



# The New York Times

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## Yet again, a crackdown in Cambodia

Mu Sochua

### OPINION

**PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA** Kem Sokha, the leader of the opposition Cambodia National Rescue Party (C.N.R.P.), was arrested during the early hours of Sept. 3, reportedly without a warrant and in violation of his parliamentary immunity. Dozens of police officers surrounded his home in Phnom Penh, while a group of armed men forced their way inside.

He has since been charged with treason — and with conspiring with foreigners to overthrow the Hun Sen government — based on a 2013 speech in which he described wanting to bring peaceful, democratic change to Cambodia and receiving advice from American experts. On Monday, during a session that the C.N.R.P. boycotted, the National Assembly voted to allow the case against Mr. Sokha to proceed, implicitly lifting his immunity.

**The opposition leader Kem Sokha must be freed from prison immediately and without conditions.**

more purported participants in the spurious plot, intensifying the already palpable fear that anyone in our party, or anyone seen as supporting it, could be the government's next target. Several legislators who are senior members of the C.N.R.P. have left the country after being called co-conspirators.

The independent media, for their part, are being wiped out. The government is invoking specious tax bills or contractual violations to muzzle outlets like The Cambodia Daily, Voice of America, Radio Free Asia and Voice of Democracy, which have a history of reporting on controversial issues like expropriation, deforestation and government corruption.

Last month, the local office of the National Democratic Institute, an American non-governmental organization, was abruptly ordered to shut down. Other NGOs are being threatened or bullied into silence.

Over the past several years, a spate of laws have been passed — over objections from the C.N.R.P. and civil society groups — restricting the legitimate activities of political parties, trade unions and NGOs and associations. The assassination of the outspoken political analyst Kem Ley over a year ago has yet to be properly investigated.

The ruling Cambodian People's Party is cracking down ahead of the general election scheduled for next year because it fears for its prospects then. In the last general election in MU SOCHUA, PAGE 17



Men bought and sold prayer beads last month in front of the citadel in Erbil, a Unesco World Heritage site, in the Iraqi Kurdistan region.

## Independence beckons Kurds

BARZAN, IRAQ

**Referendum in Iraq is seen as historic step, but powers in the region are opposed**

BY TIM ARANGO

A pair of rusted eyeglasses, a grimy antique watch, torn bank notes and old identification cards.

These simple items on display at a museum here in northern Iraq, dug from a mass grave of Kurdish tribespeople massacred by Saddam Hussein's henchmen, help explain why there is little doubt about how Kurds will vote in a referendum this month on independence from Iraq.

"How could the international community expect us to be part of Iraq after these crimes?" said Khalid Barzani, who is in charge of the museum that memorializes the deportation and killings of thousands of Kurds in 1983.

Even if the outcome is a foregone conclusion — nearly every Kurd holds dear the dream of statehood — the vote in Iraqi Kurdistan represents a historic moment in the Kurds' generations-long

struggle for political independence.

Numbering about 30 million people spread across four countries — Iraq, Syria, Turkey and Iran — the Kurds are often described as the world's largest ethnic group without their own homeland. Iraqi Kurdistan, an oil-rich enclave in northern Iraq, may be their best hope yet.

The referendum's approval would start the process of turning the autonomous region into an independent state.

But outside of Kurdistan, every major player in the neighborhood opposes the vote, which could break up Iraq and further destabilize a volatile, war-torn region.

Baghdad has indicated that it would not recognize the results. Across the border in Turkey, officials worry that Kurds declaring independence in Iraq would inflame the separatist sentiments of Kurds in Turkey. Turkey has opposed the referendum and warned that it could lead to a new civil war in Iraq.

American officials, concerned that it would hobble the fight against the Islamic State group, have urged the Kurds to delay the vote. An open rift between Baghdad and Kurdistan could end the cooperation between Iraqi and Kurdish forces, which is seen as critical in the



Unmarked grave stones dot a hillside near the town of Barzan, Iraq, at a commemorative cemetery for members of the Barzani clan killed during Saddam Hussein's rule.

campaign to defeat the Islamic State. Kurdish secession would also deprive the United States of one of its primary goals since it invaded this country: keeping Iraq intact.

Iran, the pre-eminent foreign power

in Iraq, with its close ties to the Shiite-led government in Baghdad and Iraqi Shiite militias under its control, has emphasized that its priority is maintaining the unity of Iraq.

KURDS, PAGE 4

## Russia creates fake enemies, but real fear

MOSCOW

**Military exercises aim at fictional countries that look like Baltic States**

BY ANDREW HIGGINS

The country does not exist, so it has neither an army nor any real citizens, though it has acquired a feisty following of would-be patriots online. But on Thursday, the fictional state, Velsborya, a distillation of the Kremlin's darkest fears about the West, was the target of the combined military might of Russia and its ally Belarus.

The nation was invented to provide an enemy to confront during a six-day joint military exercise that is expected to be the biggest display of Russian military power since the end of the Cold War a quarter-century ago.

The exercise, known as Zapad-2017, is the latest iteration of a series of training maneuvers that began under the Soviet Union in the 1970s. After a long break following the collapse of Communism, Zapad was revived in 1999 and then was expanded after Vladimir V. Putin became president at the end of that year.

Zapad, "west" in Russian, used to include military forces from countries under the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet-led military alliance whose non-Soviet members have now all joined NATO. Today, the military exercise has shrunk to just two participants — Russia and Belarus — but it is still viewed warily by military planners in the West.

On Thursday, the Russian defense ministry said that tanks in Moscow region began moving by rail and in convoy toward Belarus while paratroopers and assault units from Pskov, Tula and Ivanovo regions moved to airfields for transport westward.

The exercise comes at a time of deteriorating relations between Russia and the West, with Washington and Moscow trading diplomatic penalties seemingly weekly. From bitter experience over Russian election meddling and military adventurism in recent years, Western officials have developed a deep distrust of the Kremlin's motives and its proclamations of good intentions.

There are fears that Moscow may be moving far more troops into Belarus than it intends to withdraw, establishing a permanent military presence there on the border with NATO countries. And officials in the Baltics and Poland have voiced alarm that the exercises could be used as a cover for Russian aggression as happened in 2014, when Moscow staged large-scale exercises to camouflage its annexation of Crimea.

FACEBOOK PHOTO TRACED TO BRAZIL. A Brazilian's stolen family photos were used to create the profile of an American for Russian propaganda. PAGE 6

## Filmmakers tackle morass of Vietnam War

**New documentary series tries to put the demons of that era to rest**

BY JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

Ken Burns shot to fame in 1990 with "The Civil War," which drew record audiences for the United States broadcaster PBS and jump-started a revival of popular interest in the subject. Nearly three decades and more than 20 documentaries later, he is perhaps the nation's most trusted historical brand, as much an icon of American-television as baseball (the subject of his nine-part 1994 documentary) and apple pie (one of the few classic American themes he hasn't taken on).

There's a "Ken Burns effect" for iMovie, and a Ken Burns iPad app, with video playlists on themes like Innovation, Leadership and Race. The man himself has voiced a cameo on "The Simpsons" mocking his folksy style and signature bowl haircut.



American Marines marching in Danang, Vietnam, in 1965. In a documentary series about the war, the filmmaker Ken Burns tries to talk about the conflict "in a calm way."

Now, with the sprawling 10-part, 18-hour documentary "The Vietnam War," he and his longtime creative partner Lynn Novick take on what might be their most challenging and fraught subject yet.

Half a century after the height of the conflict might seem like an ideal moment for another look: long enough for most of the toxic political dust to have settled (and new historical sources to have emerged), but not so long that everyone who lived through it is dead.

The \$30 million film, more than 10 years in the making, offers an intensely immersive, often head-spinning history lesson, combining grand sweep and archival depth with sometimes devastatingly emotional first-person interviews with people from all sides (including more than two dozen Vietnamese, from both the winning and losing sides).

It also offers an uncannily well-timed reflection of current societal fractures in the United States — an origin story for the culture wars that still have American asking: Which side are you on? VIETNAM WAR, PAGE 2

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LAKE ONTARIO JOURNAL

LAKE ONTARIO, CANADA

Fighter jet program was scrapped in 1959, but plane’s story lives on

BY IAN AUSTEN

The marina here on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, in Prince Edward County, had attracted an unusually large crowd of people and dogs from a nearby campground, gawking as a flat-bed truck arrived with an autonomous submarine, the ThunderFish Alpha.

The submarine, equipped with a high-resolution sonar system, was on a mission — to search for nine test models of a Canadian legend, the Avro Arrow supersonic military jet, that have been resting deep in the lake since the Cold War era.

The plane was designed and built in the 1950s in what was then the fringes of Toronto. Its sweptback delta wings and early electronic flight controls gave it the look of tomorrow, as did its blinding white, matte black and Day-Glo orange paint.

In 1959, before the plane could enter military duty, the program was scrapped. Early models were cut apart and their blueprints destroyed along with the machines used to make the aircraft.

But before production began, the nine test models were fired off on rockets over Lake Ontario from a military artillery range near the marina to gauge their flightworthiness.

In the decades since the program was abruptly dropped, the Arrow’s story has become one of Canada’s greatest bits of folklore, and not just among the military or aviation buffs sometimes known as Arrowheads.

“I’ve been interested in the thing since I was a kid, it’s just a piece of Canadian legend,” said Joel Shaver, a 44-year-old police officer from Ottawa. He learned about the Arrow from a family friend and has passed his passion for it along to his son, Ethan, 8, who was with him at the dock last month.

“It was something that could have been,” Mr. Shaver said. “It could have been the best plane in the world for all we know, but they destroyed it before it could have proved itself. That’s why I’m so interested in it.”

Many other Canadians born long after blowtorches were used to cut up the planes also know the story and lament what could have been, stoking the idea, sometimes verging on conspiracy theory, that the Arrow’s cancellation is an example of the United States thwarting a Canadian ambition.

And for a project that was cut down in its prime, the Arrow has enjoyed a remarkable cultural afterlife.

Each decade seems to bring yet an-



CANADA AVIATION AND SPACE MUSEUM

The Avro Arrow RL201 taking off for the first time. The Arrow was designed to defend Canada against Soviet bombers.



COLE BURSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The ThunderFish Alpha, an autonomous submarine, was lowered into Lake Ontario last month to hunt for test models of the Arrow.

other Arrow history.

Dan Aykroyd starred in a somewhat fictionalized mini-series about the fighter plane. One museum’s collection boasts a full-size model of the Arrow while another is building a flying replica. The hometown of its test pilot has monuments to both him and the plane.

Now members of Toronto’s financial community, led by John Burzynski, the chief executive of the Toronto-based Osisko Mining, have raised about \$50,000 Canadian dollars, or about \$700,000, to pay for the sonar search.

There had been failed efforts in the past to hunt for the models, each weighing 500 pounds and about 12 feet long and 10 feet wide. The inspiration to try again came out of a meeting Mr. Burzynski had with several other Canadian businesspeople in a Chicago hotel bar about 18 months ago.

At the time, there was considerable attention to an ultimately successful expedition to find two ships from a doomed expedition in the 1840s to map the Northwest Passage through what is now Canada’s Arctic.

“We were looking for something to do in our spare time,” said Mr. Burzynski, whose company holds several gold claims in Ontario and Quebec.

He arrived at the marina, at Quinte’s Isle Campark, as part of the motorcade that included the truck with the ThunderFish Alpha. Dressed in a flight suit, he was behind the wheel of an Aston Martin DB9 convertible decorated to resemble the second Avro Arrow to roll off the assembly line, the RL 202. A mock warning, “JET FUEL ONLY,” was stenciled below the car’s gas cap.

The Avro Arrow was initiated by a postwar Liberal government and was to have been Canada’s main contribution to Norad, the joint air defense alliance with the United States. Powered by two jet engines of a new Canadian design, the Arrow was supposed to swoop up to Canada’s Arctic at nearly twice the speed of sound and shoot down Soviet bombers making their way to North America with nuclear payloads.

“We probably did have the world’s best supersonic fighter jet in principle,” said Randall Wakelam, a historian at Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario, an hour or so to the east of Prince Edward County. “In practice, however, we had all these problems.”

Even by the standards of military programs, the Arrow’s cost spiraled out of control as the manufacturer, the British-owned A.V. Roe Canada, struggled with creating an entirely new aircraft design and new engines while also pioneering electronic flight controls and weapons guidance systems. Then came the launch by the Soviet Union of Sputnik, the first satellite.

From that point on, it was assumed that any nuclear Armageddon would be delivered by missiles. Just as its production was ramping up, the Arrow had no

“It could have been the best plane in the world for all we know, but they destroyed it before it could have proved itself. That’s why I’m so interested in it.”

more reason for being.

The Arrow’s cost and its capabilities doomed its future for any other role or for sales in other markets, said Erin Gregory, an assistant curator at the Canada Aviation and Space Museum in Ottawa who is working with Mr. Burzynski’s group.

“The project was overly ambitious,” she said. “It was way too much airplane. The only other country that could have used it would have been Russia.”

On Feb. 20, 1959, the Conservative government of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker killed the program and bought American interceptor missiles to replace the Arrow. Overnight at least 25,000 people, many highly skilled, were jobless.

While most historians agree that even a Liberal government would have made the same move, Mr. Diefenbaker’s decision was highly unpopular in Ontario. Various theories aside, government documents from the time indicate that the United States tried to help Canada fund the project in 1958 but was rebuffed.

Mr. Burzynski diplomatically avoids weighing in on the government’s decision but he does think the destruction of the jets has played a major role in keeping the Arrow’s legend alive. One of the largest surviving pieces, a nose section now on display at the museum in Ottawa, has “Cut Here” written in marker beside a jagged blowtorch line.

An unusually stormy summer in southern Ontario has played havoc with the hunt for the models. The morning Mr. Shaver and his son came to the docks, high waves prevented the ThunderFish Alpha from doing much more than zigzag around the marina before being loaded back on its truck.

Last week, however, Mr. Burzynski’s group found one of the models lying upside down on the rocky lake bed and covered in zebra mussels. A photograph shows that its nose is broken or bent, making the model somewhat resemble a seal turning its head.

It will be well into next year before a plan is fully developed to safely lift and stabilize the model. While conditions permit, the sonar hunt for the other eight will continue.

Even though Mr. Shaver was not at the marina the day of the discovery, like many Canadians, he remains hopeful that an even bigger find may come one day: an actual Arrow.

“There’s the myth that there’s still one out there, hidden away in a barn or stuck in an underground bunker somewhere,” he said laughing. “You never know.”

# Filmmakers tackle morass of Vietnam War

VIETNAM WAR, FROM PAGE 1

“The seeds of disunion we experience today, the polarization, the lack of civil discourse all had their seeds in Vietnam,” Mr. Burns said. “I can’t imagine a better way to help pull out some of the fuel rods that create this radioactive atmosphere than to talk about Vietnam in a calm way.”

Mr. Burns was speaking last month at the small New York office of his production company, Florentine Films, where he and Ms. Novick were pausing amid a barnstorming 30-date tour to promote the film.

In conversation, Mr. Burns is the more expansive of the pair, speaking in eloquent riffs larded with references to Mark Twain, Judge Learned Hand, the Declaration of Independence and the ancient Greek concept of heroism, and floating a favorite analogy comparing filmmaking to boiling down maple syrup. (Florentine’s main base of operations is in Walpole, N.H., population 3,734, where he has lived since the 1970s.)

Ms. Novick, who joined Florentine during postproduction of “The Civil War” and has been Mr. Burns’s co-director on four previous documentaries, including “The War,” their 2007 seven-part series on World War II, tends to speak more plainly.

Asked about the origins of the project, she said they had “been dancing around it for a long time,” but the war still felt too recent, too raw, to tackle.

“It just seemed impossible,” she said. “How could you ever do it?”

In approaching the subject, Mr. Burns and Ms. Novick set some ground rules. No historians or other expert talking heads. No onscreen interviews with polarizing boldfaced names like John Kerry, John McCain, Henry Kissinger and Jane Fonda, or anyone with “an interest in having history break the way they want it to break,” as Mr. Burns put it. (The filmmakers met with Mr. McCain and Mr. Kerry for advice early on, and said both were supportive. Some other prominent figures expressed interest in being interviewed, Mr. Burns said, and were politely rebuffed.)

Instead, the 79 onscreen interviews

give the ground-up view of the war from the mostly ordinary people who lived through it: American veterans (including former prisoners of war), mothers of men killed in the war, diplomats, intelligence officers, antiwar activists, journalists, Vietcong fighters, North and South Vietnamese army regulars, even a female truck driver from the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

The tone is carefully evenhanded. But by the end of Episode 4, which takes the story up to June 1967, things seem to be going so disastrously wrong that viewers may find themselves amazed that there are still six episodes and seven years of carnage — eventually claiming more than 58,000 American and more than three million Vietnamese military and civilian lives — to go.

“It’s like you’re driving fast down a highway and the sign says, ‘Bridge out 3 miles,’ and you keep going,” Mr. Burns said. “And then another sign says ‘Bridge out, stop.’ You break through the barrier — wow, isn’t this fun! — and then you see another sign: ‘Bridge out, bridge out!’”

It is a view of the war as careening disaster that may be more widely accepted than it was in the 1980s, when conservative outcry over Stanley Karnow’s 13-hour “Vietnam: A Television History,” also shown on PBS, led some stations to air an hourlong rebuttal, narrated by Charlton Heston.

Mr. Burns, in addition to including a range of perspectives in the film, said he had deliberately sought financial support from “across the spectrum,” with sponsors including the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and David H. Koch.

“That’s a way of telling people ‘You can re-sheath your knives,’” he said.

That may be wishful thinking. Some critics from the left have already begun picking apart its supposed overreliance on military interviewees; its “American bias”; its statement, in the prologue, that the war “was begun in good faith, by decent people.”

John Musgrave, a Marine combat veteran from Baldwin City, Kan., who appears in the film, said he had heard from veterans of varying political stripes who

had already decided they were against the film.

“The way we were treated after the war made us pretty sensitive, but I tell them, ‘Man, just watch it,’” Mr. Musgrave said. “The film just tells the historical story and the personal story of the war. I didn’t get the impression there’s any ax to grind.”

There are scenes covering 25 battles, 10 of which are examined from multiple perspectives, from the battle of Hue, during the 1968 Tet offensive, and the carnage at Hamburger Hill to pivotal but less-remembered (by Americans, at least) early confrontations at places like Ap Bac and Binh Gia.

While the people interviewed hold a range of views about the war, the filmmakers avoid what-ifs or might-have-beens, and don’t engage continuing debates over whether the war was winnable.

Not that there aren’t disagreements

“Seeds of disunion we experience today, the polarization, the lack of civil discourse all had their seeds in Vietnam.”

on screen, just as there were among the project’s advisers, who included leading scholars.

Every word of the script, written by the historian Geoffrey C. Ward, was carefully weighed.

And perhaps none were as carefully debated as that opening narration, which describes the war as ending in “failure” (not “defeat,” Mr. Burns noted, though he used the word himself).

“I think we probably spent six months on the word ‘failure,’ talking about it, letting our consultants weigh in, watching them argue,” Mr. Burns said.

As for “begun in good faith,” Mr. Burns said he stands by those words, which he said reflect the intentions of those who fought the war, even if they are perhaps “too generous” to American leaders.

“I felt holding onto that was impor-

tant,” he said. “I think the overwhelming sense of those in our film who fought, whether they’re still true believers or had their minds changed or knew it was wrong from the beginning, was that they really felt that way at the time.”

The film’s center of moral gravity is ordinary soldiers, whose sacrifice and loyalty to one another are repeatedly contrasted with the political machinations of the powerful, on both sides.

The filmmakers dig into new scholarship detailing how Ho Chi Minh, North Vietnam’s president, was sometimes sidelined by Le Duan, the hard-liner party secretary who pushed for more aggressive, often disastrously costly military strategy.

And they make devastating use of secret White House tapes to show how Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, Richard Nixon, Mr. Kissinger and others maneuvered to conceal the full truth about the war from the public and avoid a political reckoning.

Not that the film highlights the point with flaming arrows.

“It’s very reductive to say ‘They lied, they lied,’” Ms. Novick said. “That’s true, but what we really want to do is show what was really going on.”

The film’s researchers gathered more than 24,000 photographs and scoured some 1,500 hours of archival footage, including little-seen material from Vietnamese archives.

But some of the most powerful visuals lie in the waves of conflicted emotion crossing the faces of interview subjects like a mother recalling her son’s anti-Communist idealism, or Mr. Musgrave, the combat veteran, whose personal evolution, which unfolds over several episodes, provides some of the film’s most memorably intimate moments.

“I sometimes said my job was making grown men cry,” Ms. Novick said. “But no one ever called up afterward to say they were sorry they did it.”

Ms. Novick and Sarah Botstein, a producer, made three trips to Vietnam to find and interview veterans about their experiences.

(The entire film will be available for streaming with Vietnamese subtitles, and Ms. Novick returned to Vietnam



MAARTEN DE BOER/GETTY IMAGES

In making “The Vietnam War,” the filmmakers Ken Burns and Lynn Novick avoided the continuing debate over whether the war was winnable for the United States.

last month to hold screenings in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, where the audience included members of the news media.)

Some spoke of a reconsideration of the human costs of the war. Others openly, if gingerly, contradicted Hanoi’s official narrative, which holds that it was a noble national liberation struggle, period, with all atrocities committed by the other side.

During the sequence about the battle of Hue, two North Vietnamese acknowledge the massacre of some 2,800 pro-Saigon South Vietnamese, including innocent civilians — a taboo subject in Vietnam. “Please be careful making your film, because I could get in trouble,” one army veteran says.

Duong Van Mai Elliott, the daughter of a former French colonial official who had family on both sides of the conflict, and who appears in the film, said she was “floored” by that moment.

Hanoi “has never admitted” killing innocent people, Ms. Elliott, who now lives in Claremont, Calif., said in a telephone interview. That the filmmakers “were able to get them to speak so candidly, at

some risk to themselves, is incredible.” (That the killings were either fabricated, or had been spontaneous rather than orchestrated, also “became nearly an article of faith among some antiwar protesters,” Mr. Ward writes in the film’s companion volume.)

The film deals bluntly, if also carefully, with the My Lai massacre and other atrocities by Americans. Some veterans interviewed on screen recall things they witnessed, or participated in, that walk right up to the line of morality and legality.

“You can see the wheels turning: Should I say it?” Ms. Novick said, recalling those interviews. “But they want the world to understand what war is like, and so do we.”

Mr. Burns said the film takes an “equal opportunity” approach to the inhumanity of the war. It’s the kind of resolutely centrist balance that may not sit well with partisan viewers, but so be it.

“Today, we suffer from too much certainty,” he said. “I like the middle, the uncertainty of things. I think that’s where all the progress, all the healing, takes place.”



# World

## Gay parents take a stand in Australia

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

Doubts over best interests of children are countered in same-sex marriage debate

BY ADAM BAIDAWI

It was a scene that plays out nearly every day in schoolyards across Australia: A couple, standing among a dozen other parents, waiting for the final school bell to ring.

On cue, Reid Duggan-Tierney, 7, came bounding out of school last Friday and ran toward Michael and Jarrod Duggan-Tierney — his fathers.

The Duggan-Tierneys are one of around 6,800 Australian same-sex couples with a child. In many ways, their family represents the chasm that has emerged between the law and people's lives. As the debate over same-sex marriage in this country becomes increasingly hostile, gay parents are balancing the daily routines of playtime and homework with activism.

Australians will soon vote in a national postal survey, a nonbinding poll intended to help the government decide whether to press forward with legalizing same-sex marriage. Ballots were mailed this week, and activists on both sides of the issue have used the well-being of children to make their arguments.

Last week, John Howard, a former prime minister, said legalizing gay marriage would hurt children. "I believe there is a conflict here between those seeking the right for same-sex marriage and the rights of the child, and I believe the right of the child to have a mother and father should be preserved," he told The Weekend Australian.

The Duggan-Tierneys may not have a soapbox as large as Mr. Howard's, but they have over 59,000 followers on Instagram. From their account, @the\_real\_dads\_of\_melbourne, they document their lives as parents: playing at the park, shopping for groceries.

Their hope, the men say, is to normalize same-sex parenthood for a broad audience.

The men have been together for 16 years. Though they are not legally married, they each wear a ring on their left hand and changed their legal names to share a surname.

Reid was born to a surrogate in India, and he keeps a photo of the woman by his bed. In a biological and legal sense, only one of the men is his father, as the couple have not sought a parenting order from the courts.

"But we are already a family in our minds and hearts," Michael said.

The mundane truths — and challenges — of gay couples with children have been hard to find in the heat of the national debate. Gay parents describe the difficulties of completing even small administrative tasks. At the hospital, the Duggan-Tierneys might be greeted with, "Are you the dads?" But a government official renewing Reid's passport expected to meet the boy's mother, the men said.

Earlier this week, a Fairfax/Ipsos poll found that around 70 percent of Australians would vote in favor of same-sex marriage in the government's survey.

The vocal "no" camp is undeterred by the recent opinion polls.

Opponents of gay marriage argue that children would "lose the right" to have a mother and a father and that legalizing marriage would open the door to "radical gay sex education programs." They view themselves as David staring down a politically correct Goliath, and with the postal vote results expected in November, they are predicting victory.

"We have many hundreds of thousands of concerned people who will, like 'Brexit' and like Trump, move and as-



Michael and Jarrod Duggan-Tierney with their son, Reid, at home in Melbourne, Australia. They have a popular Instagram account documenting their family life.



Rodney and Jeff Chiang-Cruise with their son, Ethan. Their home is a base of operations in the push to legalize same-sex marriage.

sert their quiet preference over the coming weeks," said David van Gend, a spokesman for the Coalition for Marriage, a group that opposes legalization.

Supporters of same-sex marriage say the concerns about children are misguided. They point to a recent Columbia Law School report that analyzed 79 studies on the well-being of children with gay or lesbian parents. The researchers found that 94 percent of those studies concluded that children of same-sex couples fared no worse than those raised by heterosexual parents.

Mr. van Gend said Columbia was engaging in public advocacy and "mis-

chievous science" in releasing the summary, and he said that none of the studies that showed positive outcomes had significant data.

Simon Crouch, an Australian researcher whose study was cited by Columbia, said the report was solid and reliable. "Three decades of research in this area points to no difference — and sometimes, some benefits — for children in same-sex-parent families," he said.

The tenor of the debate has become more heated and emotional. In August, vitriolic campaign materials, including fliers calling homosexuality "a tragedy of a family," circulated in Melbourne and

Sydney.

"There are hurtful things being said," said Senator Penny Wong, a member of the Labor Party and a gay parent. "They might be said politely, but they are hurtful and inaccurate, about our families, about our children."

Another mother, Kristy Yeats, said, "This debate seems to be really about kids — and queer parenting. We've really felt that acutely."

On Wednesday, the debate turned violent. Former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd said on Twitter that his godson had been assaulted by an opponent of same-sex marriage. He was punched by

a man who had been tearing down rainbow flags hung in support of same-sex marriage, according to news reports.

The same day, the government passed emergency laws instituting penalties for vilification, intimidation and threats during the campaign.

In response to the "no" campaign's vitriol, many same-sex couples have felt compelled to speak out and share their lives in more public ways.

Rodney and Jeff Chiang-Cruise are a gay couple from Melbourne who married in the United States. Since the Australian High Court paved the way for the postal ballot, the couple have made their home a base of operations for the campaign.

On their living room table last week were hundreds of thousands of fliers that Rodney Chiang-Cruise, a gay-rights activist, planned to stuff in local mailboxes. The fliers introduced his family and asked his neighbors for their support in the survey.

"This is not how I want to be spending my weekends," he said.

In between sorting and stuffing envelopes, he was interrupted by Ethan, his 8-year-old son, wondering whether he could play soccer in the park after Chinese school. "We'll see," came the reply.

A few days later, Mr. Chiang-Cruise expanded his campaign into digital territory, writing the flier up as a Facebook post and paying for its promotion.

"I feel like I am groveling. It is demeaning," he said. "But we will survive."

Gay parents say the fight to legalize marriage is a fight for their children's dignity. They want their children to be treated the same way the children of heterosexual parents are treated.

One Friday after school, 7-year-old Reid Duggan-Tierney was asked: "What's the most special thing about having two dads?"

Reluctantly looking up from his afternoon snack of blueberries and apple, the boy squished his face in concentration.

"It's the same as everyone else," he said.

## Egypt holds prominent rights lawyer

CAIRO

Attorney who documented disappearances of activists briefly goes missing himself

BY DECLAN WALSH

For years Ebrahim Metwally Hegazy, an Egyptian human rights lawyer, documented the plight of Egyptians who vanished into the hidden recesses of his country's powerful security apparatus.

Mr. Hegazy had a personal stake in the issue: One of his sons disappeared at an Islamist rally in central Cairo in 2013 and has never been found.

Then this week Mr. Hegazy himself suddenly disappeared without a trace and for a brief time joined the ranks of the people he has represented.

Human rights activists have frequently been harassed by the Egyptian authorities, and Human Rights Watch issued a report just last week that accused the police and security forces of torture and other abuses.

Mr. Hegazy, 53, went to Cairo's international airport on Sunday to catch a flight to Geneva, where he was scheduled to testify before the United Nations working group on enforced or involuntary disappearances, which investigates such cases.

Hours later one of Mr. Hegazy's friends received a message, sent from Mr. Hegazy's phone, saying he was about to take off.

But Mr. Hegazy never landed in Geneva.

He turned up two days later when another lawyer, having heard of Mr. Hegazy's disappearance, saw him at the office of a state prosecutor in Cairo. Mr. Hegazy had not been allowed to see a lawyer or make a phone call.

On Wednesday, the prosecutor said Mr. Hegazy was being detained for 15 days on charges of disseminating fake news and running an illegal organization. He is being held at the maximum-security wing of the Tora prison outside Cairo.

The harassment of human rights activists is common in Cairo, but Mr. Hegazy's case comes at a delicate moment for President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi

Ebrahim Hegazy was to testify before a United Nations panel.

of Egypt, whose notoriously poor human rights record has come under intensified international scrutiny of late and even earned him a rare punishment from the United States.

The State Department said last month that it was cutting or suspending \$300 million in annual aid to Egypt, partly in reaction to a harsh law, signed by Mr. Sisi in May, that makes it impossible for some civil rights groups to operate in the country.

The Egyptian authorities reacted furiously last week to the Human Rights Watch report, based on interviews with 19 former detainees, that accused Egypt's police and security forces of committing torture and other gross abuses. Egypt blocked access to the Human Rights Watch website, adding it to a list of more than 400 websites banned in the country since June.

Mr. Hegazy's case has resonance for its ties to the case of Giulio Regeni, an Italian student whose battered body was found in Cairo in February 2016, nine days after he disappeared, leading to a diplomatic furor that dominates relations between Italy and Egypt.

Mr. Hegazy helped to investigate the circumstances of Mr. Regeni's death, said Mohamed Lotfy, executive director of the Egyptian Commission for Rights and Freedoms, which is representing the Regeni family in Egypt.

Mr. Hegazy had intended to testify about the case before the United Nations panel in Geneva, he said.

The Regeni case, which has become a news media sensation in Italy, is back in the headlines as Italy and Egypt make tentative efforts to repair relations after a bruising period. Italy's ambassador to Egypt, Giampaolo Cantini, arrived in Cairo on Wednesday after an absence of nearly 18 months.

Italy withdrew its ambassador to Egypt in April 2016 in protest at what Italian officials called Egyptian obstruction of the Regeni murder investigation. Italian investigators, and some senior American officials, believe members of the Egyptian security forces tortured and killed Mr. Regeni.

Mr. Hegazy became active in July 2013 after his son, Amr, disappeared during the military's ouster of the Islamist president, Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood, which paved the way for Mr. Sisi to come to power.

As he searched for his son, Mr. Hegazy founded the Association of the Families of the Disappeared, a prominent campaigning group that has taken legal action on behalf of many people who have vanished.

Nour Youssef contributed reporting from Cairo, and Gaia Pianigiani from Rome.

## London sewer is menaced by a giant fatberg

BY AMIE TSANG

There is a monster beneath the streets of London, menacing the East End underworld.

What has been named the Whitechapel fatberg is a rock-solid agglomeration of fat, disposable wipes, diapers, condoms and tampons. It was discovered to the east of the city's financial district, occupying a sixth of a mile of sewer under Whitechapel Road, between one of London's largest mosques and a pub called the Blind Beggar, where walking tours are taken to reminisce about a notorious gangland murder.

Thames Water, the capital's utility, said the fatberg weighed as much as 110 of the city's double-decker buses: more than 140 tons. That is 10 times the size of a similar mass that the company found beneath Kingston, in South London, in 2013, and declared the biggest example in British history.

To prevent the contents of the sewer from flooding streets and homes nearby, the utility is sending an eight-member team to break up the fatberg with high-powered jet hoses and hand tools. The task is expected to take them three weeks, working seven days a week.

