuart Vevers continued to develop the Route 66 elements of his brand vernacular — shearlings and prairie dresses, cowboy shirts and varsity sweaters — by jazzing them up with a bit of sparkle, a lot of sequins, and some new, lacy slip dresses (he's expanding the evening offering); also a nod to Keith Haring in the form of prints

and intarsia sweaters. “He represented the democratization of art, and that felt very personal to me, and also right for the moment and Coach,” the designer said backstage.

Mr. Vevers has always had a thing for a pop culture character — past inspiration has ranged from Snoopy to Felix the Cat — but the choice of Mr. Haring, who believed in art for all, brings a new, perhaps more subversive element to the conversation. It's a pretty subtle addition, however.

Raf Simons's ode to the American nightmare at Calvin Klein aside, it's possible the most political act of the last week has been the notable diversity on pretty much every runway; an implicit statement of belief in the value of embracing a wide variety of races, shapes and ages visible not just at those brands famous for their multi-everything casting (such as Chromat, Tracy Reese and Zero & Maria Cornejo) but across the board.

Yet the diversity of individuals, commendable as it is, was not matched by an accompanying diversity of ideas.

For all the talk of changing up the runway — and there has been much of it since the shows began, from Alexander Wang's faux-guerrilla outing in Brooklyn to Opening Ceremony's dance show — the clothes themselves feel as if they are idling in neutral — or worse, parked. There's no real new direction at a time when thinking about where to go next is clearly the defining imperative, in fashion as in life. And as the New York season draw to a close it does make you wonder: Who's in the driver's seat?

For homeless youth, joy fills the runway

BY ISAAC OLIVER

On Sept. 7, the first official night of New York Fashion Week, while the industry and its disciples kiss-kissed at Calvin Klein and Kim Shui, nine very young, very new designers walked their creations in the fifth annual Project Streetwork Fashion Show.

The event, staged in the sanctuary of Judson Memorial Church in Greenwich Village, was the culmination of a four-week mentorship between designers from PVH, the global clothing company that owns Calvin Klein and Tommy Hilfiger, and homeless youth from Safe Horizon's Streetwork Project, which operates two drop-in centers and an overnight shelter.

A bracing alternative to the stoic runways at Skylight Clarkson Sq, the show was also a burst of joy from an increasingly vulnerable population.

“For young adults and teens, there are so many barriers to stable permanent housing,” Liz Roberts, the deputy chief executive of Safe Horizon, said in a phone interview. “They don't have experience living on their own. They don't have the life skills to navigate a lease and a landlord. They typically have limited work experience. They're homeless because of a history of abuse and neglect from their families, and they need a lot of support. There's a need for housing options that are different.”

Mayor Bill de Blasio's plan to expand New York's homeless shelter program, Ms. Roberts added, has improved their odds.

“We've been able to move more of our clients into supportive housing than in the past,” she said, referring to housing initiatives for people with mental health and substance abuse issues, and vouchers that offset rent costs at privately owned buildings. “And they've added



VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A mentorship between homeless youth and designers from the global clothing company PVH culminated in a fashion show.

beds to the youth shelter program, which is very welcome. We work with 1,000 young people every year, and on any given night we can only shelter 24.”

The fashion show allowed some of those very people to express their creativity. PVH provided sewing machines, fabric and art supplies, and guided the first-time designers from inspiration boards to execution.

At first the designer-models walked cautiously, with downcast eyes. After a few steps, they looked up, to applause and cheers. And after a few more, they smiled. Blue and white crinoline bounced from shoulders and waists, a lime green hat twinkled with rhinestones, and a hoop skirt lifted a train of binder-clipped Bubble Wrap. Many of the looks were winged.

“I'm kind of a goth, so the first thing I thought was: Angel of Darkness?” said Delonte, 21, wearing a black-and-white outfit of his own design with bicolor wings. “Then, let's mix it. Half good, half evil.” He kicked his feet to show off his cropped, billowing pants. “And I wanted to form it with a genie/ninja look.”

Delonte's family, who moved to Connecticut from Jamaica last December, did not welcome his coming out. “They told me I was a disgrace, that I should kill myself,” he said. “And I was like, ‘O.K., I'm going to give you people what you want,’ and I did something that I shouldn't have.”

After two days in the hospital, he moved to New York, and for the last seven months he has been homeless. Streetwork helped him secure housing

at an L.G.B.T. shelter in the Bronx.

“Every day when I wake up, I go straight to Streetwork,” he said. “The food there is amazing. I'm a foodie, trust me. I get to watch TV, play games and be creative. They treat us like they're a parent. They're the nicest people on this earth.”

Gimella, 22, landed at Streetwork when she was 18, after fleeing abuse at home. She now lives at True Colors, an affordable L.G.B.T. youth residence that Cyndi Lauper helped found, and is pursuing a medical assistant degree in addition to aiding Streetwork's women's sexual health outreach.

“I had a lot of episodes doing my look,” said Gimella, wearing a sheer dress she affixed with heart-shaped panels covered in rhinestones. “I have social anxi-

ety sometimes. But being around good people, it helped me be more comfortable, to be proud of who I am today. Good things like this, they don't come a lot, so you have to take advantage.”

For Joann Villarin, an assistant director of the program, Project Streetwork is also a positive shared experience. “It's nice to be in an environment where the focus isn't on problems, or on fixing something,” she said. “It's on creating something.”

Daniel Armosilla, a designer and Project Streetwork mentor, said, “When we say, ‘This is a great idea. Here are the tools and supplies. Let's band together and help you realize this,’ all that's happened to them washes away. They feel peace and elation — surprised by what they're capable of.”

The runway show was followed by a mini-ball featuring members of the Harlem Ballroom community, a haven for queer youth of color chronicled in the documentaries “Paris Is Burning” and “Kiki,” with competitive vogue-off categories and cash prizes donated by the Callen Lorde Health Center.

An M.C., in a floral RompHim, chanted “werk” and “serve” on alternating beats as swaggering contestants with enviable cores strutted the runway, contorting their bodies into I'm-a-little-teapot angles and pivoting as if yanked by invisible string.

As the songs intensified, they sprang into handstands and headstands, whipped their hair and windmilled their arms, and, to a roar from the crowd each time, death dropped. (You bend a knee and slam your back to the floor — chiropractor Christmas.)

“The runway saves lives,” the M.C. said, near the end, to cheers.

“Tonight meant a lot to me,” Delonte said. “I feel like a star. If they had something like this I could continue on, that would be so perfect. That would be the best.”

He described his second look for the evening: gray sweatpants and a top he shredded with scissors. “Ooh, the top. ...” He clasped his hands together. “You're going to love it.”

Sulwhasoo

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Culture

Medicine in the making

KLAMATH, CALIF.

Among the Yurok Indians, an ancient practice of regalia is flourishing anew

BY PATRICIA LEIGH BROWN

The gathering known simply as “Uncle Dave’s camp” begins at daybreak on the pebbled banks of the Klamath River, the age-old spruce and redwoods on the bluffs shrouded in mist.

Here on the Yurok Indian Reservation near the Oregon border, so remote that certain areas have yet to receive electricity, young male campers sit on cedar logs while keeping tabs on a river rock heated in a fire. The rock, hand-hollowed and chiseled with basketry patterns, contains a molten glue made from the dried air bladders of sturgeons. The syrupy concoction is a crucial ingredient for making feathered headdresses, hide quivers, obsidian-blade sticks and other forms of ceremonial dance ornaments, or regalia, that are at once works of art and living conduits to the spirit world.

The fishing camp that David Severns, a tribal member, started over 20 years ago has grown into a grass-roots culture camp dedicated to making regalia the old-fashioned way, before mail order. The source is nature — elk and deer sinew, baleen from a whale stranded in the river and delicate fibers from wild irises culled from forested high country. It is part of a broader revival of ancestral ceremonial practices, including dances and songs, among native youths. The flower dance, which honors a young woman’s coming of age, is flourishing anew not only among the Yurok — the largest tribe in California and one of the poorest — but the Hupa, Karuk and other Northern California tribes.

“Regalia is collective medicine,” said Mr. Severns, 54, who spends most of April through October sleeping under the stars with the campers and his wife, Mara Hope Severns, 49, from the Kanatak tribe in Alaska. “To make them, you’ve got to have a pure heart, because the character of a person is reflected.”

The glue cooking in the rock, four sturgeons’ worth, may be an apt metaphor for the deep cultural connections shared by longtime campers. Mr. Severns refers to them as “my boys,” even though many are in their mid-20s and some have children of their own, whose tiny wet footprints crisscross the sand. (Mothers and wives are present, especially on weekends, but women are not allowed to touch men’s regalia and vice versa.)

Each spring, Mr. Severns and the young men erect the camp from logs that have washed downstream during winter rains. Soon, the stretch of river known as “Blake’s Ripple,” for his maternal great-grandfather, springs to frenetic life. It’s a place where finely-crafted cedar boxes holding eagle and condor feathers are hollowed out with an adze, and brothers braid each others’ hair.

The camp is subsidized with about



Above, foreground left, Keeya Wiki, 9, and her sister Te Maia Wiki, 11, in traditional dance regalia on the Yurok Indian Reservation in Klamath, Calif. Below left, dance feather regalia drying in the sand was made by David Severns, whose culture camp teaches young men a nearly forgotten art form. Below right, the Klamath River on the reservation.



\$4,000 in annual disbursements that Ms. Severns receives as an Alaska Native, along with elk, deer and groceries donated by tribal well-wishers.