"It's a total monster and taking a lot of

manpower and machinery to remove," said Thames Water's head of waste networks, Matt Rimmer. "It's basically like trying to break up concrete."

Such blockages are not unique to London. New York City has spent millions of dollars on problems created by disposable wipes. Even the ones branded as flushable were combining with materials like congealed grease to upend plumbing. Alaska, California, Hawaii and Wisconsin have struggled with similar problems.

London's sewage system, however, presents special challenges. The backbone of the network was built in the 19th century, after a series of cholera outbreaks and the "Great Stink" of 1858, when lawmakers abandoned the Houses of Parliament because of the stench of raw sewage from the nearby River Thames.

That 1,100-mile system, originally designed to serve four million people, has been struggling to cope with the waste of about twice that number. Work is underway on a new super sewer.

Joseph Bazalgette, who designed the Victorian network, probably did not account for the disposable diapers and wipes that, in a matter of days, can mate with oil and grease to create fatbergs big



Working in the London sewer in 2014. A fatberg — an agglomeration of fat, disposable wipes, diapers, condoms and tampons — found in the sewer weighs more than 140 tons.

enough to block tunnels that are six feet tall.

The sewer under Whitechapel Road is about four feet high and less than three feet wide, and Thames Water engineers found the fatberg there during a routine

check. They regularly walk through the system to look for problems. Lee Irving, a spokesman for Thames Water, said the smell of a fatberg was overwhelming, a mix of rotting meat and smelly toilet.

The utility is trying to prevent fat-

bergs with publicity campaigns urging residents to dispose of wipes and fat in the garbage can, rather than down the drain.

It has said that every hour it clears three blockages from fat, and four or more caused by items like wipes.

It has also targeted restaurants, encouraging them to use grease traps. "There's a clear link between our fatberg hot spots and high concentrations of food outlets," Steve Spencer, then the utility's head of waste networks, said in February.

Thames Water has tried to put all that congealed fat to use. Some is converted into biodiesel for power generators.

The utility said it was also working with a renewables company, Argent Energy, on turning its waste fat into environmentally friendly fuel.

And there is a chance that a slice of the fatberg will be preserved for generations to come. The Museum of London said on Wednesday that it hoped to acquire a cross-section of the blob for its collection.

"It is important for the Museum of London to display genuine curiosities from past and present," the director of the museum, Sharon Ament, said in a news release.



WORLD



Photographs of members of the Barzani clan killed under Saddam Hussein's rule in a commemorative museum near Barzan, Iraq.



Kurdish pesh merga soldiers at a front-line position along the eastern edge of territory held by Islamic State militants in Iraq.

# Independence beckons Kurds

KURDS, FROM PAGE 1

Without the support of neighboring countries, the vote could backfire, failing to achieve independence and becoming another lost opportunity for a long-suffering people. It also could set off violence in disputed areas like Kirkuk, a multiethnic city under Kurdish control that has long been contested between the Iraqi central government and the Kurdish authorities.

“Having a referendum on such a fast timeline, particularly in disputed areas, would be, we think, significantly destabilizing,” Brett H. McGurk, President Trump’s envoy to the international coalition battling the Islamic State, said in July.

But the Kurdistan Regional Government says the vote will go forward as scheduled on Sept. 25, and will be binding. Assuming it passes, Kurdish officials say, it will set in motion a formal breakaway process, including negotiations with the Iraqi government and a diplomatic push to win the support of regional powers.

“If you look at our history, we have been mistreated throughout history,” said Masrour Barzani, the chancellor of the Kurdistan Region Security Council and the son of the region’s president, Massoud Barzani, who is leading the drive for sovereignty. “We as a nation have every right to self-determination.”

He added, “We believe it is the right time” to seek independence.

Many believe it is only a matter of time before the Kurds have their own state.

“The final destination is clear — it is independence,” said Peter W. Galbraith, a former American diplomat who has close ties to the Kurdish leadership. “By announcing the date of the referendum, it can’t be pulled back.”

As a young Senate staff member in the late 1980s, Mr. Galbraith traveled to Iraqi Kurdistan to document the atrocities that the Kurds suffered at the hands of Mr. Hussein, the Iraqi dictator, including the use of chemical weapons and the destruction of villages. His report helped raise international awareness of the Kurds’ plight and played a part in the United States’ decision to establish a no-fly zone in northern Iraq in 1991. That protection gave the Kurds breathing room to build an autonomous region and the bones of an independent state.

Mr. Galbraith likened the referendum to Britain’s decision to leave the European Union, a vote followed by negotiation. “At the end, it’s Brexit,” he said.

As the region has been troubled by turmoil, the Kurds have steadily capitalized on chaos to make gains. In northeastern Syria they have fought off the Islamic State, with support of the United States, and carved out a self-governing enclave. In Turkey, the Kurds won new political power in national elections and pushed for more rights.

And in Iraq, the onslaught of the Islamic State allowed the Kurds to claim new territory, including Kirkuk, which was abandoned by fleeing Iraqi soldiers.

But with each gain have come setbacks. In Syria, Turkey moved troops into the north to push back Kurdish advances. Turkey, after holding peace talks, reignited a long war with its own Kurds, and jailed Kurdish leaders. In Iraq, territorial gains were offset by a deep economic crisis after the price of oil collapsed and Baghdad stopped sending budget payments.

The economic crisis has created unease even among many Kurds who support the broader drive for independence but believe now is not the right time.

Thousands of Kurdish civil servants, including teachers, have not been paid their full salaries in years, and the regional government, which has not been able to export enough oil to achieve financial self-sufficiency, is close to \$20 billion in debt.

“There are so many political, social, economic and legal issues in Kurdistan that we must solve,” said Kamal Chomani, a Kurdish analyst who has opposed the referendum.

Mr. Chomani worries that a declaration of independence now could fail,



Thousands of people displaced by the Islamic State group’s advances into Iraq, mainly from the city of Mosul and its surrounding area, are still living at the Khazir camp in the Kurdish-controlled portion of Iraq.



Floria City in Erbil, Iraq, a vast housing project that was started during the boom years of the city, sits largely unfinished. Some building has restarted, but buyers remain elusive.

much like the experience of the only Kurdish state in history, the Republic of Mahabad, carved from Iranian territory in 1946 with support of the Soviet Union. But the Soviets quickly abandoned the Kurds, and the republic crumbled.

“The Kurds don’t want to see a short-lived Kurdistan,” Mr. Chomani said.

Another hurdle to independence is the oil-rich city of Kirkuk. Baghdad has said it would never give up its claim to the city, and Iraqi Shiite militias with ties to Iran have indicated they would fight to keep Iraq intact, raising the possibility of a military battle.

Kirkuk, inhabited by Kurds, Arabs and Turkmens, has long been the center

of dispute between Baghdad and Kurdistan. A referendum on its fate, originally scheduled for 2007 and a key component of the Iraqi Constitution the Americans helped write, has never been held.

But in 2014, as the Islamic State’s fighters bore down on the city and Iraqi soldiers dropped their weapons and ran, the Kurds took the city, which they consider a spiritual homeland and whose vast oil wealth could sustain an independent state.

The governor of Kirkuk, Najmaldin Karim, dismisses the argument that the Kurds have too many problems — an economic crisis, political divisions, the uncertain status of Kirkuk and other dis-

puted areas — to seek independence now.

“Did the U.S. have a constitution when it declared independence?” he said. “No. Before African countries declared independence did they have everything in order?”

At 67, Mr. Karim is among a generation of Kurdish leaders raised as Kurdish nationalists and who now see, at the end of their careers, a chance to fulfill a long-held dream of independence. As a child, he saved his allowance to send money to the pesh merga, the Kurdish fighters who were battling the Iraq government then led by the Baath Party, to buy shoes and shirts.



A group of mainly Arab Iraqi tourists from southern Iraq cooling off at the Gali Ali Bag waterfall in Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq.

## Outside of Kurdistan, neighbors fear that Iraq would be broken up and the entire region destabilized.

The city’s Arab deputy mayor, Rakan Saeed al-Jibouri, ticks off a list of Arab grievances in Kirkuk, documented by Human Rights Watch: being forcibly displaced by Kurdish security forces, denied jobs and barred from buying land.

“For the Kurds to decide on their own the fate of the city is a mistake,” he said.

On the streets of Kirkuk, where Kurds, Arabs and Turkmens mingle in cafes and on street corners, talk of the referendum among them is taboo.

On a recent afternoon, Assam Hussein, a Turkmen taxi driver, was hanging out in the streets with his Kurdish friends. But when asked about the referendum, he insisted on finding privacy to talk.

“I cannot talk in front of the Kurds,” said Mr. Hussein, who like most Turkmens does not want to live in a Kurdish state. “They are my brothers, but they will be upset. To be honest, we cannot talk about politics.”

At a nearby cafe, Kamaran Mohammed, a Kurd who works for the local intelligence agency, was jubilant about the referendum. Mr. Mohammed nodded toward his brother, who was sitting next to him, and said: “He spent most of his life in Abu Ghraib prison. That is what happens when Arabs rule.”

As for the referendum, he said: “You can imagine my feeling. I am free. I have power.”

Falih Hassan contributed reporting.



# After Irma, Florida city gets grim sense of déjà vu

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.

St. Augustine left worried about a ‘new normal’ in wake of 2 hurricanes

BY JESS BIDGOOD

This place calls itself the “Ancient City,” and, by the standards of American cities, that’s about right. St. Augustine is 452 years old, having been founded by the Spanish conquistador Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in 1565.

But residents are reckoning with a stunning turn in its more recent history. Last October, Hurricane Matthew poured historic flooding into St. Augustine, inundating downtown, where Spanish colonial-style buildings and Gilded Age spires gleam over the bay, and leaving residents ripping out walls and replacing sodden furniture. Now, the city is cleaning up after Hurricane Irma, which whipped trees out of the ground and poured more water into homes and businesses that were just getting back to normal after Matthew.

St. Augustine is no stranger to sunny-day flooding, but the back-to-back hits from Matthew and Irma were the first major hurricanes to descend here since Dora in the 1960s, and they have left residents soaked, frustrated and, in some cases, worried about the future.

“It is the oldest continuously occupied city in America. It is how we started,” Mayor Nancy Shaver said.

But, she said, “I’ve never had people ask me the questions they’re asking me now: Is this the new normal? What are we going to do with the city?”

St. Augustine changed hands between the Spanish, the British and the Americans over its long history and, in the late 1800s, Henry M. Flagler, a founder of Standard Oil, began to open hotels. One of those hotels turned into Flagler College, and St. Augustine has become an idyllic city of colleges, museums and tourism.

But on Wednesday, some of the hotels were draining themselves of floodwater and piling mattresses outside. The Lightner Museum, a downtown gem, was closed because it had flooded, and an apparently unmoored sailboat called the Celebration, its mast snapped, was floating in the middle of the Matanzas River.



Irma’s destruction has left residents and business owners here with a grim sense of déjà vu, especially in the Davis Shores neighborhood, a development across the river, where Leo Guenther looked at the debris piled in front of his house — bathroom cabinets, interior doors, and two twin mattresses — and shook his head.

“All that stuff,” he said, “is new since Hurricane Matthew.”

The shock of a double whammy has extended elsewhere in St. Johns County, where, on Wednesday, inland rivers were still flooding and, north of St. Augustine, parts of oceanside homes made more vulnerable by Hurricane Matthew had tumbled onto the sand.

“This was our chance to get our beach house,” said Theresa Forrester, a retired postal worker who in June had bought a waterfront home in Ponte Vedra Beach that had lost part of its retaining wall to Hurricane Matthew. She and her partner, Larry Edwards, planned to rehabilitate it. But she said the permit to fix the wall had not come in time, and so Irma had chewed up the house’s garage and workshop and spit the pieces out onto the sand — and ripped off siding and roof shingles to boot.

“When we bought this, people said, ‘We haven’t had a hurricane like that in 50 years, 100 years, we’ll never have another one like that,’” Ms. Forrester said. “And then, boom.”



Clockwise from above: Castillo de San Marcos in 452-year-old St. Augustine, Fla., after flooding from Hurricane Irma; the Corazon Cinema and Cafe was damaged by Irma and by last year’s Hurricane Matthew; removing boards from storefronts in St. Augustine.

People struggled to recover across Florida, but the situation remained dire in the Florida Keys. The death toll there rose to eight, and dozens of people and boats remain unaccounted for.

“There’s got to be 1,000 boats sunk in the Keys. We have to make sure somebody wasn’t on it,” the Monroe County sheriff, Rick Ramsay, said. He added that people have begun taking available food and looting stores and homes in the Lower Keys, taking advantage of a power loss and evacuated communities and marinas to steal boating equipment and other valuables.

In some ways, St. Augustine has already begun to adapt to its new normal, if that is what it is. “We were much more prepared,” said John Regan, the city manager, whose home flooded during both Matthew and Irma. “There was more use of taping and caulking.”

Linda O’Shields, 76, who had lost all of her furniture in Hurricane Matthew, prepared for Irma by piling her possessions onto platforms rigged from

two-by-fours and interior doors by her son-in-law, Gerry Watts, which protected them from the 18 inches of water that flowed into her house. But she was asking bigger questions about the storm, too.

“I know it’s an act of nature, but to be hit twice within a year, it makes you wonder what’s happening in nature,” Ms. O’Shields said. “Is it cyclical? Am I to believe global warming? I don’t know.”

Ms. Shaver, the mayor, said it was incumbent on the city to find better ways to protect its low-lying areas, “and not have the spires of Flagler College have gondolas going around them.”

“Our sea-level rise, we’re actually ahead of many small coastal towns,” Ms. Shaver said, referring to an issue she said had already compounded St. Augustine’s nuisance flooding.

This old city, she said, is doing what it can to handle new threats. It has begun installing valves to keep seawater from flowing up into storm water drains,

which helps prevent sunny-day flooding. It has been studying a plan to dredge Maria Sanchez Lake and install a pump station to help with flooding there. “We know there are big things we need to do,” Ms. Shaver said. “We know what they are. We don’t have funding mechanisms for them.”

But none of that, she said, can stop a hurricane, or storm surge flooding in this low-lying city.

Downtown, Karla Wagner was drying out the Corazon Cinema and Cafe, which she said had filled with two feet of water after Irma came through.

“It’s devastating,” Ms. Wagner said, explaining that she had spent tens of thousands of dollars repairing the cinema after Hurricane Matthew — and now Irma had left it soaked once again and damaged the roof too. She hoped, she said, that the city could do more — and soon — to protect itself.

Frances Robles contributed reporting from Marathon, Fla.

## U.S. tries reaching out to Mexico

WASHINGTON

Trump’s silence following deadly quake has hurt feelings south of border

BY HELENE COOPER

Defense Secretary Jim Mattis will resume his role as the reassurer for American allies on Friday when he heads to Mexico, where he will try to mend relations after President Trump failed to quickly offer condolences for the earthquake last week that killed at least 96 people and severely damaged thousands of homes.

Mr. Mattis will also try to signal to Mexican officials that ties between the United States and its southern flank remain strong. After four days without word from Mr. Trump about the 8.2-magnitude earthquake in Oaxaca State on Sept. 8, Mexican officials on Monday rescinded its offer of aid to the United States for people affected by Hurricane Harvey.

Mr. Trump had not responded to that offer of help — when it was made, he was on Twitter saying that Mexico was one of the “highest crime nations in the world.” But Gov. Greg Abbott of Texas

had said his state would accept the help. But the offer was withdrawn when Mexico’s Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Monday that it needed the money to help care for victims of the earthquake, which was followed by Hurricane Katia.

The White House press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, said on Tuesday that Mr. Trump had scheduled a call with President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico and that details of it would be shared with reporters. But as of Wednesday afternoon, the White House

“There are people here who say, ‘Why hasn’t he called? The Americans are deliberately slighting us.’”

had not provided the promised readout of the conversation or confirmed whether it happened.

“There are people here who say, ‘Why hasn’t he called? The Americans are deliberately slighting us,’” Duncan Wood, the director of the Wilson Center’s Mexico Institute, said in a telephone interview from Mexico City. “That’s one view, which is widely held. Some people feel aggrieved.”

But, Mr. Wood added, that makes Mr. Mattis’s visit to Mexico City even more

significant. Mr. Mattis, Mr. Wood said, “explicitly recognizes the importance of the relationship. He worries that there might be contamination from other issues, and he wants to make sure there is an expression of solidarity with Mexico, recognizing that the fundamental interests of the United States and Mexico have not changed.”

Mr. Mattis has spent time on previous trips abroad trying to stop American allies from taking his boss’s words literally. During his first trip to Europe as defense secretary, in February, Mr. Mattis tried to convince allies that contrary to what Mr. Trump had said, the United States had not soured on NATO. A few days later in Baghdad, he declared that “we’re not in Iraq to seize anybody’s oil,” undercutting an assertion by Mr. Trump that the United States should have “kept” Iraq’s oil after the American-led invasion in 2003 and might still have a chance to do so.

And amid Mr. Trump’s high-profile feud with Mr. Peña Nieto over who would pay for Mr. Trump’s proposed border wall, Mr. Mattis spoke with Mexican defense leaders and highlighted cooperation between the two militaries.

Now, Mr. Mattis, who effectively employs a calm, folksy demeanor, will turn to doing what he can to prop up the American relationship with one of its two closest neighbors. He will be the first defense secretary, Pentagon officials said, to attend Mexican Independence Day celebrations, taking place on Friday ahead of the holiday on Saturday.

Pentagon officials and experts say that the United States and Mexico have been doing more intelligence sharing, and that Mexico, in particular, has been doing more to alert the American authorities about people, including potential terrorism suspects, entering Mexico from other countries.

And though Mr. Trump has a propensity toward abrupt Twitter storms that can upset allies, Armand Peschard-Sverdrup, an international business consultant and expert on Mexico, said that the relationship between the United States and Mexico will chug on because it is too important to fall apart.

“There are a myriad of actors in the bilateral relationship, whether they are mayors or governors or cabinet secretaries,” Mr. Peschard-Sverdrup said. “President Trump is just one. He’s an important actor to some point, but the relationship is greater than the personality of the two heads of state.”



The American defense secretary, Jim Mattis, left, and Gen. Joseph F. Dunford Jr. at the White House. Mr. Mattis is visiting Mexico to shore up relations between the countries.

### CORRECTIONS

- An art review on Wednesday about an exhibition featuring works by Alfred H. Barr Jr. and Philip Johnson misstated the relationship between Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Lilly Reich. They were professional partners and also had a romantic relationship, but they were not husband and wife.
- A picture caption with the Guardia Sanframondi Journal article on Tuesday about a parade in which residents of the

Italian town re-enact Bible stories described one of the scenes incorrectly. A villager portrayed the biblical patriarch Abraham as he offered his son Isaac in sacrifice; he did not portray Samuel anointing David as king of Israel.

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WORLD

# How Rohingya strife grew into a crisis

Life has long been fraught for Muslim minority in mainly Buddhist Myanmar

BY MEGAN SPECIA

A military crackdown against the Rohingya ethnic group has driven hundreds of thousands of men, women and children from their homes in Myanmar. The Rohingyas have faced violence and discrimination in the majority-Buddhist country for decades, but are now fleeing in unprecedented numbers, from violence that the United Nations human rights chief, Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, has called "a textbook example of ethnic cleansing."

Here's how an old and bitter dispute has managed to become even more charged.

**WHO ARE THE ROHINGYA?**

The Rohingyas are a Muslim ethnic group that practices a form of Sunni Islam and have lived in Rakhine, one of Myanmar's poorest states, for generations. Before the latest exodus, an estimated one million Rohingyas lived there, but even then they were a minority in the state. The group has its own language and cultural practices.

Some trace their origins there to the 15th century, an assertion the government disputes. Their name itself refers to the area they claim as home, according to the Council on Foreign Relations: *Rohang* derives from the word "Arakan," (the former name of Rakhine State) in the Rohingya dialect and *ga* or *gya* means "from."

Myanmar doesn't recognize Rohingyas as citizens, and sees them instead as immigrants from Bangladesh who came to Rakhine under British rule. The country's first census in 30 years, carried out in 2014, did not count the Rohingyas; those who identify as part of the group were told to register as Bengali and indicate that their origins were in Bangladesh. The government's stance makes them one of the largest stateless groups in the world.

Many live in squalid conditions similar to refugee camps.

Violence against the Rohingyas in Rakhine is part of a "longstanding pattern of violations and abuses; systematic and systemic discrimination; and policies of exclusion and marginalization" that have persisted for decades, according to the United Nations.

**DISCRIMINATORY LAWS**

Since a 1962 coup in Myanmar, the country's successive governments have significantly limited the rights of the Rohingyas.

A law passed in 1982 denied them citizenship, leaving them off a list of 135 ethnic groups formally recognized by the government. This limited the Rohingyas' access to schools and health care and their ability to move in and out of the country. The government in Rakhine at times has also enforced a two-child limit on Rohingyas families and has restricted interfaith marriage.

**WAVES OF VIOLENCE**

Tensions in Rakhine have often erupted into violence, prompting hundreds of thousands to seek refuge in Bangladesh and Pakistan in different waves over the decades.

In May 2012, the rape and murder of a Buddhist prompted a series of revenge attacks against Muslims. The violence quickly intensified. The military began a wide-ranging crackdown and hundreds of thousands fled.

In October 2013, thousands of Bud-



Rohingya refugees this month near the Naf River, which separates Myanmar and Bangladesh. Villages in Myanmar burned in the background. More than 370,000 Rohingyas have fled.



Tasmida, front, an 18-year-old Rohingya refugee, crossing the Naf River. She spent eight days walking and hiding to reach the Bangladeshi border.

dhist men carried out coordinated attacks on Muslim villages throughout Rakhine. Human rights groups say the violence that erupted in 2012 and continued into 2013 amounted to ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. A 2013 Human Rights Watch report said violence in Rakhine was a "coordinated campaign to forcibly relocate or remove the state's Muslims." But the response from world leaders has been limited.

Last October, an armed Rohingya insurgency came to light when militants from the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, then known as Harakah al-Yaqin, attacked three border guard posts.

Over the four months that followed, Myanmar's army, known as the Tatmadaw, and the police killed hundreds,

gang-raped women and girls, and forced as many as 90,000 Rohingyas from their homes.

**THE LATEST BLOODSHED**

On Aug. 25, the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army attacked again, targeting police posts and an army base. Security forces cracked down on the wider population, and rights groups accused them of killing, raping, burning villages and shooting civilians from helicopters. The exodus into Bangladesh began: More than 370,000 Rohingyas fled.

An additional 12,000 people, mainly ethnic Rakhine Buddhists and other non-Muslims, are also displaced within the state, according to Human Rights Watch. Myanmar has halted humanitar-



A Rohingya refugee prayed as a Bangladeshi border guard moved other refugees into a holding area after they had fled Myanmar and crossed the border.

ian aid to Rakhine, leaving those still in the state with limited access to food and water. Myanmar has framed the actions as a counterinsurgency operation.

**AUNG SAN SUU KYI'S REACTION**

Governments from several predominantly Muslim countries have expressed concern about the most recent violence. Malala Yousafzai of Pakistan and Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa have both called on their fellow Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Myanmar's de facto leader, to do something about the bloodshed.

Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, who leads Myanmar's civilian government but does not control the military, has largely avoided public statements about the

crackdown and the flight of refugees.

But during a phone call last week with President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey, she complained of "a huge iceberg of misinformation calculated to create a lot of problems between different communities and with the aim of promoting the interest of the terrorists," according to her office. (On Wednesday, her office said she had canceled a planned visit to the United Nations General Assembly.)

Analysts have said it would be politically difficult for Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi to denounce the crackdown, given the military's power and the unpopularity of the Rohingyas among the country's Buddhists. Her critics say she has a moral obligation to speak out, and some have called for her Nobel to be withdrawn.

# Russia creates fake enemies, but real alarm

**RUSSIA, FROM PAGE 1**

flage preparations for its annexation of Crimea and intervention on the side of pro-Russian rebels in eastern Ukraine.

"NATO will be monitoring the exercises closely," the alliance's secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, said in an interview recently in Brussels, the site of NATO's headquarters. Russia, he said, is entirely within its rights to train its forces, but has stirred unease by routinely skirting mutually agreed upon rules designed to calm jitters.

"The lack of transparency increases the risk of misunderstanding, miscalculations, accidents and incidents that can become dangerous," Mr. Stoltenberg said. He called on Russia to "respect both the letter and intentions" of the so-called Vienna Document, which commits Russia and Western nations to report all exercises with more than 13,000 troops or 300 tanks and to allow foreign observers to monitor those that do.

The West has been bracing for the Russian exercises for months. Then, late last month, a scenario outlined by the military leadership in Minsk, the capital of Belarus, described the main task for this year's Zapad program: to repel aggression by Veishnoriya, a fictional country that is backed by the West and intent on driving a wedge between Russia and Belarus. The scenario also includes two other fake countries, Lubeniya and Vesbasriya, which form a coalition with Veishnoriya to menace Russian security.

The Baltic States and Poland, which fear that the fictional nations invented by Zapad planners are thinly disguised proxies for their own countries, say they believe that the number of Russian

troops taking part in Zapad-2017 could reach 100,000.

Western nations conduct war games, too, of course. This summer, the United States led an allied force of 25,000 in exercises in Eastern Europe. But the West follows the rules in the Vienna Document, and allows Russian observers to keep a watch.

Russia, Mr. Stoltenberg said, has a record of exploiting loopholes in the Vienna Document, habitually understating the number of troops taking part in war games by tens of thousands.

Moscow and Minsk insist that this week's Zapad exercise involves just 12,700 troops. This means that, like all previous Russian military exercises since the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, it weighs in just under the 13,000-troop threshold and is therefore free of observers from the West.

But Estonia's defense minister, Margus Tsahkna, has pointed to a tender issued this year by Russia's Ministry of Defense for more than 4,000 railway wagons to transport military equipment and soldiers to Belarus. The figure suggests that far bigger military contingents would be on the move than declared, the minister said, a sign that Moscow may intend to leave some behind.

The United States military has echoed such worries, with Lt. Gen. Ben Hodges, who heads the Army forces in Europe, describing Zapad as a possible "Trojan horse" that would send in Russian forces but not take them out.

Belarus, which depends on Russian supplies of cheap energy to keep its economy afloat and shares Mr. Putin's belief that the West is plotting to sow di-

vision and even to invade, says it has no such concerns itself.

Military exercises, including those conducted by NATO, often feature invented enemies, a practice that blurs their real purpose and avoids upsetting real countries that do not like to be used as a punching bag for military training — especially when this involves simulated nuclear attacks. Western experts say they believe that Russian war games in 2009 and 2013 included simulated nuclear strikes against Warsaw and Stockholm.

The three fake countries at the center of the Zapad-2017 drills, however, have taken on a virtual life of their own online. While it is not clear who is behind it, a clearly pro-Western satirical Twitter account issues regular announcements in the name of the Veishnoriya Ministry of Foreign Affairs and displays pictures of the fake country's passport, flag, national currency and other national symbols, all of them invented.

"We are deeply concerned about the concentration of Belarusian military equipment at the borders of Veishnoriya," reads one message posted by the nonexistent nation's Foreign Ministry. Others include a call for volunteers from "brotherly countries" to repel an invasion from the east and warnings that Veishnoriyans are "warlike beasts" who will not surrender.

Veishnoriya also has a lively account on Vkontakte, the Russian equivalent of Facebook, with posts of beautiful Veishnoriyan women and natives in what is said to be traditional Veishnoriyan clothing. It also has fierce supporters on Facebook, where one fan provided a tongue-in-cheek "historical note" about



Russian-Belarusian military exercises in 2013 near Kaliningrad. Some analysts worry that this year's version of the war games could be a prelude for military aggression.

the nonexistent country's martial spirit: "Throughout its history, Veishnoriya hasn't lost a single war."

Russia has dismissed Western anxieties over Zapad-2017, saying that the exercises are purely defensive. Fueling unease is Russia's silence on what exactly the exercises will involve. Belarus has invited foreign military attachés based in Minsk to watch and released some details of its war games with Russia, including airstrikes and tank battles on Sunday and Monday.

But it is not clear that the attachés will have the freedom they need to move about and to talk with soldiers. Moscow,

for its part, has said only that the exercises threaten nobody and will involve operations in Belarus, in Russia's Western Military District and in the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad, next to Poland.

This vagueness, according to NATO officials in Brussels, continues a pattern of obfuscation deeply entrenched since the Soviet era.

A declassified C.I.A. report on Soviet military exercises prepared in the 1980s said that deception was always a central feature of Moscow's training program, with Soviet forces deploying elaborate ruses to camouflage the real number of troops and purpose of their major exer-

# Sham photos are traced to Brazil user of Facebook

BY SCOTT SHANE

When Russia created Facebook profiles of fake Americans to influence the 2016 American election, it could make up the names and biographical details. But it needed photos, too.

Now a salesman in Brazil has stepped forward to say that his own family photos were stolen to concoct the profile of "Melvin Redick," one of many American impostors used to spread Russian propaganda on Facebook and Twitter.

Last week, The New York Times featured Mr. Redick's Facebook profile as an example of fake social media accounts that were used to attack Hillary Clinton, promote leaked emails obtained by Russian hackers and propagate the Kremlin's political views.

The supposed Mr. Redick was an early promoter last year of a website, DCLeaks.com, that American officials believe was created by Russian military intelligence. But The Times could find no American who fit the details he provided on Facebook.

There was no such person in Harrisburg, Pa., where Mr. Redick said he lived. The high school and college he listed had never heard of him. And when The Times asked Facebook about him — as well as other profiles that appeared to be the work of Russians — the company concluded that they were impostors and removed them from the social network.

The Times article noted that one of the Redick photos showed him sitting in a bar in Brazil. In another, a bedroom seemed to have a Brazilian-style electrical outlet. GI, the online news operation of Globo, Brazil's biggest media conglomerate, noticed the puzzle and crowdsourced it, asking readers for help.

On Saturday, the site reproduced images The Times had taken from the Facebook page, including pictures of the man and his daughter. "Do you know these people?" the headline said.

A reader spotted the photos and recognized her son-in-law, Charles David Costacurta, 36, of the city Jundiaí in southeastern Brazil. Mr. Costacurta was suspicious at first, said Carlos Dias, a GI reporter, but eventually agreed to meet at a television station.

The photos, Mr. Costacurta told the site, were 2014 shots of himself and his daughter, then 3, now 6, that he had posted on Facebook. He was particularly disturbed that the images had been stolen, he told GI, because he used the privacy settings on Facebook to limit access to his profile.

"I was scared, and I asked my girlfriend to take a look because I do not understand much about social networks and the internet," Mr. Costacurta said.

Before publishing the photos, The Times tried to find their source using Google's image search function, but nothing turned up. This suggested that they might belong to a Brazilian Facebook user because Facebook blocks image searches of its profiles. The company declined to say whether it had searched internally and found the photos before Mr. Costacurta came forward.

For Mr. Costacurta, his cameo role in Russia's information war appeared to be a harsh lesson in the fragile nature of privacy in an age of social media.

"We're totally vulnerable," he told GI. "You wonder how much security you have, right?"

It noted that a Soviet naval exercise designed to practice landing troops on islands off Denmark, a member of NATO, had been disguised as training devoted to the defense of Soviet shores.

Measures taken to deceive NATO, the C.I.A. report said, included leaking fake information on Soviet radio frequencies monitored by the West and planting disinformation through human agents. In some cases, the Soviet military deployed special "camouflage forces" that operated "in totally different regions" from those taking part in a real exercise "so as to mislead NATO intelligence." It also generated phony radio traffic "in a manner intended to deceive foreign intelligence to the type of the exercise, its aim, conduct etc."

Foreign observers from NATO were never allowed to watch Soviet-era Zapad exercises, and diplomats based in Moscow were barred from visiting regions where the exercises were taking place.

That was supposed to change with the signing of the Vienna Document, adopted in 1990 by the Vienna-based Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and updated in 2011, but Russia has always found ways to circumvent the agreement.

Mr. Stoltenberg, the NATO secretary general, said he could not speculate about the real purpose of Zapad-2017, saying that this would become clear only once it was over next week.

At the same time, he noted, the exercise fits a "pattern of a more assertive Russia" that is "exercising more aggressively."

Oleg Matsnev contributed reporting.







WELL

The mind as medicine

Personal Health

JANE E. BRODY

Many years ago I was plagued with debilitating headaches associated with a number of seemingly unrelated activities that included cooking for company and sewing drapes for the house. I thought I might be allergic to natural gas or certain fabrics until one day I realized that I tensed my facial muscles when I concentrated intently on a project.

The cure was surprisingly simple: I became aware of how my body was reacting and changed it through self-induced behavior modification. I consciously relaxed my muscles whenever I focused on a task that could precipitate a tension-induced headache.

Fast-forward about five decades: Now it was my back that ached when I hurriedly cooked even a simple meal. And once again, after months of pain, I realized that I was transferring stress to the muscles of my back and had to learn to relax them and to allow more time to complete a project to mitigate the stress. Happy to report, I recently prepared dinner for eight with nary a pain.

I don't mean to suggest that every ache and pain can be cured by self-awareness and changing one's behavior. But recent research has demonstrated that the mind — along with other nonpharmacological remedies — can be powerful medicine to relieve many kinds of chronic or recurrent pains, especially low back pain.

As Dr. James Campbell, a neurosurgeon and pain specialist, put it, “The best treatment for pain is right under our noses.” He suggests not “catastrophizing” — not assuming that the pain represents something disastrous that keeps you from leading the life you've chosen.

Acute pain is nature's warning signal that something is wrong that should be attended to. Chronic pain, however, is no longer a useful warning signal, yet it can lead to perpetual suffering if people remain afraid of it, the doctor said.

“If the pain is not an indication that something is seriously wrong, you can learn to live with it,” said Dr. Campbell, an emeritus professor at Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions. Too often, he explained, “people with pain get caught in a vicious cycle of inactivity that results in lost muscle strength and further pain problems.”

Throwing powerful drugs at chronic pain problems may only add to the problem because ever higher doses are often needed to keep the pain at bay. Knowing this, a growing cadre of specialists are exploring nondrug, noninvasive treatments, some of which have proved highly effective in relieving chronic pain.

The American College of Physicians



PAUL ROGERS

recently issued new nondrug guidelines for treating chronic or recurrent back pain, a condition that afflicts approximately one-quarter of adults at a cost to the country in excess of \$100 billion a year.

Noting that most patients with back pain improve with time “regardless of treatment,” the college recommends such remedies as superficial heat, massage, acupuncture or, in some cases, spinal manipulation (chiropractic or osteopathic). For those with chronic back pain, the suggestions include exercise, rehabilitation, acupuncture, tai chi, yoga, progressive relaxation and mindfulness-based stress reduction.

Drug-free pain management is now a top priority among researchers at the National Center for Complementary and Integrative Health, a division of the National Institutes of Health. A comprehensive summary of the effectiveness of nondrug treatments for common pain problems — back pain, fibromyalgia, severe headache, knee arthritis and neck pain — was published last year in Mayo Clinic Proceedings by Richard L. Nahin and colleagues at the center.

Based on evidence from well-designed clinical trials, the team reported that these complementary approaches “may help some patients manage their painful health conditions: acupuncture and yoga for back pain; acupuncture and tai chi for osteoarthritis of the knee; massage therapy for neck pain with adequate doses and for short-term benefit; and relaxation techniques for severe headaches and migraine.”

Weaker evidence also suggested that massage therapy and spinal and osteopathic manipulation may be of some benefit to patients with back pain, and relaxation techniques and tai chi may help patients with fibromyalgia find relief.

Among the newest studies, conducted by Daniel C. Cherkin and colleagues at the Group Health Research Institute and the University of Washington in Seattle, both mindfulness-based stress reduction and cognitive behavioral therapy proved more effective than “usual care” in relieving chronic low back pain and improving patients’ function.

Cognitive behavioral therapy, or C.B.T., in essence teaches people to

restructure how they think about problems. “There was already evidence that C.B.T. is effective for various pain conditions,” Dr. Cherkin said. “Our study showed that cognitive behavioral therapy and mindfulness-based stress reduction were comparable in reducing dysfunction and pain severity.”

Furthermore, a cost analysis showed that the mindfulness technique — basically, a form of meditation that helps patients “get in touch with their bodies and their lives,” as Dr. Cherkin described it — proved more cost-effective than both C.B.T. and usual care in reducing both health care costs and lost productivity.

The mindfulness technique, essentially a demystified form of Buddhist meditation, is taught and practiced in eight weekly two-hour sessions and combined with gentle yoga, Dr. Cherkin said. Patients learn to relax, become “nonreactive” to pain and not allow it to be the focus of their lives, he explained.

In a follow-up study done two years later, patients treated with mindfulness therapy or C.B.T. remained more likely to be improved than those who re-

ceived usual care, the team reported in February.

However, when it comes to accessing nondrug treatments for pain, there are two major problems. One is the failure of most health insurers to cover the cost of many if not all complementary methods and the practitioners who administer them. When forced to pay out of pocket, many patients are likely to choose a drug remedy — despite its potential pitfalls — that insurance will cover.

Another challenge is availability. People residing in nonurban areas may be hard put to find a nearby therapist trained in cognitive behavioral therapy or mindfulness-based stress reduction or even an expert massage therapist, tai chi teacher or acupuncturist.

However, there is another option too often overlooked that may be easier to find and is usually covered by insurance: physical therapy. In addition to a “tincture of time” to find relief from plaguing pain problems, good physical therapy can often speed recovery and, at the same time, teach people how to avoid conditions — including inactivity — that can precipitate or exacerbate their pain.

Cancer risk may be cut by aerobic fitness

Fitness

GRETCHEN REYNOLDS

Aerobic fitness seems to alter the interior workings of cells in ways that may substantially lower the risk of breast cancer.

A new study with female rats found that those that were the most fit were much less likely than other animals to develop cancer after exposure to a known carcinogen, even if they did not exercise.

The findings offer tantalizing new clues into the relationship between fitness, exercise and malignancies.

Most of us probably think that cardiovascular fitness, which in broad, scientific terms is the ability to get oxygen and energy to muscles, is built with diligent exercise, and that the more we work out, the fitter we become. But we would be only about half right. A large percentage of our aerobic fitness, perhaps as much as half, according to some studies, is innate. This genetically determined fitness level varies widely from family to family and person to person. Exercise can augment it, while avoiding movement and gaining weight may reduce it, but a person's baseline, genetic fitness is his or hers from birth.

In recent years, scientists have become interested in how our innate fitness might affect our overall health, and also why. Many studies have established that people with high fitness are at lower risk for a wide range of diseases, including many types of cancer. But whether their disease protection results from regular exercise or from a fortunate genetic heritage — or both — has been unclear.

For the new study, which was published in July in *Carcinogenesis*, researchers at Colorado State University, Memorial Sloan

Kettering Cancer Center in New York City and the University of Michigan opted to focus on breast cancer. Epidemiological studies have shown that being physically fit is associated with lower risk for the disease, but not why.

Because they wanted to examine the role of innate fitness in the disease, the scientists turned to a famous strain of rats bred by Lauren Koch and Steven Britton at the University of Michigan. Over multiple generations, these rats were tested on treadmills. Those that ran the farthest before tiring were subsequently mated with one another, while those that pooped out early likewise were paired up, until, ultimately, the pups displayed a large difference in inborn fitness.

The researchers used female pups born to mothers with either notably high or low aerobic capacity. These young animals did not exercise, so their fitness depended almost exclusively on genetics.

Before the pups reached puberty, they were exposed to a chemical known to be a potent breast cancer trigger. The researchers then checked them frequently for palpable tumors throughout adulthood. They also looked, after the animals' deaths, for signs of malignancies that had been too small to feel and microscopically examined breast cells for various markers of cell health.

The differences between the animals with high and low fitness turned out to be striking. The rats with low natural fitness were about four times as likely to develop breast cancer as the rats with high fitness were, and showed more tumors once the disease began. They also tended to contract the disease earlier.

The contrasts between the two types of rats continued deep inside their cells. The researchers found almost inverted relationships in how certain aspects of the cells worked, and in particular, in the operation of what is known as the mTOR network. Short-hand for “mammalian target of rapamycin,” the mTOR network is a group of interlinked proteins within a cell that sense how much energy is available and let the cell know if there is enough energy around for it to divide and replicate.

Past studies have noted that women with breast cancer often show hyperactive mTOR networks.

Of course, this study involved rats, which are not people. But the findings have potential relevance for us, says Henry J. Thompson, the director of the Cancer Prevention Lab at Colorado State University and the study's lead author.

The study underscores “the pervasive effects” of fitness on bodily health, he says. Even without exercise, the pups born with high fitness were remarkably resistant to breast cancer in this study, he says, and showed fine-tuned cell function.

A suicide raises tough questions

Use of antidepressants may be linked to nearly intolerable agitation

BY RONI CARYN RABIN

The last dinner Wendy Dolin had with her husband, Stewart, he was so agitated that he was jiggling his leg under the table and could barely sit still. He had recently started a new antidepressant but still felt very anxious. “I don't get it, Wen,” he said.

The next day, Mr. Dolin, a 57-year-old Chicago lawyer, paced up and down a train platform for several minutes and then threw himself in front of an oncoming train.

Ms. Dolin soon became convinced that the drug her husband had started taking five days before his death — paroxetine, the generic form of Paxil — played a role in his suicide by triggering a side effect called akathisia, a state of acute physical and psychological agitation. Sufferers have described feeling as if they were “jumping out of their skin.”

The distress of akathisia may explain the heightened risk of suicide in some patients, some psychiatrists believe. The symptoms are so distressing, a drug company scientist wrote in the *Journal of Psychopharmacology*, that patients may feel “death is a welcome result.”

Ms. Dolin sued the original manufacturer of Paxil, GlaxoSmithKline, claiming the company had not sufficiently warned of the risks associated with the drug. In April, a jury awarded Ms. Dolin \$3 million in damages.

The case is a rare instance in which a lawsuit over a suicide involving antidepressants actually went to trial; many such cases are either dismissed or settled out of court, said Brent Wisner, of the law firm Baum Hedlund Aristei Goldman, which represented Ms. Dolin.

The verdict is also unusual because Glaxo, which has asked the court to overturn the verdict or to grant a new trial, no longer sells Paxil in the United States and did not manufacture the generic form of the medication that Mr. Dolin was taking. The company argues



WHITTEN SABBATINI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Wendy Dolin, top, was awarded \$3 million by a jury after her husband, Stewart, killed himself. He was taking an antidepressant. Above, the couple in 2006.

that it should not be held liable for a pill it did not make.

Concerns about safety have long dogged antidepressants, though many doctors and patients consider the medications lifesavers.

Ever since they were linked to an in-

crease in suicidal behaviors in young people more than a decade ago, all antidepressants, including Paxil, have carried a “black box” warning label, reviewed and approved by the Food and Drug Administration, saying that they increase the risk of suicidal thinking and

behavior in children, teens and young adults under age 25.

The warning labels also stipulate that the suicide risk has not been seen in short-term studies in anyone over age 24, but they urge close monitoring of all patients initiating drug treatment.

“The scientific evidence does not establish that paroxetine causes suicide, suicide attempts, self-harm or suicidal thinking in adult populations,” Frances DeFranco, a company spokeswoman, said in an email. “Any suicide is a tragedy and a reminder that depression and other mental illnesses can be fatal.”

Ms. Dolin's lawsuit, however, has lifted the curtain on data from early clinical trials of Paxil, renewing concerns that older adults, who use antidepressants in far greater numbers than young people, may also be at greater risk of self-harm when taking the drugs.

The documents indicate that several suicides and suicide attempts in early clinical trials that were attributed to patients on a placebo — and which made Paxil look safer by comparison — should not have been counted, and that an F.D.A. reviewer later told the company as much. Glaxo eventually reanalyzed its data, and in 2006 enhanced the warning on Paxil, cautioning that among adults of all ages with major depressive disorder, “the frequency of suicidal behavior was higher in patients treated with paroxetine compared with placebo” — 6.7 times higher.

But that label was replaced a year later, in June 2007, by the F.D.A.-mandated warning now carried on all antidepressants, which says only that the increased risk has been seen among people under age 25.

Akathisia is a fairly common and well-known side effect of antipsychotic medications, commonly used to treat disorders like schizophrenia but increasingly given for a variety of mental health complaints, including depression. But the association with antidepressants is not as well recognized, experts say, and incidence rates are hard to pin down.

If a doctor thinks the patient's condition is deteriorating, the dose of the medication may be increased, which could be disastrous if the drug itself is causing the problem.



# Sports

## After 2nd life in China, Marbury eyes N.B.A.

KEEPING SCORE

At 40, the former Knick uses social media to say ‘a comeback is coming’

BY BENJAMIN HOFFMAN

He is 40, has not played in the N.B.A. in more than eight years and was a controversial figure, to say the least, when he was an active player, but Stephon Marbury, the former Knicks headache, raised plenty of eyebrows on Tuesday when he declared he was getting himself ready for a comeback. He did not appear to be joking.

“Yes, it’s true,” Marbury, a two-time All-Star, said in a video posted to Instagram. “An N.B.A. comeback is coming. Love is love.”

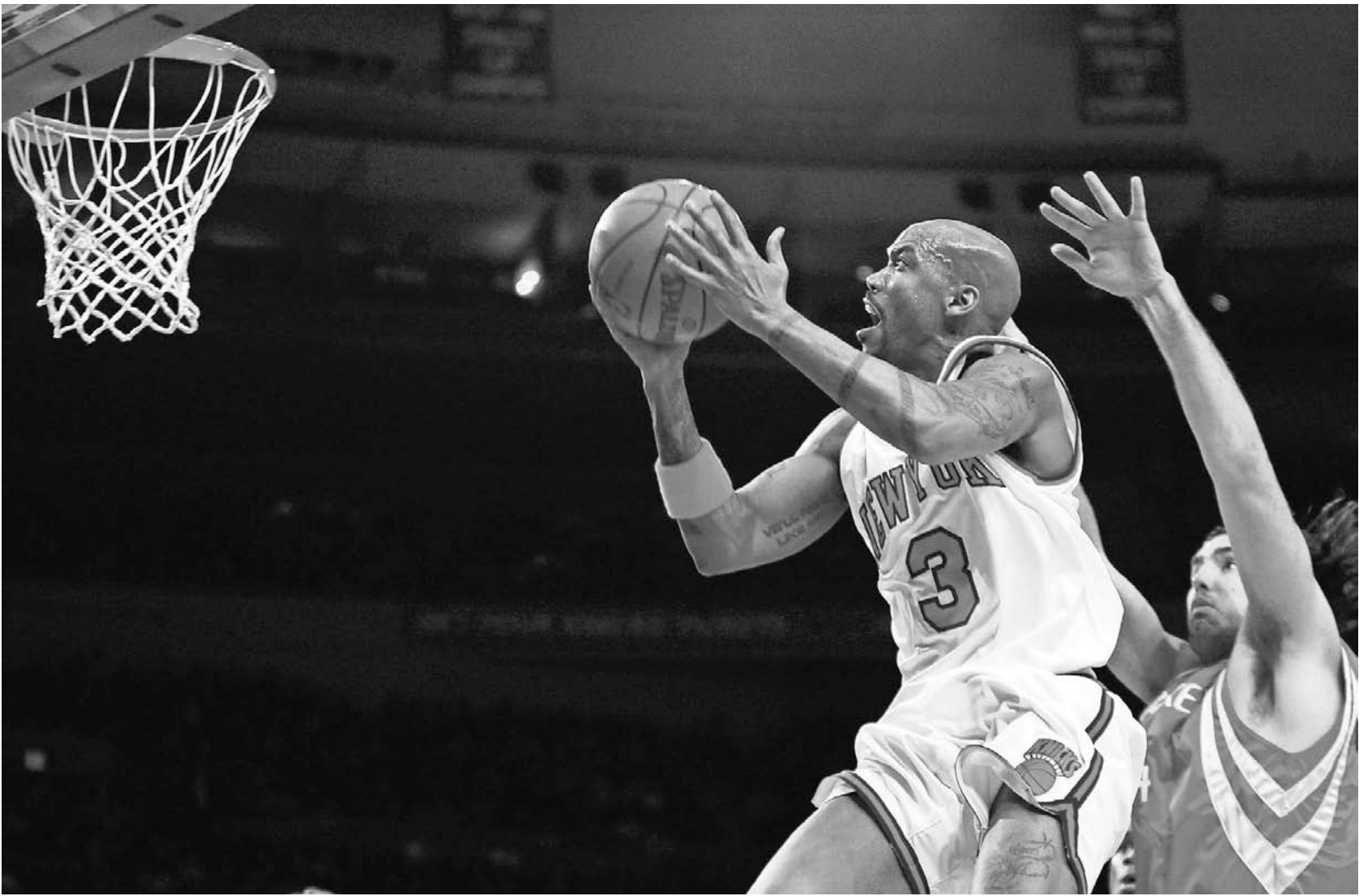
The announcement seemingly came out of nowhere, and was decidedly light on details, but it brought up some interesting questions as to whether such a move was feasible, if there was any precedent for it, and how a player of Marbury’s age could handle the rigors of a young man’s game.

Among the biggest issues is Marbury’s status in the Chinese Basketball Association. He found a second life for himself in China after his prospects dried up stateside, and he recently announced he would join the Beijing Flying Dragons in 2017-18, claiming it would be his last season. Tuesday’s announcement failed to mention the Flying Dragons, but Marc Spears of ESPN suggested on Twitter that Marbury could play out the shorter C.B.A. season for Beijing and then catch on with an N.B.A. team, perhaps even the Knicks, early in 2018. Marbury, who was particularly active on social media after the announcement, seemed to agree with Spears’s assertion.

Marbury then clarified later on Tuesday that the short C.B.A. season would open options for him, including a possible N.B.A. stint, or even a chance to play in Ice Cube’s Big 3 league.

“My goal is to finish strong with a team that can use some veteran leadership,” Marbury wrote on Instagram.

As to the question of precedent, look no further than Bob Cousy, the Hall of



BARTON SILVERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stephon Marbury scoring for the New York Knicks in 2008. Despite a career scoring average of 19.3 points a game, Marbury was a polarizing figure.

Fame point guard of the Boston Celtics. A small, brash, slick-passing point guard from New York City (sound familiar?), Cousy was coaching the Cincinnati Royals in 1969 when he decided he would lace up his sneakers for another stint as a player more than six years after he had retired.

The decision resulted in a public squabble between Cousy and Red Auerbach. Auerbach, the general manager of the Boston Celtics, contended that the team retained Cousy’s rights as a player,

but Cousy insisted the comeback was just a promotional stunt, so the Celtics should have no objection to his playing for Cincinnati. Eventually, a trade was worked out, sending Cousy’s rights to Cincinnati in exchange for Bill Dinwiddie, a backup forward.

Leading up to his debut as a player-coach, Cousy discussed the decision to come back with Robert Lipsyte of The New York Times.

“I’m 41 years old and I’ve sat out six and a half years and this game has be-

come one of sustained running,” Cousy said. “I’m not really going to do anything significant out there.”

Ever the competitor, Cousy then walked that statement back, telling Lipsyte: “Well, I have kept myself in shape. I have enough pride in the past not to want to make a jackass of myself.”

The difference between Cousy and Marbury is that Cousy was a beloved and respected player whose final game before retirement earned him his sixth championship ring. Marbury, despite

flashes of brilliance and a career scoring average of 19.3 points a game, was a polarizing figure, at best, and did not make it out of the first round of the N.B.A. playoffs until his final season, when he was the 10th man for a Celtics team led by Kevin Garnett. Despite all of that, the argument could certainly be made that Marbury, who has been playing professional basketball nonstop, is more court-ready at 40 than Cousy, who was long retired, was at 41. Of course, that would require you to believe Cousy’s comeback

was basketball-related, rather than a ploy to bolster attendance.

Regardless of how active Marbury has been, he will have been out of the N.B.A. for nearly nine years by the time the Flying Dragons’ season ends, and that would easily break the record for the longest gap between appearances in the N.B.A. Excluding players who went from the N.B.A. to the A.B.A. and back, the Elias Sports Bureau says the distinction for longest gap between N.B.A. games belongs to Gary Plummer, a power forward, who played 66 games for the Golden State Warriors in the 1984-85 season, disappeared to Europe, then returned to play in 60 games for the Denver Nuggets in 1992-93. Plummer’s hiatus lasted 2,776 days.

Cousy’s hiatus lasted 2,403 days, while Marbury will have been out for 3,077 days when the Knicks open the 2017-18 season on Oct. 19.

**Stephon Marbury will have been out of the league for 3,077 days when his former team, the Knicks, opens the 2017-18 season.**

The fact remains that Marbury would be 41 before any comeback could take place, which will pump the brakes a great deal. But the good news for anyone hoping a team would be crazy enough to give him a shot, is that 40-plus is no longer such a scary number in the N.B.A. A 40-year-old has appeared in at least a game in all but one of the last five seasons, and thanks to Vince Carter, who signed a one-year contract with the Sacramento Kings, Marbury would not even be the oldest player in the N.B.A., as he is 25 days younger than Carter.

In reality, Marbury’s comeback is about as far-fetched as they come. He is not as talented as Carter, or as beloved as Cousy. He was showing a steady decline in the N.B.A. in his late 20s, and by his last season, when he was still just 31, he averaged 3.8 points a game.

But if Marbury can earn himself a 10-day contract and a chance to show that he still has something left in the tank, he will have to hope the comeback is more successful than Cousy’s: The man they called Houdini of the Hardwood scored just 5 points in seven appearances before once again fading into retirement.

### NON SEQUITUR

LEMNING POLITICS



SUDOKU No. 1509

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

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

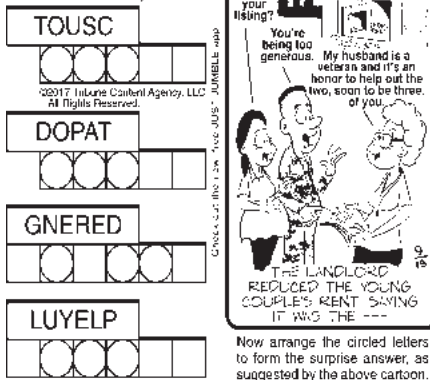
For solving tips and more puzzles: [www.nytimes.com/sudoku](http://www.nytimes.com/sudoku)

Solution No. 1409

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

### JUMBLE

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



Yesterday's Jumbles: PROXY BANJO SPEEDY WICKED  
Answer: When audiences watched this 1975 film about a great white shark, they — JAWS DROPPED

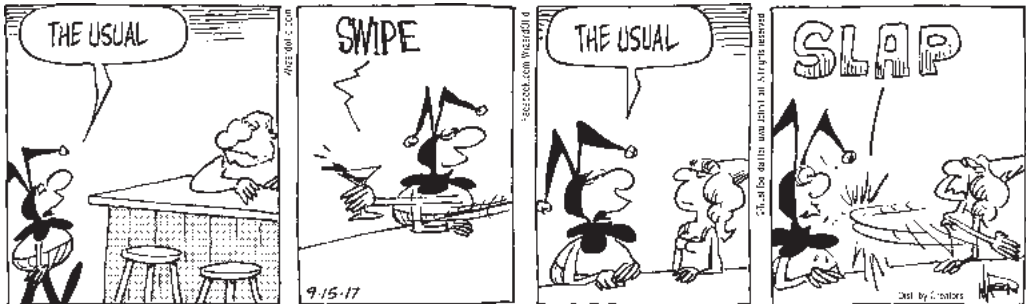
### PEANUTS



### GARFIELD



### WIZARD of ID



### KENKEN

1-	9+	7+			
			8+		
7+					2-

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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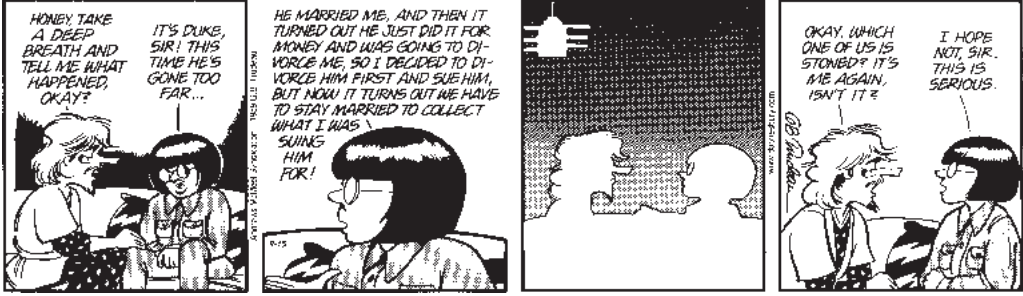
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### Answers to Previous Puzzles

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

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

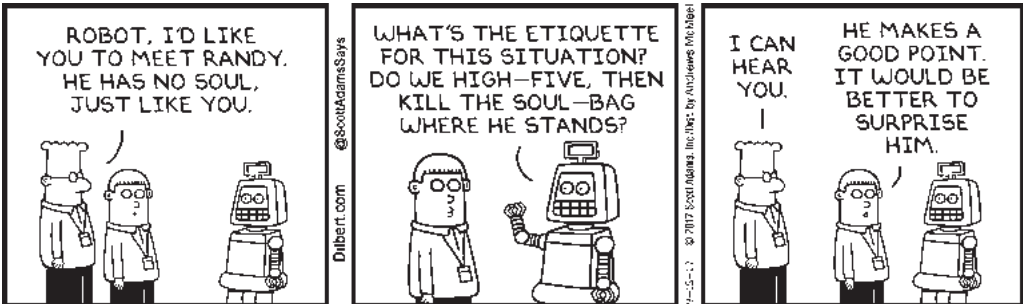
### DOONESBURY CLASSIC 1989



### CALVIN AND HOBBS



### DILBERT



### CROSSWORD | Edited by Will Shortz

- Across**
- Rock and Roll Hall of Fame designer
  - "Philomena" co-star, 2013
  - Sound from a silencer
  - Beat, in a way
  - First name in aviation
  - What's big in Texas?
  - Canadian crooner Michael
  - Foe
  - "Por \_\_\_\_ Cabeza" (tango song)
  - Atmosphere around a celebrity trial, say
  - Prison area
  - Royal son of the comics
  - Tributary of the Mississippi
  - "Seriously!"
  - Alfredo sauce brand
  - Computer science pioneer John von \_\_\_\_
  - Cries of enlightenment
  - School of whales
  - Snap, with "out"
  - Reggie, to Archie, in Russia
  - Tolstoy's first name, in Russia
  - Parker \_\_\_\_, so-called "Queen of the Indies"
  - See 60-Down
  - Go down
  - "Por \_\_\_\_ Archie, in Archie Comics
  - Greeting in Victoria
  - "Well, I declare!"
  - Bridesmaid dress shade
  - Richard Gere title role
  - Leave in
  - 1979 film whose name comes from a "Chicago" song
  - \_\_\_\_ Magnon
  - University of California campus site
  - Put to shame
  - Business card abbr.
  - Widen, as jeans legs
  - Parker \_\_\_\_, so-called "Queen of the Indies"
  - Fine-grained wood
  - Was really angry
  - Celsius, for one

### Solution to September 14 Puzzle

ALAS	ACME	ROBS
COMA	CHILD	ERIE
TOOT	HISOWN	HORN
SUED	MANIFESTS	
CENSURED	CACHE	
GET	MADDEN	ROSS
DOUNTO	OTHERS	
STAFF		
NEST	STEVIE	VIE
EXULT	DIASTEMA	
SPREAD	TOO	THIN
SEED	PEARLS	ILES
URDU	STAIR	ELSE
STOP	ASINO	FEST

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14						15					16	
17						18				19		
20				21	22							
23		24		25				26				
27				28			29	30		31		
32							33		34			
35				36			37			38	39	40
			41				42			43		
44	45	46		47		48						
49				50			51			52		
53				54	55				56		57	
58									59	60		
61									63			
64					65					66		

PUZZLE BY DAMON GULCZYNSKI

- 11** Paragraph analogue  
**12** Saul Bellow novel  
**13** "Psst!"  
**19** Retail giant since 1886  
**22** Making  
**24** Brother's title  
**28** Basic beverage, in baby talk  
**29** Nutso  
**30** Posh hotel, familiarly  
**34** Bygone Chevy model  
**38** Precedent setter  
**39** Underwater  
**40** One way of seeing  
**41** Peter Fonda's role in "Easy Rider"  
**43** Some college Greeks  
**44** Expressionless  
**45** Widen  
**46** Never-before-seen  
**48** Beseech  
**50** Refuse  
**54** Org. fighting anti-Muslim discrimination  
**55** Tube alternative  
**56** Video game sounds  
**60** With 38-Across, pasta shape



# CENTER STAGE

## THE METROPOLITAN OPERA

SOURCES: Storytelling is one of humanity’s fundamental needs. And through the operatic art, stories old and new are lent heightened drama and vitality, brought to life through the immediacy of body and voice

### A TALE OF TWO OPERAS

REPLENISHING A RICH REPERTOIRE



Peter Gelb, general manager of the Met.

BRIGITTE LACOMBE / METROPOLITAN OPERA

In the summer, after the end of the Metropolitan Opera’s last season, the general manager, Peter Gelb, was in Europe seeing opera. “During the Met season, I can’t travel much,” he says, “because my job involves overseeing all aspects of the operation, from artistic to business and fund-raising, marketing – everything. I actually have a clause in my contract that says I have to be available on a 24/7 basis, so I’m like a doctor on call.”

The break between seasons, however, allows him to see performances in the great houses of Europe and meet with the Met’s partner organizations. “Much of what we put on our stage is initiated in New York, but some of it is a result of collaborations with European companies,” he says. “We have a number of them in various stages of gestation, whether productions that will premiere in Europe or that already have, or are planned for the future. So this is my chance to meet the directors and designers, and hear singers, and plot out the future of the Met artistically.”

New productions making their debut at the Met in 2017-18 illustrate how the house brings together the international teams of the best that the opera world has to offer, and also how it develops its season with respect to the paired objectives of representing the art form’s historical repertoire and expanding it with new work. When the new season was announced in February, Gelb said: “We’re replenishing our core repertoire with new productions of ‘Cosi fan tutte,’ ‘Norma,’ and ‘Tosca,’ while stretching our horizons with ‘The Exterminating Angel’ and ‘Cendrillon.’ It’s a season of repertory favorites and stimulating rarities, with something for neophytes and aficionados alike.”

Elaborating on the choices involved in planning and conception, particularly with regard to new productions of “Tosca,” by David McVicar, and “Cosi fan tutte,” by Phelim McDermott, Gelb said: “As far as storytelling is

essence of the very dramatic story that it contains. It’s not a happy piece by any means. It’s a very dark and sinister story about evil and good, and courage and art.”

The setting reflected that and was “very grim looking.” The audience missed the opulence of Zeffirelli’s version, he says: “So what I’ve learned is that it’s possible to be more modern, and theatrical and dramatic, but still give the beauty that the audience wants, so that they can seduced into what the director has to say.”

McVicar’s production, designed by John MacFarlane, does just that. It has the beauty of the Roman settings, says Gelb, “but they’re much more dramatic. It’s set on a steep rake, so the audience has the sense that they’re almost inside the set, because it’s looming up to them, being on this steep angle. So, hopefully, we’ll all have our cake and eat it, too, because it will look beautiful, but it will have the dramatic energy that the Zeffirelli production lacked. We’ll see.”

“Cosi fan tutte” takes another approach, setting the story in the New York beachside amusement park Coney Island of the 1950s. McDermott chose it, though, to serve the needs of telling the story. Gelb explains: “The greatest single challenge for a director of ‘Cosi’ is to create an atmosphere of sufficient fantasy to make the big switch in the opera plausible – when the two male lovers go off to war and return with a test of loyalty of their girlfriends, changing identities and swapping roles with each other. The audience has to somehow buy this. I think in more realistic productions of ‘Cosi’ that I’ve seen it’s very hard to accept that, because you wonder, why don’t the girls know? Why don’t the soprano and the mezzo-soprano immediately recognize that their wayward boyfriends are not who they’re supposed to be? So I think the director’s challenge – working with the designer – is to create a hallucinatory world where things are not what they may seem to be and set up the idea that there can be unusual swaps of personalities. By setting the action in this sideshow at Coney Island in the ‘50s, I think that Phelim McDermott, the director, has successfully accomplished this changing of normal perception.”

These types of choices – whether to reflect historical precedence or offer a fresh vision in terms of location and time period – are particularly felt in the staging of the great lyrical repertory. “What makes opera different from theater, in general, is that the bulk of the operatic canon relies upon new productions of core repertory pieces,” says Gelb. “It doesn’t mean we don’t do new things – we do – but most of it is new productions of old pieces that have been produced previously hundreds, if not thousands, of times. It’s sort of the same challenge that a Shakespeare company has. We’re reproducing work that has been seen many, many times before, which makes it much more creatively challenging for a director. In the same way that directing a new production of ‘Hamlet’ is very challenging for a director, directing a new production of ‘Tosca’ or ‘Cosi’ is challenging.”

What counts, he says, is the commitment to the work itself, and to communicating that to the audience.” If an audience can’t understand what they’re seeing, if a piece is so deconstructed and turned upside down that it doesn’t bear any resemblance to what the story is, and you have to read some accompanying essay and an extensive statement from the director to understand what it is they’re trying to say – that, to me, doesn’t belong on the stage, on any stage. To be true to the story and still be creatively brilliant: that is the challenge that great directors meet.”