Mr. Severns comes from a family of regalia makers. His grandmother lived in a traditional plank house and would send him off for several days to do chores for elders, which taught him the value of kindness, he said. He draws out prospective campers: “The brother who looks after the little brother. The boy who catches fish and is happy to give



them up.”

Mr. Severns’s sister, Lorraine Taggart, 50, spent hours with a paring knife scraping the pitch off pine nuts, a prized dress ornament.

“You wear your culture,” said Melissa Nelson, a Turtle Mountain Chippewa who is an associate professor of American Indian Studies at San Francisco State University and president of the Cultural Conservancy, a native-led indigenous rights organization. “Young people are hungry for meaning,” she

added. “The opportunity to do hands-on work with abalone, clam beads, pine nuts and other materials is a threat to a healthier and more sustainable way of being in the world.”

Many youths now wear eagle feathers at graduation. But there has been friction at high schools in various states: This spring, Montana passed a law prohibiting schools and government agencies from creating policies that deny native students the right to wear culturally meaningful items at public events.

To the Yurok and other tribes, the regalia, resplendent with abalone and the scarlet crests of woodpeckers, are a dazzling life force. “It’s just another bird until you pray for it, burn a root for it, have a dance leader bless it — then it’s regalia,” Josh Meyer, a camper turned teacher, said of the eagle feathers he was assembling on the beach for the Brush Dance, a healing ceremony for sick children. The United States Fish and Wildlife Service makes eagle, condor and some other feathers available for religious and cultural use.

Raymond Mattz, 74, whose fight for tribal fishing rights was upheld in 1973 by the United States Supreme Court, recently showed a visitor his great great-great-grandfather’s dentalium shell necklace — long strands of white, tooth-like shells once used as currency — that he wears while dancing.

“It just makes you feel strong,” Mr. Mattz said. “You come out with this and you’re the stuff, you know?”

The materials can take two years or more to gather. In motion, they rustle like wind-chimes — a sound that TeMaia Wiki, 11, said “makes me feel like I’m home.” Up and down the river, the dances — some lasting 10 days — are attended by hundreds of people.

The idea of such sacred items being sequestered behind glass in museums has been a third rail for tribes since the

passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990. Some 10,000 cultural touchstones have been returned so far — “a slow pace,” said Chip Colwell, a senior curator of anthropology at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science and author of the recent book “Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside The Fight to Reclaim Native America’s Culture.” One of the biggest repatriations has been 217 ceremonial pieces, including white deerskins and wolf headdresses, returned to the Yurok by the Smithsonian Institution in 2010. But thousands of artifacts in the United States and abroad have yet to return home.

A headdress can take years to make, and the patience required, said Bradley Marshall, a distinguished Hupa regalia maker, “focuses the children to look deeper into themselves and their community.”

Such practices can help build resilience in young people whose history has been marked by trauma: genocide, forced relocation, children removed from their families and sent to distant United States government boarding schools that aimed to obliterate native language and culture. Yurok grandparents alive today were among those children.

The reverberations continue: In 2015 the Yurok tribe declared a state of emergency after seven young people committed suicide in one 18-month period in isolated Weitchpec (population 150). Jobs and economic development continue to be a major issue, with the unemployment rate at about 30 percent on the main part of the reservation, spiking to around 70 percent in isolated areas (the national rate is 4.4 percent).

The salmon population, a cultural and dietary staple, has been drastically reduced because of the recent drought, disease and other environmental woes — to the point that this year’s annual Yurok salmon festival relied on fish from Alaska.

“Spirituality is the basis of who we are as a people,” said Susan Masten, a former president of the National Congress of American Indians who served as Yurok tribal chairwoman. “For young people, a strong sense of culture and spirituality helps with whatever they face out in the world.”

Lance Bates, 55, who now mentors young regalia makers (including his own children) and coaches sticks, a sport played by Northern California tribes, spent much of his 20s addicted to alcohol and methamphetamines. “In my era there were not a lot of good influences in the community,” he said. “When I was doing my bad habits, I’d see Dave and the boys carving wood and doing good things. I knew I could do better.”

Mr. Meyers, the teacher, grew up with alcohol in the family and a lot of anger. “A lot of us didn’t have father figures in our lives,” he said. “We looked to Dave for that.”

On his exquisite regalia box, Mr. Meyers chiseled a triangle pattern meant to suggest the back of a sturgeon, burnishing it with a torch to give it a coppery patina. “I showed up one day and never left,” he said of the camp. “Making regalia is a big part of who I am.”

A ‘Battle of the Sexes’ rages on

LOS ANGELES

The fictionalized depiction of a tennis match resonates on film decades afterward

BY LORNE MANLY

As the trumpets struck up a brassy fanfare, Emma Stone — perched on a pink feather-bedecked golden litter held aloft by a retinue of bare-chested men — made her entrance into a cavernous arena here.

Awaiting her on this early May morning last year was an uncanny recreation of a scene that unfolded nearly 45 years earlier at the Houston Astrodome, in front of an audience of more than 30,000 (including Glen Campbell and Salvador Dalí) and another 50 million Americans watching at home.

“The Battle of the Sexes,” as the made-for-television spectacle was billed, was the brainchild of Bobby Riggs, the 55-year-old former tennis star who had enthusiastically (and impishly) embraced his inner chauvinist pig and challenged Billie Jean King, the 29-year-old, two-time Wimbledon champion and founder of the recently formed women’s professional tennis tour, to a \$100,000, winner-take-all match.

On that evening in September 1973, after being delivered courtside in a gilded rickshaw pulled by women wearing “Sugar Daddy” T-shirts, Riggs handed Ms. King an oversized lollipop. In return, Ms. King gave him a squealing piglet.

When the filmmakers behind “Battle of the Sexes” started work on the movie — to be released on Sept. 22, with Ms. Stone playing Ms. King and Steve Carell as Riggs — they thought the media circus from 1973 it depicts would be unfath-

omable today. The issues the movie would entertainingly raise — society’s deep-seated chauvinism, the gender pay gap — would still have resonance, but not too much.

That, however, was before the director of a prestigious tennis tournament declared that professional women players “ride on the coattails of the men”; John McEnroe sparked a social media firestorm by claiming that Serena Williams would rank 700th if she played on the men’s circuit; and the boorish behavior toward women of the Republican presidential candidate became a lightning rod in a nasty campaign.

“Well, I hoped the movie would reignite the debate,” said the film’s screenwriter, Simon Beaufoy. “But since we started making it, the debate has reignited itself.”

Mr. Beaufoy, an Oscar winner for writing “Slumdog Millionaire,” was recruited to the project by two longtime collaborators, the director Danny Boyle and the producer Christian Colson, who both also received Academy Awards for that film. Mr. Boyle was set to direct but had to withdraw from directing when the sequel to “Trainspotting” suddenly came together with a tight window to get it made. (He remains a producer.)

The studio, Fox Searchlight, then turned to Jonathan Dayton and Valerie Faris, the husband-and-wife team behind “Little Miss Sunshine,” a hit for the studio in 2006. Their most significant tweak to the script: They made Ms. King’s personal life a bigger part of the movie. Ms. King, who came out in the 1980s and is now a widely admired advocate for L.G.B.T.Q. groups, was in 1973 married to a man and only beginning to grapple with her sexuality, falling for a female hair stylist.

“It really did happen this way, where Billie Jean began her first affair with a woman at a time when she was one of the most famous women in America, if



Emma Stone as Billie Jean King and Steve Carell as Bobby Riggs.

not the world,” Mr. Dayton said. “So that seemed like an important story to tell. And at the same time, she was fighting this very public battle for equality.”

Ms. Faris chimed in: “She was starting the Women’s Tennis Association. She had so much at stake.”

Mr. Dayton finished the thought: “She was having this relationship that, if found out, could be a calamity for her career in tennis and her sponsorships and just her general image.”

Ms. King, the first woman ever named sportsperson of the year by Sports Illustrated (in 1972), had first rebuffed Riggs’s entreaties for the showdown, unwilling to be party to such a gimmicky spectacle when she was trying to get the women’s tour off the ground. But after he easily dispatched the Australian tennis star Margaret Court in May of 1973, she changed her mind.

“I knew in my heart of hearts that if

she lost, I was going to play him,” Ms. King, now 73, said. “I knew that it would touch the hearts of millions of people before the match, and they would all be talking about it, because I knew it was about social change.”

More than the public acceptance of professional women’s tennis was at stake. Title IX, landmark federal legislation that prohibited sex discrimination in programs that received federal aid, had been enacted the year before. And at a time when women couldn’t obtain a credit card without a man’s signature, Ms. King feared it could be weakened. Letting the chauvinists chortle over Riggs’s victories would not help in the battle for public opinion.

Ms. King won the best-of-five match in straight sets.

But while appalled at the sexism she and other women faced, she understood that the stunt was mostly a professional

lark for Riggs. (She remained friends with him until his death in 1995.) Lines like “I’ll put Billie Jean King and all the other Women’s Libbers back where they belong — in the kitchen and the bedroom” — were part of Riggs’s desperate desire to be part of the action. At Wimbledon in 1939, Riggs won in singles, doubles and mixed doubles competition. He was considered one of the best tennis players of his time, and his competitive streak didn’t end when his career did.

Riggs was obsessed with the hustle. He would bet on anything, including playing an opponent while holding the leashes of two dogs. While attending therapy in a bid to curtail his gambling addiction and save his marriage, he played — and beat — his therapist in poker.

Mr. Carell, who was 11 during the actual Battle of the Sexes, said he took pains to make sure Riggs didn’t look like a clown. “I remember, even at that age, knowing that Bobby Riggs was putting everybody on, and that that was part of his charm,” he said.

Events of the past 18 months, however, have given the film a sharper edge than it otherwise may have wielded.

In March 2016, Raymond Moore, the director of the BNP Paribas Open in Indian Wells, Calif., told the news media on the final Sunday of that tournament that “If I was a lady player, I’d go down every night on my knees and thank God that Roger Federer and Rafa Nadal were born, because they have really carried this sport.”

Under pressure, Mr. Moore stepped down from his position the next day.

Earlier this year, during an interview on NPR, Mr. McEnroe was asked why he qualified his praise of Serena Williams as one of the best female players in the world. His response that she would be ill matched playing against even one of the lowest-ranked men fueled outrage that he was belittling her talents.

For Ms. Stone and the filmmakers, such hypothetical scenarios are beside the point.

“Billie Jean’s argument, and the argument that’s in the movie, was never that female tennis players are better than the men,” Ms. Stone said. “It was that we get butts in seats equally. And that’s her argument in the tennis world and that overall in our country and of course worldwide. If someone is doing the same job they deserve the same pay. That’s not even talking about the Hollywood problem, it’s just a fact of the matter across our country.”

(Ms. Stone was reticent about elaborating on recent comments she made in Out magazine, in which she said “I’ve needed my male co-stars to take a pay cut so that I may have parity with them.” Mr. Carell said that was not an issue on “Battle of the Sexes,” adding that he thought there was “complete equity in this.”)

Since the election of Donald J. Trump, however, advocates for gender equity worry that advances could be stalled. And some of the language used by Mr. Trump about women — whether bantering with Billy Bush during an “Access Hollywood” taping in 2005 or insinuating that Megyn Kelly asked him forceful debate questions because she was menstruating — has markedly changed how audiences at test screenings have reacted, according to the directors.

“It was much more charged after the election, and people were just more sensitized to the way women were being talked about and treated,” Ms. Faris said. “These things are hard fought,” Ms. Faris added, referring to social changes like gender equity. “They take a long time and they’re never really won. We didn’t want to end the movie with, And look how far they’ve come.”

Current events have made sure of that.

Amid twisting bodies, a cellist

CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK
HAMBURG

A Bach specialist plays the composer's solo suites to accompany a dance

BY CORINNA DA FONSECA-WOLLHEIM

The cellist Jean-Guihen Queyras has collaborated with period-instrument ensembles, made expeditions into the craggy corners of the avant-garde and produced burnished readings of chamber-music classics.

But he is probably best known for his performances of Bach's six suites for solo cello, a summit of the repertory that he continues to scale from different vantage points. Mr. Queyras, 50, has experimented on the works with historical instruments and different combinations of strings and bow. He commissioned six contemporary composers to write introductions to the suites. In 2009, he performed four of them in a room specially designed for the music by the architect Zaha Hadid. And he is now playing the complete set as the accompaniment to a new dance work by the acclaimed choreographer Anne Teresa De Keersmaecker.

The piece is called "Mitten wir im Leben sind," after the opening words of a Martin Luther chorale: "In the midst of life, we are in death." After its premiere on Aug. 26 at the Ruhrtriennale festival, it arrived here last weekend and will travel to more than a dozen locations across Europe this season.

Ms. De Keersmaecker translates each suite into a kind of constellation, with geometric patterns chalked on the floor and the five dancers — the choreographer and four others from her company, Rosas — taking turns pacing, jogging and skipping patterns around Mr. Queyras, who is seated on a stool near the center. Austere, self-absorbed and soft-limbed, the dancers appeared like plain particles guided through space by laws of brilliant complexity, unexceptional humans slouching through a creation of undeserved beauty and perfection.

On Sunday at the Elbphilharmonie hall here, many audience members crept toward the exits during the piece's two intermissionless hours. Though I, too, was put off by the asperity of Ms. De Keersmaecker's choreography, I was eager to hear from Mr. Queyras what had led him to this collaboration and how the experience of working with dancers had shaped his understanding of the suites.

In a phone conversation, he spoke admiringly of Ms. De Keersmaecker's deep understanding of music and described how she had peppered him with questions about the work's harmonic structure and asked him to record just the spectral bass lines that underpin each movement. Now that they had begun performing the work, Mr. Queyras said that increasingly "there is this chamber-music quality happening: They react to a timing of mine in the music and I react to what they do."

As an example, he cited the penultimate movements of each suite, in which Ms. De Keersmaecker had dancers pace out the bass line. "They almost don't dance anymore," Mr. Queyras said. "And I have been going as far as possible toward inhabiting



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANNE VAN AERSCHOT

Above, members of the dance company Rosas and the cellist Jean-Guihen Queyras in "Mitten wir im Leben sind," set to the Bach suites for solo cello. Below, the choreographer, Anne Teresa De Keersmaecker, and Mr. Queyras.



this movement. I am beginning to feel I am their dancing partner."

While I had been able to identify some instances in which the choreography mirrored the music — a twisting body in the first suite, for instance, that matched the way the cello's arpeggios pivoted around a fulcrum note — I told Mr. Queyras there were other moments when I felt the movement was flatly at odds with his playing. Several times the cello expressively landed on a movement's final note in ways that spoke of comfort or resignation, while the partnering dancer stopped with one sneaker-clad foot hovering in the air. To me, so much of the pathos of Bach's music lies in the way it gracefully or reluctantly bends toward the inevitable; this choreography remained uncommitted.

"When we had the first rehearsals of some pieces," he said, "I would be intrigued by some of Anne Teresa's choices." He cited a different example,

Each suite becomes a kind of constellation, with the dancers pacing, jogging and skipping patterns around Mr. Queyras.

of Ms. De Keersmaecker's counterintuitive reaction to the upbeat-downbeat opening salvo that begins each Courante section: "She is asking the dancers to jump in the air on the downbeat and fall to earth on the second. At first I thought, oops. But then I started to see what she was doing and I ended up loving it. And I adapt my playing to it."

Although Mr. Queyras has no dance training, the physicality of music is important to him. He said that, in his teaching at the music academy in Freiburg, Germany, "it's a recurrent theme with my students that music has to be more in your body. It cannot be just in your head. I do ask them to get on their feet and perform the move

from beat one to two in a Sarabande to get a feeling of how sensuous it is."

Enduring the marathon performances — this is the first time Mr. Queyras has played all six suites in one go, without intermission — is another matter. "It has the quality of extreme sport," he said, noting that he feels the exertion in his arms and shoulders afterward.

In the latter part of the show, beginning with the fourth suite, there are breaks built in, when the dancers perform in silence. Mr. Queyras said that feature arose not just from his need for a rest, but, more important, to allow the music to take a breather, too.

"The true depth and power of music is derived at the point in your performance where you touch the infinite, which is silence," he said. "In order for the listener to go into the third dimension of music, the depth of it, you need silence. You cannot do this with notes coming at you for two hours."

Wrath in the time of choler

BOOK REVIEW

ENRAGED: WHY VIOLENT TIMES NEED ANCIENT GREEK MYTHS

By Emily Katz Anhalt. 268 pp. Yale University Press. \$30.

BY MARY BEARD

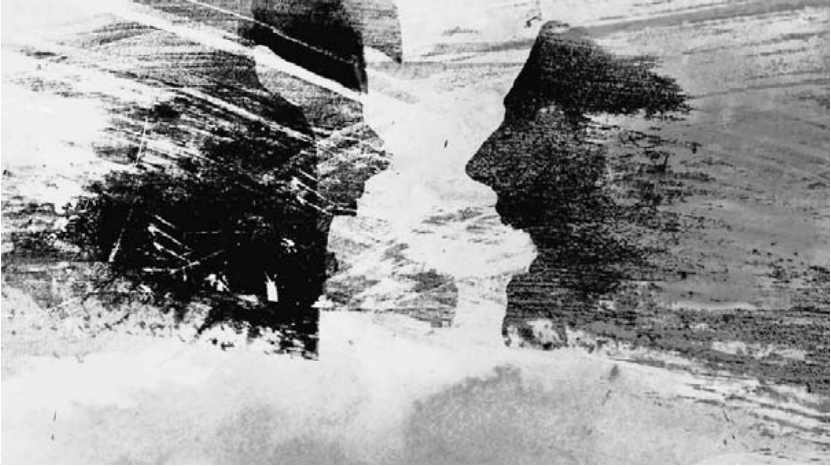
The very first word in the history of Western literature is "rage" or "wrath." For that is how Homer's "Iliad" begins. Composed some time in the eighth century B.C., it starts with a call to the Muse, the goddess of inspiration, to help tell the story of the "wrath" of Achilles (*menin* in the original Greek) — and of the incalculable sorrows and the terrible deaths of so many brave warriors that this wrath caused. Homer's epic, set during the mythical war between Greeks and Trojans, is as much about anger, private vendetta and its fatal consequences as it is about heroic combat and the clash of two ancient superpowers. What happens, the poem asks, when your best warrior is so furious at a personal insult that he withdraws from the war and simply refuses to fight? What are the costs, to use the modern coinage, of "Achilles sulking in his tent"?

In "Enraged," Emily Katz Anhalt, a professor at Sarah Lawrence College, offers an engaging and sometimes inspiring guide to the rich complexities of the "Iliad." Her underlying point is that, from its earliest origins, Western literature questioned the values of the society that produced it. The "Iliad" is

no jingoistic Greek anthem, proudly celebrating the achievements of its warrior heroes and their struggles for military, political and personal glory (their struggles, as she sums it up, to be "best"). The poem both encapsulates and simultaneously challenges that worldview, by asking what "bestness" is and what the costs of such a competitive culture are.