### ‘IT’S POSSIBLE TO BE MORE MODERN, AND THEATRICAL AND DRAMATIC, BUT GIVE THE BEAUTY THE AUDIENCE WANTS’

concerned, in terms of new productions, ‘Cosi’ and ‘Tosca’ represent an interesting illustration of our approach.”

McVicar’s “Tosca” replaces a Luc Bondy production that ran from 2009-15, which in turn replaced a long-running – 1985 to 2006 – production by Franco Zeffirelli. McDermott’s “Cosi fan tutte” is a coproduction with the English National Opera that premiered there in 2014; the previous Met production was by Lesley Koenig and ran from 1996 to 2014.

“The Franco Zeffirelli production was absolutely spectacular in its physical beauty,” notes Gelb. “What Zeffirelli did in this production that was very highly regarded, particularly by the older members of our audience, was that he created in vivid detail the settings of ancient Rome that were actually indicated in the libretto. But it was so spectacular, that, in a way, it dwarfed the dramatic action. It became almost a Disneyesque picture postcard, to the point where you didn’t need to fly to Rome to see Rome, you could see it on the stage of the Met.”

When the time came to renew the show, says Gelb, “I chose Bondy because he was one of the great narrative storytellers and had an illustrious career directing theater and opera, including running France’s most prestigious theater, the Odéon, at the time of his death. He wanted to represent ‘Tosca’ in terms of the

### THE COMING SEASON

PERENNIAL FAVORITES AND RARELY SEEN GEMS



Plácido Domingo will perform in “Luisa Miller.”

KEVIN HOWARD / METROPOLITAN OPERA

The Metropolitan Opera presents modern contemporary operas and U.S. and world premieres of new ones, and even commissions new works to further the art form’s development, but it is a repertory company. “That’s what the Met is all about,” says Peter Gelb, the general manager.

Among the pieces in the Met repertory are favorites that are mainstays, like Franco Zeffirelli’s production of Puccini’s “La Bohème,” which has had hundreds of performances since its premiere in 1981. The opera itself has been performed at the Met more than 1,200 times since 1900. Angel Blue, Anita Hartig and Sonya Yoncheva share the Mimi role opposite Dmytro Popov, Russell Thomas and Michael Fabiano as Rodolfo in the 2017-18 season’s production, which runs Oct. 2 to March 10.

The season also includes some revivals that are rare. Among them is “Luisa Miller,” which last played at the Met in 2006. James Levine is conducting the opera, with his longtime friend and collaborator, Plácido Domingo, in the role of the father of Luisa, sung by Sonya Yoncheva. Piotr Beczala is Luisa’s lover, Rodolfo, and the cast also includes the Russian bass Alexander Vinogradov, who is making his debut at the opera house.

“Luisa Miller” is a historic production that has some

great Verdi music in it, and it has an extraordinary cast,” says Gelb. “It’s a piece that James Levine – in his new role as music director emeritus – has embraced over the years and really wanted to do again. With the cast we have, including Domingo and Yoncheva, we feel it’s worth doing. My focus has been making sure everything we put on the stage, whether it’s a revival or a new production, has the best possible cast – the Met has always been famous, long before I got there, for the quality of the singers on the stage. I’ve tried to reinforce that approach.”

Rossini’s “Semiramide” is not very often performed anywhere. The Met production by John Copley ran from 1990 to 1993 and hasn’t been seen there since. Set in ancient Babylon, the opera features Angela Meade in the title role of the queen, and Maurizio Benini conducts. It runs Feb. 19 to March 17.

There are also two recent productions being revived at the Met for the first time, both conducted by Yannick Nézet-Séguin, the Met’s “music director designate,” who will officially take the title of music director in 2020. François Girard’s staging of Wagner’s “Parsifal” (Feb. 5-27), which was his directorial debut at the Met in 2013, stars Klaus Florian Vogt, and Patrice Chéreau’s version of Strauss’s “Elektra” (March 1-23), from 2016, features Christine Goerke.



#### ROLEX CULTURE PARTNERS: THE MET



One of the world’s top opera houses has celebrated a milestone. The Metropolitan Opera, or simply the Met, marked the 50th anniversary of its move to Lincoln Center with a grand evening of 31 operatic numbers over five hours in front of 3,800 fans. Watch some of the highlights in our Musica video on demand: [euronews.com/2017/05/18/the-met-celebrates-50-years-at-the-lincoln-center](https://euronews.com/2017/05/18/the-met-celebrates-50-years-at-the-lincoln-center).



medici.tv is the global leader in classical music video streaming. For nearly 10 years, its unique selection of live and on-demand concerts, operas, ballets, documentaries and master classes has appealed to music lovers, professionals, and institutions throughout the world. Join us at [www.medici.tv/en/artists/giacomo-puccini/](http://www.medici.tv/en/artists/giacomo-puccini/) and [www.medici.tv/en/artists/giuseppe-verdi/](http://www.medici.tv/en/artists/giuseppe-verdi/) for a great selection of pieces by Puccini and Verdi.



Opera Online analyzes significant operas in their musical and historical context. Go to [opera-online.com/en/items/opera-houses/the-metropolitan-opera](http://opera-online.com/en/items/opera-houses/the-metropolitan-opera) to find the page on New York’s Metropolitan Opera and to discover, among other features, an article about the Met’s upcoming season and an in-depth essay, “Norma: The Role of Roles,” about the Metropolitan Opera’s season opener with Sondra Radvanovsky.

The Met  
ropolitan  
Opera



ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT



A scene from Act I of Zeffirelli's "Tosca," which ran from 1985 to 2006.

MARTY SOHL / METROPOLITAN OPERA

## NEW STORIES EMERGE

A LABORATORY FOR COMPOSERS AND WRITERS

As Peter Gelb, the house’s general manager puts it, “part of the Metropolitan Opera’s mission is to expand the repertoire with new work.” That includes programming contemporary operas like Thomas Adès’s “The Exterminating Angel” in the season about to open or Kaija Saariaho’s “L’Amour de loin” last season, and also developing new work. To accomplish this part of the mission, in 2006 the Met, in a partnership with the Lincoln Center Theater, began a program to commission new operas by composers and playwrights.

“It’s a kind of a laboratory for composers, usually younger composers, to develop new work,” says Gelb. “We commission not only a composer, but also a librettist. What the program promises is to provide them with the financial resources to write the work and for us to produce an initial workshop after the piece is written. At that point, we decide whether to support it in further development into a main-stage piece that could play either at Lincoln Center Theater or at the Met — or it could be a chamber-sized opera that could play at Lincoln Center Theater.”

The composer/librettist pairs are often determined by the Met. This was the case for the first new opera from the program to be staged, “Two Boys,” with music by Nico Muhly and a libretto by Craig Lucas, which opened at the Met in the fall of 2013. It premiered at the English National Opera in 2011. Muhly’s new opera, “Marnie,” premieres at the ENO in November.

“We introduced Nico to his librettist, Craig Lucas,” says Gelb, “and also brought in Bartlett Sher early on in the creative process to give directorial advice in

helping to shape the story. We want to help composers and librettists create new work that has a chance of really playing on the stage of the Met or other opera companies, and to help by making sure they’re aware of the narrative dramatic challenges. That’s why we bring in a director, or have a composer work with an experienced librettist.”

Among the current composers and playwrights in the program are Matthew Aucoin, an assistant conductor at the Met and “one of the most exciting young American composers,” according to Gelb, and Sarah Ruhl, “a top American playwright. She wrote a play from the perspective of Eurydice, in the Orpheus story. She’s now adapting that play into a libretto that Matt is going to be writing music for. We introduced the two of them to each other.”

Other operas in development in the program include “Intimate Apparel,” by the composer Ricky Ian Gordon (“27” and “A Coffin in Egypt”) and the Pulitzer Prize-winner Lynn Nottage, with a libretto adapted from her play about an African-American seamstress in turn-of-the-century New York; “Grounded,” about a female F16 fighter pilot reassigned to drone duty, with music by the Tony award-winner Jeanine Tesori and George Brant, adapting his play; a third opera by the composer David T. Little and the librettist Royce Vavrek, whose previous works together include “Dog Days” and “JFK”; and a new opera about Frank Lloyd Wright’s Fallingwater house by the composer Joshua Schmidt, whose musical “Midwestern Gothic” premiered in March at the Signature Theatre in Arlington, Virginia.

## SONYA YONCHEVA

A BREAKOUT SEASON FOR A ‘FEARLESS’ PERFORMER

Sonya Yoncheva returns to the Metropolitan Opera in the 2017-18 season to star in three operas, in two new title roles for her, “Tosca” and “Luisa Miller,” and as Mimi in “La Bohème.” In addition to her role debuts at the Met in the season, she will take on Elisabeth de Valois in “Don Carlos,” at the Paris Opera in October, alongside Jonas Kaufmann in the title role. She will also bring her popular Mimi to Paris, in December.

It’s been less than three years since she made a big impression on the Met stage by making her debut as Mimi at very short notice at the end of 2014, followed immediately by her triumph as Violetta in “La Traviata” in January 2015. Last season she added new operas to her repertory, Desdemona in “Otello” at the Met and “Norma” at the Royal Opera, another role she accepted in an 11th-hour cast change. This summer, she sang her first major role at La Scala — in her obviously highly in-demand Mimi, and she returns to Milan for another role debut, as Imogene in “Il Pirata,” next summer.

“It will be probably one of the most challenging seasons I’ve had,” says Yoncheva. “It will be a test for me — how far I can go.”

“This is going to be somewhat of a breakout season at the Met for Yoncheva,” says Peter Gelb, “since she will be the first artist since I’ve been general manager to sing in three starring roles in one season. So her profile at the Met and around the world is going to go up.

“She’s one of the great rising stars, and there’s a reason for it, because she has an extraordinarily beautiful and expressive voice, she’s a stunning figure onstage, she has great dramatic chops and she’s a dream to work with for directors. She’s very willing

and interested in exploring interpretations, and she’s learning repertoire as she goes along, so she’s very fresh and new, not jaded by repeating too many roles.

“She’s ambitious about taking on a wide range of repertoire, and so far that has worked to her advantage. No one thought she could pull off stepping into ‘Norma’ at the last minute at the Royal Opera last year, and yet she triumphed.”

Though Yoncheva’s successes in London, Paris and Milan are impressive, the Met poses a particular challenge, according to Gelb. “Usually, singers sing roles in other companies before they tackle the giant stage of the Met,” he says. “The Met is harder than other opera houses because it’s bigger — it’s physically more of a challenge because of the size, and the singers aren’t amplified. The Met, with 3,800 seats, is the biggest of the great opera houses by far, and there are some singers who have great careers in Europe who can never make it at the Met, just because their voices lack the vocal firepower. Sonya not only has that, but so far she also has a fearless approach.”



Sonya Yoncheva will sing the title role in “Luisa Miller.”

KEN HOWARD / METROPOLITAN OPERA

Yoncheva as Mimi in “La Bohème.”

KEN HOWARD / METROPOLITAN OPERA

## WHEN YOUR TRADITIONS SET THE STANDARD, YOU’VE MADE HISTORY.

This watch is a witness to one of the world’s greatest opera houses, the home to nearly 30 groundbreaking productions each year. Worn by those who always push art to new heights. It doesn’t just tell time. It tells history.



OYSTER PERPETUAL LADY-DATEJUST 28



Opera lovers who may not make it to New York in the next year can still see many of the Metropolitan Opera’s productions live — in high-definition broadcasts to movie theaters around the world. Ten operas are programmed for the Met’s Live in HD 2017-18 season.

Peter Gelb, who started the program in 2006 when he became the Met’s general manager, explains how the operas are chosen for the program: “We know many in our audience go to see all the Met titles in movie theaters, so we want to give them a good range of repertoire, both popular titles and more unusual, more obscure ones. It reflects what we’re trying to do with the Met repertoire as well. We’ll include very popular titles like ‘Tosca’ or the season opener, a new production of ‘Norma,’ which we’re excited about, and more eclectic pieces, like ‘The Exterminating Angel,’ because we think the HD programming has a role in introducing opera to audiences not only in our opera house but in movie theaters, who may have never seen an opera, or a title, before.”

Gelb speaks with pride and enthusiasm about the program, which has more than 2,000 participating movie theaters in 73 countries. More than 23 million tickets have been sold since its beginnings.

“Even though some of our competitors, the other top opera houses, have followed in our footsteps in presenting operas in movie theaters,” he says, “it is an indisputable fact that the Met’s distribution is far larger than anybody else’s, because we were first and we’ve maintained this leadership position. Live in HD reaches hundreds of thousands of people around the world.”

Pathé Live, part of the Gaumont Pathé movie-theater chain, has been showing the series since 2007, and now broadcasts to about 160 theaters in

France, as well as to another 15 in Switzerland, six in Lebanon and two in Morocco — a combined capacity of 21,000 seats.

According to Raphaël Lemée, international sales manager for Pathé Live, theater owners say the program helps them create an “edge over the competition” in marketing. Though most theaters in the program are in larger markets, he says, “even smaller cities sometimes have a very vivid and eager community when it comes to the arts, especially opera, because there may be no local stage. You want to reach out to people who are not able to come to you, and often it’s there where it works the best.”

Another Met broadcasting initiative that is not as well known is Metropolitan Opera on Demand, says Gelb, “which is probably the single greatest operatic-content source in the world, available in one streaming service.”

For \$14.99 a month or \$149.99 a year, subscribers get access to audio and video of 600 full-length Met performances on mobile phones, tablets or smart televisions.

He explains: “It contains all of the HD shows — we’ve produced 109 of them; all of the pre-HD TV shows, going back to the ’70s, like Teresa Stratas in ‘La Bohème’; about a hundred or so television programs that were produced for public television; and hundreds and hundreds of radio broadcasts that go back to the ’30s. We’re constantly upgrading it with new content.”

This year, for example, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Met’s move to Lincoln Center, it released a 22-CD box set, “The Inaugural Season: Extraordinary Met Performances from 1966-67.” All of the audio recordings from the collection are now available on Met Opera on Demand.

Upcoming Live in HD broadcasts

- “NORMA” BY VINCENZO BELLINI: directed by David McVicar and starring Sondra Radvanovsky in the title role. Oct. 7.
- “DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE” BY WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART: James Levine conducts Julie Taymor’s production. Oct. 14.
- “THE EXTERMINATING ANGEL” BY THOMAS ADÈS: conducted by the composer of this work, which premiered at the Salzburg Festival in 2016. Nov. 18.
- “TOSCA” BY GIACOMO PUCCINI: with Sonya Yoncheva, Bryn Terfel and Vittorio Grigolo. Jan. 27.
- “L’ELISIR D’AMORE” BY GAETANO DONIZETTI: with Pretty Yende in a role debut with Matthew Polenzani in a production by Bartlett Sher. Feb. 10.
- “LA BOHÈME” BY PUCCINI: with Sonya Yoncheva in Franco Zeffirelli’s classic production. Feb. 24.
- “SEMIRAMIDE” BY GIOACHINO ROSSINI: Maurizio Benini conducts in the first production of the opera at the Met in nearly 25 years. March 10.
- “COSÌ FAN TUTTE” BY MOZART: A new production set at Coney Island by Phelim McDermott. March 31.
- “LUISA MILLER” BY GIUSEPPE VERDI: A favorite of James Levine, the Met’s music director emeritus, with Plácido Domingo and Sonya Yoncheva. April 14.
- “CENDRILLON” BY JULES MASSENET: The first production of this Cinderella story at the Met, with Joyce DiDonato in the title role. April 28.

This special advertising supplement is produced by T Brand Studio International. The news and editorial staff of The New York Times has no role in its preparation. Text by Perry Leopard.



# Business



Li Shuangsheng tending the rows of Bitmain computers that produce Bitcoin. The factory offers rare, lucrative job opportunities in a sparsely populated region in Inner Mongolia.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIULIA MARCHI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Mining Bitcoin as coal runs out

DALAD BANNER, CHINA

Inner Mongolia producer of digital currency grows, despite Beijing’s skepticism

BY CAO LI  
AND GIULIA MARCHI

They worked as factory hands, in the coal business and as farmers. Their spirits rose when a coal boom promised to bring factories and jobs to this land of grassy plains in Inner Mongolia. When the boom ebbed, they looked for work wherever they could.

Today, many have found it at a place that makes money — the digital kind.

Here, in what is locally called the Dalad Economic Development Zone, lies one of the biggest Bitcoin farms in the world. These eight factory buildings with blue-tin roofs account for nearly one-twentieth of the world’s daily production of the cryptocurrency.

Based on today’s prices, it issues \$318,000 in digital currency a day.

From the outside, the factory — owned by a company called Bitmain China — does not look much different from the other buildings in the industrial park.

Its neighbors include chemical plants and aluminum smelters. Some of the buildings in the zone were never finished. Except for the occasional coal-carrying truck, the roads are largely silent.

Inside, instead of heavy industrial machinery, workers tend rows and rows of computers — nearly 25,000 computers in all — crunching the mathematical problems that create Bitcoin.

Workers carry laptop computers as they walk the aisles looking for breakdowns and checking cable connections. They fill water tanks that keep the computers from melting down or bursting into flame. Around them, hundreds of thousands of cooling fans fill the building with whooshing white noise.



The Dalad Economic Development Zone is filled with unfinished buildings like the one above at left that were abandoned as investors left. At right, a power meter panel at Bitmain, top, and plugs in a Bitmain warehouse.



Bitcoin’s believers say it will be the currency of the future. Purely electronic, it can be sent across borders anonymously without oversight by a central authority. That makes it appealing to a diverse and sometimes mismatched group that includes tech enthusiasts, civil libertarians, hackers and criminals.

Bitcoin is also, by and large, made in China. The country makes more than two-thirds of all Bitcoin issued daily. Bitmain, founded by Jihan Wu, a former investment analyst, makes money mostly by selling equipment to make Bitcoins, as well as mining the currency itself.

China has mixed feelings about Bitcoin.

On one hand, the government worries that Bitcoin will allow Chinese people to bypass its strict limits on how much money they can send abroad, and could also be used to commit crimes. Chinese officials are moving to close Bitcoin ex-

changes, where the currency is bought and sold, though they have not set a time frame. While that would not affect Bitcoin manufacturing directly, it would make buying and selling Bitcoin more expensive in one of its major markets, potentially hurting prices.

On the other hand, the digital currency may represent an opportunity for China to push into new technologies, a motivation behind its extensive push into other cutting-edge areas, like driverless cars and artificial intelligence. China continues to offer Bitcoin makers like Bitmain cheap electricity — making Bitcoin requires immense amounts of power — and other inducements.

Dalad Banner may be far away from Beijing’s internet start-up scene and southern China’s gadget hub. Still, many of the workers and surrounding residents see a digital opportunity for Dalad Banner and the rest of their part of Inner Mongolia, an area famous in China for

half-finished factories and towns so empty that they are sometimes called ghost cities.

“Now the mine has about 50 employees,” said Wang Wei, the manager of Bitmain China’s Dalad Banner facility, using one of several metaphors for the work being done there. “I feel in the future it might bring hundreds or even thousands of jobs, like the big factories.”

Mr. Wang, a 36-year-old resident and former coal salesman, purchased one Bitcoin about six months ago. It has since more than doubled in value. “I made quite a lot of money,” he said.

China also sees a potential new source of jobs, particularly in underdeveloped places like Dalad Banner. The county of about 370,000 people on the edge of the vast Kubuqi Desert boasts coal reserves and coal-powered heavy industries like steel. But it lags behind much of the rest of the country in broadly developing its economy. It is part of the urban area of

Ordos, a city about 350 miles away from Beijing that is famous for its empty buildings.

Dalad Banner is not the sort of place that at first glance looks like a home for high-tech work. Indeed, the idea took some getting used to, even among the workers.

“I didn’t know anything about Bitcoin then,” said Li Shuangsheng, a 28-year-old resident who maintains the operations of one of the eight factories.

He bounced from job to job — the chemical plant was too noisy and polluted, he said — before he landed about one month ago at Bitmain China’s Dalad Banner factory, one of the few lucrative job opportunities in the sparsely populated region.

Mr. Li does not yet own any Bitcoin, but he is happy with the work and studying up on the subject online when family time permits.

“Now,” he said, “I’m starting to have some idea.”

Many at the farm have experienced the ups and downs of the local economy.

Bai Xiaotu was laid off from a state-owned furniture factory in 1997. He had been doing different menial jobs until he went to work at Bitmain’s Dalad Banner farm in December as a cleaner.

“Look around, there are abandoned factories on both sides of our farm,” said Mr. Bai, a 53-year-old with a weather-beaten face. “Many factories are not doing that great.”

But the industry is still new to most. Bai Dong, Mr. Bai’s 31-year-old son, had never heard of Bitcoin when his father first got the job. After searching on the internet, he found that the Bitcoin price was rising quickly and that the farm was one of the biggest in the world. “I feel positive about the future of the industry,” Mr. Bai said.

But he is still confused what Bitcoin mining is.

“We have coal mines,” he said. “Now we have a Bitcoin mine. They are both mines. What’s their relationship?”

*Text by Cao Li and photographs and video by Giulia Marchi.*

## Politicians in Germany try to loosen ties to autos

FRANKFURT

Diesel emissions crisis makes leaders targets of constituents’ outrage

BY JACK EWING

Sometimes it is hard to tell where the German government ends and the auto industry begins.

Daimler and Volkswagen’s top lobbyists were once close aides to Chancellor Angela Merkel. The foreign minister, Sigmar Gabriel, used to sit on Volkswagen’s supervisory board. Ms. Merkel herself once buttonholed the governor of California to complain about the state’s strict emissions standards.

Those close relations between public officials and car manufacturers were once considered vital economic policy for Germany’s most important export. Now, they are a political liability.

Weeks before national elections, voters increasingly see the government as complicit with carmakers in a widening diesel crisis that threatens the German economy. While Ms. Merkel is still heavily favored to win, the chancellor and her political rivals consider the automakers toxic and have begun to distance themselves from them.

The backlash has been building since 2015, when United States regulators uncovered widespread emissions cheating by Volkswagen, Europe’s largest automaker. The broadening case, which has also ensnared BMW and Daimler, has called attention to the harmful effects of nitrogen oxide emissions from diesel vehicles. Cities across Europe are considering diesel bans, and sales of diesel engines are plummeting.

“I’m just as angry about the fraud as you,” Ms. Merkel said in an interview with the magazine *Der Spiegel* published Sept. 2, illustrating her newly critical attitude toward the industry. But she has not completely abandoned the industry. Ms. Merkel was scheduled to speak at the opening ceremony for the International Motor Show in Frankfurt on Thursday.

**For decades, the German government has been a crucial ally for carmakers, operating as a de facto lobbyist for the industry.**

For decades, the German government has been a crucial ally for carmakers, operating as a de facto lobbyist for the industry.

With the active support of officials, automakers used their political clout in Brussels to block stricter emissions regulations and to promote subsidies for diesel. German leaders, including Ms. Merkel and her predecessor, argued against tough emissions rules and pushed for better terms for the country’s carmakers abroad.

Most recently, Germany led a group of auto-producing countries in weakening European emissions testing procedures that were designed to prevent the kind of deception committed by Volkswagen. New cars must pass road tests. Previously, they had to pass only laboratory exams, which Volkswagen and other carmakers were able to game. But, at German insistence, cars can emit double the legal limit of nitrogen oxides and still be approved.

German political leaders and automakers have worked together to promote diesel technology since the 1990s. Ms. Merkel’s predecessor, Gerhard Schröder, was proud to be known as the “auto chancellor.”

Germany has taxed diesel fuel at a lower rate than gasoline since the 1980s, originally to make truck transport, which is predominantly diesel, less expensive. The goal, according to a 2011 study by Transport and Environment, an advocacy group in Brussels, was to lower costs to help German manufacturers compete internationally.

In the 1990s, the auto industry preserved the subsidies by convincing politicians that diesels were better for the environment than gasoline engines, a dubious claim given the other pollutants that diesel spews. For years, environmentalists’ calls to raise diesel taxes have met opposition from the country’s largest political parties, including Ms. Merkel’s Christian Democrats.

Those tax breaks have ensured that diesel is significantly cheaper at the pump, leading to a steady rise in the popularity of diesel-powered cars. Until recently, they outsold their gasoline-powered counterparts around Europe.

German carmakers and politicians engaged in a similar battle in Brussels, fighting for years to bat away tougher emissions rules. In 2013, Germany used its clout as the European Union’s largest economy to intervene when the bloc’s executive arm wanted to tighten limits on carbon dioxide emissions.

Matthias Wissmann, head of the *German Automobile Industry Association*, said in a statement that the industry was “not interested in a diesel ban.”

## A new fashion pacesetter emerges

TORONTO

BY BRONWYN COSGRAVE

At 2 a.m. last Friday, Grace Jones was in the Broadview, a strip club turned boutique hotel in Toronto that features pole dancing bars in the guest rooms, wearing Azzedine Alaïa and leading a disco rave.

Several hours later, after Lady Gaga dazzled a crowd of 1,400 with a grand piano performance of her song “Bad Romance” at the stately Princess of Wales Theater, a caftan-swathed André Leon Talley reclined next to Lady Barbara Black (wife of the former media mogul

Sir Conrad Black) holding court at a midnight supper party hosted in his honor by the real estate tycoon David Daniels.

These are not, as one might assume, snapshots from a Canadian fashion week, but rather events that took place during the recent Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), which began Sept. 7 and ends on Sunday. Along with an increasingly visible star quotient, this 10-day event in downtown Toronto has come of age as a new forum for red carpet glamour.

It’s about time. Though since its inauguration in 1976 TIFF has regularly been the first stop for a long line of films that later claim Oscar gold — from “Chariots

**Once ignored by paparazzi, the Toronto International Film Festival is drawing attention as a forum for red carpet glamour.**

of Fire” (1981) to “American Beauty” (1999), “Slumdog Millionaire” (2008) to “La La Land” (2016) and “Moonlight” (2016) — paparazzi have paid scant attention. Because Hollywood’s Oscar films are typically dominated by men, TIFF’s red carpet was too, and for decades the women headlining TIFF films, including Nicole Kidman, seized the opportunity to play down the glamour and

turn up in trousers. Now, however, all that has changed. If you want to know who is going to set the agenda for the people pages over the coming months, look to the north.

The stylist Elizabeth Saltzman spent August assessing 25 looks for her client Gemma Arterton to wear at TIFF’s premiere of “The Escape.” “TIFF is the cool kid,” Ms. Saltzman said. “It takes place in a northern city at the beginning of fall. It happens just as fashion month starts.”

“The look is about ‘I’m a serious actor,’ because TIFF commands a ton of respect from the film industry,” she said. “But you have to up the ante. You have to start to generate attention. It is the beginning of the buildup to Oscar season.”

Case in point: the blazer and shorts by Marcus Lupfer modeled by Ms. Arterton, who both stars in and produced the film. “I didn’t feel like wearing a frock,” the actress wrote in an email. “I wanted a playful take on a suit.”

Cut to last Saturday night, the premiere of Haifaa Al-Mansour’s film adaptation of “Mary Shelley” (as part of TIFF’s new move to support gender equality, about one-third of the films shown at the festival were directed by women.)

Just after 11, one of the film’s stars, the British actress Bel Powley, appeared in a thigh-grazing white Alessandra Rich chiffon number and navigated her way *TORONTO, PAGE 14*



# A man of many principles

Hedge fund firm’s founder wants to spread a gospel of ‘radical transparency’

BY ALEXANDRA STEVENSON  
AND MATTHEW GOLDSTEIN

As thousands of Egyptians took to the streets during the Arab Spring protests of 2011, Ray Dalio, a hedge fund billionaire, decided to sail the Nile River with some friends, including some other financiers.

It was a risky place to be, with the Middle East convulsed, and Mr. Dalio’s trip raised concerns at the Connecticut headquarters of his company, Bridgewater Associates. But his security team couldn’t get him to change his plans, so they set up a special team to track him and his group by GPS, hoping to keep him out of trouble.

You could say that Mr. Dalio was applying one of his very own rules, known internally as Principle 188: “If you make a plan, follow through!”

Over four decades, Mr. Dalio, 68, has built Bridgewater, which has \$160 billion in assets, into the largest hedge fund firm in the world — bigger than the next two largest hedge funds combined. He manages money for some of the largest companies, big public pensions, sovereign wealth funds and even some central banks. He has become a financier-statesman, of sorts, consulting with political leaders in China, the Middle East and elsewhere.

He has also built an unusual and confrontational workplace at Bridgewater, where employees hold each other to account by following a strict set of rules that he created, “Principles.” He began developing the rules, which number more than 200, two decades ago based on his life experiences.

Some, like advising employees not to “tolerate badness,” are self-evident. Others — “look for people who sparkle”; “be willing to ‘shoot the people you love’ ” — are more unconventional.

All of the rules celebrate what Mr. Dalio calls “radical transparency” in the workplace, and the search for the ideal employee. Those ideals stand in stark contrast to Bridgewater’s reputation as particularly secretive when it come to its trading, even for an industry where secrecy about investing is the norm.

Now, Mr. Dalio hopes that others will embrace his ideas about the future of work as he embarks on a big public push to promote his Principles. But is corporate America ready for his sometimes contradictory vision of radical transparency?

On Tuesday, Simon & Schuster will publish “Principles: Life & Work,” a 567-page book written with editing help from a former GQ magazine writer that combines Mr. Dalio’s rules with a memoir. Mr. Dalio is also working on a smartphone app — once called the Book of the Future — to help other business leaders apply the Principles.

The effort to establish Mr. Dalio as a business icon in the vein of Steve Jobs or Warren E. Buffett comes even as questions persist about Bridgewater’s unusual culture. The firm videotapes nearly everything that goes on there for future case studies, and employees are given homework and graded on their understanding of Principles.

In interviews with nearly 50 current and former Bridgewater employees, including several chosen by Mr. Dalio, The New York Times found that he is driven to enforce his rules to ensure that they survive at the firm. Some senior executives have been taken to task in “public hangings” — one of the Principles meant to “deter bad behavior” — when they break the rules. Other employees have been pushed to tears.

The Times also found that Bridgewater’s investment process is largely a secret not only to investors but to most of the firm’s 1,500 employees. No more than a dozen people have a full sense of how the firm trades.

Even employees who left with a positive experience describe a workplace that is rigid and sometimes oppressive. “Is it a hedge fund, or a social experiment?” said Tim Bradley, a technology consultant who worked at Bridgewater for a year in 2010.

At a time when workplace culture — whether at Silicon Valley start-ups, Wall Street banks or factories — can attract intense public scrutiny, Mr. Dalio’s pitch to other businesses that they can adopt the Bridgewater model could be a tough sell.

Mr. Dalio declined to comment for this article. In the past, he has dismissed criticism of the firm as exaggerations by disgruntled workers and “distorted news.”

Bridgewater, in a statement, said that people either thrive in the firm’s “unique culture” or “they dislike it and decide to move on.”

## THE PRINCIPLES AT WORK

Nestled amid pine trees and hidden from the main road, the serene setting of Bridgewater’s headquarters in Westport, Conn., is beloved by employees. Many also find the work intellectually stimulating.

Plucked from top schools, most of those hired by the firm arrive with little or no expertise in the world of finance. They work hard, and party hard at retreats sometimes held at the Lookout, a firm-owned guesthouse where meals are cooked by Bridgewater chefs, or at Mr. Dalio’s house in Vermont.



Ray Dalio, the founder of Bridgewater, the world’s largest hedge fund firm. Below, Mr. Dalio’s “Principles: Life & Work,” a book he hopes will change business culture.

“Bridgewater definitely changed me and I would say for the better,” said Owen B. Jennings, who was hired as an investment associate in 2011 after graduating from Dartmouth College.

Others describe a darker side of the firm’s culture. Turnover is high — a third of employees are said to leave within the first two years, a figure the firm does not dispute. Some who have left said they became disenchanted with the constant blunt feedback, questioning of their actions, lack of privacy and need to adhere to Mr. Dalio’s rules.

Nearly all of the current and former employees interviewed declined to speak on the record for fear of retribution because of the firm’s strict nondisclosure agreements. The Times reviewed documents from a dozen lawsuits and complaints filed against the firm by former employees, and documents obtained from public agencies through Freedom of Information Act requests.

The picture that emerges is that life at Bridgewater is demanding, with a heavy focus on maintaining Mr. Dalio’s rules.

Each day, employees are tested and graded on their knowledge of the Principles. They walk around with iPads loaded with the rules and an interactive rating system called “dots” to evaluate peers and supervisors. The ratings feed into each employee’s permanent record, called the “baseball card.”

Two dozen Principles “captains” are responsible for enforcing the rules. Another group, “overseers,” some of whom report to Mr. Dalio, monitor department heads.

The video cameras that record daily interactions for future case studies are so ubiquitous that employees joke about “the men in the walls.”