The 10-year Trojan War was fought to protect the honor of one Greek king, whose wife, Helen, had been stolen by — or had run off with — a Trojan prince. It must always have been very hard to listen to the "Iliad" (it was originally delivered orally) without wondering whether being "best" really should mean deploying almost unlimited resources and sacrificing the lives of countless friends and allies to avenge such a personal slight. Or, to put it in our terms, was the military response proportionate to the provocation? The dilemma in Homer's plot, which focused on a few days' slice of the action, is similar. In a public contest of bravado, clout and honor, Achilles had been forced to give up a captive girl, who was his favorite spoil of war, to the Greek commander in chief, Agamemnon. It was for that reason — the dishonor more than the girl herself — that he sulked off from the fight and by his absence caused the deaths of many dear to him. "Was he justified?" is the obvious and, in terms of traditional heroic codes of honor, the radical question.

No less radical are the different perspectives on the story that Homer encourages his listeners and readers to



SIMON PEMBERTON

adopt. As Anhalt rightly insists, by setting some of his scenes behind enemy lines, among the Trojan fighters and their families — from the ruminations of the sadly regretful Helen to the encounters between Hector, the Trojan super-warrior, and his young son — Homer destabilizes the traditional "them-and-us" culture of the ancient Greek world, and its conventional polarization between civilization and barbarity. We are invited to see the Trojan enemy not as barbarians at all but as people very much like us (that is, like Greeks): laughing and joking, loving their children, kindly, fearful and in awe of their gods. In short, as Anhalt writes, the first work of Western literature already reminds us that even a sworn enemy is "fully human."

Anhalt, however, has bigger points to make. She wants to show that the

"Iliad" and other works of Greek literature (she also examines in detail two fifth-century-B.C. Athenian tragedies set in the last days and aftermath of the Trojan War) have direct lessons for the modern world. You can see why. As she makes very clear, dehumanizing the enemy is still one of the most counterproductive aspects of political rhetoric. It may suit some narrowly short-term ends to pretend that, for example, the politicians and people of North Korea do not laugh and joke and love their children; but of course they do.

She has some powerful words too on the modern unreflective complacency about the democratic political process, as if so-called free and fair elections were its only touchstone. One of her chosen tragedies, Sophocles' "Ajax," explores the consequences of a popular group decision that was morally

wrong: After his death, the armor of Achilles was unfairly awarded as a prize to Odysseus, not to his rival Ajax — and bloody mayhem came from Ajax's rage at the decision. Anhalt urges us to look harder, as Sophocles did, at the way democracy works, to face the uncomfortable fact that democratic decisions can be wrong and can sometimes serve the ends of tyranny and ignorance rather than of justice and equality. Her implication that it is the job of a democracy to debate and to deal with democracy's mistakes as well as to celebrate its successes is important, even if she is occasionally unfair to some human political achievements. "In many parts of the world today," Anhalt writes, "slavery and ethnic inequality persist and women still lack equal rights and cannot vote" — which in some general sense is true, though the last part is misleading. It is certainly the case that in some places voting may not amount to much, and that women face all kinds of political disadvantage almost everywhere, but to my knowledge it is only in Vatican City that women are allowed nowhere near a ballot box.

But as the title "Enraged" suggests, fury and anger are at the center of Anhalt's agenda. If, she claims, we were to take a lesson from the "Iliad" and from the human costs of Achilles' anger, we would now be trying much more determinedly to move away from the politics of violence, vengeance and reprisals, to the politics of debate and verbal persuasion. "As we face the domestic, international, and global crises of our own times we have to

resist the seductions of rage," she writes.

Ancient literature can certainly be eye opening, and it has a wonderful capacity to make us re-examine many modern assumptions that we take too much for granted. But I am very doubtful that it has any particularly useful direct lessons for us. It is slightly disappointing to find that, after many fine observations, the book's central conclusion lies somewhere between a liberal truism (essentially: It is better to talk about things than fight) and a misleading oversimplification. As Anhalt more or less concedes, the final verdict on anger, whether political or personal, must come down to what we are angry about and how we act as a consequence. Rage, as shown in the "Iliad" and some modern geopolitical debate, can be petty and corrosive, but I doubt that Homer was advocating that we should live entirely without it. It is sometimes not only justifiable but necessary. Do we want to live in a world in which we don't get furious at slavery, racism, or any number of other global injustices — or even at some of the dreadful truths of the human condition? When more than two millennia after Homer the poet Dylan Thomas wrote of facing death with the words "Rage, rage against the dying of the light," it was the kind of rage that many of us understandably cherish.

Mary Beard is a professor at the University of Cambridge and the author, most recently, of "SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome."

TRAVEL

Turning travelers into photographers

Tours offer lessons from professionals on taking better pictures

BY SHIVANI VORA

There's travel photography, and then there's traveling for photography. An increasing number of travel companies and hotels offer learning excursions and tours aimed at aspiring photographers, spanning a few hours to a few weeks. Janine Yu, an adviser at the New York City-based travel company Indagare, said that because of photo-sharing apps like Instagram, more people are taking up photography as a hobby. "The travel industry is catering to this growing interest in a fun way," she said. "After all, what more enjoyable way to learn how to improve your camera skills than by exploring a great destination at the same time?" Below are 10 tours, trips and hotels to bring out your inner Ansel Adams.

A PHOTO SAFARI AT ANDBEYOND KICHWA TEMBO TENTED CAMP, MASAI MARA, KENYA Learn how to take frame-worthy images with the new photo safari at this camp, in an area rich with game, including wildebeest, lions and hippos. Guests can book the safari for as little as a half-day or for up to several days and are lent the equipment they need, including a camera with a Nikon 600 mm lens. The safaris are led by a naturalist who is also a skilled photographer, and they take place in a jeep equipped with electrical charging stations for the cameras, 360-degree swivel chairs with camera mounts for long-lens stability and a fully stocked bar. Prices from \$275 for a half-day. Camp rates start at \$330 per person, per night, including all meals, game drives and transfers. (AndBeyond's Grumeti Serengeti Tented Camp and Serengeti Under Canvas offer similar tours.) Book at [andbeyond.com](#).

STRABO PHOTO TOURS Aspiring photographers have their pick of more than 50 trips a year from this travel company specializing in photography vacations, which are offered in six continents (only Antarctica is excluded). Trips to Slovenia's glacial lakes and vineyards and to the Monteverde Cloud Forest in Costa



AndBeyond operates a photography safari at its camp in Masai Mara, Kenya.

Rica are two examples. Most journeys last 10 days to 14 days, and all are led by a professional photographer as well as a local guide; there are usually 4 to 12 travelers on every itinerary. From \$2,595, including accommodations, some meals, daily photography lessons and destination tours. Book at [phototec.com](#).

VERMEJO PARK RANCH, RATON, N.M. Owned by the media mogul and conservationist Ted Turner, this property, a 585,000-acre expanse of terrain ranging from short-grass prairie to alpine tundra, offers themed photography packages three times a year. Each is for four nights and led by a professional photographer, but their focus varies. The September package, for example, covers shooting the elk-mating season. Prices from \$3,500 a person, inclusive of accommodations, all meals and nonalcoholic beverages and non-guided activities such as horse-

back riding. Book online at [vermeparkranch.com](#) or by emailing [reservations@tedturnerexpeditions.com](#).

QUASAR EXPEDITIONS PHOTO SAFARI GALÁPAGOS CRUISES The Galápagos Islands are renowned for abundant wildlife like iguanas and green sea turtles, and these seven-night cruises, offered nearly monthly, supply a chance to photograph the animals up close. The naturalist guides/photographers who lead the cruises run nightly briefings where they review guests' photos and teach them techniques to get the best shots for the animals they will likely see the following day. Also, guests disembark the boat early to get sunrise shots of the islands and come back to the ship in the early evening so that they can capture sunset images of the islands, too. Prices from \$4,620 a person. Book by or emailing [infousa@quasarex.com](#).

MANHATTAN ARCHITECTURE PHOTOGRAPHY TOUR, NEW YORK CITY Hit some of New York City's top architectural landmarks such as Grand Central Terminal, the Chrysler Building and the New York Public Library with this three-hour tour from TripAdvisor. Led by a photographer, participants will learn how to work with lines and angles to bring these buildings to life, and also learn how to photograph architectural interiors. This tour is offered several times a week and scheduled in the afternoon to take advantage of the sky's changing colors. From \$100 a person. Book online at [tripadvisor.com](#).

PARIS NIGHT PHOTO TOUR, PARIS The already picturesque City of Light becomes even more photogenic at night, and this three-hour private tour, tailored to every skill level, is an opportunity to learn how to capture it after dark. A pho-

tographer teaches travelers techniques for shooting famous landmarks like the Eiffel Tower and Place de la Concorde and also shares tips on taking images of common sights in the city like boats sailing along the Seine River. The cost is 180 euros for the first person and €30 for each additional person for up to a total of four people. Book online at [aperturetours.com/paris-night-photo-tour](#).

PHOTOWALKS FREEDOM TRAIL TOUR, BOSTON This 90-minute tour is a photography class and history lesson in one. A photographer who is also a historian leads the excursion to sites associated with the American Revolution such as Boston Common, the Benjamin Franklin statue and the building where the Boston Tea Party meeting took place. Participants visit more than a dozen spots and learn the best camera settings and angles to capture keepsake images of

the iconic attractions. Prices from \$40 a person. Book online through [viator.com](#).