Meetings occasionally last for hours, sometimes simply because of a debate over why certain subjects are on the agenda or the quality of an employee’s presentation. Workers described being publicly berated for not completing homework assignments related to the firm’s culture or, sometimes, for “below-the-bar thinking.”

Mr. Dalio, a devotee of Transcendental Meditation, considers confrontation part of a quest for getting to the truth and determining an employee’s “believability.” Because, as Mr. Dalio once explained in a Principle known in-house as No. 194, only “believable” people “have the right to have opinions.”

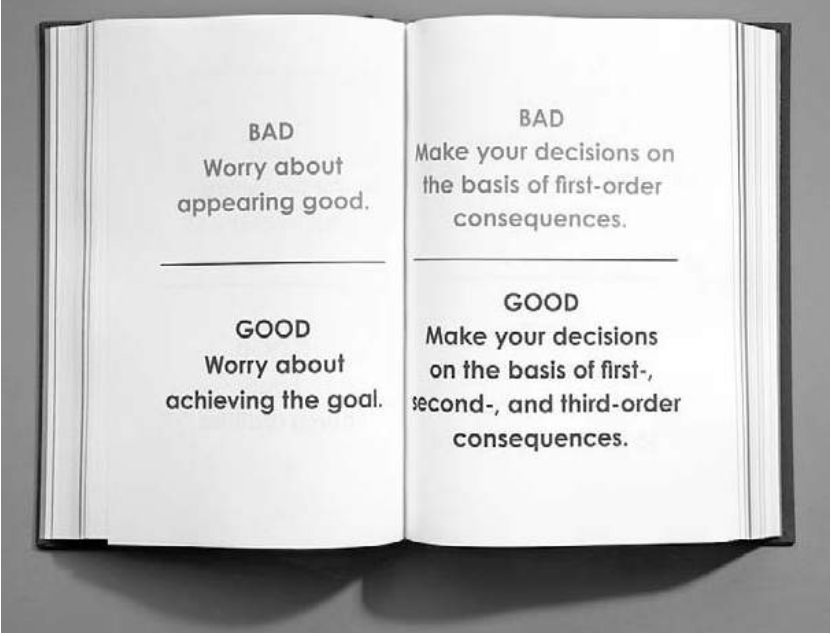
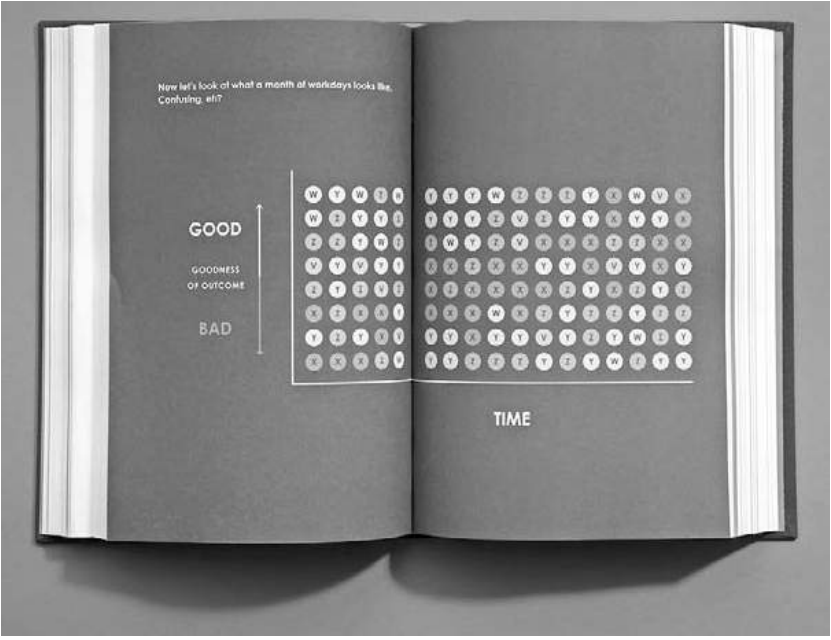
James Cordes, who was hired several years ago as an internal adviser to the Bridgewater management committee, said Mr. Dalio, “was a purist; you had to go all in.”

Mr. Dalio has talked about the firm as a place devoid of office politics, where employees don’t talk behind each other’s backs. But some former employees contend Mr. Dalio has simply created a different kind of office politics, one that rewards those who play by his rules.

The firm’s top executives, like Mr. Dalio, see things differently. “This is a deeply analytical place,” said Brian Kreiter, a member of Bridgewater’s management committee. “When something goes wrong in any part of our business it gets debated vigorously with reference to our shared understanding, systems, and principles.”

“We want this place to be an idea meritocracy,” he said.

But in Mr. Dalio’s quest to create an environment that values data, emotional intelligence can be stripped out of business decisions, said Robin Levine, a former employee who now runs a job-matching platform she and another



Bridgewater alumna founded. “If you read through the Principles, there is more emphasis on the individual.” Ms. Levine added that working at Bridgewater did foster good interpersonal relationships.

Yet some incidents of raucous behavior at off-site retreats have led employees to complain.

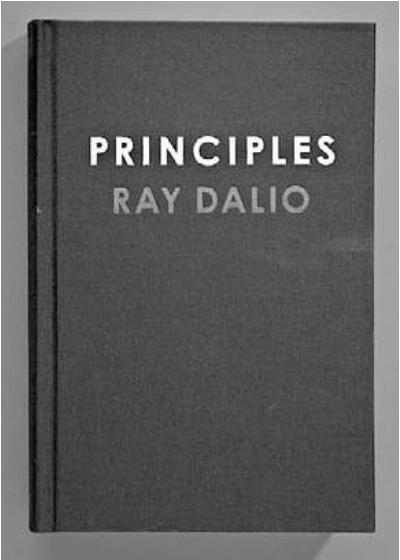
In one 2012 episode, at Mohonk Mountain House in upstate New York, several dozen junior associates watched a fire-side chat that started in humor, and then took a turn when Greg Jensen, one of Mr. Dalio’s lieutenants and a co-chief investment officer, was asked by another employee to describe the time that he and Mr. Dalio sat naked together in a sauna during a trip to Japan.

After the retreat, several employees said they were made uncomfortable by some of what had gone on that weekend, including skinny dipping and heavy drinking by some who were there.

Mark Carey, an employment lawyer who has represented five Bridgewater employees in disputes over the past two years, said that Mr. Dalio had created an environment that could deter employees from speaking up about workplace problems.

“This whole transparency and truth-seeking thing is juxtaposed with the fact that they intentionally secretize all interactions with employees from public view,” Mr. Carey said.

Mr. Dalio has acknowledged that the firm’s culture is not for everyone. Of his rules, he writes in his book, “I don’t ex-



BOOK PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES

pect you to follow them blindly.” The firm said, “While there could be some concern that media distortions might impact recruiting, the firm just had one of its best recruiting classes ever.”

Bridgewater also notes that business leaders like Bill Gates and Jamie Dimon have praised Mr. Dalio’s book.

Robert Kegan, a professor at Harvard Graduate School of Education who spent a week at Bridgewater doing research, likened Mr. Dalio to a great inventor. “Every critical thing you’ve heard about Bridgewater could be true and it still doesn’t take away from the

basic project itself,” Professor Kegan said.

Mr. Dalio was contributing to “as dramatic a transformation as the industrial revolution,” he added, referring to the Bridgewater founder’s vision of the future of work.

## INVESTMENT MACHINE

Some hedge fund managers get museum wings named after them for making large donations. Others have hospital wards dedicated in their honor. Mr. Dalio had a species of coral — *Eknomis dalioi* — named for him in 2011 because of his involvement with the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation.

His beginnings were more humble.

He grew up in Jackson Heights, in the Queens borough of New York City, the son of a jazz musician. He earned an undergraduate degree in accounting from Long Island University before heading off to Harvard Business School. After graduating, he landed at a small brokerage firm that was led at the time by Sanford I. Weill, who would later forge Citigroup.

Mr. Dalio didn’t last long. He punched his boss in the face and brought a stripper to a corporate event. He was fired and then formed Bridgewater in 1975, working out of his two-bedroom Manhattan apartment.

He married Barbara Gabaldoni, a descendant of the Whitneys and the Vanderbilts, and the couple moved to Wilton, Conn. For a time, Bridgewater was so small that it was run out of their home.

Early clients included the pension funds for the World Bank and Eastman Kodak. The firm gained a dedicated following on Wall Street because of its deeply researched daily economic note, Daily Observations.

After profiting on the stock market crash of 1987, Mr. Dalio started to become known beyond Wall Street. The next year, he appeared in an episode of “The Oprah Winfrey Show” called “Do foreigners own America?”

In 1991, Bridgewater started one of its flagship funds, Pure Alpha, which makes bets based on the direction of global economic trends. Five years later, it started All Weather, a fund that pioneered a steady, low-risk strategy called risk parity.

As for Principles, the concept flowed from Mr. Dalio’s early practice of jotting down his observations about how markets worked. He moved on to writing down his thoughts on how employees should interact in the workplace.

In the mid-2000s, he had just a few dozen Principles, but the number quickly grew along with Bridgewater’s head count. Ultimately, Mr. Dalio compiled his rules into a little white book. All employees carried hard copies before Principles became available on the firm’s iPads.

It wasn’t until the financial crisis of a decade ago that Bridgewater made the big leagues. The firm saw before most in the industry that trouble was brewing in the mortgage market and at firms like Bear Stearns and Lehman Brothers. So when the stock market tumbled in 2008 and most hedge funds recorded big losses, Bridgewater’s Pure Alpha fund made money for its investors. Its success led more money to pour in.

Since it began, Pure Alpha has made investors an annual average return after fees of 11.9 percent, slightly better than the 9.5 percent average yearly return for the Standard & Poor’s 500. The All Weather fund has given investors an annual return of 7.9 percent return since it began.

In an industry known for producing flameouts, the consistent returns have drawn investors to Bridgewater despite Mr. Dalio’s idiosyncratic leadership style, which has included frequent management shake-ups. Most recently, Mr. Dalio ousted Jon Rubinstein, a former top Apple executive, in March after hiring him just 10 months earlier as the firm’s co-chief executive officer, because he was not a “culture fit.”

“It is a culture that is not for everyone but not one that would dissuade me from investing,” said John Longo, a finance professor at Rutgers University School of Business.

Yet much of the firm’s vaunted investing machine remains shrouded in mystery, even to those working at Bridgewater. On Wall Street, how the firm makes its money long has been a source of envy and debate because it goes to great lengths to conceal its trades from competitors.

As one of the first hedge funds to embrace quantitative analysis, Bridgewater bases almost all of its trades on algorithms derived from decades of market observations. The firm trades in many diverse markets, including the Japanese yen, Treasury securities and gold.

There is little room at Bridgewater for intuition and fast-paced trading. Unlike their counterparts at other big hedge funds who are responsible for trade ideas, many Bridgewater traders simply press buttons that execute trades. Many of those positions are held for several months at a time.

Only a small number of top executives who occupy Mr. Dalio’s “circle of trust” have a complete picture of the firm’s trading strategy from start to finish. Another half-dozen employees on what is called the Signals team, which decides how the firm should adjust its trading, sign long-term noncompete agreements.

## WORLD TRAVELER

At the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in January, Mr. Dalio appeared on a panel with two senior Russian officials: Kirill Dmitriev, the executive officer of the Russian Direct Investment Fund, and Igor Shuvalov, the first deputy prime minister of Russia. The panel came as a political firestorm was spreading in the United States over intelligence reports that Russia had meddled in the presidential elections.

“It would be better if the sanctions were lifted,” for Russia’s economic and financial development, Mr. Dalio told the audience.

The message appeared to please his panelists. Mr. Dmitriev said he hoped to organize a delegation to Russia later in the year, “containing the largest funds and companies from the U.S.,” adding, “we would love to have Ray and other people there as dialogue partners.”

In his book, Mr. Dalio writes a good deal about his world travels, particularly his meetings with foreign leaders and economic thinkers. The meetings have not only informed Bridgewater’s trading style, but also have shaped Mr. Dalio’s views about how to manage his people and the firm.

But no foreign country and its leadership is as important to Mr. Dalio than China, which he first visited in 1984 and where his son Matthew lived for several years.

Mr. Dalio has often met with the country’s senior leaders during his frequent visits there. In 2015, he was one of a few business leaders to attend a state dinner at the White House in honor of president Xi Jinping.

Over the years, Mr. Dalio has geared up for the day when China opens itself up more fully to foreign investment firms, securing hard-to-get licenses in order to expand Bridgewater’s investment business.

Last year, Bridgewater became the third global investment firm to receive a license for a wholly owned foreign owned enterprise, allowing it to set up an entity to manage money for Chinese institutional investors and, potentially, to engage in foreign currency trading. The firm received the approval just weeks before China stopped issuing licenses to foreign investors.

Mr. Dalio’s travels to China have continued even as he promotes himself as a management guru. A recent trip became fodder for a June meeting at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, where he told a small audience of prominent money managers — including William A. Ackman and Jim Chanos, a China bear — that the country’s economy was in safe hands with its policy makers.

And, Mr. Dalio writes in his book, one of his close counselors, not only on China, but on big ideas about the wider world, is Wang Qishan, one of the most powerful men in China and the nation’s anticorruption czar.

Every time Mr. Dalio goes to China, he meets with Mr. Wang. The two men, Mr. Dalio writes, discuss subjects as varied as artificial intelligence and the implications of Julius Caesar’s rise to power. Mr. Dalio, who refers to Mr. Wang as one of his heroes, said that his advice had helped in the planning for Bridgewater’s future.

“Every time I speak with Mr. Wang, I feel I get closer to cracking the unifying code that unlocks the laws of the universe,” Mr. Dalio writes. Such interactions, were “thrilling to me.”

Susan Beachy and Cao Li contributed to research



BUSINESS



Chancellor Angela Merkel facing German lawmakers' questions in March on whether her government shielded Volkswagen from regulators before the emissions scandal.

Loosening ties to automakers

GERMANY, FROM PAGE 12

man Association of the Automotive Industry and a former transportation minister, wrote a letter to Ms. Merkel, warning that the new standards would hurt sales of German luxury cars. In that letter, he addressed Ms. Merkel as “du,” the informal German word for “you” normally used only between close friends.

Ms. Merkel then personally called Prime Minister Enda Kenny of Ireland, who held the rotating presidency of the European Council, and persuaded him to delay a decision. The standards were eventually watered down.

German leaders campaigned for carmakers farther afield, too. On a trip to California in 2010, Ms. Merkel complained about the state’s strict limits on nitrogen oxides during a meeting with Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger.

“She said, ‘Your nitrogen oxide limits are too strict, and that is hurting our German diesels,’” Mary Nichols, the chairwoman of the California Air Resources Board and an attendee at the meeting, said in testimony to the German Parliament in March. “She was there, it seemed, as spokeswoman for the auto industry.”

The bond between politicians and automakers persisted even after the Volkswagen scandal erupted.

Stephan Weil, prime minister of Lower Saxony, home of Volkswagen,

conceded in August that he had allowed company lobbyists to vet a 2015 speech about the emissions deception. The state of Lower Saxony owns a 20 percent stake in Volkswagen, and Mr. Weil sits on the carmaker’s supervisory board.

Mr. Weil, a member of the Social Democrats, denied making significant changes to the speech after it was shown to Volkswagen. Thomas Steg, head of government relations for the carmaker, said Volkswagen looked only for factual errors.

The case, first reported by the newspaper Bild am Sonntag, helped spur a turnaround in public perceptions of diesel, once a point of national pride.

The diesel engine, like the automobile, was a German invention, and the country’s carmakers leveraged their know-how to achieve dominance in the European luxury car market. The auto industry, including suppliers, currently employs about 2 percent of the German work force, according to Commerzbank.

Against that backdrop, deep political ties were forged.

German carmakers have often recruited government insiders to represent their interests.

Mr. Steg of Volkswagen was once a spokesman for Ms. Merkel. Eckart von Klaeden, responsible for Daimler’s relations with governments worldwide,

served under her as a junior minister.

All of the country’s main parties, even the environmentalist Greens, have long histories of amiable relations with the auto industry. Joschka Fischer, a former foreign minister who for many years was standard-bearer for the Greens, now works as a consultant to BMW, though the carmaker says he does not do any lobbying.

While money plays a much smaller role in election campaigns in Germany than in the United States, the auto companies nevertheless make their presence known. Daimler, for example, contributed 100,000 euros, or about \$120,000, each to Ms. Merkel’s party and to the Social Democrats, according to documents filed at the German Parliament. The carmakers also help to finance party events and loan cars for free to elected officials, activities that they are not required to disclose.

BMW said in a statement that it had tightened its rules on interactions with politicians, ensuring, for example, that parties report the use of vehicles as a financial contribution. Daimler did not respond to a request for comment.

Mr. Steg, the Volkswagen lobbyist and former aide to Ms. Merkel, said a close relationship between carmakers and politicians was of common interest. Others argue that lobbying helps auto executives understand the workings of gov-

ernment, and public officials understand the car business.

“The government has its own positions,” said Mr. Wissmann, the head of the auto industry association. “It has not simply followed the positions of the auto industry blindly.”

Since the end of World War II, Mr. Steg said, “politicians have always had a huge interest in the well-being of the industry and the creation of jobs.”

As the scandal’s focus expanded, German officials have found themselves on the defensive.

The government’s own study last year showed that virtually all makers of diesel cars had flouted emissions limits, but Ms. Merkel’s ministers did not impose penalties. Germany now faces a lawsuit by the European Commission over failures to enforce the bloc’s clean air rules.

The German government has also rejected calls to require carmakers to install better emissions equipment in older diesel vehicles. Britain and France have promised to ban internal combustion engines starting in 2040, but Germany has not done the same.

“They take the line of industry,” said Julia Poliscanova, manager of clean vehicles and air quality at Transport and Environment, an advocacy group in Brussels, “instead of citizens and public health.”

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A new fashion pacesetter

TORONTO, FROM PAGE 12

through a sea of darkly dressed film industry heavyweights from the garden smoking area to the bar at the Hollywood Foreign Press Association and In-Style’s annual TIFF bash.

Ms. Powley had just left her co-star, Elle Fanning, who was reclining on a wicker sofa in Alexander McQueen, while somewhere nearby was Greta Gerwig, the director and writer of “Lady Bird,” in a graphic midcalf golden yellow and black silk Sophie Theallet dress, sourced by her stylist Cristina Erlich.

“Cher Coulter helped me,” said the meticulously groomed Ms. Powley, referring to the Los Angeles-based stylist who selected her minidress. Ruffly, silken and adorned with a black bow, it was an alluring play on a tuxedo shirt and a demure foil to the black velvet Swarovski-embellished Saint Laurent mini flaunted by Margot Robbie, who was across the room promoting the Tonya Harding biopic “I, Tonya.”

Indeed, minis had something of a moment at TIFF, suggesting the old days of mermaid gowns may be numbered. Following the debut of her documentary, “Gaga: Five Foot Two,” Lady Gaga accepted her standing ovation in a slick silver leather Mugler miniskirt. The next night Andrea Riseborough worked the premiere of the period comedy “The Death of Stalin” in a runway-fresh — and as yet to be seen on a celebrity — off-the-shoulder camel leather Saint Laurent minidress.

Two nights later, Chloë Sevigny supported “Lean on Pete” in an above-the-knee concoction by Andreas Kronthaler for Vivienne Westwood.

Of her own short little dress, Ms. Powley said, “I wanted to wear it because Alessandra Rich dresses very few people. It has an ’80s, Chanel vibe and a boyish element, which I always love.”

The choice was representative of



Elle Fanning, top, and Bel Powley during the Toronto International Film Festival.

what makes TIFF — unlike, say, Cannes or Venice — special: the opportunity presented by its emerging, rather than established, luxury market to break out unexpected looks by up-and-coming designers (Erdem, Christopher Kane, Nina Ricci) as opposed to predictable pieces dictated by a contract between an actress and a luxury brand.

Perhaps as a result, the executives who control celebrity dressing at exactly those luxury labels have begun using TIFF as a testing ground, dressing new stars to evaluate their red carpet potential. Prada’s bet on Ruth Negga, whom the brand dressed in velvet for TIFF 2016’s premiere of “Loving,” marked her early on as a style-setter to watch.

That came after the breakout 2013 debut of Lupita Nyong’o in “12 Years a Slave,” for which she won the Oscar for best supporting actress.

Her wardrobe at TIFF that year, which included a gold sequined white jersey Prada gown, a sleeveless tangerine Antonio Berardi cocktail shift and a lemon yellow sweater paired with hot pants, became an internet sensation and “launched her relationship with Prada, which culminated in Lupita wearing Prada to the Oscars,” said Micaela Erlanger, the stylist with whom Ms. Nyong’o collaborated.

“Every film festival has a different fashion feeling, a different character,” said Ms. Erlanger, who was back at TIFF this year styling the up-and-coming actress Tatiana Maslany for the premiere of “Stronger.”

If Cannes is the glamazon, and Venice her understudy, with Berlin, Sundance and Telluride as the casual little sisters, TIFF is now “the soft-spoken warrior,” Ms. Erlanger said. “It has a subtle power. A lot of the relationship building starts with TIFF, because what it adds up to is awards season.”

Facebook blocks ads on noxious content

New approach to start with videos, seen as increasingly important

BY SAPNA MAHESHWARI

Facebook’s enormous audience has long been catnip to advertisers. But the company’s vast ecosystem has come under scrutiny this year from major brands, which are increasingly sensitive to the possibility of inadvertently showing up next to objectionable content.

In response to those concerns, Facebook released a new set of rules on Wednesday that outline the types of videos and articles that it will bar from running ads. It also said it would begin disclosing new information to advertisers about where their messages appear on the platform and on external apps and sites it is partners with.

The rules, which will be enforced by a mix of automation and human review, restrict ads from content that depicts, among other topics, real-world tragedies, “debatable social issues,” misappropriation of children’s show characters, violence, nudity, gore, drug use and derogatory language. Facebook is extending the guidelines immediately to videos — which the company hopes will become an increasingly lucrative part of its business — and, in the coming months, to articles.

Facebook said users who repeatedly violate its content guidelines, share sensational clickbait or post fake news may lose the ability to run ads.

“There have been concerns that marketers have had that are wide-ranging around digital, and we want to do everything we can to ensure that we are providing the safest environment for publishers, advertisers and for people that utilize the platform,” said Carolyn Everson, Facebook’s vice president of global marketing solutions.

The new policies, which closely mimic guidelines established by Google’s YouTube, come as advertisers demand more accountability from the internet giants related to where and how their messages are delivered.

Facebook and Google were criticized during and after the presidential election for allowing misinformation to spread on their platforms. This year, YouTube had to address advertisers’ concerns after messages from major brands like AT&T were discovered on videos that promoted terrorism and hate speech. The Wall Street Journal found at least 50 acts of violence on Facebook Live broadcasts.

(On the other side of the advertising equation, Facebook disclosed last week that it had identified more than \$100,000 worth of ads on divisive issues that ran from June 2015 to May 2017 and had been bought by fake accounts based in Russia.)

The companies are moving quickly to address such issues, particularly as they seek to attract a greater portion of the money earmarked for television advertising to the video content on their sites.

Facebook has enabled hundreds of publishers and individuals to run ads during live video broadcasts in the past year, and the company recently introduced a slate of new shows on a part of its site called “Watch.” If the new guidelines encourage people to post more G-rated video content, they are likely to bolster Facebook’s pitch to advertisers.

“Facebook is this huge, huge, huge platform, and they haven’t really been monetizing original content in the same way as YouTube has,” said John Montgomery, executive vice president for brand safety at GroupM, a media investment group for the advertising giant WPP. “What I think is different for Facebook is that this is a much earlier stage for them that they’re going into this, and the scale is different in that there will be much, much less content uploaded than those stupefying numbers you hear

about on YouTube.” (YouTube has said 400 hours of video are added to the site every minute.)

That should be an advantage in policing content, Mr. Montgomery said, especially with the limits that Facebook is placing on who can make money from certain features. For example, the company required pages and profiles that wanted to run ads on live videos this year to have more than 2,000 followers. They could only show ads if they had at least 300 concurrent viewers after four minutes.

Facebook also said it would begin showing advertisers a preview of where their messages may appear before campaigns start, giving advertisers a chance to block undesirable destinations. The company will also report on where the ads actually run.

When brands use Facebook to target specific people with ads, they are able to select from a cornucopia of traits, including age, gender and how many lines of credit a person has. Many ads then show up in the main Facebook and Instagram feeds that people flick through, but they can also appear in articles and videos within Facebook and on outside apps and mobile websites that are part of Facebook’s “audience network.”

Brands have not been able to see beforehand what kind of content that might include, and some have had to contend with objections from consumers after being placed on sites like Breitbart News. Facebook said there were tens of thousands of apps and sites in its audience network and that more than 10,000 publishers displayed articles within its platform through a tool called Instant Articles.

The new policies, which mimic guidelines for Google’s YouTube, come as advertisers demand more accountability.

As YouTube has moved to limit ads from running alongside unsavory content, many creators on the platform have complained that their videos have been unfairly penalized by automated systems. Facebook will probably have to grapple with similar complaints as it expands the number of people who can make money from video ads on the site.

“We are not censoring their content; as long as it abides by our community standards, the content can run on the platform,” Ms. Everson said. “If a publisher wants to monetize that content, they have to adhere to the monetization eligibility standards.”

Facebook previously let advertisers opt out of a more limited list of topics, including sites and apps related to dating, gambling and “debated social issues” like religion and politics, Ms. Everson said. She added that the new rules would allow publishers to “understand where we’re placing ads” and make it easier for advertisers to avoid offensive content.

The company, which will also have an appeals process for content deemed ineligible for ads, reiterated its commitment to hiring 3,000 more people to a team of 4,500 to review and remove content that violates its community guidelines, which were announced in May. (It did not provide an update on how many people it has hired.)

In its announcement on Wednesday, Facebook also addressed industry concerns about how it measures ads, an issue that attracted attention again last week after an analyst noted that Facebook’s online ad tools claimed the ads could reach 25 million more young Americans than the Census Bureau says actually exist. Facebook, which said this year that it would seek accreditation from the nonprofit Media Ratings Council to validate how it measured ads, said it hoped to achieve that in the next 18 months for key metrics for its display and video ads.



Mark Zuckerberg, the chief executive of Facebook. Facebook and Google were criticized for allowing misinformation to spread during the presidential campaign.



# Opinion

## Portrait of the artist in Putin’s Russia

When will artists realize that they can’t thrive under authoritarian regimes?

Oleg Kashin

**MOSCOW** At the beginning of August, five members of a gang accused of murdering 17 people during robberies on highways around the Moscow area were facing trial at the Moscow Regional Court. While the five men were being escorted to the courtroom, they attacked their guards, seized their weapons and opened fire in the courthouse. Most likely this terrible episode could have been avoided had there been adequate security, but the five defendants were accompanied by only two armed guards.

There were no such incidents later in the month when Kirill S. Serebrennikov, a theater director, arrived in court for a hearing. The defendant, a young man in a baseball cap, was escorted into the courtroom by five armed special forces agents. If you were watching the scene, you might think Mr. Serebrennikov was an extremely dangerous criminal, rather than a theater director accused of embezzling more than \$1 million of state money. Mr. Serebrennikov’s arrest last month shocked the Russian public. Several hundred of the director’s supporters gathered outside the courthouse, and people are issuing statements of support, writing open letters and circulating petitions — one of which was signed by the actress Cate Blanchett.

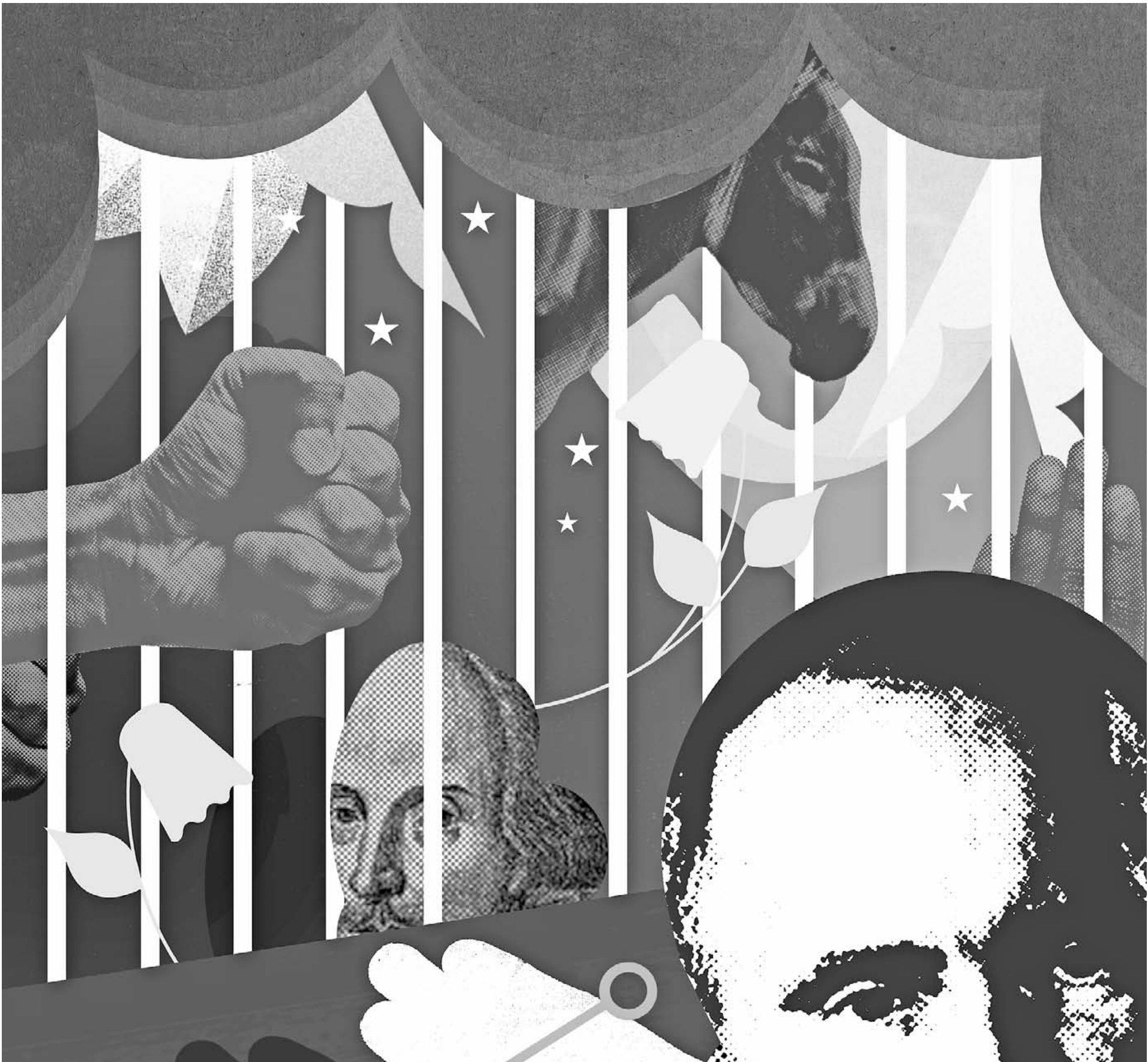
The official version in the indictment raises many questions. One of the accusations prosecutors made during early hearings has to do with Mr. Serebrennikov’s staging of Shakespeare’s “A Midsummer Night’s Dream,” for which his theater received state culture funds. The prosecution contends that Mr. Serebrennikov failed to mount the production. When publicity posters for the show and newspaper reviews of it were presented as evidence in court, one of the prosecutors said that he does not believe what he reads in the papers.

Mr. Serebrennikov’s arrest seems less bizarre when put into context. In recent years, Russian officials have said that if an artist receives state funding, then he must do only what is in the state’s interest. Dmitri S. Peskov, a spokesman for President Vladimir V. Putin, put it plainly last year: “If the state gives money for a production, the state has the right to determine its theme.” The Russian state’s taste runs toward films, performances and exhibitions dedicated to the heroic past of the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union. Mr. Serebrennikov, as one of the leaders of the theatrical avant-garde, is like a fifth wheel in the new official cultural value system of Mr. Putin’s Russia.

In recent years, arrests in Russia have often given the impression of being politically motivated. But until now, cultural figures have been spared. Before Mr. Serebrennikov, the most famous theater director to be imprisoned was Vsevolod Meyerhold, who was arrested under orders from Stalin and shot in 1940 and to whom Mr. Serebrennikov is now being compared.

This might seem like an exaggeration — after all, Mr. Serebrennikov was put under house arrest, which is not quite the same as being shot to death. But the comparison seems apt if you take note that both Meyerhold and Mr. Serebrennikov were not necessarily dissidents or standard-bearers of artistic freedom.