BELMOND LA RÉSIDENCE D'ANGKOR, SIEM REAP, CAMBODIA Set in the heart of Siem Reap, this property has an in-house photographer who leads daylong excursions allowing travelers to photograph a variety of scenarios in the town and its surrounding area. The trip starts off on a longboat down the Kompong Phluk water village and includes a kayaking excursion around Tonle Sap lake and a trip to a food market to shoot pictures of local delicacies. The tour is \$300 for two people and includes a car with a driver. Guests can also book the two-night Zooming in on Cambodia package, which includes accommodations, the tour and a three-day pass to the Angkor Wat temple complex. From \$1,400 a person. Book online at [belmond.com/la-residence-d-angkor-siem-reap/](#).

PHOTOGRAPHY TOURS OF IRELAND It doesn't matter where in Ireland you're visiting or how adept at photography you are — the Dublin-based travel company Adams & Butler has a team of professional photographers throughout the country and can arrange for photography tours at every skill level. Possibilities include Dublin by night for after-dark shots, the mountains and lakes along the Ring of Kerry at sunset and the sprawling estates throughout the countryside by day. The company can also arrange for camera loans. From \$300 for two people for a full-day tour. Book by calling 800-894-5712 or emailing [sales@adamsandbutler.com](#).

ART & CLARITY ADVENTURES, NAPA VALLEY Get an insider's view of the touristy Napa region of California with the three- or six-hour photography tours, run by the photographers Janna Waldinger and Lowell Downey. The tours take you through Napa's hilly terrain and vineyards but also touch less-frequented spots such as the woods and along Napa River; participants learn about camera settings, depth of field and how to properly frame the subjects they are shooting. And if you have a particular interest, such as nature or architecture, Ms. Waldinger and Mr. Downey can tailor the tour accordingly. Prices from \$99 to \$500, depending on the length of time and number of people. Book by emailing [sales@artclarity.com](#).

An assist in learning local customs

ITINERARIES

Apps and training sessions help business travelers master nuances before trips

BY JULIE WEED

On a sales trip last fall to Seoul, South Korea, Josh Udashkin, the founder of the smart luggage company Raden, quickly realized that he'd better leave the matte-finish suitcase samples in his hotel room.

"The retail displays, the street fashion, shoes, purses, headphones, showed me that shiny surfaces were definitely popular in Seoul," he said. Instead, he took only the shiny-surface samples to his meeting at a South Korean department store. The visit was successful, and the store plans to stock Mr. Udashkin's wares this fall.

The lesson was simple. Putting in time to understand the local culture is key to success abroad, Mr. Udashkin said. "If you think, 'My product was so successful in New York or L.A., of course it will sell here,'" he said, "you are setting yourself up to fail."

Business travelers hoping to improve their professional prospects by understanding local culture and business customs can take a path similar to Mr. Udashkin's and spend time observing the culture firsthand and asking colleagues about their experiences. They now also have a panoply of other choices, including websites, apps and business-focused tour guides.

To prepare for his trip to Seoul, Mr. Udashkin said, he learned some common phrases using the Duolingo smartphone app, looked at Korean fashion websites and read up on the local news. He also asked friends from Korea about business practices. They advised him to study up on business card exchange etiquette.

"The more you can prepare in advance," said Manny Cowan, the head of global mobility services at the World Bank, "the sooner you can get to your mission and why you are there."

Preparing for the way a business meeting is conducted can be as important as what is presented there, said Ruihua Dong, who leads intercultural training at the World Bank. Hierarchical communication, gender norms and attitudes toward punctuality can differ widely, and knowing the traditions can help visitors avoid misunderstandings, she said.

"If you show up on time to an important meeting and the local person comes 30 minutes late, it's not necessarily an insult," Ms. Dong said. "They just may have a different definition of what is punctual in their culture." Jeremy Podeswa, who directed six



An event by Raden, a luggage company. Raden's founder, Josh Udashkin, said he likes to arrive a day or two before meetings abroad so he can get to know the local culture.

episodes of "Game of Thrones," travels the world to film the HBO series, managing hundreds of people on sets in three different countries. For him, he said, it was important to know beforehand which cultures don't mind working overtime and which expect a shorter day on the set. In some cultures, he said, "there is a little more of a feeling that we 'work to live' as opposed to 'living for work.'"

Ms. Dong said some countries' business dealings are more task-oriented while others are relationship-oriented. "A business partner may want to share a meal when you arrive, and you may be thinking, 'I need to get to work,'" she said. But the social interaction during the meal may set the stage for the tasks ahead.

Expert-led tours are becoming more of an option for business travelers seeking to soak up local knowledge. Context

"The more you can prepare in advance, the sooner you can get to your mission and why you are there."

Travel, an American tour company, introduced two-hour sessions in some Asian and European cities called "Welcome to . . ." about three years ago. While the program was originally designed for tourists, Paul Bennett, the company's founder, said he's seen a significant increase in session bookings by business travelers over the past year.

Each "Welcome to . . ." session begins with a one-hour introduction to the city and includes maps, basic phrases in the local language and cultural information based on the traveler's needs. A neighborhood walk follows, including instruction on how to use public transportation if needed. "It sets the traveler up," Mr. Bennett said.

Recent clients booking a "Welcome to . . ." session included a group of American doctors coming to Shanghai for a medical conference. By learning a bit about cultural customs, local news and the history of the city, the doctors felt they could "accelerate" their conversations with their Chinese counterparts, Mr. Bennett said. They had only a few days to interact on important medical issues, and they hoped to minimize the usual introductory awkwardness and "go deeper and make the most out of their time," he said.

Each area of the world has its own particular practices. Along with personal consultations and regional support teams, the World Bank offers its employees a website with information on how to live and work effectively in 120 locations. "We do it for people coming to the U.S. to work as well," Mr. Cowan said.

Mr. Bennett, of Context, said that some of his business clients were feeling more self-conscious recently about traveling as an American abroad. The "America first" stance of the White House puts them in a defensive position when they go in to negotiate a business deal, Mr. Bennett said. "Business travelers are coming to us to learn about the culture they will be working with because they want to be viewed as partners," he said.

Mr. Udashkin, of Raden, said he liked to absorb the local culture in person. In addition to Seoul, he has traveled to Paris, Milan, London and Hong Kong in the last 18 months to show his suitcases to retailers. He said he would arrive in each city a day or more before his meetings and walk around looking for local taste indicators like the popular models or hues of products like iPhones and Beats headphones.

"I'm not looking for the outliers," he said, "I want to know how to fit into the local mainstream."

The New York Times

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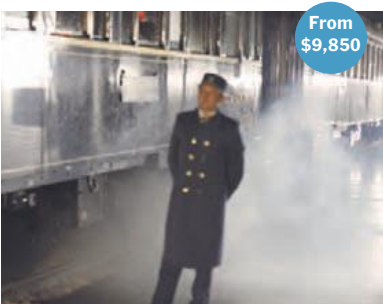
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Nicholas Delbanco

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Nicholas Delbanco, a "man of letters," has authored over 30 books of fiction and nonfiction. He is the two-time winner of a National Endowment for the Arts grant for creative writing and an adjudicator for both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. He joins our October 18th departure.

ARTS & CULTURE | EUROPE

Murder on the Venice Simplon-Orient-Express

Calling all mystery fans! Delve into the history behind famous detective novels and novelists, as well as real-life art theft and forgery, on this seven-day journey, a must for any mystery lover. At the heart of the program is a memorable overnight journey from London to Venice on the Venice Simplon-Orient-Express. With Times-selected experts and exclusive access, see fiction come to life.

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FOOD & WINE | ASIA

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Itinerary 12 days
Departing April 16, Oct. 7 and Nov. 3, 2018
Travelers 24

Indian cuisine is as diverse as India itself. In this 12-day journey, sample the foods of four areas of India — Delhi, Jaipur, Hyderabad and Mumbai — learning from residents and Times-selected experts how these dishes evolved and the cultural significance surrounding them. Along the way, visit local bazaars, food and spice markets and popular attractions.



FEATURED EXPERT

Vikas Bajaj

Times Editorial Board Member



Vikas Bajaj was born in Mumbai. Formerly The Times's bureau chief in Mumbai, his upbringing and his posting to India led him to widely varying culinary experiences: from the spicy, tangy cuisine of Mumbai to the indulgent and rich traditions of the Mughal in Delhi. He joins our October departure.

SCIENCE & NATURE | NORTH AMERICA

The Biodiversity of Southern Arizona

Itinerary 7 days
Departing April 29, May 13, Sept. 9 and 23, 2018
Travelers 18

Experience a scenic adventure through some of the most biodiverse landscapes in the United States. On this seven-day journey, hike through a unique array of geographic influences and visit Biosphere 2, a unique ecosystem of its own.



FEATURED EXPERT

Jim Robbins

Science Reporter



Jim Robbins has written for The New York Times for more than 35 years, primarily on science and environmental issues. He has also written five books. His first was about Yellowstone National Park and the West. He joins our May 13th and September 23rd tours.

HISTORY & CONTEXT | ASIA

Iran: Tales From Persia

Itinerary 13 days
Departing March 5, April 7, May 8, June 9, Aug. 20, Sept. 30, Oct. 15, Nov. 10 and Dec. 1, 2018
Travelers 20

Persia, Iran. For 2,500 years, this powerful country has entranced, mystified and beguiled the world. Discover the ancient secrets and modern complexities of this influential land. Welcome to the once-forbidden land of Iran.



FEATURED EXPERT

Carol Giacomo

Times Editorial Board Member



Carol Giacomo is an editorial board member of The New York Times covering foreign and defense policy. She has reported on and analyzed the U.S. angle on all major foreign policy stories, including the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Middle East peace process. She joins our December 2018 tour.