During the early years of Soviet power, Meyerhold was the most important official theater director. He celebrated Communist power and even contributed to the repression of other directors. Five or 10 years ago, Mr. Serebrennikov, too, was in favor with



CHRISTINA HAGERFORS

the Russian authorities. He staged a play, “Almost Zero,” based on a novel reportedly by Vladislav Surkov, an aide to Mr. Putin. He also organized a Kremlin-supported arts festival called Territory. Five years ago, he became artistic director of the Gogol Center, a state theater. He really is more like Meyerhold than, say, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, or the other dissident artists who battled the Kremlin.

In May, when Mr. Serebrennikov’s theater was first searched, Yevgeny Mironov, the artistic director of Moscow’s Theater of Nations, presented Mr. Putin with a letter supporting Mr. Serebrennikov. This took place at a ceremony in the Kremlin, when the president was presenting awards to loyal figures in the arts, including Mr. Mironov. When he took the letter, Mr. Putin was heard saying, “Fools.” At the time, some thought the president was reproaching the investigators and prosecutors. Now it seems

that the president had in mind people in the theater community who still believe that they can work with the Kremlin.

After Mr. Serebrennikov’s arrest, Ivan Vyrypaev, a well-known Russian playwright and director, wrote an open letter calling on his colleagues in the

**These artists want to play a loyalist role that allows them relative freedom.**

arts not to accept money or awards from the Kremlin, and not to publicly shake Mr. Putin’s hand. This appeal doesn’t seem to have gone very far. Marina Davydova, an influential theater critic who had organized a campaign in support of Mr. Serebrennikov, wrote on Facebook: “If the regime decides to support contemporary composers, new cinema and a festival that attracts the European theater elite, why should we not cooperate with such

a regime?” — as though it were irrelevant that this same regime is engaged in a war of repression against its opponents. This is the most unpleasant conclusion to draw from Mr. Serebrennikov’s situation. Even now, with the regime speaking to artists for the first time in the language of arrests and trials, there is practically no one in the Russian cultural community willing to stand up to the government. These artists have no desire for confrontation; they want to play a loyalist role that allows them relative freedom.

Until recently, Mr. Putin seemed inclined to replicate the approach to the arts that the Kremlin took in the 1970s. During that time, despite totalitarianism, Soviet film studios managed to produce the director Andrei Tarkovsky’s work, and Moscow theaters staged productions that fell outside official cultural policy. The situation now is not as harsh as it was during the Stalin years, but it is headed in that

direction. Mr. Putin demands absolute loyalty.

Aleksei Uchitel, a film director who signed an appeal in 2014 supporting the annexation of Crimea, is now in trouble over his new film, “Matilda.” Putin loyalists in Parliament and some regional leaders, including Ramzan Kadyrov, are calling for the film to be banned because it depicts a love affair between Czar Nicholas II and the ballerina Matilda Kshesinskaya. The church considers the czar to be a saint, and a saint shouldn’t be portrayed as having affairs. Until now, Russian directors, actors and writers have not understood that as the authoritarian system continues to tighten its grip, they will face a choice: either become dissidents or agree to work under the regime’s direct control.

**OLEG KASHIN** is the author of “Fardwor, Russia! A Fantastical Tale of Life Under Putin.” This essay was translated by Carol Apollonio from the Russian.

## One cheer for democracy in Kenya

The country needs a transparent, credible and peaceful re-election. The world will be watching.

John Kerry  
Aminata Touré

On Sept. 1 Kenya’s Supreme Court made the unprecedented decision to nullify the results of the country’s Aug. 8 presidential election, voiding the victory by incumbent President Uhuru Kenyatta and calling for fresh elections in 60 days. A decade after the 2007 presidential election was followed by violence that killed more than 1,000 people, it is a historic moment not just for Kenya but also for the continent, and guarantees greater global attention on the country this fall.

In response to a petition filed by the opposition leader and former prime minister Raila Odinga, the court ruled the election was not conducted in accordance with the Constitution, citing “illegalities and irregularities” committed by Kenya’s election commission.

The court ruling didn’t contradict the reports of the Carter Center, whose team we led, or those of other observer missions, including the European Union and African Union, whose findings were broadly similar.

Multiple media reports suggested inaccurately that we and other international observers had declared the election free and fair. Our preliminary report two days after the election insisted that the tallying process was in progress and that an overall assessment could be provided only after the process was complete.

Although our observers had noted isolated instances of procedural irregularities in voting and counting, these did not appear to affect the integrity of those processes, which had functioned relatively smoothly.

We also indicated that the electronic transmission of results proved unreliable, with electronic scans of results forms not arriving as planned at constituency-level tally centers, where the results were tabulated.

As a backup measure, the election commission instructed the constituency centers to rely instead on the paper results forms to tally the official results. We noted that the paper-based backup system, if implemented properly, would allow verification of the ballots cast and that agents of political parties had been at most stations and received copies they could crosscheck with the official results.

At the time, there had been sporadic

outbreaks of violence, followed by reports of excessive use of force by the government. Mr. Odinga argued he wouldn’t take his case to court but would instead let it play out in “the court of public opinion.” It reminded us of the 2007 elections when Mr. Odinga lost to President Mwai Kibaki and mass violence followed.

Our major exhortation — which angered some at the time — was that all aggrieved parties should pursue their disputes in the courts, not the streets. We and the other international observer mission leaders pressed, both publicly and in private meetings with leaders, for claims of misconduct and fraud to be fully investigated, rather than reduced to rhetoric and innuendo.

Many in the media, including this newspaper’s editorial page, have wondered whether the court ruling has exposed flaws in election observation missions. What they misunderstand is that our early reports were preliminary, covering only the voting and counting stages, not the critical post-election phases of tabulation and dispute resolution that were still ongoing. They also overlook that international observers led the call for candidates to take their disputes to the courts. That happened, and that is a good thing.

Our observers remain in Kenya and continue their monitoring work. A final comprehensive report will be completed after the conclusion of the new election and the resolution of any petitions. In its electoral petition, Mr. Odinga’s opposition coalition claimed that the election commission did not follow proper procedures in tabulating and announcing final results and that there were inaccuracies in the forms recording polling station results and constituency-level tallying. They also claimed that the commission’s servers were hacked to manipulate results. The election commission has confirmed that there were attempts to hack its servers, but officials deny that any malfeasance occurred.

The Supreme Court has not yet said what parts of Mr. Odinga’s challenge it agreed with. Until it releases a detailed explanation, it is impossible to know the precise basis for its decision and for the commission to plan corrective actions. The court should be commended for affording due process and a transparent review, bolstering public confidence in its independence and reducing tensions across the country.

The election commission has announced that the new election will be held on Oct. 17. It is critical that the

process be conducted flawlessly. The government needs to provide the financial resources to make that possible and take steps to ensure the security of the commissioners, candidates and voters.

Initially, President Kenyatta spoke about respecting the court’s decision, but sadly, in subsequent statements, he attacked the judges as “crooks” and vowed to “fix” the court if re-elected. All Kenyans, especially its political leaders, need to act responsibly and ensure that the new electoral process is peaceful.

This is a critical time for Kenya. Democracy is hard work requiring many hands. The court’s historic decision means the world will be watching this race even more closely, and international election monitors must as well. A transparent, credible and peaceful process will affirm the power of Kenya’s democracy — after its court system has already affirmed the strength of its institutions.

**JOHN KERRY** was a secretary of state in the Obama administration and is the visiting distinguished statesman at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. **AMINATA TOURÉ** is a former prime minister of Senegal.



OPINION

The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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FOLLOW KENYA'S LEAD ON PLASTIC BAGS

The country and more than 40 others have taxed, limited or banned plastic bags. The rest of the world should, too.

Plastic bags are often used for a few minutes before enjoying an eternal afterlife, clogging storm drains, stuffing landfills, killing animals that eat them and contributing to the eight million metric tons of plastic that end up in the world's oceans every year.

Last month, Kenya took strong action to tackle the scourge. Manufacturers and importers of plastic bags now face fines of \$19,000 to \$38,000 or four-year-jail terms. Retailers can no longer sell plastic garbage bags. Shoppers risk having plastic bags confiscated.

The ban imposes more difficulties on many Kenyans than just the inconvenience of getting reusable bags. Poor residents of Nairobi rely on plastic bags as "flying toilets" in the absence of a functioning sewage system and of public toilets that don't charge a fee. The solution is to provide more toilets and latrines.

These human waste-filled bags clog trenches leading to the Nairobi River and have been blamed for the flooding that regularly menaces the city. In 2015, plastic bags clogging waterways were blamed for flooding that killed at least 150 people in Accra, Ghana.

More than 40 countries, including China, France and Rwanda, have taxed, limited or banned plastic bags. By 2019, those bags can no longer be handed out free in Europe.

These measures are effective. After England imposed a 5-pence charge on plastic bags in 2015, use dropped 85 percent in the first nine months.

In 2014, California became the first American state to ban plastic bags, and many American cities have acted to curb plastic-bag use.

While Gov. Andrew Cuomo of New York and the State Legislature scuttled a New York City law to impose a 5-cent fee on plastic bags early this year, Mr. Cuomo has since formed a task force to come up with legislation. That law cannot come soon enough. New York City alone collects 1,700 tons of used plastic bags every week.

The United Nations, which estimates that, by weight, there will be more plastic than fish in the world's oceans by 2050 if the world doesn't act, has begun a #CleanSeas campaign to eliminate the use of plastic microbeads and single-use plastic bags by 2022.

Kenya and more than 40 other countries are acting now to help meet this goal. There is no excuse for the rest of the world to wait.

GLASS CEILINGS IN CITY HALLS

Women may hold up half the sky, as a saying goes, but politics is proving to be a heavier lift.

Glass ceilings are part of the décor in city halls across America, with women struggling to be heard in numbers anywhere near their share of the population. This was reaffirmed in Democratic primaries for local offices that were held this week in New York City, where that party's balloting is usually the main event and the November general election is an afterthought.

In all likelihood, the new City Council that will convene in January in the largest American city will have, at most, 12 women – not even a quarter of its 51 members. That is a drop from the present 13 and well below the peak of 18 reached a decade ago. The situation is much the same in the four next largest American cities: Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston and Philadelphia. There, women's hold on local councils comes, collectively, to just over 25 percent.

That the very nature of a legislature can be shaped by gender balance is self-evident. This is true on a broad range of issues, but conspicuously so on matters like child care, maternity leave and preventive cancer screenings.

Women's light presence in government is not a case of their faring worse than men at the ballot box. The CUNY Institute for State and Local Governance, a research group at the City University of New York, found that the sexes win or lose elections nationwide at about the same rates. The issue, the institute said in a report last September, is that women tend not to run for office in the first place.

Why is that? Some social scientists cite traditional family arrangements that limit women's career choices. Researchers at the Brookings Institution have perceived what might be called an ambition gap, with women underestimating their abilities and their chances for success. It makes them less likely than men to even think about seeking public office, or to have political professionals encourage them to run.

Political parties and advocacy groups need to do their utmost to recruit women if there's to be any chance of closing that ambition gap. Getting young women engaged politically, in college or even earlier, is especially important. The way things stand, women may hold up half the sky, as a saying goes, but politics is proving to be a heavier lift.

Reclaiming America's values

Joe Biden

In over 45 years of working in global affairs, I've observed a simple truth: America's ability to lead the world depends not just on the example of our power, but on the power of our example.

American democracy is rooted in the belief that every man, woman and child has equal rights to freedom and dignity. While the United States is far from perfect, we have never given up the struggle to grow closer to the ideals in our founding documents.

The constant American endeavor to live by our values is a great strength that has drawn generations of strivers and dreamers to the United States, enriching our population. Around the world, other nations follow our lead because they know that America does not simply protect its own interests, but tries to advance the aspirations of all.

This has stood as the foundation of American foreign policy throughout my political career – until recently.

Around the world, including in the

United States, we are seeing the resurgence of a worldview that is closed off and clannish. President Trump keeps longstanding allies such as Germany at arm's length, while expressing admiration for autocrats like Vladimir V. Putin who thwart democratic institutions.

Rather than building from a narrative of freedom and democracy that inspires nations to rally together, this White House casts global affairs as a zero-sum competition – for the United States to succeed, others must lose. Among the many problems that plague the Trump administration's foreign policy, this line of thinking is perhaps the most disturbing.

During a speech in July, Mr. Trump said, "The fundamental question of our time is whether the West has the will to survive." This statement divides the world into "us" and "them." No American political figure has so narrowly defined our interests since the period between the world wars.

Mr. Trump's shameful defense of the white nationalists and neo-Nazis who unleashed hatred and violence in Charlottesville, Va., further abnegated America's moral leadership. Not since the Jim Crow era has an American

president so misunderstood and misrepresented our values.

Most recently, the Trump administration's order to rescind Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals – punishing young people brought to this country by their parents, many of whom know no home but the United States – betrays an unnecessary cruelty that further undermines America's standing in the world.

Deep divisions have led to a war over our core beliefs as a country.

When Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson said that it was important to "understand the difference between policy and values," he wrote off

the very thing that makes the United States exceptional. And at a time when democratic values are under siege around the globe – from populist attacks that undermine confidence in democratic institutions to leaders who try to bolster their power by closing the space for civil society and rolling back citizens' rights – the world cannot afford to have America cede the field to illiberalism and intolerance.

Placing American democratic values back at the center of our foreign policy does not mean we should impose our principles abroad or refuse to talk with nations whose policies run counter to them. There will always be times when keeping Americans safe requires working with those whom we find distasteful. But even when we must make those hard choices, we can never forget who we are and the future we seek.

Reclaiming our values starts with standing up for them at home – inclusivity, tolerance, diversity, respect for the rule of law, freedom of speech, freedom of the press. If these are the democratic principles we wish to see around the world, America must be the first to model them.

These are also the values that tie us to our closest allies – the friends we depend on to address major global challenges. They must believe that the United States will continue to support them and to stand up for democracy.

Leading with our values also means that we speak out when nations violate their citizens' rights. If leaders repress their own people, we must make clear that it constrains our ability to cooperate with them. We can meet our security imperatives without giving a green light to dictators who abuse universal human rights.

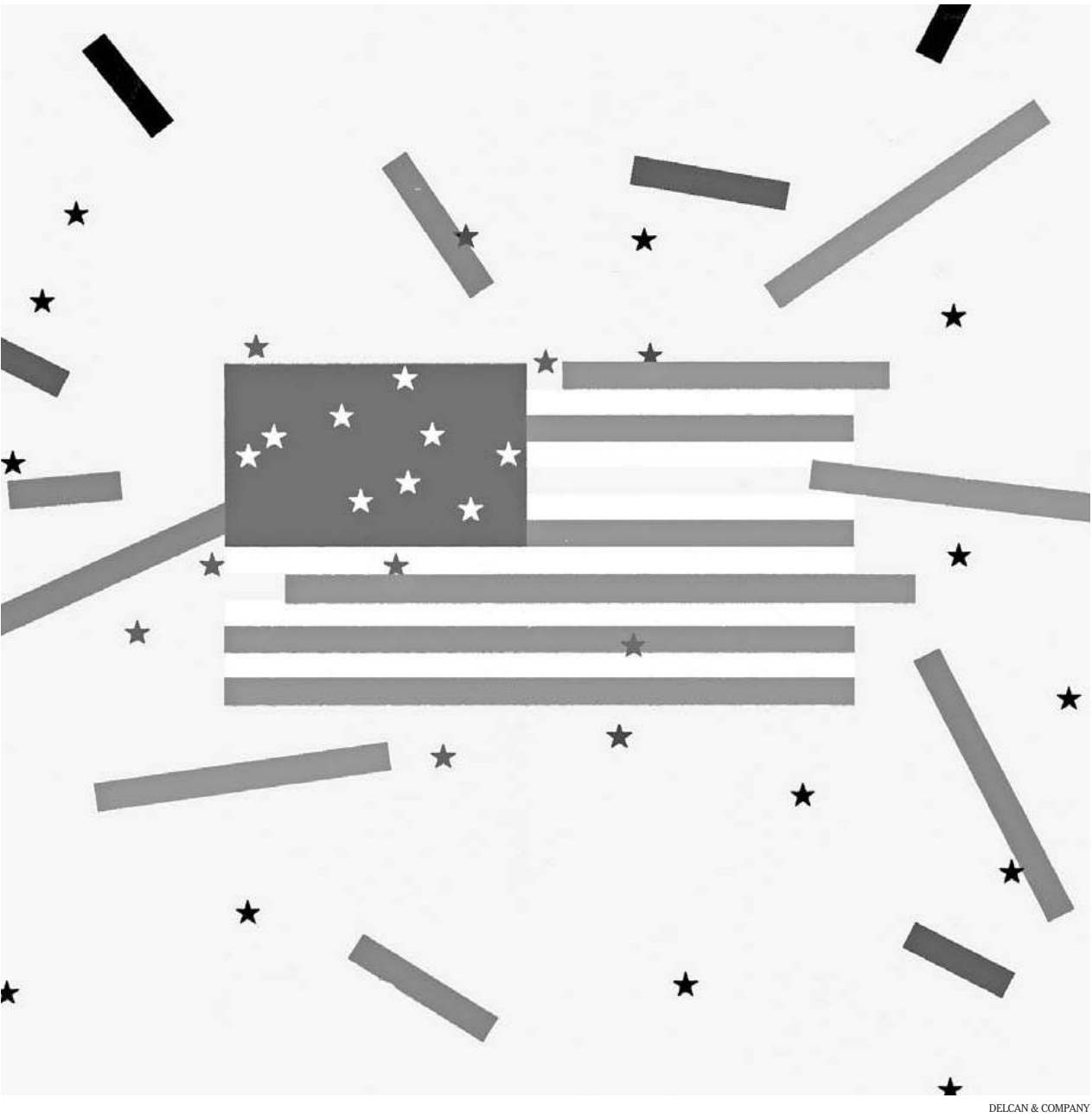
Finally, a foreign policy built on our values must stand firm against foreign powers that celebrate a perceived withdrawal of American leadership as an opportunity to increase their influence. Without the United States standing as a bulwark for global democracy, illiberal powers like Russia will take increasingly aggressive steps to disrupt the international order, bully their neighbors and return to a more divided world.

From the Marshall Plan after World War II to our alliances in East Asia, both Republican and Democratic officials have long embraced a vision of American leadership that fosters a more secure, inclusive and generous planet. That ideal made the world safer and more prosperous – for Americans and everyone else.

The international community still needs a strong, democratic America leading the way. And the good news is that the United States remains better positioned than any other country to shape the direction of the 21st century. But to succeed, we cannot abandon the tenets that we fought so hard to defend over the past seven decades – ideals that magnified American leadership and produced the greatest increase in global prosperity in history.

You cannot define Americans by what they look like, where they come from, whom they love or how they worship. Only our democratic values define us. And if we lose sight of this in our conduct at home or abroad, we jeopardize the respect that has made the United States the greatest nation on earth.

JOE BIDEN, a former Democratic senator from Delaware and vice president of the United States, leads the Penn Biden Center for Diplomacy and Global Engagement at the University of Pennsylvania.



Trump can prevent the next crash

Ruchir Sharma  
Contributing Writer

The Federal Reserve arguably has more influence on the daily lives of Americans than any other government agency. In the coming year President Trump has a chance to appoint or replace five of the central bank's seven governors, including the vice chairman, Stanley Fischer, and possibly the chairwoman, Janet Yellen.

Few presidents have had so many seats to fill this quickly, and it's time to pay attention to how Mr. Trump will use the opportunity. The heavy hitters vying for seats are talking – often vaguely – about reforming the Fed, which has been praised for preventing a depression after the financial crisis of 2008, but questioned for failing to anticipate the crisis itself.

The Fed missed the crisis in part because it has a dual mandate to keep unemployment and consumer price inflation low – and both were low before 2008. Real reform would add a third mandate: maintaining financial stability, and in particular stabilizing prices for assets like houses and stocks, which are not counted as "consumer prices" but now have a bigger influence on the economy.

Consumer price inflation has largely disappeared, in part because central bankers have been fighting it effectively since the 1970s, and in part because heightened global competition began restraining prices for consumer goods from TVs to toys. Meanwhile, asset prices are getting pushed in the opposite direction.

To ease the Great Recession after 2008, central banks adopted zero to negative interest rates and provided huge amounts of cash, effectively giving investors free money. In a world with few barriers to the flow of capital across borders, this is spurring buying sprees, and thus bidding up prices for stocks,

bonds and real estate in markets from New York to Shanghai.

Today, global financial assets (including just stocks and bonds) are worth over \$250 trillion and amount to about 330 percent of global gross domestic product, up from \$12 trillion and just 110 percent in 1980. Traditionally, economists have looked for trouble in the economy to cause trouble in the markets. But the ocean of money in financial markets is now so large, it's possible that ripples on its surface could trigger the next big downturn.

In the postwar era, finance has grown enormously as a share of the global economy, often feeding debt-fueled bubbles. In 2015, the economist Alan M. Taylor and his colleagues looked at data going back 140 years for 17 leading economies. Before World War II, there were 78 recessions – including only 19 that followed a bubble in stocks or housing or both. After the war, there were 88 recessions, a vast majority of which, 62, followed a stock or housing bubble or both.

Since 1990, every major economic shock has been preceded by a collapse in prices for houses, stocks or both, including Japan's crash in 1990, the Asian crisis of the late 1990s, the dot-com crash of 2000-01, and the global financial crisis of 2008.

The Fed has changed with the world before. After the Great Depression, it focused on fighting unemployment. Amid crippling consumer price inflation in the 1970s, it shifted its focus to fighting this scourge. Now, amid looming market bubbles from China to Norway, central bankers are tentatively starting to recognize that they can't ignore asset price inflation. At the Federal Open Market Committee, its key policy-making body, financial stability rarely came up before 2012 but has come up at 27 of 39 meetings since.

Of course, even market insiders can't spot when asset prices are ready to crash, so skeptics say the Fed can't be expected to either. Better to let bubbles pop and "mop up" after. However, the

painfully slow recovery from 2008 shows how ineffective mess-mopping can be: Losses after the crash tend to be much bigger than gains on the way up. The Fed need not try to predict the market's peak; it needs only to identify signals of crises, so that it can act early to forestall them, controlling asset price inflation by raising rates or reducing cash infusions into the economy.

Thanks to post-mortem research done since 2008, we know much more about these signals. The key is to be on alert when markets are rising much faster than the underlying economy. Normally, for example, home prices rise around 5 percent a year; the International Monetary Fund has found that

The Federal Reserve doesn't do enough to restrain out-of-control prices for stocks, houses and other assets. It should, and the president can help.

rate more than doubles in pre-crisis periods. At least equally telling is the pace of increase in debt. When asset prices collapse, the owners suffer instant pain. But when debt used to buy those assets collapses, the resulting defaults ripple through banks and become a drag on the economy.

The longest and deepest recessions tend to follow real estate busts, because homes are almost always purchased on credit, and during booms, so many buyers are tempted to borrow excessively for that dream house.

Nonetheless most economists – even conservative deficit hawks who worry about the Fed "blowing bubbles" – still look mainly for economic threats to the financial markets, rather than the threat that overgrown markets pose.

They thus don't recognize fully that the world has changed, and the tail now wags the dog. Many mainstream economists still argue that the economy can't be overheating if consumer price infla-

tion is quiet, and they want to keep rates lower for longer, hoping that easy money will stoke growth in the economy, and jobs, for the poor and the working class.

However, since 2008, easy money has produced an unusually weak economic recovery alongside an unusually long and strong run-up in prices for stocks, bonds and housing. The rich own the fattest share of these assets, so wealth inequality is increasing. In addition, easy money is fueling monopoly power by helping entrenched companies borrow.

Liberals who question the value of promoting monopolies and the super-rich might also question their fondness for easy money. Instead, to stabilize financial markets, most favor upholding tough post-2008 regulations – but regulation alone can't contain the ocean of money in financial assets. From Australia to Canada to Sweden, central banks are keeping rates low because consumer price inflation is weak, thus fueling housing bubbles. Regulatory attempts to contain those bubbles are failing.

Central bankers are starting to recognize that when loose monetary policy is driving up asset prices to potentially unstable levels, it sows the seeds of a recession and hurts everyone. But only a minority are prepared to lean against the wind now. Asset prices from stocks to real estate have never been this expensive simultaneously.

In general, government agencies, including the Fed, change their ways only after crises. The big threat is that the Fed will fully commit to preserving financial stability only after instability in the markets has triggered the next crisis. Mr. Trump should be looking for governors who are willing to commit now.

RUCHIR SHARMA, author of "The Rise and Fall of Nations: Forces of Change in the Post-Crisis World," is the chief global strategist at Morgan Stanley Investment Management.





VAN DAM/LANDSMEER (NETHERLANDS). CARTOONARTS INTERNATIONAL/NTYS

## Trump’s ever-changing mind



Gail Collins

Wow, Donald Trump is all over the place.

On Tuesday he had dinner with a few moderate Democrats and completely retooled his tax policy before dessert. This is the man who is having such a famous fling with the minority leaders, Chuck Schumer and Nancy Pelosi, that they no longer need identifying. Really, “Chuck and Nancy” are as famous as Beyoncé and Jay-Z. Victoria and Albert. Antony and Cleopatra.

But about the tax policy dinner. The Democratic senators described their discussion as so harmonious it sounded . . . kind of boring. “Very collegial and very businesslike,” said Senator Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota on a radio interview back home with talk show host Joel Heitkamp. (Yes, they’re siblings. North Dakota is a very small state. Only 750,000 people. Yet as many senators as California or New York. Do you think that’s fair? Never mind, I digress.)

Democrats were demanding that no tax cuts go to the wealthy, and over beef medallions, Trump gave the impression that was exactly what he wanted, too. Senator Joe Manchin of West Virginia reported that “the president was adamant from the get-go: ‘This is not a tax cut for the rich, and I repeat that, this will not be a tax cut for me or any rich people.’ That kind of started off the conversation and it went pretty good from there.”

Now Manchin and Heitkamp are two of the most conservative senators from their party. But still, this seems like an

awful lot of agreeing. Trump has spent the last month howling about the need to cut the corporate tax rate in half, and he’s been adamant about getting rid of the estate tax, which is imposed only on inheritances of more than \$5 million.

Do you think he’s changed his mind? That the Democrats misheard? That the spinach was spiked with hallucinogens?

On Wednesday Trump not only ditched his tax-cuts-for-the-wealthy plans, he claimed the rich might take a hit. “If they have to go higher they’ll go higher,” he told a bipartisan congressional group with the adorable name of the Problem Solvers Caucus. This seemed like good news except for the part about the president appearing to be sort of off his rocker.

The only actual written-down Trump tax plan is a one-pager that includes what Ron Wyden, the top Democrat on the Senate Finance Committee, calls a new “lunar-crater-size loop-hole” on income for the wealthy. Plus the corporate tax cuts and the estate tax repeal.

Hard to know when there will be something more substantial, with all this presidential hopping around. The Republicans claim they’ll have a real tax bill done soon. A while back, National Economic Council Director Gary Cohn promised a detailed version would be done “by the end of the summer.”

I guess if you wanted to be stupendously technical, that could mean they’ve still got until next week, when the autumnal equinox occurs as the sun crosses the celestial Equator. Perhaps the president will watch it happen, shielding his eyes with a new two-page bill.

It’s ironic that an administration so money-centric has so many inept cabinet members handling financial

policy. Even in a group full of negative star power, Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin stands out. Last week, when the Republicans were angrily reacting to the Trump-Democrat deal on raising the debt limit, he asked the irate legislators to do it “for me.” This plea went over well in the sense that nobody actually pummeled Mnuchin with tomatoes.

Still, Trump is ready to roll. Details, schmeetails. “With Irma and Harvey devastation, Tax Cuts and Tax Reform is needed more than ever before,” he tweeted. “Go Congress, go!” Negative thinkers pointed out that the hurricane devastation required federal spending, not revenue reduction. Also that “is needed” was grammatically . . . tragic.

Plus, again, the no-plan thing. “It’s really important for people to understand — the administration is urging Congress to vote fast on a proposal that doesn’t exist,” said Howard Gleckman of the Tax Policy Center. The center made a rather heroic effort to figure out what the consequences would be if you cobbled a proposal out of all the tax stuff Trump has mentioned, and concluded it would add about \$8 trillion to the national debt over the next 10 years.

There’s a plus side to all this craziness. It’s better to have a president who flips around like a jumping bean to one who has a disciplined, well-thought-out strategy for handing corporate America and hedge fund owners more tax breaks.

You don’t want all that much consistency when you’ve got a chief executive whose recent triumph in regulatory reform was to roll back the requirement that new highways be protected against flooding — 10 days before the first hurricane.

And of course there are people like Senator Wyden who dreamed of doing something useful and bipartisan this term, and all the chaos makes them feel sad and hopeless.

Still, things could be worse. Pass the biscuits.

## Yet again, a crackdown in Cambodia

**MU SOCHUA, FROM PAGE 1**

2013, the C.P.P. won 68 seats in the National Assembly — down from 90 — and the C.N.R.P. won 55, a record for an opposition party. We also made impressive gains in local elections in June, winning control of 489 of the country’s 1,646 communes — up from the combined 40 communes (out of 1,633) won in the 2012 local elections by the two opposition parties that later merged to form the C.N.R.P.

These results may seem modest, but they are remarkable considering the C.P.P.’s lock on state resources and the increasingly repressive political climate in Cambodia. And they prove that the C.N.R.P. appeals not only to the educated and the urban, but also to the rural poor, long the beneficiaries of the C.P.P.’s vast patronage networks.

If convicted of treason, Mr. Kem Sokha faces up to 30 years in prison. Under recent revisions to the law on political parties — which ban parties from having leaders with criminal records — the C.N.R.P. would then be dissolved. These legal changes have already forced the C.N.R.P.’s former president, Sam Rainsy, to resign because he is the subject of several (dubious) defamation cases.

The government’s game is transparent. If Mr. Kem Sokha stays at the helm of the C.N.R.P., the party risks being dismantled. If he steps down, more bogus charges will be brought against our next leader — and then the next. Succumbing to the C.P.P.’s threat to disband us unless we abandon our current leadership would be a grave political error. We refuse to be complicit in this assault on democracy.

C.N.R.P. members and lawmakers have weathered various onslaughts before, including arbitrary arrests and beatings at the hands of the prime minister’s own military bodyguards. We have stood our ground out of faith in the power of the democratic process. Should our party be dissolved, the next general election would be a farce, and the next government, a fraud.

Our resolve is steadfast, but we need all the help we can get. We have been heartened by the support of governments, lawmakers and organizations around the world — the United States, Britain, the European Union, the United Nations — that have criticized Mr. Kem Sokha’s unjustified arrest. Yet we need concrete help, too.

The Hun Sen government may feel emboldened to crack down on all forms of opposition, even at the risk of alienating its partners in the West, because China has lavished military aid and investments on Cambodia in recent years: According to an article published in *The Economist* earlier this year, Chinese money accounted for 70 percent of total industrial investment in Cambodia between 2011 and 2015.

But Western countries still have leverage here.

Between about 30 percent and 40 percent of the Cambodian government’s budget is still covered by foreign development assistance, including from European Union countries, the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan and South Korea. Cambodia also benefits from preferential trade terms, such as most-favored-nation status with the United States and under the European Union’s “Everything But Arms” initiative. The top destinations for Cambodia’s exports are the United States, Britain and Germany.

Western governments should use this economic leverage to urge the Hun Sen administration to respect Cambodians’ political freedoms, setting clear conditions and red lines for further budget assistance and further preferential trade access that would require the protection of human rights.

The private sector also has a role to

play, particularly large companies involved with Cambodia’s garment sector. Textiles and footwear account for 80 percent of the country’s total export revenue, and some 700,000 jobs. Major buyers like H&M, Adidas and Zara have managed to influence government policy in Cambodia in the past, including to secure a higher minimum wage and various protections for workers in the garment industry. Now they should use their clout to help protect democracy in Cambodia. After all, doing so would also help protect the stability of the country and, by the same token, their business interests.

The Cambodian people are hungry for political change. They proved it during the general election in 2013, and again in local elections a few months ago. I see it and hear it whenever I speak to my constituents in the western province of Battambang. They ask for more jobs, fair wages, decent prices for their crops, access to health care and relief from the crushing weight of microcredit loans.

Cambodia’s voters must be allowed to choose their leaders next year in a process that is free and fair, and credible. Mr. Kem Sokha must be freed — immediately and unconditionally.

**MU SOCHUA** is a vice president of the Cambodia National Rescue Party and a member of the National Assembly of Cambodia.

### CORRECTION

• An editorial on Monday misstated the background of Representative Jim Bridenstine, President Trump’s choice to run NASA. Mr. Bridenstine is on the House Science, Space and Technology Committee and previously was executive director of the Tulsa Air and Space Museum and Planetarium. It was not correct that he had no science or space background.