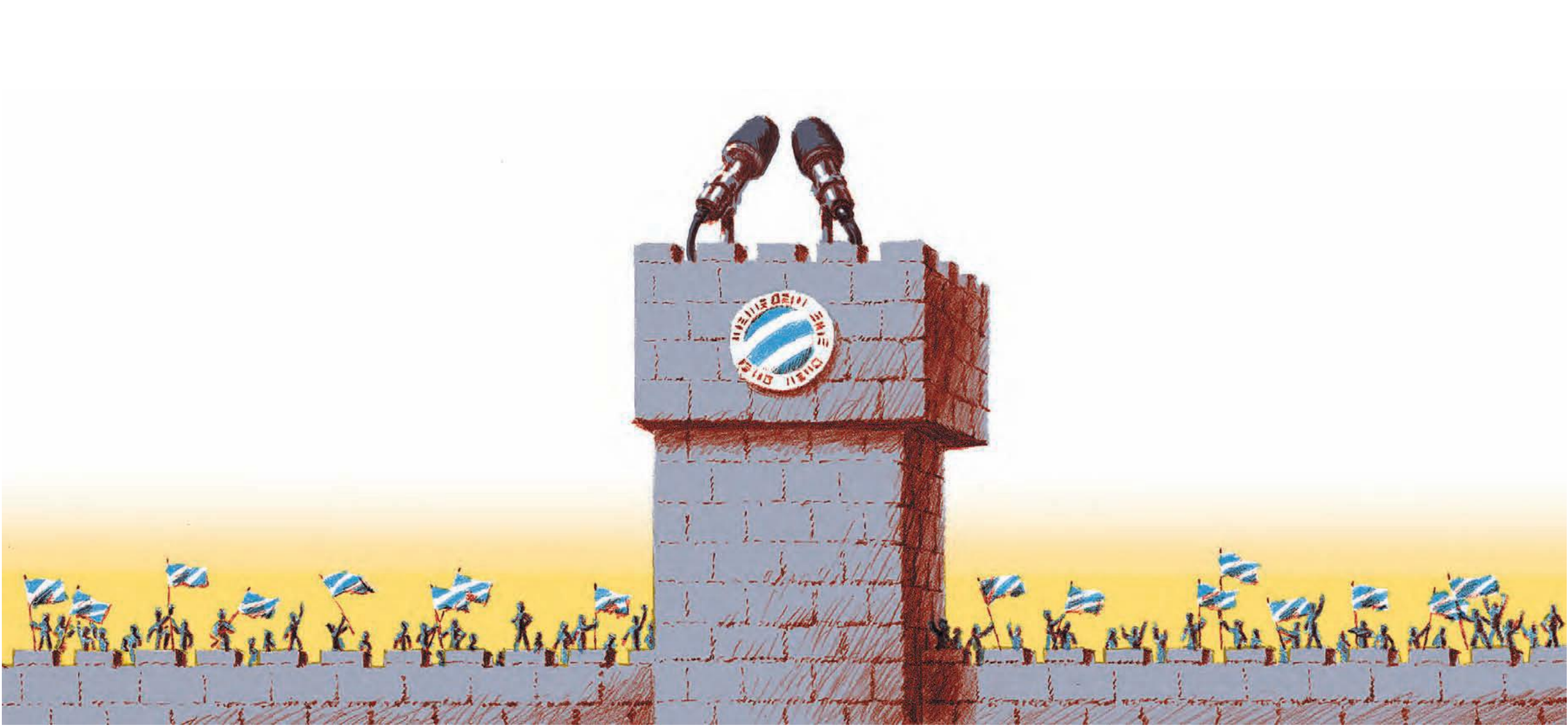
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World Review

The State of Democracy: An Opinion Section



Democracy challenged

Looking across the globe, it might appear at times that violence, chaos and fear are getting the upper hand over order, democracy and reason. The world has always been a messy place, of course, and it may be that the internet and social media give the worst of times more prominence than the best. But there are real reasons for anxiety. Traditional democratic ideals and institutions are under attack. Some leaders in Eastern Europe espouse “illiberal” democracy, which treads on traditional human rights. Authoritarian leaders from Russia to Venezuela grow stronger; Kim Jong-un of North Korea defies the world in his pursuit of a doomsday weapon. And the United States under Donald Trump becomes more bitterly divided and unpredictable.

Historically, however, there has also been push-back, a rejection of oppression and despotism. It brought about the end of apartheid, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States, the acceptance of more than a million refugees in Germany. Countries rarely embrace democracy as their first choice; they have often tried monarchies, oligarchies or other forms of coercive government first. They come to democracy because, for all its messiness and inefficiency, it is the way to give people a voice in how they’re governed, and to allow them to change leaders peacefully.

But it can never be taken for granted. It is constantly confronting challenges and threats and adapting to changing times. Those challenges will be discussed at the five-day Athens Democracy Forum this week in Athens, Greece. Now in its fifth year, the conference, convened by The New York Times, will gather global leaders to talk about the state of the world. In advance of the conference, The Times solicited essays on some of the challenges facing nations today. Additional essays appear online at www.nytimes.com/spotlight/world-review-the-state-of-democracy. SERGE SCHMEMANN

The new wave of world leaders

Turkey, Russia, Japan and India represent a nationalist shift.



Kishore Mahbubani, dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (National University of Singapore), is the author of “Has the West Lost It?”, to be published by Penguin UK.

BY KISHORE MAHBUBANI

The global spread of democracy, a Western gift to the world, was meant to result in the election of liberal, pro-Western leaders. Instead, a wave of strongmen rulers has been elected, many of whom have clear non-Western identities. This list includes Shinzo Abe of Japan, Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey, Narendra Modi of India and, looking back further, Vladimir V. Putin of Russia. China’s Xi Jinping can be added to this list, emerging as he did from a fiercely competitive political process within the 80 million-member Communist Party of China.

The rise of these leaders may reflect a new chapter in history. For the past 200 years, the West has been unusually powerful, dominating history even in the post-colonial era. However, mistakes made by the West have given rise to the sharp anti-Western edge of leaders like Mr. Erdogan and Mr. Putin. And as American and European power recedes, a global resurrection of non-Western attitudes is taking place.

Europe humiliated Turkey for decades. Under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Turkey made the bold decision to leave the Islamic world and join the West. Turkey, a member of NATO, applied to join the predecessor to the European Union in 1987. The country was denied, while smaller nations like Slovakia, Latvia and Estonia were admitted. This rebuff undermined the political standing of the secular pro-Western Turks living in and around Istanbul.

The initial election of Mr. Erdogan in 2003

A global resurrection of non-Western attitudes is taking hold.

represented the Turkish people’s strong desire for a leader who could stand up to Europe, and his rule was legitimized by solid economic growth. While Mr. Erdogan’s popularity has recently slipped — he barely won the April 2017 referendum — he has never been more politically powerful. Mr. Erdogan has the ability to shape Turkey’s future by moving it away from its secular past and making its Islamic identity more visible.

Russia suffered even greater humiliation than Turkey. Mikhail Gorbachev’s unilateral dissolution of the Soviet Union was an unimaginable geopolitical gift to the West, especially America. The Russia that remained was a shell of its former empire. Contrary to the implicit assurances given to Mr. Gorbachev and Soviet leaders, the West expanded NATO to include former member nations of the Warsaw Pact, embarrassing Russia as its geopolitical territory shrank.

After Mr. Putin was elected in 2000, the West threatened to expand the Atlantic alliance into Ukraine. He was left with no choice but to take back Crimea, which had been part of Russia from 1783 to 1954. Even Mr. Gorbachev, a pro-Westerner, supported Mr. Putin, saying that the

Crimean referendum showed that “people really wanted to return to Russia.” Given a choice, 95.5 percent of the voters elected to join Russia.

Mr. Putin’s election reflected the will of the Russian people. They wanted a strongman who could stand up to the West. He did this by invading Crimea and supporting President Bashar al-Assad in Syria. There are no saints in geopolitical games; if the West had shown respect for Russia instead of humiliating it, Mr. Putin might not have come to power.

Neither Japan nor India has been humiliated by the West in recent times. Indeed, both have drawn geopolitically closer to America since the rise of China. Yet even in these countries there is a clear desire to support strong leaders who can forcefully enhance the nation’s identity.

Outwardly, Mr. Abe appears to be a pro-Western leader, especially with his dapper Western suits. Inwardly, however, he is an ardent Japanese nationalist. His grandfather Nobusuke Kishi was accused as a “class-A war criminal” after World War II. Mr. Abe believes he was unjustly accused. Mr. Abe has also allowed his fellow members of parliament to visit the controversial nationalist Yasukuni Shrine, drawing the ire of China and South Korea.

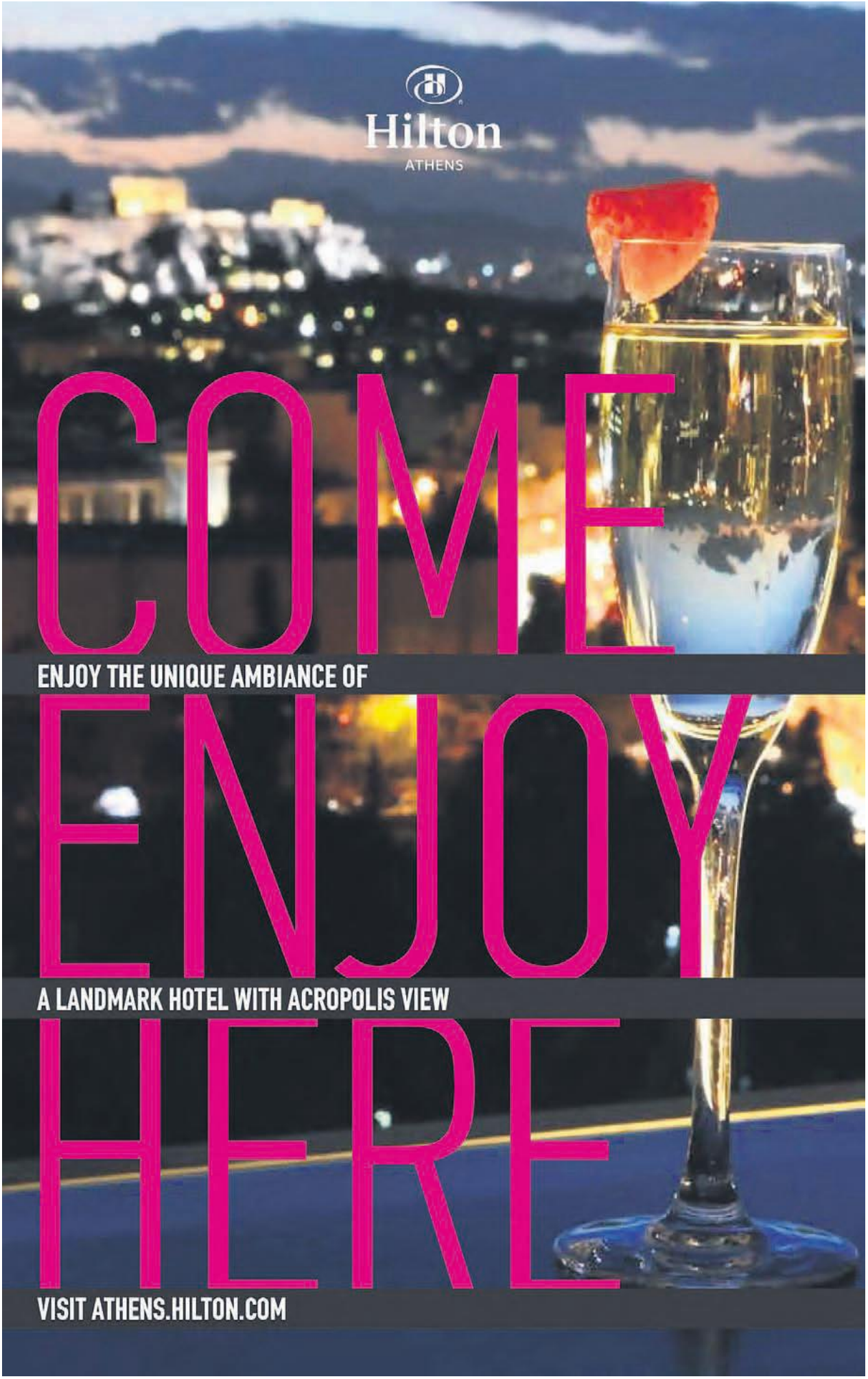

Outwardly, Mr. Abe maintains deference to America. Inwardly, he is dying to break free from his geopolitical shackles. For example, even as America and Europe were trying hard to isolate Moscow, Mr. Abe worked behind the scenes in Moscow in April 2013 to try to reach a private deal with Mr. Putin on the disputed Kurile Islands, which Russia had taken over at the end of World War II.

Mr. Modi’s forceful emergence on the world stage demonstrates that India is no longer a second-tier power. Mr. Modi has shed many of the pro-Western trappings that the Indian establishment was once so proud of. Despite a punishing schedule during his first official visit to the United States in September 2014, Mr. Modi fasted for nine days in observance of the Hindu festival of Navratri. Mr. Modi seldom wears Western clothes and speaks mostly in Hindi. His support of some loud right-wing voices, including the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, Yogi Adityanath, is worrying. But Mr. Modi is no demagogue. He is a pragmatic nationalist focused on economic growth. In Mr. Modi’s mind, there is no doubt that we are moving toward a G-3 world, with India securing an equal place alongside America and China.

While the Chinese president, Xi Jinping, functions in a very different political environment from that of Mr. Abe and Mr. Modi, culturally there is an affinity among the three leaders: Each is profoundly confident in his respective national identity. A hundred years ago, Indian, Japanese and Chinese leaders called upon their people to emulate the West to move ahead. Voices like Sun Yat-sen in China and Raja Ram Mohan Roy in India spoke of the need to mirror the West.

Today, such a thought wouldn’t even cross the minds of Mr. Abe, Mr. Modi and Mr. Xi. Instead, all three are telling their people to remember their own glorious histories.

As more and more countries shed their deference to the West, the continuing resurrection of strong nationalist leaders is inevitable. Our geopolitical future likely lies with this new wave.



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Lilian Tintori is a human-rights activist and the wife of Venezuelan opposition leader Leopoldo López.

BY LILIAN TINTORI

When my husband, the Venezuelan opposition leader and prisoner of conscience Leopoldo López, proposed to me in 2006, he told me that marrying him meant marrying Venezuela. I was wary of politics, but I was so moved by Leopoldo's idealism and love for our country that I said yes.

At that time, Leopoldo was the mayor of the Chacao district of Caracas. In 2009, a year after the government barred him from running for public office, he became a community organizer and founded the party Voluntad Popular (Popular Will). I was the mother of our two children and ran a local foundation.

We witnessed the rapid erosion of Venezuela's democracy under the regime of President Nicolás Maduro. Food became scarce and violence grew. But we believed that by keeping up our faith and staying

Others are finally noticing the truth: Without an honest commitment to human rights, democracy will die.

strong in our protest we could overcome the crisis and live in a free Venezuela.

We understood the unbreakable bond between human rights and democracy. Autocracy doesn't happen overnight; it's a slow transition. A regime that violates the rights of its people to fuel its own power and greed can't be considered legitimate. And without an honest commitment to human rights, democracy in Venezuela will die.

Our life as we knew it came to an end on Feb. 18, 2014, when Leopoldo went to jail and I learned what it meant to marry Venezuela. He was working with students and fellow opposition leaders to organize nonviolent protests. In response, the regime called him a terrorist and charged him with inciting violence. Rather than flee

the country, Leopoldo turned himself in. He knew that he had nothing to hide and he wanted to unmask the regime as a dictatorship.

Leopoldo spent the majority of his jail time in solitary confinement at the Ramo Verde military prison. He was denied private meetings with his lawyers, and all our communications were taped. Our son took his first steps in Leopoldo's jail cell.

With Leopoldo imprisoned, it fell to me to pick up his fight. At first, no one in the region would meet with me. The regime had seemingly convinced the world that Leopoldo was a radical. A few brave government officials asked to meet with me — but covertly, in coffee shops and hotel lobbies.

I didn't give up, even after an opposition leader was shot dead just feet from me onstage at a public meeting in November 2015. Slowly the world has awakened to our plight. This summer, 12 members of the Organization of American States convened in Lima, Peru, to address the deepening crisis. In a joint declaration, the bloc condemned “the breakdown of democratic order” in Venezuela. It is a testament to how far we have come.

Our neighbors finally seem to understand that they must take action. Signatories of the Inter-American Democratic Charter of the O.A.S. are sworn to preserve human rights and to protect democracy in the region. Failing to do so will have global repercussions — and will embolden other authoritarian states to tighten their grip.

Much has changed over the past three and a half years. Leopoldo is under house arrest, I am five months pregnant with our third child and government officials from around the world have welcomed us. But Venezuela is still racing toward catastrophe. The government is targeting me more than ever before. On September 1, I received a notice to appear in court with no specified charges. The next day I learned that I was barred from leaving the country.



JUAN BARRETO/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

The opposition leader Leopoldo López displayed the national flag to supporters outside his house in Caracas after he was released from prison and placed under house arrest in July. Venezuela had more than 600 political prisoners in August.

weight because of food scarcity — an average of 19 pounds each. Maternal and infant mortality rates have soared.

The regime also represses our political rights. Protests have been mostly peaceful, but government-armed forces have fired tear gas and buckshot into crowds — at short range. The death toll from protests since April has surpassed 120.

Even the right to vote is in peril. The latest outrage is that the president has effectively eliminated the democratically elected opposition-led National Assembly by setting up an illegitimate alternative whose goal is to rewrite our Constitution, and which formally took over the legislative branch of our government in August.

The Venezuela crisis won't stay within our borders. Internal displacement is at an all-time high as the regime refuses to allow humanitarian aid into the country. Last year tens of thousands of Venezuelans fled the country. And in the 2016 fiscal year, more Venezuelans applied for political asylum in the United States than any other nationality. To stem this forced migration, the international community should demand that Mr. Maduro allow a United Nations-led humanitarian program into our country.

The long-term solution to our woes is clear: We need the full restoration of our democracy. This includes the release of all political prisoners, respect for the democratically elected National Assembly, and general elections managed by a newly appointed, independent electoral commission. The international community can help by refusing any dialogue that gives leeway to the Maduro regime.

Despite the suffering in Venezuela, the emotion I most associate with our people is hope. We believe that we will rescue our democracy, with the help of the international community. We know that our future is in our hands. Beyond just denouncing the current regime's crimes, we are preparing for a democratic transition. And we won't be stopped.



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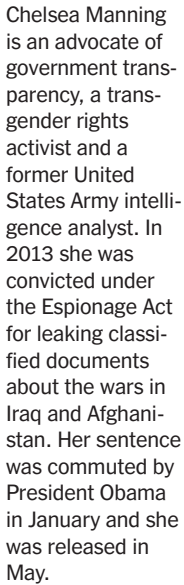
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Automated algorithms are already dictating our future and freedom.