# Our battered paradise

Tiphanie Yanique

I lived through two hurricanes as a child and I remember all the good stuff that eventually came in the mail — M&Ms, bug spray, playing cards. So when I heard that Hurricane Irma had made landfall on American soil last Wednesday, I began gathering those kinds of things to mail to my friends and family. I put the packages together and watched the news. There was nothing in what I saw about the hurricane hitting the United States.

When I finally received a text from my Aunt Cecile on Thursday, she wrote, “The post office is gone.” “What do you mean ‘gone’?” I texted back. She responded with a list: “Grocery stores gone. Schools gone. Hospital gone.” “What do you mean ‘gone’?” I asked again. “Gone,” she texted again. “Demolished. No roof. No walls.”

That Sunday the news media made a big deal out of Irma’s landfall on the Florida Keys as a Category 4 hurricane, and then on Florida itself. But in truth Irma had struck United States land days before as a disastrous Category 5 hurricane. That was when it hit the United States Virgin Islands, devastating my home island, St. Thomas. That was when my aunt texted, “Gone.”

Maybe you’ve heard of the Virgin Islands, of St. Croix, St. Thomas and St. John. It’s a good place to go on vacation, to fall in love, to have a wedding. One hundred years ago, the islands were called the Danish West Indies. Denmark sold the islands in 1917 to the United States for \$25 million. The people who lived there, including my ancestors, were no longer Danish West Indians. As my cousin Norma remembers learning from older relatives, on the day of the transfer the Danish flag went down slowly on the flagpole. The American flag went zoom-zoom up. And then we were as American as Coca-Cola.

It took 10 more years for Virgin Islanders to actually be granted American citizenship. Before the transfer, the Danes and the Americans argued about trading us, with one Danish



ERIKA P. RODRIGUEZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Houses on St. Thomas damaged by Hurricane Irma, on Monday.

lawmaker said to have risen from his death bed to vote against the sale. Either way, the conversation about our future hadn’t included us.

Today Virgin Islanders are led by a president who makes clear delineations between “real” Americans and all the rest. True, the people of the Virgin Islands didn’t vote for this current president. The people of the Virgin Islands didn’t vote for any president of our United States of America, because voting in the general election is not a privilege of citizenship that the federal government extends to us. Like the citizens of Puerto Rico, Guam and the other United States territories, we are not yet *real* Americans. No wonder TV networks and even the president’s homeland security adviser, Tom Bossert, can’t seem to get it right.

In a press briefing last Friday, Mr. Bossert appeared to chastise the news media for not covering the government response to Hurricane Irma’s assault on the Virgin Islands. Watching him, I held my breath, wondering if now someone would claim us. But he men-

**In the U.S. Virgin Islands, we are citizens, too — not trapped vacationers.**

tioned the evacuation of American citizens from the Virgin Islands in the same way he talked about the evacuation of American citizens from St. Maarten and St. Martin. I took him to mean: We are evacuating the real Americans from these foreign Caribbean islands.

Nowhere did he note that we should be concerned about this American land, because it is American land. Has been for 100 years.

In the continental United States there has been little coverage of this centennial of Virgin Islands Americanness. In Transfer Day ceremonies in March, the Danish flag again went slowly down in the Virgin Islands and the American flag went soaring up. All this year Virgin Islanders have been marking our Americanness with such exercises of memory, but it is a bitter celebration. When we Virgin Islanders leave the Virgin Islands for the mainland, we find that we are immigrants in our own country.

As we have over the last 100 years, we ask again, with this storm: What kind of Americans are we? Are we part of a multitiered system of Americanness? Do the real Americans know about this? Are you, real Americans, O.K. with this? It doesn’t seem particularly American to me.

My son, Nazareth, was born in New York City, but baptized in the Virgin Islands. He turned 1 year old on the same day that the Virgin Islands turned 100. I want for him what I want for any American — self-actualization, his rights granted and upheld, finding the love of his life and maybe marrying that person on a beach on St. Thomas.

He is an American and a Virgin Islander, which are the same thing. The history of the Virgin Islands is part of American history. And now, what happens in the Virgin Islands is happening in America. Before Hurricane Irma hit the continental United States, it had already affected at least 100,000 Americans. Not tourists visiting islands. Just 100,000 Americans, living in America’s paradise, the United States Virgin Islands.

**TIPHANIE YANIQUE** is a professor of English at Wesleyan University and the author of the novel “Land of Love and Drowning.”

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# Culture

## Pageant of injustice

ART REVIEW

Kara Walker remains focused on slavery’s legacy, but with new force

BY ROBERTA SMITH

Like most outstanding artists, Kara Walker is unrelenting. In a press statement for her latest show at the New York gallery Sikkema Jenkins & Co., she wrote in her familiar, mock-serious yet dead-serious tone that she was “tired of ‘having a voice’ or worse ‘being a role model’ ” and of “being a featured member of my racial group and/or gender niche.” But Ms. Walker’s desire to stand down from the demands of her particular brand of fame has not made her stand down in her art, which is as disturbing and challenging as ever, if not more so.

Sticking more insistently to her longtime theme — the bitter legacy of slavery in the United States — the works in this assured exhibition unequivocally enter new territory. Narratively, they land solidly where Ms. Walker has only lightly tread: the remorseless, racialized American present, which is suffused with the death rattle of white male domination and its multiple bigotries. Visually they find the artist returning fully to two dimensions after her triumphal public sculpture, “A Subtlety, or the Marvelous Sugar Baby,” the monumental and vexatious sugarcoated woman-sphinx of 2014. Now she is pushing with new rigor at the boundaries of her primary medium and material — drawing and paper — merging collage, political cartoon and history painting, and this gives her story line more force.

The show is a brawl of works on paper that has as much the feeling of a studio visit as of an exhibition. Coming in various shapes and sizes — worked with Sumi ink, charcoal or watercolor — the paper is cut, torn and collaged, sometimes to canvas or raw linen the shade of tobacco, often with quantities of black paint and sometimes bits of color.

The show’s centerpiece is the enormous “Christ’s Entry into Journalism” (2017), an 11-by-18-foot collage crowded with over 80 ink drawings of heads and figures. Its title echoes numerous historical depictions of “Christ’s Entry Into Jerusalem,” the biblical event preceding his betrayal, trial, death and resurrection; but perhaps journalism’s death and resurrection is the main point. The images here are not exclusively contemporary — note a man resembling the abolitionist Frederick Douglass in the lower left corner — but they implicate current events. Across the top of the piece a rebus depicts a rope salesman, a white farmer with a noose, a lynched figure and a Ku Klux Klan member whose parted robe reveals a figure in a suit and an extra-long tie who could be construed as the current occupant of the White House.

More prominent images evoke civil rights protesters; a Confederate flag and an arm raised in a Nazi salute; a policeman in riot gear pursuing a protester with a turkey leg and a cell phone; and Batman, carrying a figure



Above, “Dredging the Quagmire (Bottomless Pit),” part of Kara Walker’s new gallery show in New York. Below left, a detail of “Dante (Free from the Burden of Gender or Race),” and right, “Slaughter of the Innocents (They Might Be Guilty of Something).”



wrapped as a mummy whose swollen black face may or may not refer to Emmett Till. At the center, a bare-chested black man raises his chained hands prayerfully. Nearby the severed head of a young black man in a hoodie is seen, upright, on a tray carried by a white woman, like Salome with the head of John the Baptist. More than ever, Ms. Walker’s work piles person-ages, events and possible interpretations before us, daring us to face her reality — and ours.

Ms. Walker emerged in the

mid-1990s with incendiary works set adamantly and slyly in the past that were frequently criticized as politically incorrect for caricaturing slavery in the antebellum South. Scaling up the demure 19th-century genre of the black-paper silhouette, she brought to elegant, repellent life an unending stream of vicious master-slave narratives — a continuum of violence, abuse and violation that consumed and corrupted almost all parties, regardless of age or race. Antic, profane and riveting, these mural-like scenes replayed

history as farce and disguised tragedy as depraved comedy. They revealed the inevitable psychic corruption of humans owning humans, brought out the sexual component of oppression in any form and implied a country still shaped by the original sin of slavery.

Ms. Walker’s visual efforts have generally been aided by a sardonic ventriloquism that recycles 19th-century elocutions. The title of her current show runs 198 words and unspools in the cadences of a sideshow Barker: “Sikkema Jenkins and Co. is Compelled

to Present the Most Astounding and Important Painting show of the fall Art Show viewing season!.” And so on, as if to account for all possible reactions: “Collectors of Fine Art will Flock . . .,” “Scholars will Study and Debate . . .,” “Art historians will wonder . . .,” “Critics will shake their heads...” “The Final President of the United States will visibly wince.” One sentence is especially telling: “Students of Color will eye her work suspiciously and exercise their free right to Culturally Annihilate her on social media.” Ms. Walker

knows that with artistic reputation, what goes up must come down. She also knows that political correctness has returned, with various factions of the righteous trying to dictate what artists and museums should and should not show. (Consider the recent examples of Dana Schutz at the Whitney Biennial and the Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, and Sam Durant at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis.)

Ms. Walker’s work might be seen as a three-pronged attempt to wreak havoc with racism, language — and drawing itself. Her signature black silhouettes, which have transferred well to printmaking, book illustrations and animated films, reappear, and Ms. Walker sometimes struggles to refresh them. She succeeds in “Slaughter of the Innocents (They Might Be Guilty of Something),” where the black silhouette cutouts migrate to a large, seemingly whitewashed slab of canvas.

But she really cuts loose with the big collages and their rough-edged images, which recur in two other large collages, “U.S.A. Idioms” and “The Pool Party of Sardanapalus (after Delacroix, Kienholz).” Measuring some 10 by 11 feet, this last work is notable for a group of young black women in two-piece bathing suits; they bring to mind a black teenager at a pool party in McKinney, Tex., who was thrown to the ground and restrained by a white policeman.

By cutting and pasting various images, Ms. Walker is able to convincingly combine not only different times and histories, but also numerous drawing styles, which gives her art a new freedom and toughness that it has needed. Especially tough is a collage-painting titled “Spook,” one of three outstanding raw linen works. Placed near the gallery’s front door, it centers on a cutout ink drawing of a black woman pleasuring herself in a dark woodland haunted by cutouts that contrast various threats: a snake, a bat, a white man with a noose. The surface is thick with tenderly applied black paint.

A different kind of combination of sensuous and tough is achieved in “Dredging the Quagmire (Bottomless Pit),” a triptych in which an assortment of figures, some pale as ghosts, sink into a vast black swamp beneath black trees. It is both morbid and mordant and contains some of Ms. Walker’s most ravishing ink drawing. Other works seem almost tossed off. A poignant example is an all-black oval canvas titled “Storm Ryder” and collaged with pieces of torn paper. One scrap gives a glimpse of a storm-tossed ship reminiscent of Albert Pinkham Ryder. Others convey the wise words of the subtitle: “You Must Hate Black People as Much as You Hate Yourself.” She seems to be saying that bigotry starts with unexamined self-hatred.

In her press statement, Ms. Walker claimed that her latest efforts — all made during this excruciating summer — form a show that is “not exhaustive, activist or comprehensive in any way.” Maybe not. But the exhibition reveals a crossroads in her great career and she sails right through, from strength to new strength.

## What’s in a name? Maybe inclusion

REPORTER’S NOTEBOOK  
LOS ANGELES

Some California curators favor genderless terms to replace words like ‘Latino’

BY JORI FINKEL

This week marks the official start of Pacific Standard Time: LA/LA, some 70 museum exhibitions, from San Diego to Santa Barbara, that explore Latin American and Latino art. With galleries getting into the act, too, visitors to the shows are likely to encounter tons of new work. And two new words: Latinx and Chicax.

At the very moment that “Latino” and “Chicano” art are poised to make a big splash, some curators are pushing to replace those masculine words with new genderless terms they find more inclusive: “Latinx” for anyone in North America with roots from Latin America — male, female or gender-nonconforming — and “Chicax” for anyone of Mexican descent.

Never mind that the neologisms have not made it into the Merriam-Webster or Oxford English Dictionary, or that the Getty Foundation, which financed Pacific Standard Time to the tune of about \$16 million, is sticking with “Latino.” Several P.S.T. curators are dropping these new terms in panels and papers. Their publicists are using them in email blasts. Art magazines like Artnews, Flash Art and Frieze are following suit, while #latinx is gaining currency on Twitter and Instagram among political activists, student associations and various blog-

gers. (A recent tweet from the writers’ group Latino Caucus criticized when “a journal touts support for POC” — people of color — “yet no #Latinx people on staff or in their publication.”)

“We’re seeing the terms become a lot more common, especially with young people,” Joan Weinstein, deputy director of the Getty Foundation, said. “But we really wanted to reach a wide audience with a wide range of ages, so we thought we needed language recognized by everyone.”

Among those adopting the new language is Bill Kelley Jr., the lead curator of a P.S.T. exhibition at the Otis College of Art and Design in Los Angeles featuring artist-activists. He said the word Latinx had a “political charge.”

“The word is a proposal to change the machismo in the culture and the language,” he said.

For her part, Macarena Gómez-Barris used Chicax repeatedly in her catalog essay on the photographer Laura Aguilar, a key artist in a West Hollywood exhibition about the area’s pre-AIDS “queer” art scene. “Her gender does not fall within ‘Chicano,’ and the people she studies with her camera are butches and femmes and gender-nonconforming,” said Ms. Gómez-Barris, the head of social sciences and cultural studies at Pratt Institute in New York.

She calls the “x” of Latinx and Chicax (pronounced Latinex and Chicanex) a “queering” of the gendering of nouns and adjectives natural to the Spanish language, which also turns Latinas into Latinos the moment one man enters the group. “The x marks a kind of political resistance and provocation,” she said.



Left, Teddy Sandoval’s “Las Locas,” part of “Axis Mundo: Queer Networks in Chicano L.A.,” and right, a 1972 photo by Anthony Friedkin, “Jim and Mundo, Montebello.”

Ms. Gómez-Barris pressed for Chicax in the show’s title. But she lost that battle: It is called “Axis Mundo: Queer Networks in Chicano L.A.”

C. Ondine Chavoya, a professor at Williams College in Massachusetts and a curator of “Axis Mundo,” said that for the title “we wanted to go with the more familiar, recognizable term that could help with online searching.”

Scholars say that Latinx, the broader and more popular of the new terms, began to appear as early as 2004 in LGBTQ communities online but did not really take off until two or three years ago. This year, Google Scholar shows about a thousand academic articles using the term, twice

the number from 2016.

An Ohio State University professor, Frederick Luis Aldama, changed the name of his high school outreach program, LASER, to the Latinx Space for Enrichment and Research (He titled his new book “Latinx Superheroes in Mainstream Comics.”) Mr. Aldama said he was taking the lead of his students: “They feel so empowered by this term, it’s hard not to follow them.”

But as the popularity of the words grows, so does the debate over their value. Some critics reject Latinx and Chicax for being foreign to the Spanish language, off-putting to the public or simply unnecessary.

The prominent Chicano artist Lalo



Alcaraz, the creator of the comic strip La Cucaracha (who is not in any P.S.T. show), said he was not a fan of the construction.

“As a writer, I feel like these words are so clumsy and artificial. The ‘x’ looks like a mathematical annotation. I feel like language should be more organic,” he said. Mr. Alcaraz explained that he used the words Latino, Latina, “la raza” or “brown people” — “I mix it up.”

Chon Noriega, head of the Chicano Studies Research Center at the University of California, Los Angeles, and a curator of the P.S.T. show “Home — So Different, So Appealing,” has also resisted using the new language.

“My sense is that it’s a maneuver within a stable category,” he said. “We can change the name, whether it’s Mexican-American, Chicana/o or Chicax — but the category itself is not really changing.”

For Mr. Noriega, the pressing question is whether curators’ interest in the word — or for that matter, in art of the Latin diaspora — will last much longer than Pacific Standard Time.

“Suddenly, I see museums that never thought about having a Chicano art exhibition use the term ‘Chicax,’ ” he said.

“In five years, if they haven’t had any Chicano shows,” he added, “we’d know it was just an accommodation.”



# A diva who’s not standing still

SALZBURG, AUSTRIA

Cecilia Bartoli, last seen wearing a beard, hints she may return to New York

BY MICHAEL COOPER

It has been nearly a decade since the beloved Italian mezzo-soprano Cecilia Bartoli last sang in New York. David Letterman, Jon Stewart and others have been known to grow beards when they’ve left the city’s limelight. But the whiskers Ms. Bartoli was sporting recently weren’t quite of that variety. She had instead taken on some startlingly convincing facial hair to sing the title role in Handel’s “Ariodante,” a male character originally sung by a castrato. In an interview in her dressing room here, Ms. Bartoli said that while she likes to fully inhabit her roles, she was initially unsure about the more-than-stubble.

“But then I saw myself,” she recalled, “and said, ‘Wow, I look like Johnny Depp — it’s not bad!’ ”

In the interview, during a rehearsal break last month, Ms. Bartoli, who made a sensational debut at the Metropolitan Opera in the mid-1990s but has not performed there in almost 20 years and who last sang at Carnegie Hall in 2009, hinted that a return to New York could well be in the cards.

“I hope to come back — it’s a long time now,” she said, arousing interest because rumors to that effect have begun to swirl in New York music circles.

Ms. Bartoli, 51, has long made her artistic home in Europe, where she has had a ready audience for the rarely performed works she has championed. Just when and where she might come back to New York were unclear. Her voice is not the largest, and she made her name singing Mozart and Rossini roles scaled for smaller, more intimate theaters than the Met and other giant temples of opera. But in the interview, she expressed interest in the state of the Met, praising its selection of Yannick Nézet-Séguin as its next music director and speaking glowingly about the time she spent working with James Levine, its music director emeritus.

One intriguing possibility is that her unusual but critically acclaimed turn in the title role of Bellini’s “Norma” might make its way to New York. The opera website parterre.com reported last month that an unnamed “informant” had said that the staging, directed by Moshe Leiser and Patrice Caurier, would be going to the Brooklyn Academy of Music in “an upcoming season.” The Academy said on Friday that the production was not going there.

Her choosing to do Norma as a mezzo-soprano (with her rival, Adalgisa, sung by a soprano) inverts recent performance practice. When “Norma” opens the Met’s season on Sept. 25, for example, it will star the powerhouse soprano Son-



MONIKA RITTERSHAUS/SALZBURGER FESTSPIELE

Above center, the mezzo-soprano Cecilia Bartoli in the male title role of Handel’s “Ariodante” at the Salzburg Festival this year. Below left, Ms. Bartoli in Mozart’s “Le Nozze di Figaro” at the Metropolitan Opera in 1998, the last time she appeared with that company, and right, in an offstage moment.



SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES



ULI WEBER/DECCA

dra Radvanovsky in the title role, and the company’s reigning bel canto mezzo, Joyce DiDonato, as Adalgisa.

But Ms. Bartoli noted that Norma was originally sung by Giuditta Pasta, who also sang Rossini’s Cenerentola and other roles now associated with mezzo-sopranos; Adalgisa was sung by Giulia Grisi, praised as Norina in Donizetti’s “Don Pasquale” and in other roles commonly done today by sopranos. Ms. Bartoli also pointed out that having a richer-voiced, more mature-sounding Norma losing her lover, Pollione, to a lighter-voiced rival works better dramatically.

“It makes such sense when you see that,” she said in the interview, which was conducted before the rumor surfaced that she might bring the role to New York. “Why would Pollione quit Norma? For the younger one, for the virginal one.”

The “Norma” and “Ariodante,” which

was directed by Christof Loy, both originated at the Salzburg Whitsun Festival, which Ms. Bartoli has infused with new energy since she became its artistic director in 2012. The productions she appears in during this springtime event are revived a few months later at the main Salzburg Festival, with broader audiences and longer runs.

Her return to Salzburg as both a star singer and an impresario brings her career full circle. When she was just starting out, she recalled, she auditioned in the main Festival Theater for Herbert von Karajan, shortly before his death in 1989, and some of her earliest days in Salzburg were captured in a documentary film, “Karajan in Salzburg.” She was so unknown then that she was mistakenly listed in the credits as “Cecilia Bardi.”

Reminded of this, she laughed. “Now,” she said, “they know my name!”

# Defiance, dark humor and candor

BOOK REVIEW

WHAT HAPPENED

By Hillary Rodham Clinton. 494 pp. Simon & Schuster. \$30.

BY JENNIFER SENIOR

Hillary Clinton has written a book. Have you heard?

Choice quotes have been seeping out for weeks, and I’ll admit that I reacted to one of them — “Now I’m letting down my guard” — as if the smoke alarm had started shrieking in my living room. Why believe her? In her previous books, she measured her words with teaspoons and then sprayed them with disinfectant.

Then again, we’ve been told over and over that Clinton is very different in private. And she is now a private citizen.

This distinction seems to have made all the difference.

“What Happened” is not one book, but many. It is a candid and blackly funny account of her mood in the direct aftermath of losing to Donald J. Trump. It is a post-mortem, in which she is both coroner and corpse. It is a feminist manifesto. It is a score-settling jubilee. It is a rant against James B. Comey, Bernie Sanders, the media, James B. Comey, Vladimir Putin and James B. Comey. It is a primer on Russian spying. It is a thumping of Trump. (“I sometimes wonder: If you add together his time spent on golf, Twitter and cable news,” she writes, “what’s left?”)

It is worth reading. Winning the popular vote by nearly 3 million may not have been enough to shatter the country’s highest, hardest glass ceiling. But it seems to have put 2,864,974 extra cracks in Clinton’s reserve.

In the run-up to the publication of this book, Democrats have been privately expressing their dread, fearing it will be a distraction and reopen old wounds.

I wonder if, after reading it, they will

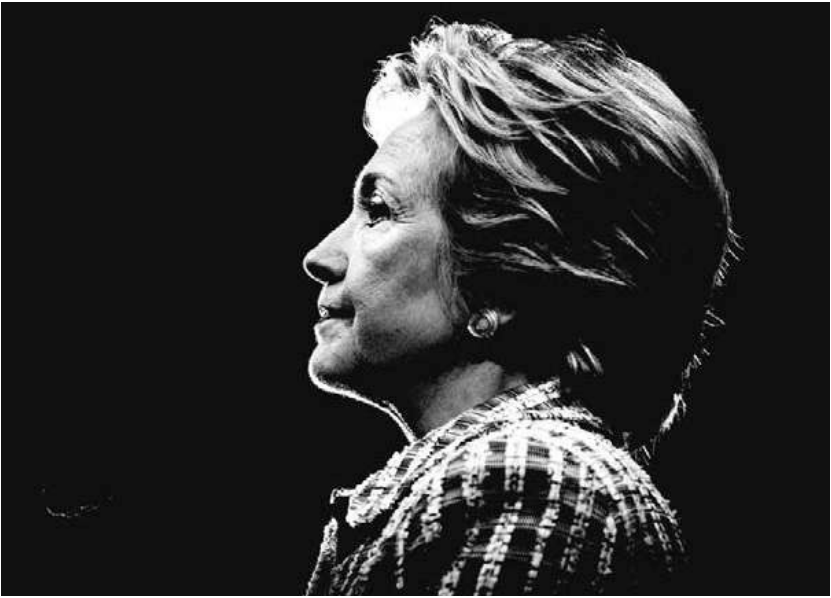
feel otherwise. Are there moments when “What Happened” is wearying, canned and disingenuous, spinning events like a top? Yes. Does it offer any new hypotheses about what doomed Clinton’s campaign? No. It merely synthesizes old ones; Clinton’s diagnostics are the least interesting part of the book. Is there a full chapter devoted to her email, clearly intended to make her own closing arguments? Yes. She can’t shake her inner litigator.

But this book is not just a perseverative recap of 2016. It is the story of what it was like to run for president of the United States as the female nominee of a major party, a first in American history. The apotheosis of Leaning In. Doesn’t this experience rate an account from Clinton herself? Especially when, after sticking her neck out, the only place some people could envision it was in a stockade?

More generally, something truly extraordinary happened in American politics last year, and Clinton was at the center of it. Fifty years from now, are historians going to complain that she had no business offering her perspective?

“I was running a traditional presidential campaign with carefully thought-out policies and painstakingly built coalitions,” she writes, “while Trump was running a reality TV show that expertly and relentlessly stoked Americans’ anger and resentment.”

The first two chapters of “What Happened” are wry and dramatic. Clinton recounts the otherworldliness of Inauguration Day — she briefly imagined herself in Bali — and the bleak weeks following the election, when she watched bad television, got in touch with her inner Marie Kondo and did lots of yoga. “If you’ve never done alternate nostril breathing,” she writes, “it’s worth a try.” An admirer sent her a note instructing her to watch “Gilmore Girls.” An old pal sent her mildly vulgar doggerel. “Friends,” she writes, “advised me on the power of Xanax and raved about their amaz-



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Hillary Clinton at a campaign rally in Florida in October 2016.

ing therapists.” She declined both the drug and their referrals.

The best, most poignant parts of “What Happened” reveal the Hillary Clinton that her inner circle has assured us was lurking beneath the surface all along: A woman who’s arch but sensitive. She writes that she’s astonished whenever someone else is astonished to discover she’s human. “For the record,” she writes, “it hurts to be torn apart.” It stung when schoolmates in junior high teased her about “the lack of ankles on my sturdy legs.” It stung when they teased her about her glasses, too. She doesn’t even bother describing her reaction to the ticker of contumely that’s whirled above her head for most of her adult life, though she does write about how “incredibly uncomfortable” it was to be stalked on stage by Trump during the second presidential debate.

Far more controversial and complicated, surely, is the rest of “What Happened,” starting with Clinton’s argu-

ments about the role of misogyny and sexism in the election. It’s hard to buy the idea that she suffered disproportionately from charges of untrustworthiness or inauthenticity simply because she was a woman. Her husband was considered so eely that the tabloids christened him “Slick Willy,” and plenty of male presidential candidates (Mitt Romney, John Kerry) were regarded as catastrophically insincere.

More persuasive is Clinton’s contention that presidential politics, especially compared to parliamentary politics, favors arena-filling showmanship rather than the quieter, detail-oriented realism she prefers. (How many times has Clinton been praised for being “a workhorse, not a show horse”?) And 2016 was nothing if not the year of the blusterer. One of the things that drove Clinton bonkers about Bernie Sanders was that he always managed to outdo her proposals with something larger and less feasible. “That left me to play the

unenviable role,” she writes, “of spoilsport schoolmarm.”

You may have heard that “What Happened” is angry. It’s true. Or defiant, anyway. Love it or loathe it, chafe at it or cheer it; you will now see, for the first time, what it looks like when Clinton doesn’t spend all of her energy suppressing her irritation. Former FBI director Comey gets it on the chin; so does the mainstream media, this newspaper very much included. She’s got a special rucksack of descriptors for Trump (“hateful,” “a fraud”), whom she says is pulverizing democratic norms into a paste. “He doesn’t just like Putin,” she writes. “He seems to want to be like Putin, a white authoritarian leader who could put down dissenters, repress minorities, disenfranchise voters, weaken the press, and amass untold billions for himself. He dreams of Moscow on the Potomac.”

Her digs at Trump are not surprising. But her dig at Joe Biden is. Over lunch in 2014, Clinton explains, Barack Obama made it clear that he believed she was the Democrats’ best hope to keep the White House. “I knew President Obama thought the world of his vice president,” she writes, “so his vote of confidence meant a great deal to me.”

It’s a grim reminder of the worst we’ve read about Clinton: She needs a separate storage unit to hold her grudges — and her sets of tiny knives. As her book’s title implies, Clinton has her own version of what happened in 2016, and she eventually forces readers to reckon with it. She seems at once the best and worst possible person to carry out this assessment. But here, at any rate, is her bottom line:

Comey’s letter of Oct. 28, 2016, which notified Congress that he was reopening his investigation into Clinton’s use of a private email server to conduct State Department business, effectively ended her candidacy. (She leans heavily on various analyses done by the data maestro Nate Silver to make her

case.) Combine that letter with the full-saturation media coverage Comey’s investigation had been getting all along, and then add to it Russian interference — fake news stories on social media, email hacks — and you have the perfect storm.

Clinton also blames sexism, citing a 2014 Pew Research Center poll that showed just how few voters hoped to see a female president in their lifetime. She blames racism, too, which she considers inseparable from economic anxiety, because her courting of immigrants and voters of color might have given the impression that she put their economic interests before those of disenfranchised whites. She believes that voter suppression in swing states, made possible by a ruling by the Supreme Court in 2013, also made a difference. So did the ever-present animus toward her, which remains, she writes, something she doesn’t fully understand.

It’s hard to say whether readers will buy these explanations. It’s possible that a more inspired candidate would have won the electoral college, simple as that. Or that the Clinton brand was tarnished among black voters. Or that her campaign, in spite of its extensive networks and deep pockets, failed to detect that something on the ground was wrong. Or that she should have appeared in more rural areas. Or that she couldn’t find a better way to speak to the fears of the white working class — which she does admit, though she doesn’t think it cost her the election.

We’ll be arguing about these questions for decades, surely. But one thing we know for certain: History conspired against Clinton. No non-incumbent Democrat has succeeded a two-term Democratic president since 1836, and 2016 was a year when voters were pining for change. Bigly.

In spite of that — in spite of everything — Clinton still won the popular vote by almost 3 million. But it didn’t matter. What happened is, it wasn’t enough.



TRAVEL

The path of Chuck Berry’s ‘Promised Land’

Father and daughter retrace journey told in rocker’s 1964 song

BY STEVE KNOPPER

Chuck Berry’s 1964 classic “Promised Land” is all about motion. The opening guitar riff is a big and fast thing taking off, a bus leaving the station, a jet rising from the tarmac. The poor boy, our narrator, is endlessly rollin’ and ridin’, straddling that Greyhound, smoking into New Orleans, swinging low chariot, coming down easy.

It is a motion specific to the African-American experience in the 20th century: “The one thing they could do, that they couldn’t do under slavery, was move,” said Mark Burford, an associate music professor at Reed College in Portland, Ore.

And it is a motion designed to pull yourself out of trouble: “Each verse seems to have something happen, or lose something,” the Texas rocker Joe Ely told me, “but always, at the end of the next verse, it rises up like a phoenix.”

When Mr. Berry died at age 90 in March, I wondered what it would be like to experience this rising-up approach to travel in 2017, following the lyrics’ itinerary through the American South. I love “Promised Land” because it’s not just about one Johnny B. Goode, but all of them, Americans everywhere on a shared spiritual journey, hitting the road when they’re feeling stuck, experiencing all the cathartic guitar solos, trying to outrace their inevitable second thoughts.

“If you wanted to paint a picture of that era,” Mr. Ely observed, “you wouldn’t even have to lift a brush, you could just pick up a guitar and play that song.” In just two minutes and 23 seconds, Mr. Berry establishes a whooshing vision of the American dream, as the poor boy leaves his home in Norfolk, Va., and takes buses, trains and jets to Los Angeles to make it in (presumably) the music business, briefly taking note of the civil rights unrest of the time.

My 15-year-old daughter, Rose, and I wanted to see how Mr. Berry’s elaborate pathway to the American dream had changed in this era of mass airline travel and Google Maps. In some ways, we slowed way, way down, watching the South unfold in a blur outside bus and train windows, with long stretches of mesmerizing nothingness.

But we also approximated the frantic rock ‘n’ roll motion of “Promised Land,” spending roughly 24 hours apiece in six of the eight cities the poor boy visits in the song: Norfolk, Va.; Raleigh and Charlotte, N.C.; Atlanta; Birmingham, Ala.; and Houston. We indulged ourselves with two nights each in New Orleans and Los Angeles. Yesterday, the Wheel of Excellence, high over Atlanta; tomorrow, a killer Bourbon Street brass band.

There were two key differences between the South of “Promised Land” and the South we experienced. One was chronological — back then, in the cities we visited, civil rights activists fought school segregation in Charlotte; Freedom Riders rode Greyhounds to integrate lunch counters and bus stations; and Bull Connor, the infamous Birmingham public-safety commissioner, attacked peaceful protesters with dogs and fire hoses. Although we encountered references to today’s racial struggles, we largely experienced civil rights as a museum artifact.

The other difference was the oversimplified nature of Mr. Berry’s pop song versus our complicated route. Mr. Berry wrote “Promised Land” in prison, after police busted him for inviting a 14-year-old girl he had met on the road to work at his St. Louis nightclub. (He argued vehemently that the charges were racist.) He had trouble securing a road atlas to create his fictional journey — prison officials weren’t thrilled about distributing maps. The “struggles” he refers to “halfway across Alabama” are likely about Bull Connor; the poor boy “bypassed Rock Hill,” where a man in South Carolina beat the activist and future U.S. representative John Lewis for opening a “whites only” door in 1961. “In that passing reference to Rock Hill — just three words — it opens up a whole other interpretation of the song,” Mr. Burford said. “It’s very sly.”

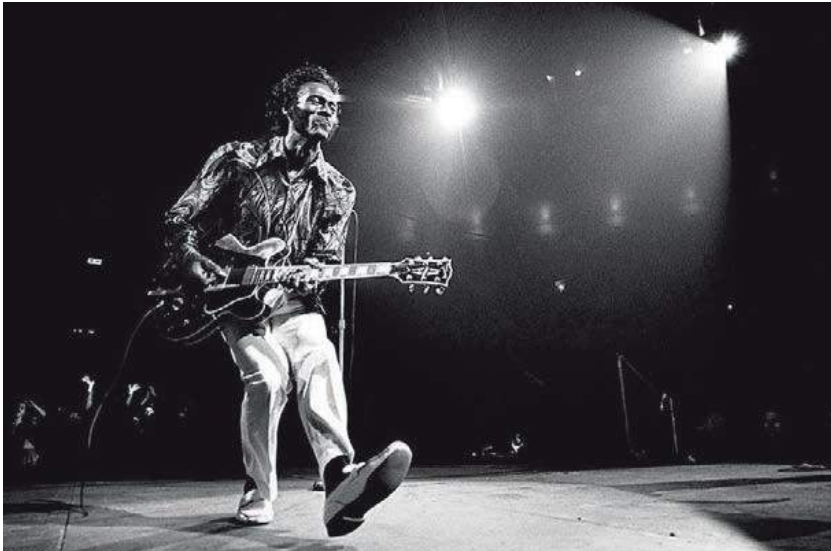
We snapped into our vagabond lifestyle with the first city mentioned in the song, Norfolk, taking a midnight Uber from the airport, blathering about “Promised Land” to the driver, an older man who used to spend time at rock concerts but recently shifted to jazz. “Well, Chuck’s gone,” he lamented.

After he dropped us off at our standard-issue Wyndham down the street from the Greyhound stop, we woke up the next morning to take in as much of Norfolk as we could in three hours. We achieved protein-rich superberry bowls at the hotel restaurant Fruitive; a long look at the World War II-era battleship Wisconsin docked in the Elizabeth River harbor; and 15 minutes of a Sunday morning service by a group called The Rising at the Norva nightclub, where a young preacher in jeans and a T-shirt explained to a crowd the perils of “frogs,” or small sins, such as viewing pornography or complaining about your job.

In the song, it isn’t until the second-to-last destination, Houston, that the poor boy meets “the people there who care a little about me” and buy him luggage



IAN WRIGHT



DONALD F. HOLWAY/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chuck Berry performing in 1971. He died at age 90 in March.

our own Subway sandwiches) and a viewing car to watch the scenery from overhead windows.

For us, downtown Houston on a Saturday night in July was uneventful, and while we took a long walk past the Hobby Center for Performing Arts and watched kids play on the playground at Tranquility Park, we were exhausted and thankful for the Lancaster Hotel, which had a three-window view of the downtown skyline and perfect air-conditioning. Tragically, Hurricane Harvey ravaged the Lancaster along with the rest of the city in late August, flooding the basement and leaving the first floor with a foot of water; the hotel will not accept reservations until “our situation gets better and the waters recede,” according to its website.

Finally it was time for our jet to the Promised Land. Several who’d followed our trip on social media were adamant that I eat “a T-bone steak a la cartee” on the flight, like the poor boy does, but I haven’t had red meat since 1994 and the closest thing Spirit Airlines provided to a steak was a \$4 snack box of popcorn and a cup of noodles. I asked a flight attendant if the pilot could announce when we were “high over Albuquerque,” as Mr. Berry sings, but she said he was too busy. It didn’t matter — soon we were on the ground, trying to figure out which part of Mr. Berry’s “headin’ to the terminal gate, swing low chariot, taxi to the

terminal zone, cut your engines, cool your wings” applied as we approached LAX. Whether Los Angeles was the Promised Land, it was certainly milder.

We could walk a few blocks downtown without sweating, and the vegan restaurants were far easier to locate, particularly the Kaya Street Kitchen, in West Hollywood, near our centrally located Airbnb on 6th Street. We ate breakfast on the Sunset Strip and dinner at the Farmers Market. In between, we collapsed in a serene, 50-acre Hollywood Park with bright green lawns and tall trees called Wattles Garden.

Unlike the smaller cities in the South, Los Angeles was impossible to fully explore in just a day and a half, so we followed the tourists to the Hollywood Walk of Fame. I did a Google search for the location of Chuck Berry’s star and we dutifully took selfies. Few rockers have risen up as meteorically as Mr. Berry — his father worked in a Baden, Mo., flour mill with barely enough money to raise his family, and the singer painstakingly built his music career by crisscrossing the United States, overcoming prejudice and segregation.

“Promised Land” may be loosely based on Mr. Berry’s own history, although in 1987, when he received his Hollywood star, mugged for cameras and did the duckwalk, he did not mention any trip through the South on trains and buses to get there.

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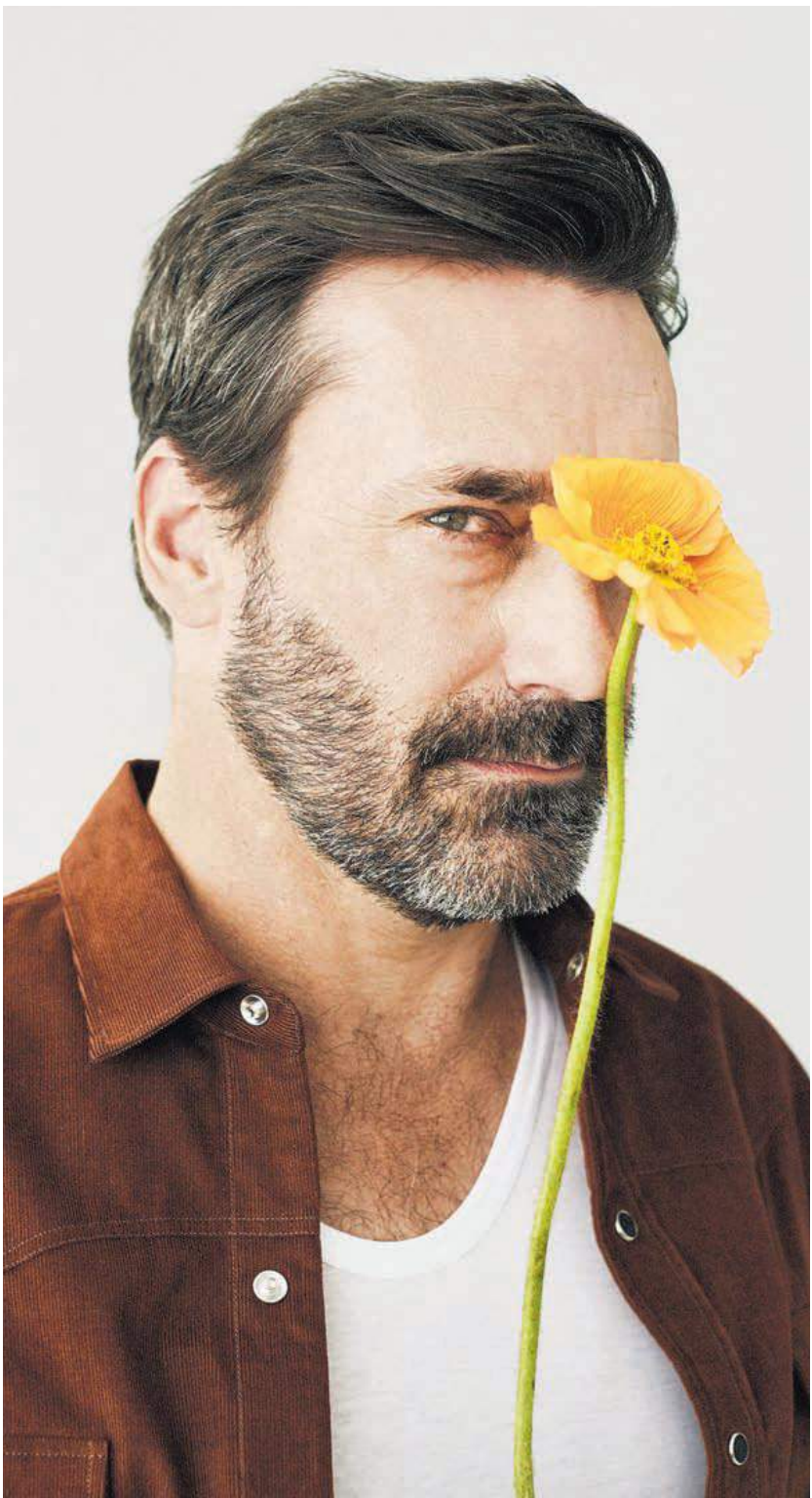


Maryam Al-Khawaja  
Bahraini Human Rights Activist & Co-Founder, Gulf Center for Human Rights





# Men'sStyle



**Driver's seat** Since "Mad Men" went off the air two years ago, Jon Hamm has gone through changes in his personal life while trying to get a movie career going.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETER ASH LEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; STYLED BY ALEX TUDELA; GROOMING BY JESSICA ORTIZ

## Jon Hamm's second act

Two years after 'Mad Men,' the man who was Don Draper is giving himself a pep talk

BY JIM WINDOLF

I had only two or three questions for Jon Hamm. I wanted to know if fame had rattled him. I wanted to know if, more than two years after the "Mad Men" finale, he had plotted out a second act worthy of his talent. I wanted to know if he still wanted to be a star.

We were supposed to meet at the edge of Central Park at 11 a.m. and take a walk. Then came the rain. So we switched the location to Pearl Studios, a suite of rehearsal rooms in Midtown where actors and dancers audition for Broadway shows, touring companies and cruise-ship work.

I texted to say I would pick up coffee. How did he like his?

"Black!" he texted back.

At Cafe Grumpy on West 39th Street I picked up two black coffees, extra-large. They were nearly lawsuit-hot. The walk in the rain to Pearl Studios seemed long. A few minutes past 11 came another text from Mr. Hamm, whose politeness may owe something to his Missouri upbringing: "I'm one very congested crosstown block away. Sorry!!"

If you still picture Don Draper when you think of Mr. Hamm, it may strike you as odd to see him emerge from a Nissan NV200 yellow cab, which has a boxy look very much at odds with the elegant midcentury universe of "Mad Men."

He was wearing a white linen dress shirt with the two top buttons undone, khakis and white sneakers with black laces. A Timex Blackjack Watch and a St. Louis Cardinals cap with a vintage logo completed the look. He accepted his coffee with a thank-you and took my hand in a meaty paw.

Since completing his work on the show that made him famous, Mr. Hamm has gone through changes in his personal life while trying to get a movie career going.

In 2015, he spent a month in treatment for alcohol addiction at a rehab facility. Some months after that, he and his partner of 18 years, the writer, director and actor Jennifer Westfeldt, announced that they had broken up.

The movies came out one after another: "Million-Dollar Arm," in which Mr. Hamm plays a sports agent who grows a heart, thanks to a saucy medical resident (Lake Bell); "Keeping Up With the Joneses," an action comedy starring Zach Galifianakis in which he and a pre-"Wonder Woman" Gal Gadot portray

spies; and "Baby Driver," a crime fantasy in which he appears as a somewhat deranged third banana.

"I always say I make the movies where people go, 'Hey, I never saw it, but when I finally did, I really liked it,'" Mr. Hamm said. "People saw 'Baby Driver,' though. I was pleased with that."

His most recent film, the melancholy "Marjorie Prime," is a well-reviewed adaptation of a Jordan Harrison play directed by Michael Almereyda that includes a much-buzzed-about performance by Lois Smith.

"I watched Michael Almereyda's movies and I read the script and I thought: I like his movies, I like this script, let's put this chocolate and peanut butter together and see if we can get a Reese's Peanut Butter Cup," Mr. Hamm said. "I didn't know what the movie would end up being, and then I watched it right before Sundance and I was moved."

I mentioned that the final scene, with its focus on a character's relationship with a dog, is affecting without being sentimental.

"Don't even talk to me," Mr. Hamm said. "I just lost my dog yesterday."

He was talking about Cora, a shepherd mix he had gotten with Ms. Westfeldt early in their relationship.

"Cora was the best," he said. "I was scheduled to fly in at 8 o'clock in the morning, and she passed away right before I got there. It's been a real hard 24 hours for both me and Jen." A long pause. "She was 17. She brought a lot of love and a lot of good times to me and other people and Jen, and she'll always have a real sweet place in my heart. I could go on for three hours about Cora, and I won't, because I'll just be a mess."

He took a sip. "What is this coffee, Grumpy? That's the one from 'Girls,' right?" he said. He studied the frowny-face logo on the cardboard cup. "I'm a big dog fan. They're the best. They make life better, although they're hard to deal with. But complications in life are actually what make it fun. If it wasn't raining today, you know, whatever, I'm glad it rained. And the more people you meet — I've had the incredible fortune to meet amazing people, sometimes out of dumb luck, but mostly out of being famous for 10 minutes on a TV show. I could listen to Lorne Michaels tell stories for a hundred years. And he wouldn't run out. Mike Nichols. Diane Sawyer. Marlo

HAMM, PAGE S2



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BALMAIN  
PARIS



# Pulse

This month's must-haves.  
By Alex Tudela



EMILY BERL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

IN-BETWEEN DAYS

## SEPTEMBER'S FASHION CHALLENGE

With its warm days and cool nights, September presents a fashion challenge. Kurt Narmore, the man behind the clothing brand Noon Goons, relies on layering to get him through the final days of summer and first days of fall. “I keep a form-fitting army-navy-surplus thermal in my backpack or tied around my waist,” Mr. Narmore said. “It can easily be thrown on under any conventional summer silk button-down shirt.” Mr. Narmore said he had some success recently with a more sophisticated option: a lightweight suit. For a good transitional look, go with something

summery underneath the jacket: a T-shirt, polo shirt or the choice that worked for Mr. Narmore, a tank top. A number of Noon Goons items — which bear the influence of the punk rock, surfing and skateboarding cultures familiar to Mr. Narmore thanks to his Southern California provenance — are also just right for the in-between season. Try the label's corduroy shirt-jackets, colorful light jackets, roomy flannels and hoodies.

Kurt Narmore wearing an Acne Studios suit. Similar styles at [acnestudios.com](#). Shop Noon Goons at [noongoons.com](#).

TOTES McGOTES

## USEFUL. STYLISH.



When Chris Grodzki was a child, his grandfather Stanley had a business in Manhattan as a manufacturer of aprons and bags for factories. When Mr. Grodzki grew up, he fell into the weekend hobby of making bags and pouches, many of which he gave to his friends. Eventually, he said, at the request of a roommate, he made an apron. “Once I made that, it dawned on me that I was making aprons and bags, like my grandfather had been doing,” Mr. Grodzki said. In 2008, shops in Brooklyn and elsewhere started stocking the things he made, and Stanley & Sons Apron and Bag Company was born. Now stylish boutiques across the United States and in Japan carry Stanley & Sons aprons and totes, which are pleasing to the eye and made of canvas, cotton or denim.

In April, Mr. Grodzki and his wife, Lindsay, opened a store of their own, S&S Corner Shop, close to where they live, in Springs, N.Y., a hamlet that is part of East Hampton. In addition to the aprons, bags and pouches, it stocks Stanley & Sons belts, key chains, bandannas and T-shirts, as well as various household goods and pantry items from other suppliers. And don't forget the locally made pastries and the Abraço coffee. “Springs doesn't have many commercial spaces, so it makes the ones that are here that much more special,” Mr. Grodzki said.

Stanley & Sons Apron and Bag Company, \$97 to \$143 (for aprons) and \$68 to \$208 (for bags), available at [apronandbag.com](#) and at S&S Corner Shop, 11 Fort Pond Boulevard, Springs, N.Y.

META

## RETURN OF '90S POLO

Ralph Lauren may present itself as the go-to outfitter of the preppy elite, but it has also long been a favorite label among street wear enthusiasts, who avidly track down vintage Polo gear. (Remember Kanye West, who once called Mr. Lauren his “daddy,” in his Polo Bear sweaters from the early 2000s?) Now the all-American brand is dipping into its archives to celebrate the 25th anniversary of its Stadium Collection, a line of graphic logo-emblazoned and color-blocked polos, hooded sweat-shirts and sports jackets originally introduced to co-



incide with the 1992 Summer Olympic Games. Given the tilt toward 1990s fashions in the latest collections of various designers, these 12 pieces, including reissued originals and new items done in retro style, is very much on trend. And it comes from a brand that was there at the time.

The Limited Edition Polo Stadium Collection, \$49.50 (for hats) to \$495 (for outerwear), at Polo Ralph Lauren stores.

FOUR QUESTIONS

## SHIFTING FOCUS TO MEN'S SHOES

The name Steve Madden is practically synonymous with high-heel shoes and thigh-high boots. He has more than 250 namesake stores all over the world, and his shoes for women are carried in major department stores. Now he is moving in on the men's market. Mr. Madden, perhaps the most famous fashion entrepreneur to be convicted and jailed, served two and a half years in a Florida prison for securities fraud and stock manipulation in the early 2000s after having illegally traded shares from the initial public offering of Stratton Oakmont, the investment firm run by Jordan Belfort. The case was fodder for the 2013 Martin Scorsese film “The Wolf of Wall Street,” with Leonardo DiCaprio playing Mr. Belfort and Jake Hoffman playing Mr. Madden. Since his release from prison, Mr. Madden has devoted himself to the business he loves.

He opened a big new store in Times Square on Aug. 1, with nearly a third of its 2,000-square-foot floor space dedicated to his new focus: men's shoes. “I felt that men were getting short-changed,” he said. “We were putting all the excitement into women's.” While salesclerks in “I'm With Steve” T-shirts helped tourists navigate the rows of pumps, loafers and boots, Mr. Madden tried us on for size. JOHN ORTVED

**Why Times Square now? Retail is not doing great.** Retail is not doing great. This amazing space became available, and we took advantage.

**What's the future of men's shoes?** I would like to go into the sneaker business. I think everybody is wearing sneakers all the time. That's something you'll see in the future: more sneakers. I went out to a restaurant in Sag Har-



NATHAN BAJAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

bor and it was all mostly 20- or 30-somethings. Why I was there, I don't know. They were all wearing sneakers. They looked great! But it wasn't for comfort; they just liked the look. It was interesting to see.

**What men's shoes are you excited about this fall?** More sneakers and booties. They call short boots “booties.” One of the newest features on the boot is the side zipper. In the old days, you had to sit down, lace 'em all up and now you just reach your foot in and zip 'em up and boom! It's taking a little utility influence and putting it into fashion. Our men's business is great. We're bringing the excitement we've brought to women's, but we're doing it slowly.

**A flagship in the middle of Times Square is “slowly”?** I always wanted to be on Broadway.

WORKWEAR

## FANCY GEAR

Premium work wear? It sounds like an oxy-moron, but that's exactly what Dickies, the leader in utilitarian gear founded in Texas in 1922, will be manufacturing under a new line, Dickies Construct. With this collection, classic Dickies pieces will be reinterpreted for a more style-conscious customer.

Dickies Construct pants will cost about \$98.

Dickies Construct, available in early October at Union Los Angeles.



### COVER STORY

# Jon Hamm's second act

HAMM, FROM PAGE S1  
Thomas. Patti LuPone. Meryl Streep. And then friends of mine, also.” In this category he mentioned Jon Stewart and Hannibal Buress, whom he had seen perform the night before as part of Dave Chappelle's run of shows at Radio City Music Hall. He also noted his “Mad Men” colleagues Elisabeth Moss and John Slattery, the directors Greg Mottola and Edgar Wright, and Rosamund Pike, his co-star in “High Wire Act,” a yet-to-be-released thriller written by Tony Gilroy. “Like, how are we friends?” he said. “How did I get here? I'm from Nowheresville, Mo. But it was instilled in me from an early age: Why not you? Just because you're x-y-z from Nowheresville doesn't mean you're nothing.”

SHOW BUSINESS is filled with good-looking people. The ones who make a mark have emotional depth. In Mr. Hamm's case, the mystery, the charisma, the

sense he gives audiences that there is more to him than just a strong jaw probably has something to do with his childhood. His parents divorced when he was 2. He lived with his mother in an apartment complex after that, and she died when he was 10. His father, a gregarious man who was in the family trucking business for most of his working life, sometimes parked the young Mr. Hamm in front of “Saturday Night Live” at parties. The boy ended up spending a lot of time at the houses of two friends. The mothers looked out for him through his time in high school, where he was the rare teenager who excelled at both sports and theater (he played Judas in “Godspell”), and again after his father died when he was 20. “When you're a kid, you're just not equipped to deal with some of the stuff that life brings you,” he said. “It's why you have parents. And then, when you don't, there better be somebody who fills in that gap, or you're going to be rudder-

less for a while.” I brought up the rehab stint. Did it give him a chance to reset himself? He replied in almost a whisper: “Recalibrate. Re-evaluate. Just sort of re-establish where you are. You're coming off of this Tilt-a-Whirl that's going 9,000 miles an hour, and so many things have come unfixed. “If you think about navigation, you're trying to stare at a fixed point. When you navigate to something that's whirling, it's difficult. It's all a learning experience. It's all about growing older and getting better at living. And I hope I did.” He got up and took a walk around the room. “I've been really breaking down this year. At 46, for whatever reason, this is the year my body fell apart.” He laughed. “I play baseball, softball, tennis. So these joints take a lot of stress and strain. My eyes are bad. I tore a ligament in my elbow. I'm just like, ‘What happened?’” He has not been pleased with his re-

cent performances in the wood-bat league that he is part of, in Beverly Hills, Calif. “I've never been the worst person on the team,” he said. “Ever. And I am now. I need to get in shape. I need to rehab my elbow. It's time to get it going. And I feel that's kind of the M.O. for my head, too. And my career. Let's improve. Let's get better.” He sat back down. The talk turned to Donald J. Trump, whom he saw, briefly, at a “Saturday Night Live” party after the episode hosted by Mr. Trump during the presidential campaign. “He was with Bill O'Reilly,” Mr. Hamm said. “They're both tall dudes. And I'm a tall dude. And they both do that tall-dude thing, which is try to intimidate you. And it doesn't work on me. I'm like, ‘I'm as alpha as you. Let's go. You're not going to chest-bump me.’ It was a very weird night. It was the shortest I've ever stayed at an ‘S.N.L.’ after-party.” He said he has high hopes for the success of “High Wire Act,” although he de-

scribed it as “the kind of movie they don't really make anymore, because it's not based on a comic book or a theme-park ride.” Even “Michael Clayton,” a 2007 film written by the same screenwriter, Mr. Gilroy, is not the kind of thing that gets made much anymore. “I remember walking out of ‘Michael Clayton’ and being like: ‘I want to be in that movie,’” Mr. Hamm said. It may be a good sign that he met with Mr. Gilroy to discuss the script at Cafe Luxembourg, the same Upper West Side restaurant where Matthew Weiner, the creator of “Mad Men,” took Mr. Hamm for a celebratory dinner after he got the part of Don Draper. Does he still feel as driven as he was back then? “If anything, even more so,” he said. Before we left the room, he said, “I hope I wasn't too melancholy or sad,” and showed me a picture on his phone: Cora. “She was a good one,” he said. “She was a real good one.”

After rehab, an opportunity to recalibrate, re-evaluate and re-establish himself.



DRESS CODES • ALEX TUDELA

# Hello, old friend

Some fall collections embrace the necktie, knot optional of course



Although the necktie remains a staple for politicians, bankers and news anchors, it has been scarce on fashion runways in recent years. But now a few men’s wear designers willing to go against the grain have embraced it for their fall collections.



STYLED BY ALEX TUDELA. GROOMING BY SEAN BENNETT. CASTING BY NICOLA KAST. HAIR BY SEAN BENNETT FOR BUMBLE & BUMBLE. STYLIST’S ASSISTANT: KRISTEN MOM.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC CHAKEEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

1. Prada corduroy tie, \$230, at Prada stores. Sandro shirt, \$225, at sandro-paris.com. Model: Rahm Bowen.

2. Drake’s silk foulard tie, \$175, at drakes.com. Giorgio Armani shirt, \$495, at Giorgio Armani stores. Model: Bom Chan Lee/IMG.

3. Gosha Rubchinskiy silk knit tie, \$150. Martine Rose shirt, about \$493. Model: Egor Ziatikov/One Management.

4. Martine Rose silk rose-print tie, about \$230, shirt, about \$495, and tie-clip, about \$130, at martine-rose.com. Model: Kam Zane/D1.

5. Balenciaga silk tie, \$195, and shirt, \$550, at Balenciaga Soho. Model: Ben Shaul/IMG.

6. Margaret Howell silk paisley tie, \$155, at margarethowell.co.uk. Gosha Rubchinskiy shirt, \$330, at Dover Street Market New York. Model: Codie Monowi/D1.



## LIST OF FIVE A MAN IN UNIFORM



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NATHAN BAJAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Covers all the bases Nat Wolff enjoys the versatility of his jacket.

The actor and musician Nat Wolff, 22, has been performing since the age of 7. Perhaps best known as a leading man in “The Fault in Our Stars,” he is featured this month in the romantic comedy “Home Again.” Though he was born in Los Angeles, Mr. Wolff remains sartorially faithful to New York City, where he grew up, favoring the style of the Strokes and the young Al Pacino. Here, he shares five favorites from his closet. *BEE SHAPIRO*

**1 Shirt** I tend to think the simpler, the better. I do a black shirt or a white shirt. It’s usually a crew-neck tee. I’ve been called a cartoon character, because I like a uniform. Occasionally, I’ll do a button-down. For me, it’s really important that the shirt material is soft. I get super-antsy when I have an itchy tag on the back of my shirt. I like Hanes; I got a bunch of those. Sometimes clothes that are super-fancy don’t feel good.

**2 Jeans** I just got to back from doing a movie in Norway. There, I discovered Acne — which is the weirdest name for a company and it’s something I’ve been fighting all my life — and their jeans fit skinny people really well.



**3 Jacket** I have a John Varvatos jacket in brown leather. It’s nice on a windy day; it’s nice for a dress-up; it’s nice for a dress-down. This was given to me as a birthday present. Honestly, I don’t shop much. I’ve stolen a lot from movie sets, and I’ve tried taking pieces from photo shoots, but they watch them closely.

**4 Shoes** When it comes to shoes, it’s pretty much just boots. I have one pair of black Chelsea boots with a zipper by AllSaints that I’ve had for two years. I was walking in Norway, and I had these huge holes in these boots, but I couldn’t let the boots go. They’re like a family member. I’ve tried to replace them, but they don’t make them anymore. So I feel like I’m doing Tinder for boots. I’m swiping whichever way is bad and not finding love. I’m just sleeping around with different boots. Right now, I’m wearing a pair of boots for Frye, but I feel sorry for them because they’re just a weak comparison.

**5 Ring** I just started wearing a ring. I’m trying to be a ring guy. It’s silver, and it can spin around and it has Greek symbols on it. It’s cool, because I have a real tendency to fidget, so it’s like a fidget spinner but on my finger.





# Soaking Up Luxury

A fashion designer creates a lavish master bathroom that suits his style.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY AN RONG XU FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



**Rest easy**  
Above, Philipp Plein in the soaker tub of his master bathroom in his Manhattan townhouse. Left, his customized towels.



**Details, details**  
Left, Mr. Plein added a chandelier as a decorative element, and for brightness. Right, ceiling moldings add a touch of luxe.



## Philipp Plein

**AGE** 39  
**OCCUPATION** Fashion designer  
**LOCATION** Upper East Side  
**HIS FAVORITE ROOM** In 2015, Mr. Plein bought a four-bedroom, seven-bathroom townhouse on East 71st Street. The master bathroom, which features a quarry’s worth of Italian marble, is larger than some studio apartments. By seeing a man’s house, Mr. Plein explained, you will know the man. “It says more about personality than how you dress,” said the German-born designer. “You learn so much from a person when you go to a house.”

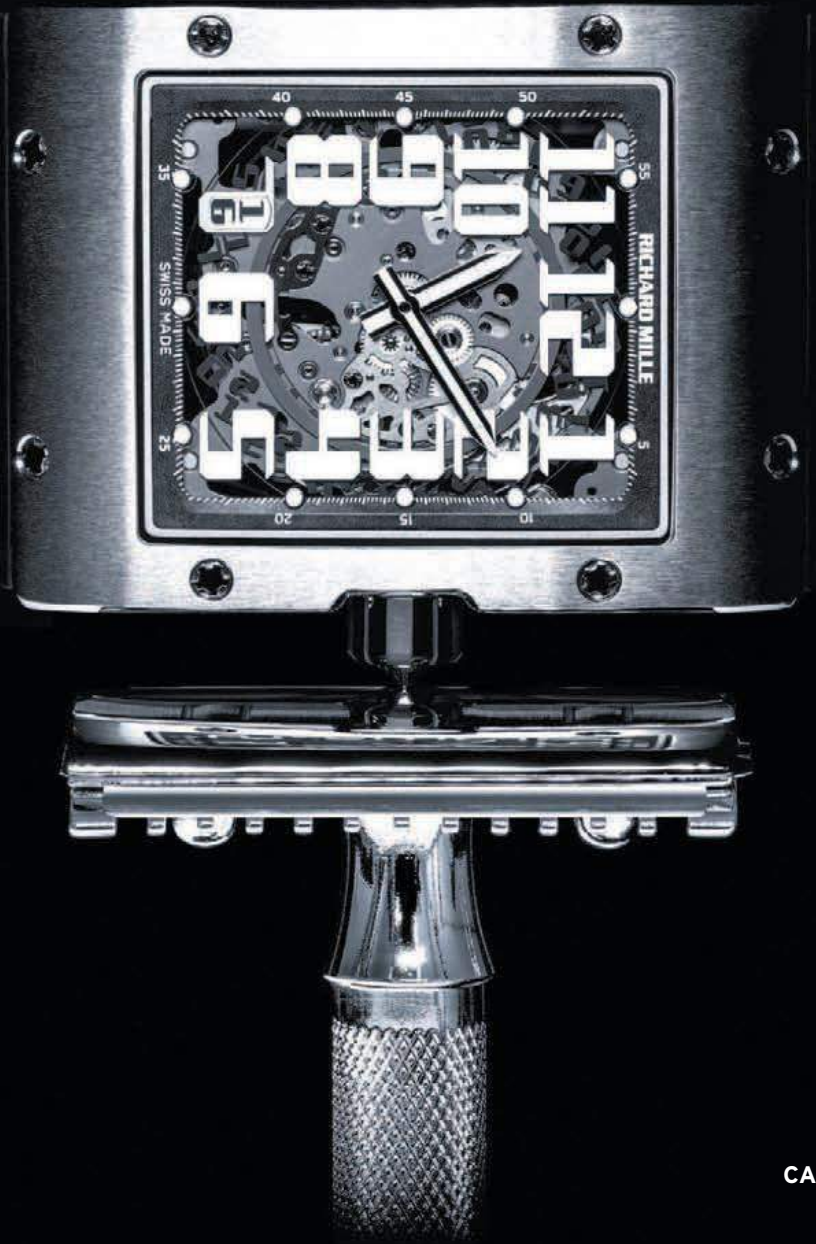
**So what does your bathroom tell us about you?**  
It’s a very happy room. Even if it rains outside, it’s bright. With the chandelier, it becomes even brighter. The bathroom is where you start the day and end the day. It’s the first thing you see when you wake up. You want to be happy. I tried to reflect all these things in the design.  
**The word that comes to mind is “luxe.”**  
The definition of luxury is different for everybody. For me, luxury is the

freedom to realize your ideas. It doesn’t have to be the biggest house or the biggest bathroom or whatever.  
But when it comes to interior luxury, for me, it’s the detail. Yes, you need light. But a simple lamp makes the light. Why do you need a chandelier? To make a nice decorative element. It’s also a little ironic.  
**Is the soaker tub ironic or in use?**  
I was at boarding school when I was younger. We had shared bathrooms, 10 showers together. So for years, when I came home to see my par-

ents, I took a bath. I left boarding school at 19. Now I’m 39. I prefer the shower again. But there was a time when I really loved a bath, had to take a bath in the evening, it was a luxury for me.  
**You also have residences in Switzerland, the South of France and Los Angeles. How is your New York place different?**  
We were Americanized in Europe, drinking Coca-Cola, watching American TV shows. Since I’m 14, I was always dreaming about New York.

When I had the possibility to realize the dream, I was looking at modern buildings, skyscrapers — I was really open.  
I started my career designing furniture. I was inspired early on by Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier. Very minimal, very modern.  
But this house had a different atmosphere. When you buy a house, you are dealing with the essential character. You cannot make an old townhouse become a modern Bauhaus style. You have to accept it the way it is.

**RICHARD MILLE**  
A RACING MACHINE ON THE WRIST



CALIBER RM 016