For seven years, I didn't exist.

While incarcerated, I had no bank statements, no bills, no credit history. In our interconnected world of big data, I appeared to be no different than a deceased person. After I was released, that lack of information about me created a host of problems, from difficulty accessing bank accounts to trouble getting a driver's license and renting an apartment.

In 2010, the iPhone was only three years old, and many people still didn't see smartphones as the indispensable digital appendages they are today. Seven years later, virtually everything we do causes us to bleed digital information, putting us at the mercy of invisible algorithms that threaten to consume our freedom.

Information leakage can seem innocuous in some respects. After all, why worry when we have nothing to hide?

We file our taxes. We make phone calls. We send emails. Tax records are used to keep us honest. We agree to broadcast our location so we can check the weather on our smartphones. Records of our calls, texts and physical movements are filed away alongside our billing information. Perhaps that data is analyzed more covertly to make sure that we're not terrorists — but only in the interest of national security, we're assured.

Our faces and voices are recorded by surveillance cameras and other internet-connected sensors, some of which we now willingly put inside our homes. Every time we load a news article or page on a social media site, we expose ourselves to tracking code, allowing hundreds of unknown entities to monitor our shopping and online browsing habits. We agree to cryptic terms-of-service agreements that obscure the true nature and scope of these transactions.

According to a 2015 study from the Pew Research Center, 91 percent of American adults believe they've lost control over how their personal information is collected and used.

In Iraq, United States Army soldiers scan a man's eye to see whether he is a known insurgent.

merged in unexpected ways. They harvest more data than they can possibly manage, and wade through the quantifiable world side by side in vast, usually windowless buildings called fusion centers.

Such powerful new relationships have created a foundation for, and have breathed life into, a vast police and surveillance state. Advanced algorithms have made this possible on an unprecedented level. Relatively minor infractions, or “microcrimes,” can now be policed aggressively. And with national databases shared among governments and corporations, these minor incidents can follow you forever, even if the information is incorrect or lacking context.

At the same time, the United States military uses the metadata of countless communications for drone attacks, using pings emitted from cellphones to track and eliminate targets.

In literature and pop culture, concepts such as “thoughtcrime” and “precrime” have emerged out of dystopian fiction. They are used to restrict and punish anyone who is flagged by automated systems as a potential criminal or threat, even if a crime has yet to be committed. But this science fiction trope is quickly becoming reality. Predictive policing algorithms are already being used to create automated heat maps of future crimes, and like the “manual” policing that came before them, they overwhelmingly target poor and minority neighborhoods.

The world has become like an eerily banal dystopian novel. Things look the same on the surface, but they are not. With no apparent boundaries on how algorithms can use and abuse the data that's being collected about us, the potential for it to control our lives is ever-growing.

Our drivers' licenses, our keys, our debit and credit cards are all important parts of our lives. Even our social media accounts could soon become crucial components of being fully functional members of society. Now that we live in this world, we must figure out how to maintain our connection with society without surrendering to automated processes that we can neither see nor control.

Just how much they've lost, however, is more than they likely suspect.

The real power of mass data collection lies in the hand-tailored algorithms capable of sifting, sorting and identifying patterns within the data itself. When enough information is collected over time, governments and corporations can use or abuse those patterns to predict future human behavior. Our data establishes a “pattern of life” from seemingly harmless digital residue like cellphone tower pings, credit card transactions and web browsing histories.

The consequences of our being subjected to constant algorithmic scrutiny are often unclear. For instance, artificial intelligence — Silicon Valley's catchall term for deep-thinking and deep-learning algorithms — is

touted by tech companies as a path to the high-tech conveniences of the so-called internet of things. This includes digital home assistants, connected appliances and self-driving cars.

Simultaneously, algorithms are already analyzing social media habits, determining creditworthiness, deciding which job candidates get called in for an interview and judging whether criminal defendants should be released on bail. Other machine-learning systems use automated facial analysis to detect and track emotions, or claim the ability to predict whether someone will become a criminal based only on their facial features.

These systems leave no room for humanity, yet they define our daily lives. When I

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World Review

The only true strategy for Russia

The West cannot create democracy here. Only Russians can do that.



Mikhail Khodorkovsky is the founder of Open Russia, a movement committed to promoting democratic rule in Russia. Before his arrest in 2003, he was the head of the Yukos oil company. He was pardoned and released from prison in 2013.

BY MIKHAIL KHODORKOVSKY

More than 25 years after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the attempt to build a democracy in its place, Russia has once again become an authoritarian state. The same inability to build democratic institutions plagued the leaders of the February Revolution of 1917, which led to the Bolsheviks gaining power later that year.

Russian authoritarianism has profound consequences not just for Russian citizens, but also for neighboring countries and the rest of the world. Still burdened by a “besieged fortress” mentality, the Kremlin pursues a foreign policy aimed at achieving a “balance of forces” between Moscow and the West.

This outdated strategy creates a hysteria for military adventurism that threatens the entire planet. Pro-Kremlin propagandists such as Dmitry Kiselyov, a well-known state TV host, have even suggested that “aggressive behavior” from the United States could prompt a nuclear response from Russia.

It is not surprising that the Kremlin is using disinformation and other dirty tricks to sow confusion in Western countries and undermine faith in democratic systems. Russia’s leaders are convinced that Western democracy is a threat to the authoritarian order in a country they have cowed into submission.

For Moscow, this is a zero-sum game: Any weakening or discrediting of democracy can benefit only the Kremlin’s system of rule. But this is shortsighted. The rupture of the Western alliance could create serious instability throughout the world, exposing Russia to dangers it would likely be unable to manage.

To find an alternative system of government, Russian democrats like myself need to make sense of our country’s unfortunate history. Doing so raises the inevitable question: Do Russia’s size, political culture and distrust of the Western world make it unsuitable for democracy?

Absolutely not.



DAMON WINTER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

I reject the fallacy that Russians are somehow incapable of building democratic institutions. People said the same thing about the Germans. How wrong they were. Countries and their citizens do change, usually in response to their own failures.

The majority of Russians have never experienced democratic institutions and don’t understand how they function. But Russians who have moved to the West have adapted quickly and easily to democratic conditions. They see how democracy protects individual rights and property,

and allows societies to flourish.

Despite an insufficient understanding of democratic practices, Russia today has tens of thousands of civic organizations defending civil rights. A 2012 survey from the Pew Research Center showed that a majority of Russians support honest elections and a fair judiciary. The Russian people want their voices heard and their leaders held accountable: They want a different political system.

To avoid the mistakes of the past, we need to determine why Russia’s two attempts to establish democracy in the 20th

Vladimir V. Putin, a former K.G.B. lieutenant colonel, is just one in a long history of authoritarian Russian leaders.

century led to new authoritarian regimes. In both cases, having overthrown one tyrant — the czar in 1917 and communism in 1991 — Russia ended up handing over power to another.

How did this happen?

At the beginning of the 20th century, conservatives and liberals were unable to find a common language to discuss a democratic foundation for Russia. As a result, the most reactionary faction within the governing elite came to dominate after the revolution of 1905, stymieing the development of democratic reforms.

After the overthrow of the czar in 1917, democracy once again lost out. The Bolsheviks were in essence just as autocratic as the reactionaries who came before

tions forces ambitious political leaders to seek public support by relying on the force of their own personality rather than on a clear political program. To win, politicians need to create an image of a “strong leader.”

The challenge facing democratically minded Russians therefore isn’t simply to remove Mr. Putin from power; it’s to replace the authoritarian system he personifies.

The events of 1917 and 1991 teach us that the Kremlin cannot establish democracy by decree, and that democratic institutions will not spring up across the whole of Russia’s territory at once.

The process must begin with the political transformation of European-oriented Russia and its cities: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg and Novosibirsk, among others.

These urban centers can demonstrate to the rest of the country how a majority of

Many Russian citizens have been so isolated from democratic principles that exposing them to the new form of governance is the first step.

them, only with the opposite “ideological polarity.” They may have managed to swap the minus and plus signs in a few places, but the Bolsheviks were never able to break free of the magnetic field of Russian authoritarianism.

History repeated itself with the rise of Boris Yeltsin, even though he was Russia’s first popularly elected leader. In the early 1990s, the new president was granted extraordinary constitutional powers, with victorious liberals referring to Mr. Yeltsin as “czar.” When Vladimir V. Putin was first elected president in 2000, the former K.G.B. lieutenant colonel inherited a system perfectly designed to sustain Russia’s authoritarian traditions.

A significant part of the Russian opposition today, unlike opposition movements in the West, sees democratic rights as emanating not from balanced political representation, but from the appointment of a “good czar.”

This tendency to pursue a magnanimous ruler instead of democratic institu-

the voters can respect the minority, and vice versa, by bringing decision-making closer to the people and by holding officials genuinely accountable.

When Russian society becomes aware of its own power, its people will find the will to develop a dynamic local democratic culture and the institutions required to support it. The most important task is to create a justice system based on the rule of law rather than on arbitrary power.

To the Kremlin, these ideas are heresy: They undermine the centuries-old beliefs that Russia can be effectively governed only from Moscow and that the delegation of power will lead to chaos.

We must embrace a new and radically different form of governance if we want Russia to be a successful, respected country able to make a positive contribution to international relations.

The 1990s teach us another lesson: that it is the Russian people, and the Russian people alone, who must find their own way forward. The West cannot do it for us.

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